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THE BOOK OF EXODUS

With Introduction and Notes



by
A. H.

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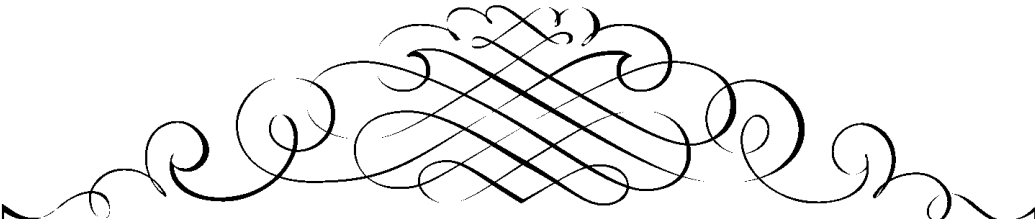
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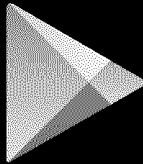
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THE BOOK OF EXODUS

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

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EDITED BY WALTER LOCK D.D.

IRELAND PROFESSOR OF THE EXEGESIS
OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

THE BOOK OF EXODUS

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PREFATORY NOTE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR.

THE primary object of these Commentaries is to be exegetical, to interpret the meaning of each book of the Bible in the light of modern knowledge to English readers. The Editors will not deal, except subordinately, with questions of textual criticism or philology ; but taking the English text in the Revised Version as their basis, they will aim at combining a hearty acceptance of critical principles with loyalty to the Catholic Faith.

The series will be less elementary than the Cambridge Bible for Schools, less critical than the International Critical Commentary, less didactic than the Expositor's Bible ; and it is hoped that it may be of use both to theological students and to the clergy, as well as to the growing number of educated laymen and laywomen who wish to read the Bible intelligently and reverently.

Each commentary will therefore have

(i) An Introduction stating the bearing of modern criticism and research upon the historical character of the book, and drawing out the contribution which the book, as a whole, makes to the body of religious truth.

(ii) A careful paraphrase of the text with notes on the more difficult passages and, if need be, excursions on any points of special importance either for doctrine, or ecclesiastical organization, or spiritual life.

But the books of the Bible are so varied in character that considerable latitude is needed, as to the proportion which the various parts should hold to each other. The General Editor will therefore only endeavour to secure a general uniformity in scope and character: but the exact method adopted in each case and the final responsibility for the statements made will rest with the individual contributors.

By permission of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press and of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press the Text used in this Series of Commentaries is the Revised Version of the Holy Scriptures.

PREFACE.

IT is some years since an English commentary on the book of Exodus was written. During that time there have been busy workers in many fields of study, who have contributed much that has thrown light upon the book. There seems, therefore, to be room for a volume which should make use of some of the more important of the results which they have reached.

There is no book of the Old Testament which cannot claim an interest peculiarly its own. But of the book of Exodus it may be said that an outstanding feature of it is the extraordinary multiplicity of its interest. The student is brought into contact with matters of archaeology and folk-lore, the history and customs of nations, the geography of countries, the social enactments of Israel at successive stages of their development, the ceremonial of worship in different ages, and the moral standards and religious ideals of the prophets—the highest minds in a nation whose genius was religion. Further, the critical investigation of the book, as literature, provides complex problems. And finally Exodus possesses a deep and abiding spiritual value, and it is only by meditating on this that its readers can realise the primary object for which it has been allowed to come down to us. The following pages, if they effect nothing else, may perhaps succeed in dissipating for some the idea, which I have heard seriously expressed, that Exodus is ‘one of the dullest books in the Bible.’

As much as possible has been thrown into the Introduction, in order to avoid over-weighting the Commentary, the first duty of which is to explain the text. It was felt to be specially necessary to free the notes from the details of critical analysis. Exodus more than most of the Old Testament writings demands analysis if it is to be intelligible. As regards the separation of the prophetic from the priestly *strata*, critical students may be said to have reached something approaching to unanimity: but this is far from being the case with those passages which are derived from the composite narrative JE. No doubt some portions of this latter material could, without much loss, be treated as the work of a single writer. But there is hardly a chapter which, if so treated, does not raise serious difficulties; and I have therefore ventured on the analysis of the whole. There must for a long time, perhaps always, be differences of opinion with respect to some details, but each student who makes his own suggestions may help to bring unity of opinion a step nearer.

The time has gone by when an apology would have been needed for shewing that the origin of laws, customs and religious ceremonies can often be detected in primitive ideas of a remote past. The principle recognised by Aristotle holds good that the true nature of a thing is that which it will become when it is complete. And a heathen or barbarous origin of a custom does not invalidate it as a real expression of true religion at a later stage in the nation's growth. I have, therefore, not hesitated to record some of the more probable suggestions which have been made by students of archaeology and anthropology. Nor does it any longer require boldness to admit the possibility that a given narrative or tradition lacks, or contravenes, historical evidence. Its value, in many cases, lies not in the statement of fact but in the picture which it affords of the ideas or circumstances of the narrator. The permanent value

of the book of Exodus as a whole is, of course, to be found in the religious beliefs and convictions of the writers. Much more might have been done in the commentary by way of suggestion, had not the nature and aims of this series forbidden any purely devotional or homiletic treatment. But I have tried to indicate, both in the notes and in the last section of the Introduction, something of what the book appears to have been intended to teach.

The same considerations which lengthened the Introduction also led me to avoid the multiplication of references in the notes. The Bibliography, indeed, might be greatly enlarged; but it is perhaps full enough to be a guide to the more important works bearing upon the different aspects of the book.

There are personal debts which I would gratefully acknowledge. The Rev. C. H. W. Johns, the Reader in Assyriology in this University, allowed me to consult him on points connected with the subject on which he is an authority. The Rev. Canon Kennett, Regius Professor of Hebrew, very kindly read the book in proof, and made several valuable suggestions. And the Warden of Keble College, Oxford, the General Editor of the series, read both MS and proofs; his advice and suggestions have been of the utmost help throughout.

Since Exodus follows Genesis, this volume is destined to stand next on the shelf to Prof. Driver's work; so near—and yet so far from the strong balance of judgement and wide learning which have always been to me both curb and spur.

A. H. McNEILE.

CAMBRIDGE.

Lent 1908.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ADDENDA	XIII
PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED	XV
BOOKS USEFUL FOR STUDY	XVII
INTRODUCTION	i—cxxxvii
§ 1. The component parts of the Book of Exodus	i
§ 2. Analysis	xi
§ 3. The Laws in Exodus	xxxviii
§ 4. The Priesthood	lxiv
§ 5. The Tabernacle (with Illustrations)	lxxiii
§ 6. The Geography of Exodus (with Map)	xcii
§ 7. The Historical Value of the Book of Exodus	cvi
§ 8. The Religious Value of the Book of Exodus	cxix
List of Scriptural Passages	cxxxiv
TEXT AND COMMENTARY	1—242
ADDITIONAL AND LONGER NOTES	
Sketch of contemporary Egyptian history	12
On the name Yahweh	21
On Circumcision	29
On the names Eloah, Elohim, El, Shaddai	38
The Plagues	42
The Passover	62
The Song of Praise	88
The Sabbath	121
On Altars	125
The three Annual Festivals	140
The word 'Covenant' and the Sinai-Horeb covenant	150
The composition of the chapters on the Tabernacle and its Ministry	155
The Ark	161
The Ephod, and the Urim and Tummim	181
The Tent of Meeting	211
On the Septuagint recension of chapters xxxv.—xl.	223
INDEX	243
Sketch of the Tabernacle	<i>between</i> lxxiv—v
Map. Country of the Exodus	<i>to face</i> xciii

ADDENDA.

P. 4, on i. 11. Prof. Flinders Petrie claims to have discovered the site of Raamses at Tell er Retabeh 'in the middle of the length of the Wādy Tumilat, about 20 miles from Ismailiyeh on the East.' 'We found here a temple of Ramessu II with sculptures in red granite and limestone; part of a tomb of an official who was over the store-houses of Syrian produce; and the great works of Ramessu III. All of these discoveries exactly accord with the requirements of the city of Raamses, where both the second and third kings of that name are stated to have worked, and where a store city was built by the Israelites along with that of Pithom, which is only eight miles distant. The absence of any other Egyptian site suitable to these conditions, which are all fulfilled here, makes it practically certain that this was the city of Raamses named in Exodus' (*Hyksos and Israelite cities*, Brit. School of Archaeol. in Egypt, and Eg. research account, 12th year, 1906).

If this is correct, Raamses must be placed a little nearer to Pithom than it is marked upon the map.

P. 143, on xxiii. 19*b*. Mr J. G. Frazer's contribution to the volume of *Anthropological Essays* presented to Prof. Tylor contains a suggestion with regard to this obscure prohibition. He shews (pp. 154—157) that pastoral tribes in Africa believe that to boil milk will prevent the cow from which it has been drawn from yielding any more, and may even cause its death. The special mention of the mother's milk in Israelite law 'may have been either because as a matter of convenience the mother's milk was more likely to be used than any other for that purpose, or because the injury to the she-goat in such a case was deemed to be even more certain than in any other. For being linked to the contents of the boiling pot by a double bond of sympathy, since the kid, as well as the milk, had come from her bowels, the mother goat was twice as likely as any other goat to lose her milk or to be killed outright by the heat and ebullition.' And he further suggests that, as among the Baganda, unprincipled persons in Israel might surreptitiously enjoy the luxury of flesh boiled in milk, regardless of the fact that the boiling of milk, like the poisoning of wells, threatened the existence of the whole tribe by cutting off its principal source of nourishment.

P. 152, paragr. 2 (*c*). Dr Westermarck (*Anthropol. Essays*, p. 373 *f*.) rejects the idea that the blood is shared as a bond of friendly union. He explains the covenant sacrifice by reference to the '*ahad*' ('covenant') of the Moors. The two parties to the covenant transfer, through some material

medium, conditional curses to one another, and the curse will take effect on him who violates the compact. Of these media blood is the most powerful. In the Horeb ceremony, according to this explanation, the curse is transferred to the deity and the people respectively by the sprinkling of the blood. And the same result is reached if the two parties join in a feast.

The curse, moreover, is not always mutual. Dr Westermarck gives several instances of the Moorish practice of imposing a conditional curse (*l-'ār*) upon a person or a deity in order to force him to give help or protection. And, as before, sacrificial blood is the most powerful conductor of the curse. It is not impossible that this primitive idea underlies the Passover sacrifice and the ceremony of smearing the door-posts with blood. The blood binds the deity to shew favour to the house and persons thus guarded.

P. 175, on xxvii. 10. *their fillets*. Understood by some to mean rods connecting the pillars and supporting the hangings. But this leaves the expression 'filleted with silver' (v. 17) unexplained. Moreover no mention of such rods is made in the directions for transport (Num. iv.); and the veil (xxvi. 32) and the entrance screen of the Tent (v. 37) are clearly intended to hang by hooks from their pillars and not from rods. Kennedy is probably right in adopting the explanation of Dillmann and others, that the word signifies 'a band or necking of silver at the base of the capital.'

P. 182, paragr. (c). A method of divination by means of an image, employed by natives of Sierra Leone, is described in *Folklore* xviii. 425. To obtain information from the fetish, the Ya-manna, the official of the Yassi society, anoints the figure with fetish medicine, brings it out from the Yassi house with certain ceremonial, and holds it out by both hands from the waist so that it can swing, the figure being made of light wood. Should the answer to the question put be favourable, the figure gradually inclines towards the Ya-manna.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

- AJSL.** *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (edited by R. F. Harper). Chicago.
- Aq.** Aquila's Version.
- BDB.** *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius.* By Francis Brown, D.D., with the co-operation of S. R. Driver, D.D., and C. A. Briggs, D.D. (Clarendon Press, Oxford).
- Bibl. HWB.** *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums*, edited by E. C. A. Riehm.
- BR.** Edw. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Bible Lands and the adjacent regions.*
- COT.** Eb. Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.* (English translation).
- DB.** *A Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings, D.D. (4 vols. 1898—1902. Extra vol. 1904).:
- DCG.** *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, edited by J. Hastings, D.D. (2 vols. 1906, 8).
- E.** See Index.
- EEFM.** *Egyptian Exploration Fund Memoirs.*
- Enc. B. or EB.** *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., and J. Sutherland Black, LL.D. (4 vols. 1899—1903).
- Exp. T.** *Expository Times* (a monthly periodical edited by J. Hastings, D.D.).
- Ges.-K. or G.-K.** *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, as edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch.* Translated from the 26th German edition by the Rev. G. W. Collins, M.A., and A. E. Cowley, M.A. (Oxford, 1898).
- J.** See Index.
- JBL.** *Journal of Biblical Literature.*
- JQR.** *Jewish Quarterly Review* (edited by I. Abrahams, M.A., and C. G. Montefiore, M.A.). London.
- JThS.** *Journal of Theological Studies* (edited by J. F. Bethune-Baker, B.D., and F. E. Brightman, M.A.). Oxford.
- KAT² and KAT³.** Eb. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament.* 2nd and 3rd edition.

L. and B. W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*.

*OTJC*². W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*.
2nd edition.

P. See Index.

PEFM. *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs*.

Pesh. Peshittā (the Syriac Version of the O.T.).

*PRE*² and *PRE*³. *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 2nd ed. by J. J. Herzog and G. L. Plitt, 18 vols. 1877—1888.
3rd ed. by A. Hauck, 19 vols. at present (1908) published, 1896—1907.

PSBA or *SBA*. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.

Rev. Arch. *Revue Archéologique* (edited by G. Perrot and S. Reinach). Paris.

*RS*² or *Rel. Sem.*² W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed.

Sam. Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch.

Sym. Symmachus' Version.

S. Hex. Syro-Hexaplar Version, i.e. the Syriac Version in the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla.

Theod. Theodotion's Version.

ZATW. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (edited by B. Stade). Giessen.

ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (edited by A. Fischer). Leipzig.

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- Kurzer Handkommentar z. A.T.: *Genesis, Exodus, Numbers*, H. Holzinger. *Leviticus, Deuteronomy*, A. Bertolet.
- Handkommentar z. A.T.: *Genesis*, H. Gunkel. *Exodus—Numbers*, B. Baentsch. *Deuteronomy*, C. Steuernagel.
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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The component parts of the Book of Exodus.*

THE book Exodus appears to have received its name from the LXX rendering of xix. 1 ('In the third month of the *exodus* of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt...'). In the Hebrew Bible its title consists of the opening words, *We'eleh shemoth* ('and these are the names'), or more shortly *Shemoth*. It is the second volume of the 'Hexateuch,' the literary whole comprising the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, the general object of which 'is to describe in their origin the fundamental institutions of the Israelite theocracy (i.e. the civil and the ceremonial law), and to trace from the earliest past the course of events which issued ultimately in the establishment of Israel in Canaan' (Driver). Genesis forms the opening volume of this work; Exodus carries on the narrative from after the death of Joseph to the arrival of Israel at the mountain of God, and describes the events which occurred there, and the laws delivered to the nation through Moses.

The literary history of the book is similar to that of the other books of the Hexateuch. There are the same two prophetic compilations of earlier traditions, usually known as J and E, because they respectively prefer the use of the divine titles Jehovah (Yahweh) and Elohim. The former apparently emanated from the Southern, the latter from the Northern, kingdom. There is the same expansion, mostly of a hortatory or paraenetic type, characteristic of the Deuteronomic (D) school of thought. And there is the large mass of specifically priestly, post-exilic work (P), with its exact chronology and measurements, its genealogies and statistics, its somewhat mechanical use of formulas, and its insistence on the *minutiae* of worship and ceremonies by which the ecclesiastical order which obtained in the period of the second temple is reflected back into the Mosaic age¹.

¹ See Otley, *Aspects of the Old Testament*, pp. 120—5.

The composite origin of the books of the Hexateuch has been so abundantly proved by a long succession of students that no apology can be needed for accepting it as an established fact. But it cannot be insisted upon too often or too strongly that the object of Biblical criticism is *not to destroy*. One branch of the study concerns itself with the actual text of the writings, and seeks to determine as nearly as possible what were the original words as they went forth from the pen of the writer. That this is an important aim no one will deny. But, as Arnold says¹, 'history contains no mean treasures'—'the treasures indeed are ample; but we may more reasonably fear whether we may have strength and skill to win them.' And it is clear that to attempt to win the treasures of history is a higher aim than that of determining the exact text of the original documents. In the case of the history of an ancient nation, the aim involves the placing of facts and institutions, persons and actions, in their true perspective—the tracing of moral standards, of social customs and civil laws, of religious beliefs and ritual observances, throughout their gradual development.

And when the biography of a nation is found not to be written in one book at one time, but to be a record which grew with the nation's growth, and was enshrined in fragments of writing whose dates ranged over many centuries, its treasures cannot possibly be won without a careful study of the dates of the successive fragments, the characters of the writers, the aims and purposes of each. Further, owing to the literary methods of ancient times, fragments may have been woven together, and must be disentangled—and that not for the purpose of shewing that writings formerly thought to be homogeneous are really composite, not, that is, for the mere purpose of criticising, but with the ultimate object of arriving at historical truth.

To begin with the latest of the sources, the portions of the book of Exodus which are written from a priestly point of view can, for the most part, be readily distinguished. They prove, on examination, to be the work, not of a single writer, but of a 'school'—a succession of men steeped in the atmosphere of ceremony and ritual and ecclesiastical organization, who lived between the time of the exile and the 2nd century B.C. And when those portions whose subject-matter proclaims them as priestly are further examined from a linguistic point of view, they are found to contain marked characteristics of style and vocabulary which help to corroborate the results of the subjective analysis, and also to distinguish other portions in which the post-exilic narrative runs side by side, or

¹ *Modern History*, pp. 21 f.

is interwoven, with those of earlier writers. The following is a select list of words and expressions occurring in Exodus which are characteristic of P.

The dagger (†), both here and elsewhere, indicates that all passages of the Old Testament, in which the word or phrase quoted occurs, are cited or referred to; and the asterisk (*) indicates that all passages of the Hexateuch, in which the word or phrase quoted occurs, are cited or referred to.

1. *Anoint* xxviii. 41, xxix. 2, 7, 36, xxx. 26, 30, xl. 9, 11, 13, 15, and 15 times in Lev., Num. Once only in E, Gen. xxxi. 13. *Anointing* (subst. הִשָּׁחֵט) xxix. 29, xl. 15, Num. xviii. 8†.

2. *Atonement* (דָּוָה) xxix. 36, xxx. 10, 16, Lev. xxiii. 27 f., xxv. 9, Num. v. 8, xxix. 11†.

3. *Between the two evenings* (so M.T.; see on xii. 6) xii. 6, xvi. 12, xxix. 39, 41, xxx. 8, Lev. xxiii. 5, Num. ix. 3, 5, 11, xxviii. 4, 8†.

4. *Burn*, cause a sweet savour (sacrificially), xxix. 13, 18, 25, xxx. 7, 8, 20, xl. 27, and 37 times in Lev., Num. *

5. *Close by* (תַּעֲרֹב) xxv. 27, xxviii. 27, xxxvii. 14, xxxviii. 18 (*corresponding to*), xxxix. 20, Lev. iii. 9*, 15 times in Ezekiel.

6. *Congregation* (קָהָל). In its technical use to describe the Israel of the Exodus it is confined to H and P, and occurs 115 times. Special phrases are

The Congregation of Israel xii. 3, 6, 19, 47, Lev. iv. 13, Num. xvi. 9, xxxii. 4, Josh. xxii. 18, 20†.

The C. of the sons of Israel xvi. 1, 2, 9, 10, xvii. 1, xxxv. 1, 4, 20, and 19 times in Lev., Num., Josh.†

The princes of (or in) the C. xvi. 22, xxxiv. 31, Num. iv. 34, xvi. 2, xxxi. 13, xxxii. 2, Josh. ix. 15, 18, xxii. 30†.

7. *To dwell* (שָׁכַן), used of Yahweh, the cloud, or the glory. *The Dwelling* (מִשְׁכָּן). The words occur *passim* in P throughout the Hexateuch, with a special connotation.

8. *Everlasting ordinance, or an ordinance for ever*, xii. 14, 17, 24, xxvii. 21, xxviii. 43, xxix. 9, 28, xxx. 21, Lev. 17 times, Num. 8 times*.

9. *Families, after your (their)* (בְּתוֹכָם with ל) vi. 17, 25, xii. 21, Gen. viii. 19, x. 5, 20, 31, Num. i. (13 times), ii. 34, iii.—iv. (15 times), xxvi. (16 times), xxxiii. 54, Josh. (28 times). Also 1 Chr. v. 7, vi. 62, 63 (Heb. 47, 48; from Josh. xxi. 33, 40), Num. xi. 10 (J), 1 S. x. 21†.

10. *Fillings*, a technical term for 'consecration,' xxix. 22, 26, 31, 34, Lev. vii. 37, viii. 22, 28, 31, 33. The word also occurs with the meaning *settings of stones* xxv. 7, xxviii. 17, 20, xxxv. 9, 27, xxxix. 13, 1 Chr. xxix. 2†.

11. *Generations, throughout (ל) your (their)* xii. 14, 17, 42, xvi. 32, 33, xxvii. 21, xxix. 42, xxx. 8, 10, 21, 31, xxxi. 13, 16, xl. 15, Gen. ix. 12, xvii. 7, 9, 12, Lev. (14 times), Num. (9 times)†.

12. *Glory of Yahweh*, in the special sense of His visible presence in the midst of His people, xvi. 7, 10, xxiv. 16, 17, xxix. 43, xl. 34, 35, Lev. ix. 6, 23, Num. xiv. 10, xvi. 19, 42, xx. 6. Also 10 times in Ez., 2 Chr. v. 14 (= 1 K. viii. 11), vii. 1, 2, 3.

13. *Head*, or *poll*, i.e. a person, xvi. 16, xxxviii. 26, Num. i. 2, 18, 20, 22, iii. 47. So in the priestly passages 1 Chr. xxiii. 3, 24. The original meaning 'skull' is found in Jud. ix. 53, 1 Chr. x. 10 †.

14. *Heave*, i.e. lift off and present as a contribution (הָרַם), xxix. 27, xxxv. 24; freq. in Lev. and Num. Elsewhere only in Ez., 2 Chr., Ezr.

15. *Holy*. The adjective and the cognate verb are occasionally met with in JED, but their occurrence is rare. In H and P they are more frequent and characteristic than any other class of words. The following are entirely confined to priestly writings, in the Hexateuch:

In a holy place xxix. 31, Lev. vi. 16, 26, vii. 6, x. 13, xvi. 24, xxiv. 9*.

To minister in the holy place xxviii. 43, xxix. 30, xxxv. 19, xxxix. 1, 41, Num. iv. 12. Also Ez. xlv. 27 †.

Holiness (with the article in the sense of the 'sanctuary' or 'holy things' after a noun), e.g. *contribution of* xxxvi. 6, Num. xviii. 19*; *shekel of* xxx. 13, 24, xxxviii. 24, 25, 26, Lev. v. 15, xxvii. 3, 25, Num. iii. 47, 50, vii. (14 times), xviii. 16*; *work of* (the service of) xxxvi. 1, 3, 4, xxxviii. 24, Num. vii. 9*.

16. *Hosts*, used of the Israelites as an organized community in the desert, vi. 26, vii. 4, xii. 17, 41, 51, Num. i. 3, 52, ii. 3, 9, 16, 18, 24, 32, x. 14, 18, 22, 25, 28, xxxiii. 1. Contrast Dt. xx. 9*, where preparations are described for wars after the settlement in Canaan.

17. *Hundred*, a peculiar use of the construct state *me'ath* instead of the absolute *mē'āh*, vi. 16, 18, 20, xxxviii. 25, 27 *ter*, Gen. (15 times), Num. ii. 9, 16, 24, 31, xxxiii. 39. Elsewhere only in late writings, Est. i. 4, Neh. v. 11, 2 Chr. xxv. 9 (*K'ri*), Ecc. viii. 12, but only in the first of these is the reading without suspicion. P uses *mē'āh* in such cases only in Gen. xvii. 17, xxxiii. 1.

18. *Incense* (a word cognate to no. 4), or *incense of spices*, xxv. 6, xxx. 1, 7, 8, 9, 27, 35, 37, xxxi. 8, 11, xxxv. 8, 15, 28, xxxvii. 25, 29, xxxix. 38, xl. 5, 27, Lev. iv. 7, x. 1, xvi. 12, 13, Num. iv. 16, vii. (13 times), xvi. 7, 17, 35, 40, 46, 47*. In all other passages the word appears to denote the savoury smell of sacrificial smoke.

19. *Be little* (Hiph. *diminish* or *do little*) xii. 4, xvi. 17, 18, xxx. 15, Lev. xxv. 16 *bis*, xxvi. 22, Num. xxvi. 54, xxxiii. 54, xxxv. 8. Once in J, Num. xi. 32*.

20. *Offer* (*bring near, present* הִקְרִיב). As a technical term it occurs nearly 160 times, chiefly in H, P, and Ez. Of the dedication of Aaron or his sons xxviii. 1, xxix. 4, 8, xl. 12, 14; of an offering xxix. 3, 10. Contrast the non-technical use in Dt. i. 17, Josh. vii. 16, 17, 18, viii. 23, and the intransitive use ('draw near') in J, Gen. xii. 11, Ex. xiv. 10.

21. *Peoples, Father's kin* (אֲבוֹתָם). See on xxx. 33.

(a) *that soul* (or *man*) *shall be cut off from its* (or *his*) *father's kin* xxx. 33, 38, xxxi. 14, Gen. xvii. 14, Lev. vii. 20, 21, 25, 27, xvii. 9, xix. 8, xxxiii. 29, Num. ix. 13 †.

(b) *to be gathered to one's father's kin* Gen. xxv. 8, 17, xxxv. 29, xlix. 33, Num. xx. 24, xxvii. 13, xxxi. 2, Dt. xxxii. 50 *bis* †.

(c) Lev. xix. 16, xxi. 1, 4, 14, 15. Perhaps in two early passages Jud. v. 14, Hos. x. 14, and in Ez. xviii. 18.

22. *Plague, striking* (הִכָּה) xii. 13, xxx. 12, Num. viii. 19, xvi. 46, 47, Josh. xxii. 17. In Ia. viii. 14 it means 'stumbling'†.

23. *Act as a priest* (Piel כהן) xxviii. 1, 3, 4, 41, xxix. 1, 44, xxx. 30, xxxi. 10, xxxv. 19, xxxix. 41, xl. 13, 15, Lev. vii. 35, xvi. 32, Num. iii. 3, 4. Also Dt. x. 6 (perhaps E) *

24. *Prince* (נָשִׂיף, R.V. *Ruler* in Ex. and Lev.) xvi. 22, xxxiv. 31, xxxv. 27, Gen. xvii. 20, xxiii. 6, xxv. 16, xxxiv. 2, Lev. iv. 22, Num. (59 times), Josh. ix. 15, 18, 21, xiii. 21, xvii. 4, xxii. 14, 30, 32. Also Ex. xxii. 28 (27) which may be E, but is probably a late addition *. Outside the Hex. it is confined to Ez. and Chr.-Ezr., except 1 K. viii. 1 (LXX om.) and xi. 34.

25. *Remain over*, or (Hiph.) *have over, as surplus* xvi. 18, 23, xxvi. 12 *bis*, 13, Lev. xxv. 27, Num. iii. 46, 48, 49 †.

26. *Sabbatic observance* (שְׁבֻתָּה *Shabbāthōn*) xvi. 23, xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2, Lev. xvi. 31, xxiii. 3, 24, 32, 39 *bis*, xxv. 4, 5 †.

27. *This selfsame day* (עַצְמוֹת הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה) xii. 17, 41, 51, Gen. vii. 13, xvii. 23, 26, Lev. xxiii. 14, 21, 28, 29, 30, Dt. xxxii. 48, Josh. v. 11, x. 27. Elsewhere only Ez. ii. 3, xxiv. 2 *bis*, xl. 1 †.

28. *Soul=person, any person* i. 5, xii. 4, 15, 19, xvi. 16, and elsewhere in H and P nearly 100 times. It is not found earlier than the later portions of D.

29. *Strange* (רָץ) either as adj. or subst.; chiefly of one who belongs to another tribe or family than that of the priests xxix. 33, xxx. 33, Lev. xxii. 10, 12, 13, Num. i. 51, xvi. 40 (xvii. 5), xviii. 4, 7. Also of things that are strange to the law—not ritually correct xxx. 9, Lev. x. 1, Num. iii. 4, xxvi. 61. The more ordinary meaning 'stranger,' 'foreigner' is frequent outside the Hexateuch; but in the Hex. only in Dt. xxv. 5, xxxii. 16 (foreign gods) *.

30. *To swarm* (רָצַץ) viii. 3 (vii. 28) [hence Ps. cv. 30], Gen. i. 20, 21, vii. 21, viii. 17, Lev. xi. 29, 41, 42, 43, 46, Ez. xlvi. 9. Figuratively of men i. 7, Gen. ix. 7 †.

31. *The Testimony*, i.e. the Ten Words, xvi. 34, xxv. 16, 21, 22, xxvi. 33, xxvii. 21, xxx. 6 *bis*, 26, 36, xxxi. 7, 18, xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29, xxxviii. 21, xxxix. 35, xl. 3, 5, 20, 21, Lev. xvi. 13, xxiv. 3, Num. i. 50, 53, iv. 5, vii. 89, ix. 15, x. 11, xvii. 4, 7, 10 (19, 22, 25), xviii. 2, Josh. iv. 16 * 2 Chr. xxiv. 6.

32. *Tribe*, lit. *staff* (מִטְּבֵּה), xxxi. 2, 6, xxxv. 30, 34, xxxviii. 22, 23, and 150 times in the other books of the Hex. *, 1 K. vii. 14, viii. 1=2 Chr. v. 2, 23 times in 1 Chr. Perhaps Mic. vi. 9. P employs the synonym *shebhet*, but JED never have *matteh*.

33. *Upward*, or (*from*) *above* (מִלְּמַעְלָה), xxv. 21, xxvi. 14, xxxvi. 19, xxxix. 31, xl. 19, 20, Gen. vi. 16, vii. 20, Num. iv. 6, 25, Josh. iii. 13, 16 *.

The list might easily be enlarged, but these are among the most distinctive expressions; and they serve to shew how markedly the style and vocabulary of P differ from those of the other writings in the Hexateuch.

The portions of Exodus which can be pronounced 'Deuteronomic' are comparatively few. They belong to a period before, and perhaps during, the exile, and emanate from a reforming, prophetic atmosphere in which history was regarded from a moral and spiritual

point of view; and in their editing of early documents the writers followed the same line of thought, and employed the same kind of language, as the writer or writers of the book of Deuteronomy—of which it has been said that ‘it formulates the law indeed, but by dwelling on Jehovah’s goodness as the chief motive of obedience to the law, it seeks to change the law into a gospel¹.’ The Deuteronomic redactors (R^D) express the anxiety that future generations shall be taught of Yahweh’s loving care (xii. 26 f., xiii. 8, 14—16); they insist on the obedient hearkening to His commandments and statutes (xii. 25, xiii. 5, xv. 26, xx. 5, 6, xxiii. 13); they dwell upon the past kindness of Yahweh as shewn in the deliverance from Egypt, and in the choice of Israel for His service (xii. 27, xiii. 3, 8, 9, 16, xv. 26, xix. 3 b—6, xx. 2, xxiii. 15 b); they inculcate kindness to inferiors and to animals (xx. 10; cf. Dt. v. 14 f.); and they frequently refer to the land which Yahweh is about to give to Israel, and the nations whom He will drive out before them (iii. 8 b, 17 b, xii. 25, xiii. 5, xx. 12 b, xxiii. 23, 28, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11).

Still travelling backwards we reach the composite work produced by an editor who blended J and E (usually known as JE), containing the bulk of the narratives and the early collections of laws. In J and E we have to deal with two writings containing approximately the same subject-matter, and originating in about the same period. But, as in the case of D and P, these symbols must not be understood to denote two individuals, but rather two schools of thought; they were in close connexion with the prophetic teaching of the 8th century. The earliest portions of J and E were probably earlier than the written prophecies of Hosea and Amos, Isaiah and Micah, but the later portions must be regarded as a direct product of the new religious feeling created by these prophets. It is less easy to distinguish J from E than to distinguish P from either of them. But the analysis (pp. xii.—xxxviii.) shews that there is abundant justification for the belief that they are distinct. And stylistic peculiarities are not wanting. Of their character in general Prof. Driver (*Genesis*, pp. xiv. f.) says—‘Of all the Hebrew historians whose writings have been preserved to us, J is the most gifted and the most brilliant. He excels in the power of delineating life and character. His touch is singularly light: with a few strokes he paints a scene, which impresses itself indelibly upon his reader’s memory. In ease and grace his narratives are unsurpassed; everything is told with precisely the amount of detail that is required; the narrative never lingers, and the reader’s interest is sustained to

¹ Prof. Kennett, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1905.

the end. He writes without effort and without conscious art. E in general character does not differ widely from J. But he does not as a writer exhibit the same rare literary power, he does not display the same command of language, the same delicacy of touch, the same unequalled felicity of representation and expression. His descriptions are less poetical; and his narratives do not generally leave the same vivid impression. As compared with P, both J and E exhibit far greater freshness and brightness of style; their diction is more varied; they are not bound to the same stereotyped forms of thought and expression; their narratives are more dramatic, more life-like, more instinct with feeling and character.' J and E, in fact, present the history in a *popular*, P in a *systematic* form.

The following are some of the words or expressions in Exodus which characterise J as distinct from E:

1. He is consistent in his use of the name Yahweh in preference to Elohim.

2. *Before, not yet* (בְּרֵאשִׁית) ix. 30, x. 7, xii. 34, Gen. ii. 5 *bis*, xix. 4, xxiv. 15, 45, Num. xi. 33, Josh. ii. 8, iii. 1*. On the other hand בְּרֵאשִׁית is used three times each by J and E in the Hex. (i. 19 E).

3. *Both...and* (וְ...וְ; with negative *neither...nor*) iv. 10, v. 14, xii. 31, 32, xxxiv. 3, Gen. (9 times). E xviii. 18, Gen. xxi. 26, Num. xxiii. 25. Elsewhere Dt. xxxii. 25, Num. xviii. 3 (P)*.

4. *They (he, I) bowed and made obeisance* iv. 31, xii. 27, xxxiv. 8, Gen. xxiv. 26, 48, xliii. 28; cf. Num. xxii. 31*.

5. *Canaanite*, the term employed by J for the native inhabitants of Palestine (E prefers 'Amorites'), iii. 8 a, 17 a, Gen. x. 18, 19, xii. 6, xiii. 7, xxiv. 3, 37, xxxiv. 30, I. 11, Num. xiv. 43, 45. (See note on Ex. iii. 8.)

6. *Come down*. J relates that Yahweh came down in person iii. 8, xix. 11, 18, 20, xxxiv. 5, Gen. xi. 5, 7, xviii. 21. In E the representation is always that of a descent in the pillar of cloud at the entrance of the Tent xxxiii. 9, Num. xi. 17, 25, xii. 5.

7. *Find grace or favour* (וְ...וְ) xxxiii. 12, 13 *bis*, 16, xxxiv. 9, Num. xi. 11, 15, Gen. (13 times). Once in D (Dt. xxiv. 1) and in P (Num. xxxii. 5)*.

8. *Flowing with milk and honey* iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxxiii. 3, Num. xiii. 27, xiv. 8, xvi. 13, 14. Seven times in D. Elsewhere Lev. xx. 24 (H), Jer. xi. 5, xxxii. 22, Ez. xx. 6, 15 †.

9. *From the time that, since* (מֵעַתָּה a curious idiom) iv. 10, v. 23, ix. 24, Gen. xxxix. 5. Once in a Deuteronomic passage Josh. xiv. 10*. Elsewhere with this meaning only in Is. xiv. 8, Jer. xlv. 18, Ruth ii. 7.

10. *Harden*, lit. 'make heavy' (some form of כָּבַד); used exclusively by J for the hardening of Pharaoh's heart vii. 14, viii. 15, 32, ix. 7, 34, x. 1. E and P use 'strong' (קָטַן).

11. *Hasten, or do quickly* ii. 18, x. 16, xii. 33, xxxiv. 8, Gen. xviii. 6 *bis*, 7,

xix. 22, xxiv. 18, 20, 46, xxvii. 20, xliii. 30, xliv. 11, [xlv. 9, 13 doubtful,] Josh. iv. 10, viii. 14, 19. Once in E, Gen. xli. 32, but perhaps also xlv. 9, 13.

12. *Intreat* (עָתָר) viii. 8, 9, 28, 29, 30 [Heb. viii. 4, 5, 24, 25, 26] ix. 28, x. 17, Gen. xxv. 21 *bis* *.

13. *I pray thee my Lord* (יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי or בִּי אֱלֹהֵי) iv. 10, 13, Gen. xliii. 20, xliv. 18, Num. xii. 11, Josh. vii. 8 *.

14. *Maid-servant* (הַשִּׁפְחָה) xi. 5, Gen. (16 times). E uses the word in Gen. xx. 14, xxx. 18, but prefers 'āmāh to *shiphhāh*. See below.

15. *Mercy and truth*, or *kindly and truly* (חַסְדִּים וְאֱמֻנָה) xxxiv. 6, Gen. xxiv. 27, 49, xxxii. 10, xlvii. 29, Josh. ii. 14 *.

16. *Now*, or *this once, this time* (עַתָּה) ix. 27, x. 17, Gen. ii. 23, xviii. 32, xxix. 34, 35, xlvi. 30 *.

17. *Thy servant(s)*, as a polite periphrasis for the personal pronoun, iv. 10, v. 15, 16, Gen. (27 times, 14 in ch. xlv.), Num. xi. 11, Josh. ix. 9, x. 6. In E it is rare; Gen. xlii. 10, 11 is perhaps the only instance.

18. *Sinai* is the name given to the sacred mountain by J and P; E and D use 'Horeb.'

19. *Spread abroad*, or *break forth* (פָּרַץ) i. 12, xix. 22, 24, Gen. xxviii. 14, xxx. 30, 43, xxxviii. 29 *.

20. *Three days' journey* iii. 18, v. 3, viii. 27, Gen. xxx. 36, Num. x. 33. Once in P, Num. xxxiii. 8 †.

21. *Yahweh, God of the Hebrews* iii. 18, v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3 †.

E has also a few distinctive expressions :

1. Prior to the revelation of the divine name in iii. 14, E consistently writes *Elohim*; but afterwards he uses both *Elohim* and *Yahweh*. His use of the former, however, in Exodus is not indiscriminate. He preserves the three quasi-technical terms 'Angel of Elohim' (xiv. 19), 'staff of Elohim' (xvii. 9), 'mountain of Elohim' (iii. 1, iv. 27, xviii. 5, xxiv. 13). Otherwise the name is confined to particular narratives; although himself using the name 'Yahweh' after iii. 14, the writer probably derived these narratives from an earlier Elohistic source. These are (1) the account of the Exodus xiii. 17—19; (2) the story of Jethro's visit and advice xviii. 1 a, 5, 6, 12—27; (3) the description of the Theophany, see xix. 3 a, 17, 19, xx. 18—21. And besides these passages, 'Elohim' is used in a later stratum of E in connexion with the Decalogue xx. 1, xxxii. 16.

2. *Bondwoman* (הַמְדָּה) ii. 5, xx. 10, 17, xxi. 7, 20, 26, 27, 32, xxiii. 12, Gen. xx. 17, xxi. 10 *bis*, 12, 13, xxx. 3, xxxi. 33. Also six times in Dt. and thrice in P, Lev. xxv. 6, 44 *bis*. See no. 14 above.

3. *Horeb* iii. 1, xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6. See no. 18 above.

4. *Jethro* iii. 1, iv. 18 *bis*, xviii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12 †. The name of Moses' father-in-law in J appears to be Hōbab.

5. *Master*, or *owner* (עָלִי in various idioms, e.g. 'he that hath a cause'; also with reference to marriage and property) xxi. 3, 22, 28, 29 *bis*, 34 *bis*, 36, xxii. 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, xxiv. 14, Gen. xx. 3, xxxvii. 19, Num. xxi. 28, xxv. 3, 5, Josh. xxiv. 11. Also in an early poem Gen. xlix. 23, and in a late passage

of unknown origin Gen. xiv. 13, and three times in Dt. But the word is never found in J or P (Lev. xxi. 4 is corrupt) *.

6. *Matter, cause, subject of dispute* (רָבַרַב) xviii. 16, 19, 22 *bis*, 26 *bis*, xxii. 9 *bis*, xxiii. 7, xxiv. 14. Also in D, Dt. i. 17, xvii. 8 *bis*, xix. 15, xxii. 26 *.

7. *Prove, test* (הִפְסִיחַ of God testing man) xv. 25, xvi. 4, xx. 20, Gen. xxii. 1, Dt. xxxiii. 8. Also in D, Dt. iv. 34, viii. 2, 16, xiii. 3.

8. *Speak with* (דַּבַּר עִם) xix. 9, xx. 19 *bis*, 22, xxxiii. 9, Gen. xxxi. 24, 29, Num. xi. 17, xxii. 19, Josh. xxiv. 27. Once in J, Gen. xxix. 9, and twice in Dt.—v. 4, ix. 10 *.

9. It has been noticed that E not infrequently employs infinitives of peculiar formation: ii. 4 (לְרַעַה), xviii. 18 (עֲשֵׂוּ), Gen. xxxi. 28, i. 20 (עֲשֵׂה), xlvi. 3 (מְרַרְהוּ), xlviii. 11 (רְאוּהוּ), Num. xx. 21 (נָתַן), xxii. 13 (לְהַלְכֶם), so 14, 16.

This is not the place for an exhaustive study of the various writings which make up the book of Exodus; an exhaustive study must comprise an examination of the whole of the Hexateuch. And the same is true of any attempt to decide upon their exact dates. The latter question is touched upon in the analysis (p. xii.); but the reader is referred to Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the O.T.* (now in its seventh edition), or the very full study of the subject in the *Oxford Hexateuch*, vol. i., by J. E. Carpenter (ed. 2, under the title *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, 1902). See also art. *Hexateuch* in *DB* ii.

It is not difficult to see the reason for the extraordinary complexity of the book. Since in all ages of Israelite history every civil and religious institution (except the ideal scheme of Ez. xl.—xlviii.) was referred to the authority of Moses, every successive age found it necessary to manipulate the records. They ascribed the origins of their social and ceremonial law to some period in the life of their great founder—either on the eve of the Exodus (Ex. xii., xiii.), or during the wanderings (Num. xv. and onwards), or when the Israelites were on the borders of Canaan (Dt.), or, above all, the days when they were encamped at the sacred mountain (Ex. xx. and onwards, Lev., Num. i.—x.). The literary problems of Exodus are perhaps more difficult than those of any other part of the Hexateuch. But though differences of opinion still remain with regard to a large number of details—and, with our limited knowledge of ancient times, some must always remain—yet in respect of the main outlines there exists a remarkable consensus of critical opinion.

Before entering further upon the study of the book, a problem of a wholly different kind claims our attention. It was the opinion universally held among Jews and Christians in Apostolic times that Moses was the *author* of the Pentateuch. And not only so, but our

Lord Himself frequently spoke in such a way as to indicate that He held the same opinion: see Mat. viii. 4 (= Mk. i. 44, Lk. v. 14), xix. 8 (= Mk. x. 3, 5), xxiii. 2, Mk. vii. 10, xii. 26 (= Lk. xx. 37), Lk. xvi. 29, 31, Jn. v. 45—47, vii. 19, 22, 23. This fact is thought by some to cut away the ground from the critical arguments which go to prove that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch as it stands, and, indeed, that the greater part of it—both law and narrative—is in its present form considerably later than the age of Moses. But if there is overwhelming evidence that the Pentateuch, and the laws contained in it, are the result of a long growth, which was not completed until a period after the return of the Jews from exile, it is impossible for us to shut our eyes to this evidence which God's Holy Spirit has recently taught His children to appreciate, because of the assumption (for it is only an assumption) that our Lord's use of the name of Moses precludes further argument. An explanation sometimes given is that Jesus must have known the exact truth about the authorship of the Pentateuch, but that He accommodated His teaching to the capabilities of His hearers; He made a concession to the ignorance of the Jews in His day. But to many theologians this solution seems untenable, because it detracts from the complete humanity of our Lord. If, as man, He had a full knowledge of the results which modern study has reached with regard to the literary problems of the Old Testament, He must also, as man, have had a full knowledge of all future results, in every branch of human thought, which will be reached by the study of generations to come. The exact truth about the authorship of the Pentateuch was not a spiritual verity, the revealing of which would bear upon the salvation of men's souls or upon their moral life and conduct; it was merely an item of literary interest—one of many which have not been investigated till modern times. And if, as man, our Lord was acquainted with the modern critical theories, we cannot hesitate to conclude that, as man, He was omniscient. But this conflicts alike with our conception of complete manhood, and with the explicit declaration that He 'advanced in wisdom' (Lk. ii. 52); moreover He could manifest surprise (Mat. viii. 10, Mk. vi. 6); and on one occasion He is reported to have spoken of something which 'no one knoweth, nor the angels of heaven, *nor the Son*, but the Father only' (Mat. xxiv. 36, Mk. xiii. 32). He was subject, therefore, to the ordinary limitations of manhood, and although the perfection of His manhood gave Him, in a measure beyond all other men, a power of communion with the Father and insight into the Father's truth and purposes, yet it seems unnecessary

to extend this to mere critical questions which ordinary human methods can solve. The problem is part of a larger one, that of determining to what extent, or in what sense, His divine powers and prerogatives were in abeyance during His earthly life,—how much is involved in S. Paul's *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* ('He emptied Himself' Phil. ii. 7). Although fully and completely Man, He did not cease to be God, and He did not cease to be conscious of His divinity. 'It is this continuous self-consciousness of the Son of God that gives the true measure of His transcendent humility¹.' With respect to His knowledge we can venture the statement that though, as God, He never ceased to be omniscient, yet *He refused to know*, as Man, anything which could not be learnt by human means. But when we have said that, we have only enunciated and not solved the problem. This is not the place to pursue the matter further. But there can be no doubt that it is along this line of thought that we must move to justify modern criticism in denying to Moses the authorship of the Pentateuch which our Lord and His apostles ascribed to him.

§ 2. *Analysis.*

By a study of the linguistic features of the several documents, such as are indicated on pp. iii.—ix., and of discrepancies and distinctive elements in the narratives, much may be done towards analysing the book into its component parts. The nature of the present commentary forbids an elaborate justification for each detail in the process. Such writers as Driver, Addis, Briggs, Bacon, Carpenter and Battersby, in English, and Wellhausen, Kuenen, Budde, Holzinger, Baentsch, in German—and many others—have contributed towards the building up of the conclusions which are here arrived at. And it would require a volume to discuss in full all the minute criteria upon which the conclusions depend. It is impossible to do more than briefly to point out the main features of each chapter and section which necessitate the assignment of passages to this or that source; but it is hoped that enough will be said to justify the division even of verses and parts of verses. The separation of the several pieces of which the books of the Hexateuch have been formed, cannot, in some cases, be otherwise than tentative. In many passages more than one explanation can be given which appear to account for the phenomena. But that should not prevent each successive student of the books from making provisional

¹ Gifford, *The Incarnation*, p. 90.

attempts at analysis, which may contribute towards the better understanding of them.

There are several redactional passages in Exodus—glosses, editorial formulas and the like—which cannot be assigned to any of the three main sources J, E or P, and which appear to belong to many different dates. These are here grouped under three symbols: (1) R^P denotes those which are distinctively ‘priestly’ in tone or language, or which appear on other grounds to be very late; (2) R^D, those which are ‘deuteronomic’ in tone or language; (3) R^{J^E} those which fall under neither of these heads, and which amplify, or are embedded in, J, E or E₂.

A discussion of the dates of these various sources belongs to a critical Introduction to the Hexateuch rather than to a commentary; but it may be of advantage to indicate *approximately* the chronological relations between them:

J	850—750 B.C.	P	500—450
E	800—750	P ₂	} 450—300
E ₂	750—700	P ₃	
R ^{J^E}	750—650	R ^P	
R ^D	600—550		

CHAPTERS I.—xviii. *Events in Egypt, and the journey to Sinai.*

i.—ii. 22. *The early life of Moses.*

Ch. i. combines the accounts from J and E of Pharaoh's tyranny. 6 is J's statement of Joseph's death, which E has related in Gen. I. 26. 8—12, 14*a*, 20*b*, 22 describe a state of things in which the Israelites were numerous enough to call forth public measures of oppression. But in 15—20*a*, 21 Pharaoh deals secretly, and the Israelites are so few in number that their midwives can be mentioned by name. The former passages have linguistic marks of J ('mighty' (9, 10), 'it shall come to pass when' (10), 'spread abroad' (12)); and the latter of E ('Elohim' (17, 20, 21), 'feared Elohim' (17)). ii. 1—10 have characteristics of E (e.g. 'āmāh 'maidservant' for which J uses *shiphḥāh*; and see note on v. 1), and 11—22 of J (e.g. 'come so soon' [lit. 'hastened to come'] (18), 'where is he?', 'why is it?' (20)).

The remaining verses in the section are the work of P. i. 1—5 is a genealogical list, dear to the heart of the priestly school, bridging the gap between the patriarchal narratives in Genesis and the tribal history which begins in Exodus. 'Souls' = 'persons' (5) occurs nearly 100 times in P. 7, 'were fruitful and multiplied,' 'increased' [Heb.

'swarmed'], and 'exceeding' [רָבַרְבַּר מְאֹד] are almost confined to P and Ezekiel. 13, 14*b*, 'rigour' is found elsewhere only in Lev. and Ezek., and 13 appears to be a doublet of 14*a*.

Analysis of i.—ii. 22.

J	6	8—12	14 <i>a</i>	20 <i>b</i>	22	ii. 11—22
E				15—20 <i>a</i>	21	ii. 1—10
P	i. 1—5	7	13			
R ^p			14 <i>b</i>			

ii. 23—vii. 13. *The call of Moses.*

ii. 23*a* stands in a curiously isolated position. LXX repeats it before iv. 19; and there are reasons for believing that iv. 19, 20*a* and 24—26 originally stood here—1st, Moses has already been told to go to Egypt and deliver Israel, and it is strange after that to find the command 'Go, return into Egypt,' followed by the simple reason 'for all the men are dead which sought thy life'; 2nd, it is scarcely conceivable that the writer could relate that Yahweh 'sought to kill him' *after* giving him his great commission. 23*b*—25 anticipate iii. 7 (J), and must be assigned to P; 'remembered His covenant' is characteristic of P, and the words for 'sighed' (not earlier than Ezek.), 'cried,' 'their cry,' 'their groaning,' do not occur in JE. iii. 1. The names 'Jethro,' 'Elohim,' 'Horeb,' assign the verse to E. 2—4*a*. The name 'Yahweh' suddenly takes the place of 'Elohim'; the verses must be from J. [In 4*a* Heb. has 'and Yahweh saw,' and in 4*b*, 'and Elohim called'; there is nothing to prevent 4*b* from being the sequel of 1.] 4*b*. 'Elohim' is characteristic of E; and the incident is referred to in Dt. xxxiii. 16, which appears to be of Ephraimite origin. With the repeated name 'Moses, Moses' cf. Gen. xxii. 11, xlvi. 2 (both E). [E has not yet mentioned the bush; but the Heb. idiom allows of the rendering 'out of the midst of a bush.'] 5 is uncertain; but the command 'draw not nigh hither' seems to be connected with 'turned aside to see' (4*a*); and the repetition 'and He said' [not as R.V. 'moreover'] appears to separate 5 from 6; 5 is therefore assigned to J. 6. 'Elohim' marks it as E. 7, 8*a* contain features of J ('Yahweh,' 'taskmasters,' 'come down' as used of Yahweh), and are duplicated in 9, 10. 8*b* is probably a Deut. expansion; see note. 9—14 are from E; 'Elohim' is used five times. 15. In 13 Moses already knows the message that he must give to the people; and the command in 15, with its connecting link 'moreover,' looks like the work of a redactor who made use of 16. 16—18 J.

The verses are similar to 7, 8; and the expression 'Yahweh the God of the Hebrews' occurs eight times, and 'three days' journey' six times, in J, but never in E. 17*b* probably contains a Deut. expansion, similar to 8. 19, 20 contain marks both of J and E. This fact and the very early reference to the long series of plagues make it probable that the verses are a later expansion. In vi. 1, on which 19 appears to be based, the expression 'now thou shalt see' implies that Yahweh has as yet told Moses nothing about the plagues. 21, 22 are in accordance with E's tradition which placed the Israelites among the Egyptians and not separate in Goshen.

iv. 1—12. The name Yahweh assigns the *vv.* to J; and in 1 Moses refers to Yahweh's words in iii. 18. 13—16 are clearly intended to be the sequel of 10—12, and cannot be assigned to E. But the view is being more and more widely adopted that in the original narrative of J, Aaron played no leading part in the deliverance from Egypt (see p. 28 and the notes on the present passage). The *vv.* appear to be a later addition, influenced by 27, 28.

17, 18 E. The staff, as elsewhere in E, is a divine and wonder-working gift which he usually calls 'the staff of Elohim,' as in 20*b*. 19, 20*a* J. To be placed, together with 24—26, after ii. 23*a* (see above). 21—23 R. The *vv.* are premature even more certainly than iii. 19*f*. Nothing has yet been said of any wonders to be performed *before Pharaoh*. 21 anticipates the whole story of the first nine plagues, and 22, 23 the story of the last plague; and the message to be given to Pharaoh (22) is never delivered. 24—26 J; see above. 27, 28. The prominent position of Aaron in the narrative, and the expression 'the mountain of Elohim,' assign the *vv.* to E. (Notice that after the revelation of the divine name in iii. 14 E frequently uses the name 'Yahweh'; but J never employs the title Elohim.) 29—31 J; the fulfilment of the commands in iii. 16, iv. 2—9. The insertion of Aaron's name is redactional.

v. 1, 2 may be assigned to E, since 3, which is certainly from J (cf. iii. 18), is a doublet of 1. Similarly 4 is probably from E, because it is duplicated in 5; and 5—23 appear to be all of one piece, with linguistic marks of J; notice also that 8*b* ('sacrifice to our God') refers to the demand in 3.

vi. 1 has no distinctive characteristics of language. But it is simplest to take it as Yahweh's answer to Moses' complaint in the two preceding *vv.*, and to assign it to J.

2—12 P. The *vv.* cover the same ground as iii.—vi. 1, and are full of priestly phraseology. [The expression 'I am Yahweh' is very frequent in the 'Holiness' laws, and Driver assigns 6—8 to the same

source. But the words may only be an impressive repetition of the revelation in 2; the *vv.* contain no other marks which are clearly distinctive of H.]

13, 28—30 appear to be a redactional summing up of the preceding narrative of P,—13 covering the ground of 2—6, and 28—30 of 10—12. 14—27 are inserted very awkwardly by a still later priestly hand. vii. 1—13 are full of the characteristics of P. In iv. 3 (J) the staff became a serpent (*nāhāsh*), and the sign was for the persuasion of the Israelites; here it becomes a reptile (*tannin*), and the sign is performed before Pharaoh.

Analysis of ii. 23—vii. 13.

J	ii. 23a	[iv. 19, 20a, 24—26]	2—4a	5 7, 8a	16—18	iv. 1—12	
E			iii. 1	4b 6	9—14	21, 22	17, 18
P	23b—25						
R			R ^D 8b	R ^J 15	R ^D 17b	R ^J 19, 20	13—16

J	19, 20a	24—26	29—31	3 5—vi. 1		
E	20b	27, 28	v. 1, 2 4			
P					2—12	vii. 1—13
R	R ^J 21—23				R ^P 13—30	

vii. 14—xi. *The first nine signs.*

The division of the documents in the narratives of the plagues depends mainly upon differences in the historical representation. These are indicated on pp. 44—46, and need not be detailed here. P has some distinctive phrases—e.g. ‘say unto Aaron,’ vii. 9, 19, viii. 5, 16; ‘land of Egypt,’ vii. 19, 21 *b*, viii. 5—7, 16 *f.*, ix. 9 *a*, xii. 1, 12, 17, 41, 51; Pharaoh’s heart was ‘strong,’ vii. 13, 22, viii. 19, ix. 12 [so also in E ix. 35, x. 20, 27]; ‘he hearkened not as Yahweh had spoken,’ vii. 13, 22, viii. 15, 19, ix. 12. And there are many other characteristic words and expressions. Among the distinctive features of J are to be noticed: Pharaoh ‘refuses to let the people go,’ vii. 14, viii. 2, ix. 2, x. 4; ‘Yahweh the God of the Hebrews,’ vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3; ‘let my people go that they may serve me,’ vii. 16, viii. 1, 20, ix. 1, 13, x. 3; ‘thus saith Yahweh...[Behold] I will...,’ vii. 17, viii. 1 *f.*, 20 *f.*, ix. 13 *f.*, 18, x. 3 *f.*; ‘intreat Yahweh,’ viii. 8, 28, ix. 28, x. 17; marks of time—‘to-morrow,’ viii. 10, 23, 29, ix. 5, x. 4; unheard-of character of the infliction, ix. 18, 24 *b*, x. 6 *b*, 14, xi. 6; Pharaoh’s heart was ‘stubborn,’ vii. 14, viii. 15, 32, ix. 7, 34 (see *Oxf. Hex.* ii. p. 89).

First sign. vii. 14—25. Moses' use of the staff assigns vii. 15, 17 *b*, 20 *b* to E (in 17 *b* 'I will smite' are the words of Moses, for it cannot be supposed that the writer represented Yahweh as Himself wielding the rod), and 23 is a doublet of 22 *b*, and may be assigned to E because it attaches itself to 20 *b* better than to 21 *a*. In 19, 20 *a*, 21 *b*, 22, the heightening of the miracle and the distinctive expressions point to P. In the remaining *vv.*, 14, 16, 17 *a*, 18, 21 *a*, 24, 25, there is J's conception of the sign, which is different from either of the others.

Second sign. viii. 1—15. The magicians, the action of Aaron at Moses' bidding, and the closing formula, shew that 5—7, 15 *b* are from P. The remainder, 1—4, 8—15 *a*, has clear marks of J.

Third sign. viii. 16—19 are complete from the hand of P with the same characteristics as in the preceding sign.

Fourth sign. viii. 20—32. 'Goshen,' Pharaoh's heart 'stubborn,' the plague sent by Yahweh without the action of Moses or Aaron, point to J.

Fifth sign. ix. 1—7 J. The characteristic features are the same as in the preceding sign.

Sixth sign. ix. 8—12 P. Similar to the third sign.

Seventh sign. ix. 13—35 are composite. 22, 23 *a*, 24 *a*, 25 *a*, 35 belong to E, for Moses stretches out his hand with the staff (22, 23 *a*); and the beasts are smitten (25 *a*), whereas in J 'all the cattle of Egypt died' in a previous plague (*v.* 6); 23 *a* and *b* are doublets, the former mentioning hail and fire, the latter only hail; 24 *a* 'hail and fire' continues 23 *a*, while 24 *b* mentions the unheard-of character of the plague which is a feature of J; 34 and 35 are doublets—in the former Pharaoh's heart is 'stubborn,' in the latter 'strong.' 19—21 are probably late; the mention of cattle shews that they are not from J; and if they are from E, a previous passage introducing the plague in E must have been lost; but in no other case does E relate that Pharaoh received warning of the plague. The *vv.* are from the hand of one who took the opportunity to press the moral lesson of obedience to Yahweh. The remaining *vv.*, 13—18, 23 *b*, 24 *b*, 25 *b*—34, are from J, with many of his characteristics.

Eighth sign. x. 1—20. 1 *b*, 2 are in the hortatory style of Dt., with its care for the teaching of posterity; and their insertion has disturbed the original narrative; for Yahweh's message which Moses is to give to Pharaoh is lost. Notice also that though Moses and Aaron go in (3), only Moses goes out from Pharaoh's presence (6). 1 *a*, 3—11 are from J (except the mention of Aaron); E never relates the

previous warning of Pharaoh. In 12, 13 *a* Moses' staff is mentioned, 14 *a* is based on 12 (R.V. has 'went up,' but the verb is the same as in 12, 'came up'), and also 15 *b* which is itself a doublet of 15 *c*; in 20 Pharaoh's heart is made 'strong.' These *vv.* therefore contain E's account. The remaining *vv.*, 13 *b*, 14 *b*, 15 *a*, 15 *c*—19, are from J; Yahweh brings the plague by an East wind; 14 *b* is based on 6, and 15 *a* on 5; 15 *c* is a doublet of 15 *b*, and has 'herb of the field' (cf. Gen. ii. 5, iii. 18, Ex. ix. 25 *b*) instead of E's 'herb of the land'; 16—19 relate, as usual in J, that the plague was removed at Moses' intercession.

Ninth sign. x. 21—27. 21—23, 27 are from E, for Moses stretches out his hand (*sc.* with the staff; cf. 12, 13 *a*, ix. 22, 23 *a*); 'one another' (23, lit. 'each man his brother') is more frequent in E than in J; and Yahweh made Pharaoh's heart 'strong' (27). J's account of the plague was lost when it was amalgamated with E; but the sequel, in 24—26, 28, 29, is his, for he alone gives the colloquies between Moses and Pharaoh, and the words rendered 'be stayed' and 'little ones' are frequent in J but absent from E, and 'cattle' (רֶבֶד) occurs 33 times in J and once only in E.

Immediate sequel of the ninth sign. xi. 1—3, which represent the Israelite women as being 'neighbours' of the Egyptians, are from E. They interrupt J's account of Moses' interview with Pharaoh. In 4—8 the opening words, 'And Moses said,' shew that he is still in the king's presence, otherwise he breaks his promise of not seeing Pharaoh's face again. 'Maidservant,' *shiphhāh* (5) and 'cry,' *ze'ākāh* (6), are characteristic of J. 9, 10 read like an editorial summary of the stories of the plagues.

Analysis of vii. 14—xi.

J	vii. 14	16, 17 <i>a</i>	18	21 <i>a</i>	24, 25	viii. 1—4	8—15 <i>a</i>
E		15	17 <i>b</i>	20 <i>b</i>	23		
P			19, 20 <i>a</i>	21 <i>b</i> , 22		5—7	
R							

J	20—32	ix. 1—7	13—18	23 <i>b</i>	24 <i>b</i>	25 <i>b</i> —34
E				22, 23 <i>a</i>	24 <i>a</i>	25 <i>a</i>
P	15 <i>b</i> —19	8—12				35
R			R ^J 19—21			

J	x. 1 <i>a</i>	3—11	13 <i>b</i>	14 <i>b</i> , 15 <i>a</i>	15 <i>c</i> —19	24—26	28, 29	4—8
E		12, 13 <i>a</i>	14 <i>a</i>	15 <i>b</i>	20—23	27	xi. 1—3	
P								
R	R ^D 1 <i>b</i> , 2							R ^J 9, 10

xii.—xiii. 16. *Passover. Mazzoth (Unleavened Cakes). Dedication of firstborn. The departure.*

Each of the four subjects in this section is duplicated. (1) When Moses delivers the injunctions for the Passover, in xii. 21—27, they differ materially from those which are given to him by Yahweh in 1—13. (2) Moses omits, in xiii. 3—10, some of the details for the Festival of Mazzoth which he is given in xii. 14—20. (3) In xiii. 1 the command is given to sacrifice *all* the firstborn; but in xiii. 11—16 Moses makes very important exceptions. (4) In xii. 29—34, 37—39 the departure from Egypt is made in such haste that the people have no time to leaven their dough. But in 35, 36 (see, however, note *in loc.*) they have such warning of their departure that the women can get silver and gold from their neighbours. Moreover 34, 39 clearly imply that the people would have leavened their dough if time had permitted, while in 14 ff. they had just received special injunctions not to do so.

xii. 1—13, 14—20. These sections, on Passover and Mazzoth respectively, are full of words and expressions characteristic of P, as are also 24, 28. The regulations in 21—23 are much more primitive than those of P; and (since 21*a*, 27*b* are similar to iii. 16, iv. 29, 31, and the wording of 27*b* is peculiar to J) these *v.* may be considered as J's account of the Passover. 25—27*a* are an exhortation in the style of Dt., and are probably a later expansion. 29—34, 37—39 contain linguistic features of J ('cry,' 'flocks and herds,' 'in haste,' 'before (טָרַם) it was leavened'). 35, 36 E are connected with iii. 21, 22, and conflict with the hasty departure described in J's narrative. 40—42 with their exactness of date, and linguistic peculiarities of P, read like a late editorial note by a priestly hand; and 51 is of a similar character. 43—50 are full of characteristics of P. xiii. 1, 2 contain P's regulation relative to the firstborn. Sanctification, i.e. consecration, is a leading note in P; and the idiom '*both* of man *and* of beasts' (אֵלֶּיךָ...אֵלֶּיךָ) is confined to priestly writings. 3—10 are largely marked by Deuteronomic thought and expression; notice the perfect tenses in 3, 'ye *came*,' 'Yahweh *brought* you,' which shew that the *v.* is a later addition. It is probable that J originally had 'And Moses said unto the people,' followed by 4, 6, 7, 10, containing the bare commands for the Festival of Mazzoth. (In 10 Heb. has simply '*and thou shalt keep...*') Similarly 11—13 contain J's ordinances with regard to firstlings (which must be studied in connexion with xxxiv. 18—20), and 14—16 are a Deuteronomic addition of the same character as xii. 25—27*a*.

Analysis of xii.—xiii. 16.

J	21—23	27 ^b 29—34	37—39
E			35, 36
P xii. 1—13	14—20	24	28
R		R ^p 25—27 ^a	R ^p 40—42 51
			43—50

J	3 ^a 4	6, 7	10—13
E			
P xiii. 1, 2			
R	R ^p 3 ^b 5	8, 9	14—16

xiii. 17—xv. 21. The journeyings begun. The crossing of the water.

The narratives of J and P in this section have been preserved almost entire. E's story must have been closely parallel to that of J, so that little of it that is distinctive has survived.

xiii. 17—19 are from E; 'Elohim' occurs four times; and the carrying of Joseph's mummy would be of interest to a writer with Ephraimite sympathies. 20 is the first item of the detailed itinerary of P (cf. xvii. 1, xix. 2), which is collected in a continuous passage in Num. xxxiii. 21, 22. A study of xiv. 19, and of E's representation of the pillar of cloud elsewhere, shews that these *vv.* are from J.

xiv. 1—4 are assigned to P by the phraseology; 'over against' is found in Ezek. only, 'entangled' in Joel and Est. only, and almost every clause in 4 is characteristic of P. 5. The expression 'what is this we have done' is never found in P; 'and the people were fled' is in agreement with J's narrative (xii. 39) of the haste with which they departed. The composition of 6, 7 is doubtful; but the two first clauses of 7 cannot be from the same hand, for if Pharaoh took *all* the chariots of Egypt, he did not select 600. 6 may perhaps belong to J, who has the same verb 'made ready' (lit. 'bound') in Gen. xlvi. 29; and 'his people' sounds like a description of the entire army, with which 'all the chariots of Eg.' in 7^b agrees. In that case 7^a, *c* are from E. 8, 9 are from P; Yahweh 'made strong' the heart of Pharaoh; 'an high hand,' cf. Num. xv. 30, xxxiii. 3 (both P). But 9^b 'all the horses...and his army' stands, in the Heb., very awkwardly after 'the sea,' without grammatical connexion with the sentence; it is probably a later addition. 10^a (to 'sore afraid') may be either from J or E; not from P who never uses the expression 'lift up the eyes.' In 10^b

the people cried to Yahweh, but in 11 they murmured against Moses. The former may be from E; cf. Jos. xxiv. 7. 11—14 may then be assigned to J; 'Yahweh shall fight for you,' cf. 25; and the word rendered 'hold ye your peace' is found in Gen. xxiv. 21, xxxiv. 5 (both J). 15*a* can only be explained as implied in 10*b*, and is therefore from E; cf. xvii. 4. 15*b*, 16*b*—18 have marks of P ('And I, behold, I'; 'make *strong* the hearts'; 'shall know that I am Yahweh'). 16*a* ('thy staff') is from E. In 19*a* the 'Angel of Elohim' removed, which must be from E. And thus 19*b* 'the pillar of cloud removed' must be assigned to J. (Notice that the conceptions of the pillar of cloud in J and E are different; see note.) 20 is difficult, and probably corrupt (see note). 21*a* (to 'over the sea') is from P, in accordance with 16*b*. 21*b* (to 'dry land') is shewn to be from J by the characteristic mention of the wind sent by Yahweh. 21*c*—23 contain the miraculous account by P. 24 'the pillar of fire and cloud' connects the *v.* with 19*b* and xiii. 21, 22; and the word rendered 'look forth' is not found in E. 26, 27*a* are connected with P's account in 16*b*, 21*a*, and imply that the waters returned miraculously at once. 27*b*. The waters returned next morning in the ordinary course of nature. The fleeing of the Egyptians agrees with 25*b*, and the personal action of Yahweh is characteristic of J throughout the story. 28*a* is a doublet of 27*b*; and the idiom 'even all (לכל) the host' is peculiar to P. 28*b* 'there remained not one' is peculiar to J, occurring six times in his writings. 29 is a repetition of 22, in a very isolated position; it must be by a later hand. 30 'dead upon the seashore' agrees with J's narrative, rather than with that of P in which the Egyptians were overwhelmed in the midst of the sea. 31 appears to be redactional; the use of 'hand' (R.V. 'work') is found, in the Hex., in Dt. xxxiv. 12 only; and 'servant' applied to Moses is unexampled in JE, but frequent in the Deuteronomic parts of Joshua.

xv. 1 appears to be J's statement of which E's equivalent is given in 21. 2—18. The remainder of the song is a product of the exile (see notes). 19 is by a writer later than the psalm, who explains its significance. 20, 21. The mention of Aaron and his sister Miriam assigns the *vv.* to E (cf. ii. 4 ff., and note on iv. 29).

Analysis of xiii. 17—xv. 21.

J	21, 22	5, 6	7b	11—14			
				JE 10a			
E xiii. 17—19			7a, c	10b	15a	16a	19a
P	20	xiv. 1—4		8, 9a, c	15b	16b—18	
R				R ^p 9b			
J 19b	21b	24, 25	27b	28b	30	xv. 1	
JE 20							
E							20, 21
P	21a	21c—23	26, 27a	28a			
Psalm						xv. 2—18	
R				R ^p 29	R ^D 31	R ^p 19	

*xv. 22—xviii. From the Red Sea to Sinai.**xv. 22—27. Marah and Elim.*

22—25a. The 'three days' is characteristic of J; also the idiom rendered 'therefore the name of it was called.' 27. 'Spring' [lit. 'eye'] occurs eleven times in J, but never in E; the *v.* is J's continuation of the narrative of the journey. 25b has no apparent connexion with the incident. It is uncertain whether Yahweh or Moses is the subject of the verbs; and it is not stated what the statute and ordinance was (LXX has 'statutes and ordinances'), nor how the people were proved. But in xvi. 4 Yahweh says that He will prove the people by raining bread from heaven. And since E relates that God 'proved' Abraham (Gen. xxii. 1) and Israel (Ex. xx. 20; cf. Dt. xxxiii. 8), it is plausible to assign both 25b and xvi. 4 to E. And with them may be coupled xvi. 15, which is earlier than the rest of the manna narrative (see below). The suggestion has been made that these three passages are fragments of the story by which E explained the name Massah. See further on xvii. 1—7. 26 supplies no explanation of 25b, nor does it appear to be connected with the Marah incident; it is hortatory and Deuteronomic in tone, and is probably a later addition. Bacon conjectures that it is an explanation of the name Rephidim (*rāphāh* = 'heal').

xvi. *Manna and Quails.* The whole chapter, with the exception of 4 and 15, shews strong indications of priestly workmanship. In 4 Heb. has 'And Yahweh said'—not, as R.V., 'Then said the Lord,' which appears to connect the *v.* closely with the preceding. The verb 'rain' [Hiphil, i.e. 'cause to rain'] is found 5 times elsewhere in JE, but not in P. The words 'that I may prove them' are probably to be connected with 'there He proved them' in xv. 25 (see above).

In 15 the statement that the Israelites 'knew not what it was' must have been earlier than P, for it is reproduced, together with the proving of the people, in Dt. viii. 3, 16.

6, 7. Moses and Aaron assured the people that signs of Yahweh's power would be given 'at even' and 'in the morning'; but it is not till 11, 12 that Moses learnt this from Yahweh. 6, 7 must therefore follow 11, 12. And 8, which is an echo of 6, 7, is probably the work of a redactor, who found 6, 7 thus misplaced, and added an explanation of the words 'at even' and 'in the morning.' But P's narrative requires study as a whole. In Num. xi. it is related that after the departure from Sinai the people were dissatisfied with the manna. The verbs in vv. 8, 9 of that ch., being in the imperfect tense, describe what had been the usual procedure; the manna is mentioned as a phenomenon which had been in existence long enough for the people to have grown weary of it; and v. 6 would certainly imply that no flesh had previously been given as food. The people having murmured for flesh, Yahweh sent a wind which brought quails. This is allowed by most critics to be a story from J; though some see the hand of E in vv. 7—9 and 31—35. And it would not be surprising that P should also have a parallel narrative of quails at that point. But a compiler who had both before him, instead of placing them side by side, or omitting one of them, combined P's quail story with his manna story before the arrival at Sinai. But further, an examination of P's manna story in the present ch. shews that it also belongs to a time after the scenes at Sinai. [The pot of manna is laid up 'before Yahweh' (33)—'before the Testimony' (34), i.e. in front of the ark containing the tablets of the decalogue; but neither ark nor decalogue was in existence before the arrival at Sinai. Again 'the glory of Yahweh' and 'the cloud' (10) do not, in P, appear till the completion of the tabernacle¹ (xl. 34 f.), except on the top of the mountain (xxiv. 15—18). And 'come near before Yahweh' (9) seems to imply the existence of a sanctuary.] And it is difficult to see what could have led a compiler to transplant the story, unless a manna story from an earlier source already stood at this point before Sinai was reached².

22—30 are marked by priestly vocabulary, but they cannot be by the same hand as the rest of the narrative; for, 1st, the Sabbath

¹ In v. 10 'the Dwelling' must be read for 'the wilderness': see note.

² Gray (*Numbers*, p. 101) denies the presence in this chapter of other elements than P; but he does not support his contention.

regulation is known in *v.* 5, but is here enjoined as a result of the miracle in 22 (see note); and, 2nd, in 31 *a* 'the name thereof' has nothing to refer to; the *v.* was the natural continuation of 21, before the insertion of 22—30.

xvii. 1—7. *Meribah, Massah.* There is here no trace of P, except in 1 *a* (to 'Rephidim'), which is part of his itinerary (cf. xiii. 20), and is entirely composed of his characteristic phraseology.

It is strange that in 7 Moses gives two names to one spot, in reference to one incident. But in Dt. xxxiii. 8 Massah and Meribah are clearly distinguished; in Dt. vi. 16, ix. 22 Massah is mentioned alone; and the double name is nowhere else found. In Num. xx. occurs another story in which the name Meribah is connected with the obtaining of water from the rock; and critics are largely agreed in thinking that it is a combination of J and P. Thus it is natural to assign the Meribah story in the present passage to E, which is borne out by 'the staff' and 'Horeb' in 5, 6. But another narrative has been combined with this. 3 is a doublet of 1 *b*, 2 *a*; and the double question asked by Moses (in 2), 'Why tempt ye Yahweh?', 'Why strive ye with me?' is evidently the result of the juxtaposition (in 7) of Massah and Meribah with the corresponding double explanation 'because of the striving...', and 'because they tempted.' If, then, the words '[And Moses said unto them] why tempt ye Yahweh?' be placed after 3, there emerge two stories—Massah from J, and Meribah from E, as follows: J, 3, 2 *b*, 7 *a* (to 'Massah'), 7 *c* ('because they tempted...&c.'). E, 1 *b*, 2 *a*, 4—6, 7 *b* 'and [he called the name of the place] Meribah...of Israel.'

xvii. 8—16. *A malek.* The use of the staff (9), the importance of Joshua and of Aaron, together with the absence of any features characteristic of P, shew that the *vv.* are from E. The incident belongs to a time immediately preceding the entrance into Canaan (see notes).

xviii. *The visit of Jethro.* The narrative, in the main, is the work of E: several characteristics of his writings appear: 'Elohim,' 'Jethro,' 'the mount of Elohim' (5), the words rendered 'for Israel's sake' (8), 'the travail which had come upon [lit. found] them' (*id.*), 'a matter' [Heb. 'a word'] (16, 19, 22, 26), 'fear God' (21), and the peculiar infin. form וַיַּעַשׂ , 'to perform it' (18). The only verses which call for remark are 1, 2—4, 7—11. 1 *b*. The last clause, with its sudden change from Elohim to Yahweh, seems to be redactional. 2—4 also are probably a later addition, by a compiler who found two discrepancies between the present narrative of E and previous statements

of J: 1st, in ii. 22 J records the birth of Gershom only, and in iv. 25 clearly implies that Moses had no other son; and, 2nd, in iv. 20 a, 24—26 J relates that Moses took back Zipporah with him to Egypt. The compiler smooths away the second difficulty by the words 'after her dismissal'; and, while basing 3 upon J's words in ii. 22, he retains E's tradition of *two* sons by supplying the name of the second—a name which is found nowhere else in the Hexateuch. 7—11. In Num. xi. 29—31 Hobab is at Sinai, and this presupposes a mention of his arrival by J. There may be traces of it in these verses; in 6 Jethro is in conversation with Moses, but in 7 Moses has still to go out to meet him; the text in 6, however, is probably to be emended; see note. And 7—11 have the name Yahweh, while in the rest of the story (exc. 1 b) Elohim is used. It is not possible with certainty to separate the two writings in detail; the compiler has welded them too closely together. The narrative, as in the case of the quails, Meribah, and Amalek, belongs to a time after, and not before, the arrival at Horeb (see notes).

Analysis of xv. 22—xviii.

J xv. 22—25a	27				
E	25b	4		15	
P		xvi. 1—3	5	9—12, 6, 7, 13, 14	16—21
R	R ^D 26		R ^F 8		R ^F 22—30
J	3, 2b	7a, c			
JE					7—11
E	1b, 2a	4—6	7b, 8—16, xviii. 1a	5, 6	12—27
P xvii. 1a					
R				R ^{J^E} 1b, 2—4	R 10b

Chapters xix.—xl. form the second of the two divisions into which the book of Exodus falls, and describe the welding of the Israelite tribes into a certain degree of unity by the religious bond of a covenant with their one and only God, Yahweh. But a study of the religious institutions, and moral, social and ceremonial laws which are collected in these chapters shews that they belong to widely different periods of Hebrew history. Moses was venerated as the representative of all law, and thus every new development was ascribed to him. And so it came to pass that the records of the Sinai scenes, in which Moses first received the law, were subjected to the elaborate care and ingenuity of a long series of writers, or schools of writers, of redactors and compilers. And the result is that these chapters offer

the most complicated of the literary problems in the Old Testament. The priestly writers, whose devoted care is centred upon the tabernacle and its ritual (chs. xxv.—xxxii., xxxv.—xl.), supply almost nothing of the nature of narrative that is parallel to the work of J and E. It is not to P that the most serious textual problems are due, but to the manifold activities of redactors upon the original work of J and E. And these problems arise not only from additions and omissions, but also from the most surprising transpositions and dislocations. As the tabernacle sections are complete in themselves, they may be studied separately.

CHAPTERS xix.—xxiv., xxxii.—xxxiv.

The events at Sinai.

xix., xx. 18—21. *The Theophany.*

xix. 1, 2 α contain the itinerary of P, continued from xvii. 1. It is of the same formal character as before; and the writer's propensity for exact dates shews itself. It is probable that 2 α originally stood before 1, for the journey from Rephidim would naturally be related before the arrival at the wilderness. R. V. partly hides the difficulty by rendering 'and when they were departed from R.'; but the Heb. has 'and they journeyed' as in xvii. 1. 2 b being a repetition of 2 α cannot be from the same source; it must be coupled with 3 α , which is shewn to be from E by the name Elohim. 3 b —6. The words of the people in 8 imply that they have received some commands, but these verses contain none. And Yahweh's covenant is mentioned before it has yet been made. The verses appear to be a Deuteronomic expansion. 'I bare you on eagles' wings' finds a parallel in Dt. xxxii. 11; 'a peculiar treasure' occurs only in Dt. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18; and 'an holy nation' is unique, but 'an holy people' occurs only in Dt. (five times). 7, 8 should evidently follow commands given to the people through Moses; and the earliest opportunity for this is after the Decalogue (xx. 1—17). It will be shewn later that the laws which formed the basis of the original divine covenant in E were not the Decalogue, but were portions of xx. 23—xxiii.; and when the people received the covenant laws they answered (xxiv. 3) in language almost identical with that in the present passage. It is probable, therefore, that 7, 8 were attached as a framework to the Decalogue, in imitation of xxiv. 3. 9—11 α must be coupled with 14—17. They can be assigned to E, both because of the name Elohim in 17, and because they give a different picture of the theophany from that of J in 11 b —13. [9 b appears

to be an accidental doublet of 8*b*.] 11*b*—13. Instead of Yahweh speaking to Moses in a thick cloud, He will 'come down' upon the mountain in the sight of all. A signal is to be given by a ram's horn (*yôbbhāl*, different from the 'trumpet' of 16). These details and the name 'Sinai' mark these verses as belonging to J. They must follow 24 (see below). 14—17 E: the natural continuation of 9—11*a*. 18 J has the same traits as 11*b*—13, 'Sinai' and 'Yahweh came down' [the verb is the same]. 19. The name 'Elohim' assigns the verse to E, and the 'trumpet' (*shôphār*) of 16 recurs. The next passage in E's original narrative is **xx.** 18—21, which forms the natural continuation of **xix.** 19. The words of the people in **xx.** 19 shew that God has not yet spoken to them; and this is explicable only if the Decalogue was absent from E's original tradition. **xix.** 20—25 J. 'Yahweh came down' and 'Sinai' connect 20 with 11*b* and 18. E has related that Moses went up to God (3*a*), and was sent down to prepare the people (10, 11*a*, 14—17); and the same events are now recorded by J (20—22), but with differences in detail: in E Moses sanctifies the people (14), but in J the priests sanctify themselves; in E the people are terrified and flee (16*f*., **xx.** 18—21), but in J, so far from being terrified, they must be prevented by special precautions from breaking through to gaze. 23 is one of the most noteworthy of the redactional additions to be found in the book. If 11*b*—13 are read in their present position, Yahweh, having summoned Moses to the top of the mountain, immediately sends him down again—not to take the necessary precautions to prevent the people from breaking through, but merely to charge them to observe the precautions already taken. It is very probable that 23 (which has the appearance of an attempt on Moses' part to put Yahweh right in His mistake!) was added by a redactor who felt the difficulty. Both this and a further difficulty are obviated if 11*b*—13 are placed after 24; for 13 closes with the words '*they* (*hēm māh*) shall come up to the mount'; but 'they' cannot be the people, who are forbidden to come up (12, 21); they must be the 'priests' of 22 (24 appears to forbid the priests to come up; but see note there). 25. Heb. has 'And Moses went down unto the people and *said unto* them.' R.V. 'and told them' conceals the fact that Moses' words are lost; but they would naturally consist in the declaration to the people of the divine instructions in 20—24, 11*b*—13. [A portion of J's *narrative* appears also to have been lost; see below on **xxiv.** 1—11.]

Analysis of xix., xx. 18—21.

J		18	20—22
E	2 <i>b</i> , 3 <i>a</i> [E ₂ 7, 8] 9 <i>a</i> 10, 11 <i>a</i> , 14—17	19	
P	xix. 2 <i>a</i> , 1		
R	R ^D 3 <i>b</i> —6 R ^{J^E} 9 <i>b</i>		R ^{J^E} 23
J	24, 11 <i>b</i> —13, 25		
E	xx. 18—21		
P			
R			

xx. [exc. 18—21]—**xxiii.**, **xxxiv.** 10—26. *The Laws.*

Five groups of laws are to be accounted for: (1) **xx.** 1—17, the Decalogue ('Ten Words'). (2) **xxi.**—**xxii.** 17, a series of laws which in **xxi.** 1 are named 'Judgements,' cast in a particular form, and distinct from anything else in Exodus. (3) **xx.** 22—26, **xxii.** 29, 30, **xxiii.** 10—19, Regulations relating to worship and religious festivals. (4) **xxxiv.** 10—26, Regulations on the same subjects, to a large extent parallel to the preceding group. (5) **xxii.** 18—28, **xxiii.** 1—9, a few laws of a moral and ethical character, mostly negative in form, and widely different both from the Judgements and from the Regulations on worship.

(1) The Decalogue will be discussed later (pp. lvi.—lxiv.).

(2) **xxi.**—**xxii.** 17. There are indications that the 'Judgements' did not originally occupy their present position. Ch. xviii. has been shewn, on various grounds, to belong to the end of the stay at the mountain. If that is so, there were no judges yet created who could dispense these case-laws. And the nature of the contingencies with which they deal makes it impossible to couple them with the laws on which the covenant was based; they are concerned with hypothetical cases, and deal with the rights of male and female slaves, injuries inflicted by men and by beasts, the loss of animals, injury to field or vineyard by fire, trusts, and loans. It is unlikely that decisions on these civil cases, which might from time to time occur (and which, to a large extent, could not occur until Israel had settled down to agricultural life in Canaan), could form part of the divine covenant, or that the people could say of them 'all the words which Yahweh hath spoken we will *do*' (**xxiv.** 3). In the former half of the same verse the 'Words' which they promise to obey are distinguished from the 'Judgements.' It is generally agreed that the expression 'and the judgements' is an addition made by the redactor who placed the 'Judgements' in their present position. Their original position may be conjectured with some probability. In Dt. xii.—xxvi. there is a body of laws, amended and expanded in many particulars, but based upon the laws of

Ex. xxi.—xxiii. D puts his version of the 'Judgements,' together with other laws, into Moses' mouth not at Horeb but on the borders of Moab. And since Ex. xxi. f. was, so far as we can tell, his only source for the 'Judgements,' Kuenen's suggestion is reasonable that E had also placed them at the end of the wanderings; but that when D was combined with JE, the compiler could not place the two versions side by side, so he put back the earlier version into conjunction with the rest of E's laws at Horeb. That the 'Judgements' are to be assigned to E may be inferred from characteristic marks of language: 'Elohim,' xxi. 6, 13, xxii. 8 (7), 9 (8) [LXX 11 (10)], 28 (27); '*amah*' for 'maidservant,' xxi. 7; *ba'al*, xxi. 3, 22, 28 f., 34, 36, xxii. 8 (7), 11 (10), 14 (13); *dābhār* for 'cause of dispute,' xxii. 9 (8).

(3), (4). The group xx. 22—26, xxii. 29—31, xxiii. 10—19 is embedded in material which is on all hands allowed to be Elohist; and the group xxxiv. 10—26 in material which is no less clearly Jehovistic. Other things being equal, few would hesitate to say that they are two versions of the same body of laws from E and J respectively (see note preceding ch. xxxiv.). Each has been enriched with some later expansions, which are pointed out in the notes, i.e. xx. 22, 23, xxii. 31, xxiii. 13, 19*a*, and xxxiv. 10*b*—16, 24. And it is probable that each has in some details been harmonized with the other; but it is not possible to detect the process with certainty; there was at least a substratum of similar laws which made the harmonization possible. The following table shews the extent of their similarities and differences; J appears to have preserved one rule (xxxiv. 17) which E lacked, and E four or five (xx. 24—26, xxiii. 10, 11) which J lacked; and there are just those differences of wording and detail that would be expected in two accounts of the same tradition.

E		J
[xx. 23 R]	Prohibition of molten images	xxxiv. 17
24—26	Rules for the construction of altars	<i>vacat</i>
xxii. 29 <i>b</i>	Firstborn sons to be dedicated	20 <i>b</i>
30	Firstlings of animals to be dedicated	19, 20 <i>a</i>
[31 R]	Meat torn by wild beasts not to be eaten	<i>vacat</i>
xxiii. 10, 11	The seventh, fallow, year to be observed	<i>vacat</i>
14 [17 R]	Three annual festivals to be observed	23
	namely	
15	Festival of Unleavened Cakes	18
16 <i>a</i>	Festival of Harvest = F. of Weeks	22 <i>a</i>
16 <i>b</i>	Festival of Ingathering	22 <i>b</i>
18 <i>a</i>	Sacrifice to be eaten without leaven	25 <i>a</i>
18 <i>b</i>	No fat to be left till morning	25 <i>b</i>
xxii. 29 <i>a</i> [xxiii. 19 <i>a</i> R]	Firstfruits to be dedicated	26 <i>a</i>
xxiii. 19 <i>b</i>	A kid not to be boiled in its mother's milk	26 <i>b</i>

(5) **xxii.** 18—28, **xxiii.** 1—9. It is readily seen that these injunctions have no real connexion either with the 'Judgements' or with the Regulations on worship and festivals. They are particular commands inculcating the moral importance of purity, kindness, justice and so forth. [In **xxii.** 25 f., **xxiii.** 4 f. hypothetical cases are (like the 'Judgements') introduced by the particle *kî*, 'when'; but a glance shews them to be of a different nature from the 'Judgements.' They are expressed in the 2nd person, and deal with cases which affect a man's own conscience, and which lie wholly outside the province of a civil judge.] E having preserved the laws in group (3) as the basis of the divine covenant, some later writer of his school of thought became possessed of a few scattered laws from other sources, which appealed to him strongly as a prophet of righteousness and morality, and he combined them with the older regulations on worship, to form part of the covenant laws of Israel. The combination was effected before the time of D, for some of them are included in Dt. **xii.**—**xxvi.**; see Dt. **xviii.** 10—14, **xxiv.** 14, **xxiii.** 19, **xxiv.** 12 f., **xix.** 16—21, **xxii.** 1—4. A few expressions, however, in Exodus cannot have been prior to D; **xxii.** 28 *b* contains the late word *nâsî'*, 'prince'; in **xxii.** 21 *b*, 22 the plural pronoun suddenly appears after the singular in 21 *a*; and similarly in 24 and **xxiii.** 9 *b*; and each of these passages (except the first) is Deuteronomic in tone.

At the end of the laws, a Deuteronomic writer added a hortatory epilogue, **xxiii.** 20—33.

Analysis of **xx.** 22—**xxiii.** 33, **xxxiv.** 10—26.

J (except expansions) **xxxiv.** 10—26.

E (except expansions) **xx.** 22—26, **xxii.** 29, 30, **xxiii.** 10—19, | **xxi.**—**xxii.** 17, | **xxii.** 18—28, **xxiii.** 1—9.

R **R^{J^E}** **xx.** 22, 23, R ? **xxi.** 17, R^D **xxii.** 21 *b*, 22, 24, R ? 28 *b*, 31, R^D **xxiii.** 9 *b*, 13, R^{J^E} 15 *b*, *c*, 19 *a*, R^D 20—33, R^D **xxxiv.** 10 *b*—16, R^{J^E} 18 *b*—20 *a*, *b*, R^D 24.

(*a*) **xxiv.** 1—11, **xxxiii.** 7—11, **xxxiv.** 1—5, 27, 28. *Narratives connected with the covenant laws.*

(*b*) **xix.** 7, 8, **xxiv.** 12—18, **xxx.** 18, **xxxiv.** 29—35. *Narratives connected with the Decalogue.*

The results of the analysis of these passages may be summed up in anticipation. (*a*) The extreme complexity of the narratives is due to the fact that the early accounts of J and E relating to the covenant laws have been combined with—and in some parts

displaced by—later accounts in E₂ and P in which the Decalogue of xx. 1—17 is the sole basis of the covenant. (b) The chief instances in which the earlier accounts have disappeared to make way for the later are (i) E's account of God's delivery of the covenant laws to Moses, (ii) the accounts of J and E of the making of an ark and of a tent to house it. (c) The surviving narratives of J and E with respect to the covenant laws contain three important points of similarity: (i) In each *Moses commits the laws to writing*. In J he is commanded by Yahweh to write them upon two 'tablets of stones' (xxxiv. 1, 27), and he does so (28); in E the writing executed by Moses is called a *sepher* (xxiv. 7), which denotes a written document of any kind; but nothing is said of stone tablets. The word, however, does not entirely forbid this, and E may have spoken of a stone inscription (perhaps upon the twelve pillars, v. 4), which has been taken up in the later narrative of E₂. (ii) In each *the laws are made the basis of a covenant*. In J Yahweh declares His intention of making a covenant (xxxiv. 10), and after giving the laws He says that He has made one 'according to the tenour of these words' (27); in E the laws which Moses had written are called 'the *sepher* of the covenant,' and he tells the people that the blood which he sprinkles is 'the blood of the covenant,' made by Yahweh 'concerning all these words' (xxiv. 7, 8). (iii) In each *the covenant is ratified by a solemn ceremony*. In J it is by a vision of Yahweh and a sacred feast (xxiv. 1, 2; 9—11); in E by the sprinkling of blood (xxiv. 3—8).

(a) xxxiv. 1—5, 27, 28 relate that Yahweh delivered to Moses the covenant words. These verses must, for the most part, be assigned to J. The name 'Sinai,' 'the top (*ro'sh*) of the mountain,' the prohibition to let the people or beasts approach, and the expression 'Yahweh came down,' mark them as homogeneous with xix. 18, 20—24, 11 b—13. [The apparent connexion between xxxiv. 5 and 6 is due to the Engl. version. The last clause of 5 can only mean 'and he (Moses) called upon the name of Yahweh.' Neither in 10, nor in the rest of the interview does Yahweh give any answer to Moses' passionate entreaty in 9; but on the other hand it has already been answered in xxxiii. 14. It is clear that xxxiv. 6—9 belong to Moses' intercession in xxxiii.; the verses may have been attracted into their present position by the recurrence of the word 'he called' in 5 and 6.] Now it is strange that though Yahweh commands Moses to write the covenant words (xxxiv. 27), and Moses apparently does so (28 b), yet Yahweh has previously said, 'I will write upon the tablets' (1 b).

The incongruity is, if possible, increased if 'he wrote' (28 *b*) means 'Yahweh wrote.' The only conceivable explanation is that two traditions have been combined, in which Yahweh wrote one thing (i.e. the Decalogue of xx. 1—17) and Moses another (i.e. the code in xxxiv.). Not only so, but in 28 *b* the covenant words are further described as 'the ten words,' as though they were a well-known decade. But it is extremely difficult to arrange the commands in 10—26 as a decade. Several arrangements have been offered (see *reff.* in Carpenter and Battersby, *Hexateuch*, ii. 135); but when all the possible Deuteronomic expansions are removed, there emerge at least fourteen distinct commands. We must conclude either that the expression 'the ten words' stood in J as a correct description of the preceding code, and that in spite of it some laws were added by later hands, or (which is much more likely) that 'the ten words' is itself a later addition referring to the Decalogue of xx. The explanation of the whole passage, which has been adopted, since Kuenen, by many critics, is that a compiler who had before him the covenant laws both of J and E, which were largely parallel, did not discard J's version, but placed it after the sin of the people and Moses' intercession, so that it had the appearance of being a code of laws given for a *renewal* of the broken covenant¹. But after the Decalogue had become the sole basis of the Horeb covenant, a Deuteronomic redactor in Exod. made J's laws the renewal—not of E's parallel laws, but—of the Decalogue. With this object he made three harmonistic additions:—'like unto the first which thou brakest' (xxxiv. 1); 'And he hewed like unto the first' (4); 'the ten words' (28). [In 4 should be noticed the unexpected introduction of Moses' name, which would more naturally have stood at the beginning of the verse, if the opening words had been original.]

xxiv. 1—11. The two narratives of the Covenant Ceremony from J and E are here combined. 3 is obviously connected not with 1, 2 but with xxi.—xxiii.; and the sequel of the injunctions in 1, 2 is to be found in 9—11 where they are obeyed. 3—8, then, are the continuation of xxiii.², and belong to E. The part played by the *people* in the making of the covenant is in keeping with other parts of E; it is they who were sanctified to meet God (xix. 14), and who take the initiative in expressing penitence for sin (xxiii. 6; see below); the

¹ Not only is there no hint of this in the narrative, but the words 'behold I make a covenant' (10 *a*) seem clearly to imply that a covenant is being made for the first time. Moreover, for the renewal of a broken covenant penitence and forgiveness would suffice, without the promulgation of a new code of laws.

² Or rather of E's lost narrative of the delivery of the laws to Moses.

mention of *mazzēbhōth* (4) is also in favour of E, who relates the erection of such pillars by Jacob at Bethel and Galeed (Gen. xxviii. 18, xxxi. 45—54), and by Joshua at Gilgal and Shechem (Josh. iv. 20, xxiv. 26 *b*, 27). 1, 2 and 9—11 can now be brought together. The fact that they relate a solemn ceremony which is coupled with, and yet distinct from, E's ceremony in 3—8, suggests that they are the work (in the main) of J. The people are forbidden to come up, as in xix. 21, 24. In 1 R.V. has 'And He said unto Moses'; but in the Heb. the order is different—'And unto Moses He said,' which implies as plainly as the words do in English that Yahweh had previously been saying or doing something else, which is lost. And on turning to the last passage in which J's narrative is preserved, we find xix. 25 ending with 'and said unto them,' followed by a lacuna. The lost words must have contained Moses' repetition to the people of the divine instructions in xix. 21 *f*., 24, 11 *b*—13, and a statement (in accordance with 11, 13 *b*) that Yahweh came down on the third day, and that the *yobhel* was sounded. This was followed by the narrative and laws in xxxiv. 1—28, and then there were some further (lost) words of Yahweh to the people or the priests leading to the present passage. [Many commentators find later elements in xxiv. 1, 2, 9—11. In 1, 2 Yahweh addresses first Moses ('come thou up'), then the people ('worship ye'), and then again Moses ('but they shall not &c.'). These variations, however, are not unnatural, for, as we have seen, the words 'unto Moses He said' (1) shew that He has been addressing other persons than Moses. But in 9—11 'the God of Israel' and the idiom 'the very heaven' are in the style of P; and the word 'nobles' (lit. 'corners') occurs only (in its literal sense) in the exilic passage Is. xli. 9. The extent to which later hands have touched the verses cannot be determined.]

xxxiii. 7—11 E. *The 'Tent of Meeting.'* Immediately after the double account of the ceremonial ratification of the covenant, P gives seven chapters of regulations for worship, which are concerned with the Tabernacle and its ministers. What ground was there for inserting these regulations here? It is natural to suppose that he found something analogous in the earlier histories. There is evidence (1) that J must have contained an account of the making of an ark to hold the tablets of stone on which Moses had written the covenant words, and (2) that E must have related the erection of a tent. (1) In Dt. x. 1—5 (see Driver) the writer makes use of Ex. xxxiv. 1—4 (J), but adds that Yahweh told Moses to make an ark of wood, and to put the tablets within it; and that, before ascending the mountain, Moses made an ark of acacia wood, and when he came down he placed the

tablets within it. This writer probably derived his account of the ark, as well as of the tablets, from J. And immediately after the departure from Sinai (Num. x. 33—36), the existence of an ark is recognised by J, who gives the prayers that Moses used to recite at the beginning and end of each stage in the journey. (2) In the present passage, xxxiii. 7—11, is related Moses' practice relative to '*the Tent*'; the article implies that such a tent had been mentioned before. The familiar converse of Yahweh with Moses recalls xix. 9, 19, Num. xii. 5—8 (E); and no mention of Joshua before the arrival at Canaan is found in J¹ (cf. Num. xi. 28, Dt. xxxi. 14 f., Ex. xvii. 9, 13 f., all E). The passage shews that E once had an account of the making of this tent, or of God's command that it should be made. Moreover in xviii., which must be placed at the end of the Horeb incidents, Jethro brought sacrifices 'for God,' and Aaron and the elders joined him in the feast 'in the presence of God,' which seems to imply the existence of a sanctuary. The reason why the early accounts of the making of the ark and the tent have been lost, must be that they did not agree with P's ideal descriptions in xxv.—xxvii.; see note preceding xxxiii. 7. [After xxxiii. 7—11 the book contains no further material from E. But some think that the continuation of E's narrative is to be found in Num. xi. 16, 17 a, 24 b—30. If those verses and Ex. xviii. are placed side by side at this point, the three passages are seen to be closely connected, dealing with the Tent, Joshua, Moses' young minister, the elders, and the help which the latter are to give to Moses. See Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 109—116.]

(b) There remain to be noticed those portions of the narrative immediately connected with the covenant laws, in which those laws consist solely of the Decalogue of xx. 1—17, written *by God* upon the tablets.

xix. 7, 8 have no connexion with the rest of the chapter; they appear to be a statement in E₂ with reference to the Decalogue in imitation of xxiv. 3.

xxiv. 12—15a, 18b. These verses are based on E's narrative of the delivery of the covenant laws to Moses. The 'mount of Elohim,' the mention of Joshua and of Aaron and Hur, and the idiom 'whosoever hath a cause' (*ba'al debhārīm*), point to Elohist work. Possibly a large part of the account is the original work of E, but in its present form it belongs to a later stage, E₂. Notice that 15a is a doublet of

¹ Some think that Joshua was a purely Ephraimite hero, and nowhere occurred in the Judæan traditions; but this is doubtful. See *DB* ii. 786. (The writer of this article, Dr G. A. Smith, strangely makes no reference to events in Joshua's life before the arrival at the borders of Canaan.)

13*b* ; and that 'Joshua his minister' (13) anticipates the first introduction of Joshua in xxxiii. 11, which must have stood in E *after* the directions for the Tent had been given to Moses in the mount. The clause in 12, 'and the law and the commandments,' refers to something distinct from 'the tables of stone' ; it appears to be a redactional addition, intended to comprise the whole legislation in xx.—xxiii. In 15*b*—18*a* P adds some characteristic details to the scene—the cloud, the glory, the six days and the seventh day ; and 18*a* repeats the substance of 13*b* and 15*a*. The immediate sequel of P's narrative is found in xxxi. 18, after the directions for the Tabernacle. And the immediate sequel of that is xxxiv. 29—35, the next passage from P.

Analysis of xix. 7, 8, xxiv., xxxi. 18, xxxiii. 7—11, xxxiv. 1—5, 27—35.

J	xxiv. 1, 2	9—11	
E		3—8	xxxiii. 7—11
E ₂	xix. 7, 8	12—15 <i>a</i>	18 <i>b</i>
P		15 <i>b</i> —18, xxxi. 18 <i>a</i>	
R		R ^J 12 <i>b</i>	

J	xxxiv. 1 <i>a</i> , 2—5	27, 28
E		
E ₂		
P		29—35
R	R ^D 1 <i>b</i> , 4 ('like unto the first'), 28 ('the ten words')	

xxxii. 1—29, 35. *The sin of the people.* xxxii. 30—34, xxxiii. 1—6, 12—23, xxxiv. 6—9. *Moses' intercession.*

xxxii. 25—29. This passage is distinct from the story of the golden bull, for the following reasons : (a) Though it is not clear what is implied by 'broken loose' (25), yet the people were out of hand in such a way as to make them a by-word among the surrounding nations. This cannot refer to the bull-worship, which the surrounding nations would regard as a pious act ; and the feasting and dancing were the ordinary accompaniments of a Semitic festival. It is possible that the sin was some form of civil rebellion, which Aaron the sheikh was powerless to restrain. (b) There is no hint in the narrative of the bull-worship that the tribe of Levi had refused to join in the idolatry. (c) After the severe punishment inflicted by the Levites a further punishment (35) is unexpected. (d) The Levites are exhorted to 'consecrate themselves' to Yahweh. This is, of course, distinct from

the priestly view in xxviii., but it is also wholly unconnected with E's description of the sacred tent (xxxiii. 11) which is served by the Ephraimite Joshua. The verses must be assigned to J; they appear to be part of his account of a sin committed by the people.

1—6. It is probable that E's narrative, in its original form, also related a sin committed by the people, perhaps more or less parallel to that of J. But in its present form the story has been dominated by the thought that the sin was the violation of the Decalogue by image-worship. It must be assigned to E₂, together with its continuation, 15—24, 35. [15 *b* is a priestly expansion; the expression 'tablets of the testimony' is confined to P, and the tautology of the last clause is a peculiar feature of his style.]

7—14 contain a few expressions which distinguish J from E; but they cannot be the work of J, for 8 refers to the narrative of the bull-worship, and 13 quotes Gen. xxii. 17, which is probably a later passage. Moreover, if they are from J the account of Moses' intercession and Yahweh's relenting is premature; it is strange to read afterwards of the fierce punishment organized by Moses (25—29) and of his renewed intercession (xxxiii. 12—23, xxxiv. 6—9). On the other hand it is difficult to assign the verses to the hand that wrote 1—6, 15—24. When Moses first comes within view of the dancing he is apparently quite unprepared for the sight; his sudden anger, while perhaps not entirely unintelligible, is still surprising, if he had previously received full warning of the people's sin, and had successfully interceded for them. And his intercession, though successful in 14, is disregarded in 35. The passage is closely similar in thought and style to the account in Dt. ix. 12—14; and must be regarded as a Deuteronomic expansion.

30—34 contain expressions which find parallels in E. But it is noticeable that in 34 *b* the punishment is indefinitely postponed, while in 35 it is inflicted immediately. And the verses present such a developed consciousness of sin, atonement, and personal responsibility, that it is probably right to consider them a later expansion. If so, E's account of Moses' intercession has not been preserved. The only remaining passage from E is xxxiii. 6, the source of which is indicated by the name 'mount Horeb'; the verse relates the active part taken by the people in expressing penitence. The preceding verses are complex. 5 is redactional, combining the wording of 3 with a command intended to introduce 6. 4 *b*, which anticipates 6, is absent from the LXX, and must have been added late. 2 interrupts the sentence, and the words 'I will send an angel before thee' are really incompatible with 'I will not go up' in 3; it is a Deut. expansion (cf. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5 *al.*).

xxxiii. 1, 3, 4 *a*, 12—23, xxxiv. 6—9 contain J's account of Moses' intercession. The following characteristic expressions may be noticed: 'flowing with milk and honey' (xxxiii. 3), 'consume' (*id.*), 'in the midst of,' כִּשְׂפָא (*id.*, xxxiv. 9), 'stiffnecked' (*id.*), 'find grace' (xxxiii. 12, 16 f., xxxiv. 9), 'face of the ground' (xxxiii. 16, R. V. 'earth'), 'mercy and truth' (xxxiv. 6), 'made haste' (8), 'bowed' (*id.*), 'the Lord' [*Adōnai* as periphrasis for 2nd person pronoun] (9). The narrative, however, is in itself very difficult to follow, owing to the transpositions which some of the verses have undergone. In xxxiii. 12 Moses' first words 'See thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people' have an antecedent in 1; but his following words 'And thou hast said, I know thee.....in my sight' have none; and the required words are not found till 17. Moreover the words in 17, 'I will do *this thing also* that thou hast spoken' have nothing in the preceding verses to which they can refer. It would seem that 17 must be placed before 12, 13. (In that position 17 might be illustrated by Dt. ix. 19 *b*, x. 10 *b*, 'Yahweh hearkened unto me *that time also*,' where the words refer to the repeated sins and murmurings of the people.) Now if 17 precedes 12, 13, J must originally have related that Moses cried to Yahweh that he could not take the people to Canaan unless Yahweh gave him some help in the difficult task. And this is actually found in Num. xi. 11, 12, 14, 15; those verses have no connexion with the narrative in which they are at present embedded; and before the removal of Ex. xxxiv. 1—5, 10—28 to the end of the Sinai scenes, and the addition of other matter from E and P, they stood in close juxtaposition with the present passage. Again, Ex. xxxiii. 14—16 relate Yahweh's final condescension; He could grant nothing more than that His presence should go with His people. But in xxxiv. 9, Moses is still praying for this. xxxiii. 14—16 should therefore stand after xxxiv. 6—9. By this means 'make me to know thy ways' (13) and 'shew me thy glory' (18) are brought into proximity.

If, then, the passages are rearranged, and read in the following order—xxxiii. 1, 3, 4 *a*, Num. xi. 11 f., 14 f., Ex. xxxiii. 17, 12, 13, 18—23, xxxiv. 6—9, xxxiii. 14—16, they give a very beautiful result. Moses' prayer rises to a climax (cf. Abraham's intercession, Gen. xviii. 23—32 J): first he asks for help in leading the people, which is granted; then for a knowledge of him who is to help them, and of Yahweh's ways, and a sight of His glory, which is granted in the form of a partial revelation; lastly for Yahweh's abiding presence with His people, which is granted; and Moses concludes with the earnest reply in 15 f.

Analysis of xxxii., xxxiii. 1—6, 12—23, xxxiv. 6—9.

J		25—29		xxxiii. 1 3, 4a [Num. xi. 11 f., 14 f.]
E ₂	xxxii. 1—6	15a 16—24	35	6
R	R ^D 7—14	R ^F 15b	R ^J 30—34	R ^D 2 R ^F 4b R ^I 5

J 17, 12, 13, 18—23, xxxiv. 6—9, xxxiii. 14—16

E₂
R

CHAPTERS xxv.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl.

The Tabernacle and its Ministers.

In these chapters J and E have no part. The hand of priestly writers is evident throughout in style, vocabulary and subject-matter. But they are not the work of a single writer. It was inevitable that ordinances of worship should undergo enlargement and expansion in a community to whom ritual had become to so great an extent commensurate with religion. It will be seen that three stages can be traced. The main conceptions of the Tabernacle, and of the garments and the consecration of its ministers, are assigned to P. Additions to these which can be shewn to be of later date are described as P₂. But there are also expansions which presuppose not only P but P₂; and they may be collected under the symbol P₃. It is not impossible that there was an earlier nucleus from which P was formed; but it cannot be subjected to literary analysis. See p. 156.

xxv.—xxix. are, for the most part, the work of P, and practically homogeneous. But there are a few later additions: xxv. 6 presupposes three sections which, on various grounds, appear to be later than P, i.e. oil for the lamp (xxvii. 20 f.), spices for the anointing oil (xxx. 22—33), and for the sweet incense (xxx. 34—38). And it was added so late (apparently to complete the summary in 3—7) that it is absent from the LXX. It must be assigned to P₃. xxvii. 20, 21 P₂. The verses imply that the Tent has been already erected, and that Aaron and his sons have been consecrated. They appear to be based on Lev. xxiv. 1—3, with the addition of Aaron's sons. xxviii. 13, 14 P₂. A passage of a redactional character; 13 repeats the end of 11; 14 anticipates 22, 25 (in the LXX more words are borrowed from 25); and it is strange to find the chains mentioned before the 'breastplate.' 26—28 P₂. They are absent from the LXX, and contain what appears to be a second account of the two rings, and their attachment to the shoulder straps. 41 P₂. The anointing of Aaron's sons is a later

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Analysis of xxxii., xxxiii. 1—6, 12—23, xxxiv. 6—9.

J		25—29		xxxiii. 1 3, 4a [Num. xi. 11f., 14f.]
E ₂	xxxii. 1—6	15a 16—24	35	6
R	R ^D 7—14	R ^F 15b	R ^J 30—34	R ^D 2 R ^F 4b R ^I 5

J 17, 12, 13, 18—23, xxxiv. 6—9, xxxiii. 14—16

E₂
R

CHAPTERS xxv.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl.

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E ₂	xxxii. 1—6	15a 16—24	35	6
R	R ^D 7—14	R ^F 15b	R ^J 30—34	R ^D 2 R ^F 4b R ^I 5

J 17, 12, 13, 18—23, xxxiv. 6—9, xxxiii. 14—16

E₂
R

CHAPTERS xxv.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl.

The Tabernacle and its Ministers.

In these chapters J and E have no part. The hand of priestly writers is evident throughout in style, vocabulary and subject-matter. But they are not the work of a single writer. It was inevitable that ordinances of worship should undergo enlargement and expansion in a community to whom ritual had become to so great an extent commensurate with religion. It will be seen that three stages can be traced. The main conceptions of the Tabernacle, and of the garments and the consecration of its ministers, are assigned to P. Additions to these which can be shewn to be of later date are described as P₂. But there are also expansions which presuppose not only P but P₂; and they may be collected under the symbol P₃. It is not impossible that there was an earlier nucleus from which P was formed; but it cannot be subjected to literary analysis. See p. 156.

xxv.—xxix. are, for the most part, the work of P, and practically homogeneous. But there are a few later additions: xxv. 6 presupposes three sections which, on various grounds, appear to be later than P, i.e. oil for the lamp (xxvii. 20f.), spices for the anointing oil (xxx. 22—33), and for the sweet incense (xxx. 34—38). And it was added so late (apparently to complete the summary in 3—7) that it is absent from the LXX. It must be assigned to P₃. xxvii. 20, 21 P₃. The verses imply that the Tent has been already erected, and that Aaron and his sons have been consecrated. They appear to be based on Lev. xxiv. 1—3, with the addition of Aaron's sons. xxviii. 13, 14 P₃. A passage of a redactional character; 13 repeats the end of 11; 14 anticipates 22, 25 (in the LXX more words are borrowed from 25); and it is strange to find the chains mentioned before the 'breastplate.' 26—28 P₃. They are absent from the LXX, and contain what appears to be a second account of the two rings, and their attachment to the shoulder straps. 41 P₃. The anointing of Aaron's sons is a later

6. *Firstlings.* J (Ex. xiii. 11, 12 *b*, 13 *a*, xxxiv. 19, 20 *a*). After the arrival at Canaan every male firstling shall be Yahweh's. The firstling of an ass must be redeemed with a sheep, or its neck must be broken.—E (xxii. 30). Every firstling of ox and sheep must be 'given' to Yahweh when it is eight days old. The command in E is thus more limited than that in J, since nothing is said of the ass or of any other unclean animal.—D (Dt. xv. 19—23). As in E the commands are concerned only with the common domestic animals which could rightly be sacrificed. The firstling males of flock and herd are to be 'sanctified'; and the animals may not be previously used as a source of gain; the calf must not be worked, nor the lamb sheared. The offering on the eighth day became impossible after the Deuteronomic principle had been laid down of the centralisation of worship at one sanctuary. The animals are now to be taken annually to the sanctuary, and eaten there by the owner and his household. Any firstling, however, which has a blemish, is unfit for dedication, and may be eaten at home like common food, always provided its blood is first poured out upon the ground.—The regulations in P are very different¹. Ex. xiii. 1, 2 contains the general command to dedicate firstlings; and Num. iii. 13 is a reference to it and the exodus. In Num. xviii. 15, 17, 18 the firstlings of all clean animals, such as can be sacrificed, are to belong to 'Aaron,' i.e. the priests; the firstlings of unclean animals must be redeemed. The clean animals may on no account be redeemed; they must be treated like an ordinary peace-offering, the blood being sprinkled on the altar and the fat burnt. But, unlike the peace-offering, nothing is said of the worshipper receiving a share of the flesh; it is to be given to the priests as the special portions of the ordinary peace-offering are given. In Num. iii. 41, 45 the law that clean animals may not be redeemed appears to be contravened by the arrangement that the cattle of the Levites are to be substituted for the firstlings of the cattle of Israel².

7. *Torn flesh.* A prohibition against eating torn flesh (*terēphāh*) is embodied in E (Ex. xxii. 31).—D (Dt. xiv. 21) forbids the eating of the flesh of an animal that has died a natural death (*nebhēlāh*), and, as in Ex., the 'holiness' of the nation is asserted as the ground of the command.—In H (Lev. xvii. 15) the *terēphāh* and the *nebhēlāh* are combined, and the guilt contracted by the eating of them can be purged by washing the clothes and bathing in water.

¹ Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 187, discusses attempts which have been made to harmonize the regulations of D and P.

² Gray, *Numbers*, p. 31, suggests an emendation which would lessen the difficulty.

8. *The fallow year.* E (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11).—J and D contain no such law; but the latter (Dt. xv. 1—3) substitutes for it a 'release' (*shemittāh*) for Hebrew debtors. Cf. xxxi. 10.—H on the other hand (Lev. xxv. 1—7, 18—22) lays down the law as stringently as possible. The points of view, however, of E and H are different. In the former the law is intended in behalf of the poorer classes, that they, and the beasts after them, may benefit. In the latter the chief thought is that the land itself may enjoy a Sabbath rest.—Lev. xxv. 11, 12 speaks of a fallow year at the time of the Jubile. This is probably a later idea than that of H. See Driver and White, *Leviticus*, pp. 97—99.

9. *The weekly Sabbath.* In J (Ex. xxxiv. 21) rest is commanded on the seventh day, even in the busy times of ploughing and harvest. No reason is attached to the command.—In E (xxiii. 12) the reason assigned is that beasts may rest and servants be refreshed.—In the Dt. version of the decalogue (Dt. v. 12—15) a similar reason is assigned, and it is added that the Sabbath was commanded to be a commemoration of the release from Egypt.—The importance of the Sabbath appears in various *strata* of P. In the decalogue (Ex. xx. 11) the day was blessed and hallowed as a commemoration of the divine rest after the creation. xxxi. 17 also refers to the creation, and speaks of the Sabbath as a sign between Yahweh and His people, and a perpetual covenant; everyone that profanes it must be put to death. In xxxv. 2 the punishment of death is enjoined for the profanation of the day, and an additional prohibition occurs against lighting a fire in any house on the Sabbath. (Num. xv. 32—36 relates an incident to illustrate the stringency of the law; and in Ex. xvi. 22—30 another incident emphasizes the importance of the Sabbath rest.) Num. xxviii. 9 f. specifies the additional burnt-offering for the Sabbath. And in Lev. xxiii. 3 a redactor of the law of H places the Sabbath at the head of a list of set feasts. (On the origin of the Sabbath see note after xx. 17.)

10. *Festival of Unleavened Cakes (Mazzôth).* J (Ex. xxxiv. 18 a) has the simple command to observe the festival; and then fuller details are quoted ['as I commanded thee'] from xiii. 4, 6, 7, 10—'seven days,' 'the month Abib,' and the connexion which the festival had traditionally acquired with the exodus; one detail is not quoted, viz. the special observance of the seventh day of the festival (xiii. 6).—E (xxiii. 15 a), like J, has the simplest command without details. [15 b from 'Seven days' is a harmonizing addition from xxxiv. 18 f.; see analysis.]—In early days the processions during the week would be to the nearest local sanctuary; but in D (Dt. xvi. 1—8) the command is carefully laid down, as with each of the three annual festivals, that

the celebration must be at the central sanctuary. The details are repeated—'the month Abib,' the connexion with the exodus, and the special observance of the seventh day. To the latter, however, D alone applies the title '*azóreth* ('assembly'). D further stands alone among the Hexateuchal codes in connecting the F. of Mazzoth closely with the Passover. Ezekiel, however (xlv. 21), does the same.—In H (Lev. xxiii. 10—12) a sheaf of the firstfruits is to be waved before Yahweh, and a lamb sacrificed as a burnt-offering, 'on the morrow after the Sabbath.' This was probably part of the Mazzoth ritual; and P understood it so; if so, it points to an original connexion between Mazzoth and the beginning of harvest. (See Driver-White *in loc.*)—P (Lev. xxiii. 6—8) prefixes to the commands of H explicit directions. The festival immediately follows the Passover on the 15th day of the first month. A fire-offering on each of the seven days is enjoined, and 'a holy convocation' is to be held on the *first* as well as on the seventh day. Similarly Num. xxviii. 17—25. In Ex. xii. 15—20 the same date is specified, and the 'holy convocation' on the first and the seventh day. But it is further declared (v. 17) that the festival is commemorative of the exodus, and (v. 19) the penalty of death is pronounced on anyone who eats leaven during the week.

11. *Festival of Weeks.* J (Ex. xxxiv. 22) and E (xxiii. 16) both have a simple injunction to observe the festival; it is connected with 'the firstfruits of wheat harvest' (J)—'the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou sowest in the field' (E). The latter alone names it '*Festival of Harvest.*'—D (Dt. xvi. 9—12) explains the name 'F. of Weeks'; it is to be held seven weeks from the time that the sickle is put into the standing corn. 'A tribute of free-will offering' is enjoined, 'according as Yahweh thy God blesseth thee.' The celebration is to be at the central sanctuary, and the whole household, and the dependent and poor, are to share in the joy and the feasting.—In H (Lev. xxiii. 15—17, 20), as in the case of Mazzoth, the name of the festival is not mentioned. It is dated seven weeks from 'the morrow after the Sabbath, from the day that ye bring the sheaf of the wave-offering.' This Sabbath was traditionally understood of the first day of Mazzoth (Nisan 15th), so that the seven weeks would be reckoned from the 16th. But it was probably the ordinary weekly Sabbath—either that occurring in the Mazzoth week, or the first Sabbath after the beginning of harvest. The latter accords with the dating in D. Certain offerings are specified, which have been enlarged by a redactor by the addition of vv. 18 f. from Num. xxviii.—P (Num. xxviii. 26—31) prescribes elaborate offerings.

12. *Festival of Ingathering or Booths.* J (Ex. xxxiv. 22 b) has

the briefest possible command to observe 'the festival of Ingathering at the revolution of the year.'—E (xxiii. 16) has a similar brief command to observe it 'at the exit of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field.'—In D (Dt. xvi. 13—15) it is called the 'F. of Booths.' Its length is seven days, and it is held 'after that thou hast gathered in from thy threshingfloor and from thy winepress.' The celebration is to be at the central sanctuary, and the whole household, and the dependent and poor, are to share in the joy and the feasting¹.—In H (Lev. xxiii. 39—43), as before, the festival is not named. It is to last seven days; on the first the people are to take 'the fruit of noble trees, fronds of palm-trees, and boughs of thick trees, and poplars of the brook,' and they are to live in booths throughout the week. And here only is a reason assigned: 'that your descendants may know that I made the Israelites to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt.' (A redactor has added, in v. 39, P's date, 'the 15th day of the seventh month,' and an eighth day at the end of the festival.)—In P (Lev. xxiii. 34—36) it is named the 'F. of Booths.' It is held on the 15th day of the seventh month, and lasts seven days, to which an eighth day is added. Num. xxix. 12—38 agrees with this, and prescribes elaborate offerings for every day of the week.

13. *Leaven in sacrifices.* J (Ex. xxxiv. 25 a) and E (xxiii. 18 a) prohibit universally the use of leaven in sacrifices (cf. Am. iv. 5, where its use is regarded as a sin, or at least as a new-fangled custom contrary to ritual tradition). It is forbidden at the Passover in J (Ex. xiii. 3), D (Dt. xvi. 3) and P (Ex. xii. 8); and in the case of the cereal offering in P (Lev. ii. 11, vi. 17).—Two exceptions are found: H (Lev. xxiii. 17), the wave-loaves offered as firstfruits on the F. of Weeks; P (Lev. vii. 13), part of a peace-offering, when that takes the form of a 'praise-offering.'

14. *Sacrificial fat not to be left till the morning.* The command in this form is found only in E (xxiii. 18 b).—In J (xxxiv. 25) the prohibition is concerned not only with the fat but with the whole victim, and is restricted to the Passover sacrifice. Some, however, would omit 'of the Passover' and read 'my feasts' for 'my feast.'—D (Dt. xvi. 4) forbids the *flesh* of the Passover sacrifice to be left till morning. So P (Ex. xii. 10, Num. ix. 12).—H (Lev. xix. 5—8) allows a sacrifice of peace-offerings to be eaten on the second day, but it

¹ In Dt. xxxi. 10f. it is commanded that every seven years, in the year of release, the Deuteronomic law is to be read to all Israel assembled at the central sanctuary for the festival.

must not be left till the third. But (xxii. 29, 30) that form of it which consists of a 'praise-offering' may not be left till the second day.—P (Lev. vii. 15 f.) does not admit the general concession in the case of peace-offerings¹, but does admit it in the case of another variety of peace-offerings—i.e. vows or free-will offerings.

15. 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.' The command is identical in J (Ex. xxxiv. 26 b), E (xxiii. 19 b), and D (Dt. xiv. 21).

B. *Civil and Social Rulings.*

It is noticeable that the civil laws in chs. xxi.—xxii. 17, considered as a code, are far from being a complete *corpus* such as would satisfy even the elementary requirements of the Israelites in the wilderness and during the days of the judges. For example—the laws of theft, of debt, and of injury to property are signally incomplete; in xxi. 23—25 the *lex talionis* is briefly summarized, the details being for the most part quite inapplicable to the case supposed in v. 22; the method of killing an ox is prescribed (xxi. 28 f., 32), but the method of the judicial execution of a man is nowhere specified. No doubt much of this incompleteness is due to the fact that the prophetic compiler has preserved only portions of existing codes, and again that some of his work has been lost in the course of transmission². But another cause is also assignable. It is to be remembered that the native inhabitants of Canaan, among whom the Israelites found themselves, were not wild barbarians. They had been in the land for centuries, and were dwelling in settled communities. Their civilisation must, from the nature of the case, have been more advanced than that of the invaders, who had but recently emerged from a rude nomad life. If the Israelites, coming in with their tribal customs, were to coalesce with their neighbours, some amalgamation of laws and customs was necessary. The body of Canaanite laws with regard to landed property, houses, commerce and agriculture, dealing with matters hitherto outside their experience, would in most cases be adopted entire. But there would be numerous details of criminal and civil procedure in which a compromise would have to be made; and on these points the Israelite elders and priests would be called upon to deliver to their people authoritative rulings. In our ignorance of Canaanite laws this

¹ Cf. Ex. xxix. 31—34, a special case of peace-offering.

² See note on xxii. 1 f.

is of course conjectural ; but it is a conjecture which has a high degree of probability. The laws of Exodus will, then, represent to some extent the points in which the sterner, more rugged and uncivilised, customs of the Israelites were either enforced or modified in the presence of the laws of Canaan, while the great mass of the latter are taken for granted and therefore receive no notice. And this has an important bearing upon a question that has recently been raised, as to whether the Israelite laws were in any way dependent upon Babylonian influence. Owing to the enthusiastic study of Babylonian and Assyrian literature roused by the rich discoveries of recent years, the tendency to find Babylonian influence in all parts of the Bible—in the New Testament as well as in the Old—has been apt to run to extremes, and thus to discredit the instances in which the evidence for such influence is strong. It is argued that if in Palestine Israel learned and appropriated the ancient Babylonian myths, why should they not have learned the Babylonian law as well? And extravagant language has sometimes been used, to describe the debt which Israelite law owed to the ancient Code of Hammurabi. It may be well to discuss the matter briefly at this point. The best concise account of the code, with a translation, is to be found in *DB* (extra vol. pp. 584—612), in the article ‘Code of Hammurabi.’ The writer, Mr C. H. W. Johns, notes the Biblical parallels which previous writers claim to have found, but he also points out that the divergences between the code and the Hebrew laws are in some cases scarcely less significant, as signs of influence, than the similarities. The more striking of the enactments which find parallels in the laws of Exodus are as follows :

§ 8. ‘If a man has stolen ox or sheep or ass or pig or ship, whether from the temple or the palace, he shall pay thirtyfold. If from a poor man, he shall render tenfold. If the thief has not wherewith to pay, he shall be put to death.’ See Ex. xxii. 1—3, 9.

§ 9. ‘If a man who has lost something of his, has seized something of his that was lost in the hand of a man, (while) the man in whose hand the lost thing has been seized has said, “A giver gave it me,” or “I bought it before witnesses” ; and further, the owner of the thing that was lost has said, “Verily I will bring witnesses that know my lost property” ; (if) the buyer has brought the giver who gave it him, or the witnesses before whom he bought it, and the owner of the lost property has brought the witnesses who know his lost property, the judge shall see their depositions, the witnesses before whom the purchase was made, and the witnesses knowing the lost property, shall say out before God what they know ; and if the giver has acted the thief he shall be put to death, the owner of the lost property shall take

his lost property, the buyer shall take the money he paid from the house of the giver' ['to give' is often = 'to sell']. See xxii. 7—9.

§ 14. 'If a man has stolen the young son of a freeman, he shall be put to death.' See xxi. 16.

§ 57. 'If a shepherd has caused the sheep to feed on the green corn, has not come to an agreement with the owner of the field, without the consent of the owner of the field has made the sheep feed off the field, the owner shall reap his fields, the shepherd who without consent of the owner of the field has fed off the field with sheep shall give over and above twenty *GUR* of corn per *GAN* to the owner of the field.' See xxii. 5 f., and note.

§ 112. 'If a man stays away on a journey and has given silver, gold, precious stones, or portable treasures to a man, has caused him to take them for transport, and that man has not given whatever was given him for transport, where he has transported it, but has taken it for himself, the owner of the transported object shall put that man to account concerning whatever he had to transport and gave not, and that man shall give to the owner of the transported object fivefold whatever was given him.' See xxii. 7—9.

§ 117. 'If a debt has seized a man and he has given his wife, his son, or his daughter for the money, or has handed them over to work off the debt; for three years they shall work in the house of their buyer or exploiter, in the fourth year he shall set them at liberty.' See xxi. 2, 7.

§ 130. 'If a man has forced the wife of a man who has not known the male and is dwelling in the house of her father, and has lain in her bosom and one has caught him, that man shall be put to death; the woman herself shall go free.' § 156. 'If a man has betrothed a bride to his son and his son has not known her, and he has lain in her bosom, he shall pay her half a mina of silver. Further, he shall pay to her whatever she brought from her father's house, and she shall marry the husband of her choice.' See xxii. 16.

§ 195. 'If a man has struck his father, one shall cut off his hands.' See xxi. 15, 17.

§ 196. 'If a man has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, one shall cause his eye to be lost.' § 197. 'If he has shattered a gentleman's limb, one shall shatter his limb.' § 200. 'If a man has made the tooth of a man that is his equal to fall out, one shall make his tooth fall out.' See xxi. 24.

§ 199. 'If he has caused the loss of the eye of a gentleman's servant or has shattered the limb of a gentleman's servant, he shall pay half his price.' See xxi. 26 f.

§ 206. 'If a man has struck a man in a quarrel and has caused him a wound, that man shall swear "I did not strike him knowingly," and shall answer for the doctor.' See xxi. 18 f.

§ 209. 'If a man has struck a gentleman's daughter, and caused her to drop what is in her womb, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for what was in her womb.' § 210. 'If that woman has died, one shall put to death his daughter.' §§ 211—214 treat of similar injuries to the daughter of a poor man and to a maidservant, the punishment being according to a graduated scale of fines. See xxi. 20, 22 f.

§§ 245, 6. 'If a man has hired an ox and through neglect or blows has caused it to die...[or] has crushed its foot or cut its nape, ox for ox to the owner of the ox he shall render.' § 247. '...if he has caused it to lose its eye, he shall pay half its price to the owner of the ox.' § 248. '...if he has broken its horn, cut off its tail, or pierced its nostrils, he shall pay a quarter of its price.' § 249. '...if God has struck it and it has died, the man who has hired the ox shall swear before God and shall go free.' See xxii. 10—15.

§ 250. 'If a savage bull in his charge has gored a man and caused him to die, that case has no remedy.' See xxi. 28.

§ 251. 'If the ox has pushed a man, by pushing has made known his vice, and he [the owner] has not blunted his horn, has not shut up his ox, and that ox has gored a man of gentle birth and caused him to die, he shall pay half a mina of silver.' See xxi. 29. § 252. 'If a gentleman's servant, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.' See xxi. 32.

§ 266. 'If in a sheepfold a stroke of God has taken place or a lion has killed, the shepherd shall purge himself before God, and the owner of the fold shall face the accident to the fold.' § 267. 'If a shepherd has been careless and in a sheepfold caused a loss to take place, the shepherd shall make good the fault of the loss which he has caused to be in the fold, and shall pay cows or sheep and shall give to their owner.' See xxii. 10—12.

The parallels and the divergences, summarized in Mr Johns' articles on pp. 608—10, lead inevitably to the conviction which he states, that 'there can be no question of actual borrowing, at any rate until post-exilic times.' But though the Hebrew legislators did not sit down, so to speak, with a copy of Hammurabi's code before them, their work does undoubtedly shew traces of Babylonian influence, which may be accounted for as follows. Hammurabi was the ruler of a united Babylon, but it had been united by conquest. When his dynasty (of which he was the sixth king) became established on the

throne, the population of Babylonia was an amalgamation of very different elements. On the one hand there was a people long settled in the country, who—though of mixed, and already partly Semitic, origin—may be called the native Babylonians. These had attained to a considerable degree of culture and civilisation. On the other hand were the conquering (and probably Semitic) invaders, aristocratic, and conservative of ancient ideas, but rugged and primitive. And Hammurabi's code represents a compromise between the customs of the two peoples, in which the virile force of the new-comers left its mark. And this state of things probably finds a close analogy in Palestine. The rude and forceful new-comers were the Hebrews, while the mixed Canaanite population were relatively in the same stage of civilisation as the native Babylonians; and, as suggested above, a compromise between the respective bodies of custom and law took place.

But further—it is probable that the laws of the native Canaanites were, with the modifications which would result from different climatic, geographical and racial circumstances, in the main closely similar to the laws of Babylon. As to the exact extent to which life in Palestine had been affected by Babylonian influence before the Israelite occupation very divergent views are held. It is certain, however, that (as Johns says) before that occupation 'the rulers of the settled districts wrote in Babylonian to the kings of Egypt, and, presumably, also to the kings of Mitanni, Assyria and Babylon.' Though this does not prove that Palestine was at that time under Babylonian rule, it shews that the whole of western Asia was so far permeated with Babylonian influence that the language was the ordinary literary vehicle of the day. In an inscription erected in his honour, Hammurabi is called the *King of Martu*, which probably means 'the west land.' In still earlier times Sargon I, king of Agade, is stated to have made an expedition against Phoenicia; and Gudea, the *patesi* or priestly ruler of Sirgulla, boasts of having brought stones and timber from Martu and Arabia. The kings of Ur, also, at one time possessed the west land. And the title held by several of the ancient kings—'King of the four quarters of the world'—is held to denote that they ruled westward as far as the Mediterranean. It is, therefore, in the highest degree probable that there had been contact in the past between Babylonia and Palestine. And though certain features which the early Hebrew laws have in common with Hammurabi's code may have been common to all Semites from prehistoric times, or were such as human nature in any country might devise, yet some of them may well have found their way to Palestine during the times when Babylon

either traded, or held suzerainty, in the west land. In the later Hebrew legislation of D and P, when Babylonian influence had again reached Palestine in the times of the New Kingdom, the parallels with Babylonian laws become increasingly frequent and close. But however large or limited the Babylonian elements in the Hebrew laws may be, or may hereafter prove to be, the question of 'inspiration' is not really affected. The history of all the Semitic and other nations involved in the problem was controlled by the One God who worketh all in all; it was the leading of His Holy Spirit, working upon a multitude of minds through long ages, that brought the laws of Exodus into a form, which, so far as our present knowledge enables us to discern it, was a step in the guidance of the chosen people along the path that ultimately led to 'the Perfect Law, the Law of Liberty¹.'

The civil and social laws in Exodus must now be compared with later laws on the same subjects.

1. *Enactments with regard to slaves.*

- E. Ex. xxi. 2. A Hebrew male slave is to be set free without ransom in the seventh year of his slavery.
3. If unmarried when he became a slave, he goes free by himself; if married, his wife goes with him.
4. If he receives a wife while in slavery, she and her children remain the property of the master, and the slave goes free by himself.
- 5, 6. He may bind himself for life if he wish.
7. A concubine slave cannot go free.
8. If she please not her master, he may allow her to be ransomed, but he may not sell her to foreigners.
9. If she be married to her master's son, she must be treated as a daughter.
- 10, 11. If the master take another wife, he must give the concubine her full dues; otherwise she may go free without ransom.
- 20, 21. A master who strikes his slave with immediate fatal effects must be punished. But if death is not immediate, he shall not be punished.
- 26, 27. If he destroy the eye or tooth of a male or female slave, the slave may go free.
32. If a male or female slave be gored to death by an ox, the owner of the ox shall pay 30 shekels to the master of the slave, and the ox shall be stoned.

¹ Some useful remarks upon Hammurabi's code in its bearing upon the inspiration of Scripture are made by Dr Lock, in *The Bible and Christian Life*, pp. 1—19. The text of the code in the original cuneiform, with a French translation, will be found in *Textes Elamitiques-Semitiques*, iv. Paris, 1902, and in English in Johns' *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*, Edinburgh, 1903.

The later codes do not deal with the subject in such close detail, but they are marked by a more humanitarian spirit.

- D. Dt. xv. 12. A Hebrew male or female slave shall go free in the seventh year of slavery.
 13—15. The master shall present them with liberal gifts.
 16, 17. A male or female slave may be bound for life if they wish.
 xvi. 11, 13. Slaves shall join in the annual festivals.
 xxi. 10—14. A captive slave girl may bewail her parents for a month before becoming a wife. If she please not her master, he must let her go free. He may not sell her, or treat her as a slave, if he has made her his wife.
 xxiii. 15. A runaway slave is to be protected from his master.
 H. Lev. xix. 20. Seduction of a betrothed slave girl must be punished, but not by death.
 xxii. 11. A bought slave may eat holy food in a priest's family.
 xxv. 39, 40a, 43, 47, 53, 55. A Hebrew may not sell himself into life-long slavery. He must be treated, without rigour, as a servant hired by the year. Because all Israelites are Yahweh's bondmen.
 P. Lev. xxv. 40b—42, 44—46, 48—52, 54. A Hebrew slave may redeem himself, or be redeemed, at any time, at a price varying as the distance from the jubile. At the jubile he shall in any case go free with his children. Only foreigners may be owned as heritable chattels.
 Ex. xii. 43. A slave when circumcised may eat the Passover.

2. *The law of Asylum.* E (Ex. xxi. 13, 14). The appointed place, as may be gathered from v. 14, was an altar, which would be within easy reach of every town.—In D (Dt. xix. 1—10), special cities are substituted for the local altars, because the one altar at Jerusalem would be practically useless for purposes of asylum. Three cities are commanded, and, if Yahweh enlarged the Israelites' borders, three more were to be added. (Three have previously been mentioned in iv. 41—43. But it is unlikely that the writer of ch. xix. understood nine cities to be intended. See Driver, *Deut.* p. 233.)—P (Num. xxxv. 9—15, 22—28, 32) describes a more detailed procedure. The cities are to be six in number, three on each side of the Jordan; and they now receive the definite title 'cities of refuge' or (perhaps) 'reception'.¹ When a manslayer flees to one of these cities, the 'congregation' of his own city bring him home, and judge between him

¹ עָרֵי מִקְלָטָם. The word is obscure.

and the *gō'āl* or 'avenger of blood,' to discover whether the man-slaughter had been deliberate or accidental. If they find the latter, they must take the man back to the city of refuge, where he must remain until the death of the high priest. If he ventures out of the city before that time, the *gō'āl* may kill him. (See Gray on the chapter.)

3. *Murder*. E (Ex. xxi. 12, 14). No asylum is possible for the deliberate murderer.—D (Dt. xix. 11—13). The elders of the murderer's city shall send to the city whither he has fled for asylum, and shall deliver him up to the *gō'āl*.—P (Num. xxxv. 16—21, 31). Different methods of committing murder are enumerated, and thereby the congregation of the murderer's city can discover whether the act has been deliberate or accidental. If the former, the *gō'āl* shall kill him; and (v. 31) no ransom is possible.—Murder is forbidden in the decalogue (Ex. xx. 13, Dt. v. 17).

4. *The Lex Talionis*. E (Ex. xxi. 23—25). V. 23 is connected with the case in which men strive together and injure a woman with child; if 'mischief' ensue, i.e. the death of the woman, life must be given for life. But this is followed by a brief summary of the law of retaliation, irrelevant to the case in point.—In D (Dt. xix. 21) a similar list, life, eye, tooth, hand, foot, follows a passage relating to false witness (15—20), a very loose connexion being afforded by the words 'Ye shall do to him as he devised to do to his brother.'—H (Lev. xxiv. 17—22) deals similarly with human life, limb, eye, tooth, or any other blemish. An additional detail (v. 18) is that if a beast is killed, a beast's life must be forfeited for it¹.

5. *Death inflicted by an animal*. E (Ex. xxi. 28). The animal must be killed.—So in P (Gen. ix. 5).

6. *Theft*. E (Ex. xxii. 1—4). The penalty for cattle-lifting is five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. If the animal be found alive in the thief's possession, he must pay two animals. The killing of a burglar by night is not criminal, but it is by day.—Theft is forbidden in the decalogue (Ex. xx. 15, Dt. v. 19).—In H (Lev. xix. 11, 13) theft (גנב) and violent robbery (לבו) are mentioned as distinct crimes.—In P (Lev. vi. 1—7) theft, or any fraudulent appropriation of property, must be atoned for by full restitution, *plus* one-fifth, and by a guilt-offering. Num. v. 5—8: if restitution cannot be made either to the owner or to his next of kin, it must be made to the priest.

¹ The section is placed very strangely by a priestly redactor in the middle of a narrative which relates the stoning of a man who blasphemed the divine Name.

7. *Kidnapping.* E (Ex. xxi. 16). The penalty is death.—Similarly in D (Dt. xxiv. 7), where, however, the command speaks only of the stealing of an Israelite.

C. *Moral and Ethical Injunctions.*

Under this head are grouped some remaining laws in xxii. 18—28, xxiii. 1—9. They reflect the religious spirit of the prophets who preached in the 8th and 7th centuries.

1. *Sorceress.* E (Ex. xxii. 18). A sorceress must be put to death.—By the time of D such practices had taken a strong hold upon the country, and they are dealt with at greater length. In D (Dt. xviii. 10—14) eight kinds of magic are enumerated, and denounced as 'abomination to Yahweh.'—In H, the observance of omens and the practice of soothsaying are forbidden (Lev. xix. 26 *b*); the consulting of ghosts or familiar spirits is a defilement (*v.* 31); Yahweh will cut off anyone who regards them (xx. 6); and a man or woman who has a ghost or familiar spirit must be stoned (*v.* 27).

2. *Intercourse with a beast.* In E (Ex. xxii. 19), punishable with death.—In D (Dt. xxvii. 21) it is cursed.—H (Lev. xviii. 23) denounces it as 'unnatural¹,' and a defilement.

3. *Treatment of sojourners (gerim).* In E (Ex. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9) the sojourner is not stated to have had any legal rights, but there is the injunction not to oppress him.—In the decalogue (Ex. xx. 10, Dt. v. 14) he must observe the Sabbath.—In D he must be treated with justice (Dt. i. 16, xxiv. 14) and kindness (x. 18, xiv. 29); he may share in the covenant (xxix. 10—12), and may receive instruction with Hebrews (xxxii. 12). He is not, however, on complete equality with the Israelite, for he may eat the flesh of an animal that has died a natural death (xiv. 21². Contrast Lev. xvii. 15).—In H the equality is complete. Besides receiving justice and kindness (Lev. xix. 33 *f.*, xxiii. 22), his religious privileges and obligations are the same as those of Israelites (Lev. xvii. 8—14, xviii. 26, xx. 2, xxii. 18).—In P the complete equality is emphasized (Lev. xvii. 15 *f.*, xxiv. 16, 22); the Passover and other sacrificial laws apply to him (Ex. xii. 48 *f.*, Num. ix. 14, xv. 14—16), and the law of asylum (Num. xxxv. 15).

4. *Treatment of widows and orphans.* E (Ex. xxii. 22). A

¹ חֲבֻלָה, 'confusion,' violation of the divine order. In xx. 12 † the word is applied to intercourse with a daughter.

² This is the only point of inequality mentioned in D; but there were probably others.

peculiarly Deuteronomic injunction. Cf. Dt. xiv. 29, xvi. 11, 14, xxiv. 17, 19, 21, xxvi. 12 f., xxvii. 19.

5. *Usury*, forbidden to be exacted from a fellow-Hebrew; E (Ex. xxii. 25),—D (Dt. xxiii. 19 f., where, however, it is expressly allowed from foreigners),—H (Lev. xxv. 35—37).

6. *Pledges*. In E (Ex. xxii. 26 f.) it is forbidden to take as a pledge a man's outer garment, in which he would wrap himself at night.—In D (Dt. xxiv. 12 f.) it is forbidden to keep the garment later than sunset; v. 6 forbids the taking of a mill, or the upper stone of a mill; v. 17b, a widow's raiment; and vv. 10, 11 prohibit the entering into a man's house to fetch any article as a pledge; the lender must wait without for the borrower to fetch it.

7. *False witness*. Forbidden in E (Ex. xxiii. 1), and in the decalogue (Ex. xx. 16, Dt. v. 20).—In D (Dt. xix. 16—20), one who is proved to have witnessed falsely shall suffer the same penalty that he thought to bring upon the defendant.—P (Lev. v. 1) condemns the withholding of witness after adjuration to speak. (One witness insufficient. Dt. xvii. 6, xix. 15, Num. xxxv. 30 (P).)

8. *Unjust judgement*. E (Ex. xxiii. 2, 3¹, 6—8).—Impartial judgement is commanded in D (Dt. xvi. 18—20), and H (Lev. xix. 15, 35). The taking of bribes is cursed in Dt. xxvii. 25.

9. *Assistance to animals*. E (Ex. xxiii. 4). A man must restore to his enemy a straying ox or ass.—D (Dt. xxii. 1—3) has 'thy brother's ox or his sheep,' and also his ass, garment or any lost thing. And if the owner be absent, the lost property must be kept for him till he claims it.

E (Ex. xxiii. 5). A man must help his enemy to raise a fallen ox or ass.—Similarly D (Dt. xxii. 4), 'thy brother's ass or his ox.'

10. *Adultery*. Forbidden in the decalogue (Ex. xx. 14, Dt. v. 18).—D (Dt. xxii. 22—24). The crime is punishable by the death of both parties, even if the woman be only betrothed; if, however, she be forced, she is of course innocent (25—27).—In H (Lev. xviii. 20) the crime is condemned as a defilement; punishable by the death of both parties (xx. 10)².—In P (Num. v. 11—31) a woman suspected of guilt is subjected to the ordeal of drinking a potion.

11. *Covetousness*. Forbidden in the decalogue (Ex. xx. 17, Dt. v. 21). See note, pp. 120 f.

In the above lists no laws are enumerated which do not find a starting-point in the non-priestly portions of Exodus. There is a

¹ The passage is corrupt: see note.

² xviii. 6—19, xx. 11—21, contain further prohibitions with regard to sexual intercourse.

large number of regulations in D and H dealing with civil and moral cases, and in H and P dealing with priestly requirements, which find no equivalents even of the most primitive kind in JE¹. But if the Exodus laws represent a compromise gradually brought about between Israelite and Canaanite customs, so that a large body of native laws and customs, which the Israelites found in Palestine and adopted unchanged, never had a place in their early written records, it is not impossible that when later generations drew up codes, some of these unwritten laws and customs might appear in them—either in the form which ancient tradition had preserved, or (as would most frequently be the case) with numerous modifications. This is not the place to investigate the subject; but it may be confidently assumed that many regulations in the later codes did not *originate* in or near the times of the writers, but—though the earlier codes do not contain them—point ultimately to the period when Israel was silently assimilating customs, ceremonies and laws, which had existed in Canaan for ages before they arrived in the country. See, for instance, the following passages, containing elements which have every appearance of being ancient: Lev. xvi. 8—10, xviii. 6—18, xx. 11—21; Num. v. 11—31, vi. 1—21, xix., xxx., xxvii. 1—11, xxxvi. 1—12.

D. *The Decalogue.*

The famous group of laws which stands at the head of the Horeb legislation (Ex. xx. 1—17, Dt. v. 6—21) has afforded a wide field for critical study. The group is usually known as the Decalogue, that is the 'Ten Words,' a name derived, not from Exodus, but from Dt. iv. 13, x. 4. Opinion, however, is not unanimous as to its division into ten parts. There are three systems, adopted by different religious communities, as follows²:

	Greek and Reformed.	R.C. and Lutheran.	Jewish.
God the Deliverer out of Egypt	Preface	Preface	1st
Prohibition of polytheism	1st	} 1st }	} 2nd }
Prohibition of graven images	2nd		
Employing the divine Name wrongly ...False witness	3rd—9th	2nd—8th	3rd—9th
Prohibition of covetousness	10th	9th & 10th	10th

¹ They can be seen conveniently tabulated by Carpenter-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, i. 223—254.

² See art. 'Decalogue' in *DB* i. 581, Nestle, *Expos. Times*, June 1897, and Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², pp. 120—3.

The Jewish acceptance of *vv.* 1, 2 as the first 'word' is very unnatural; and scarcely less so is the union into one 'word' of the prohibitions against the worship of other gods and the making of images. The Roman and Lutheran division of the prohibition of covetousness into two 'words' can claim support from the arrangement of the clauses in Dt. (The Roman Church, indeed, follows the order of Dt., placing the coveting of the wife before that of the house, &c.) But if the history of the Ten Words is rightly explained below, the original form of the 10th precludes the possibility of such a division.

The first four 'words' deal with duties to God; the remainder with duties to fellow-men. But filial duty was so closely allied to religious, that the commands are usually thought of as falling into two pentades 1st to 5th being precepts of *pietas*, 6th to 10th of *probitas*.

The student is at once struck by the fact that while the 1st, and the 6th—9th 'words' consist, in each case, of a single terse sentence, the others are amplified by reasons assigned for keeping the commands, or other additional matter. Not only so, but in the Dt. version these amplifications do not preserve intact the wording of Exodus. A different reason is assigned for the observance of the Sabbath, and there are small divergences in the 2nd, 5th, 9th and 10th. And there is great probability in the supposition which is now widely adopted that some of the commands have received later hortatory expansion, and that all were originally cast in the same terse form, which would be more suitable for inscriptions on tablets of stone. Thus the 2nd—5th and the 10th may have run 'Thou shalt not make to thee a graven image,' 'Thou shalt not take up the name of Yahweh for a falsehood,' 'Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it,' 'Honour thy father and mother¹,' 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.' When the expansions are carefully studied it is found that they contain literary characteristics which recall each of the four elements J, E, D and P. The 'jealousy of Yahweh' is spoken of in xxxiv. 14 (J); the reason attached to the 3rd 'word,' 'Yahweh will not hold guiltless,' recalls xxxiv. 7 (J); 'visiting the iniquity...generation,' and 'doing mercy for thousands,' find parallels also in xxxiv. 7². The enumeration of the household in the 4th and 10th 'words' may be compared with xxiii. 12 (E). The larger proportion, however, of the hortatory matter

¹ It is further possible that the 4th and 5th were originally prohibitions, like the others.

² The expression 'doing mercy' is peculiar to JE, occurring elsewhere seven times in the Hexateuch; Gen. xix. 19, xx. 13, xxi. 23, xxiv. 12, 14, xl. 14, Josh. ii. 12.

is in the unmistakable style of D. The addition 'thy God' after the name Yahweh in the Preface and in the 2nd—5th 'words' is peculiarly Deuteronomic; as are also 'the house of slaves' (v. 2), and the additions 'nor any form...nor serve them' (vv. 4 f.), 'them that hate me,' 'them that love me' (v. 6); the expression 'within thy gates,' and the reason attached to the 5th 'word,' are strongly characteristic of Deuteronomy. If these additions had been made in Exodus before Dt. v. was written, it is difficult to see why the writer of the latter should not have quoted them *verbatim*. They must have been added in Exodus by a Deuteronomic redactor. Again—after the enlargement of the 4th 'word' in vv. 9 f., a reason for keeping the Sabbath is annexed which differs from that in Dt. v. 15. It is scarcely probable that if D had had the present passage before him, he could have substituted his historical reference for the high spiritual conception of a community in Sabbath rest between God and man. The clauses in Exodus—'for in six days...&c.'—appear to be based upon Gen. ii. 1—3, which forms part of P's account of the Creation¹. It appears, then, that the decalogue reached its present form by a gradual growth. The 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 10th 'words' were expanded by material from J and E; Deuteronomic elements were added to the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th, and the Preface; and the 4th was further expanded by a priestly writer.

But when the later expansions have been recognised, the question remains whether the original brief commands were included from the first in the work of E, or whether they were added to the Exodus legislation after his time.

(a) Some have approached the problem from a subjective point of view. Do the 'Ten Words,' in their original form, display such an advanced ethical standard as to render it impossible to place them at the head of the enactments of the Israelite religion, and to assign them to Moses? It is true that we are accustomed to see in them an

¹ Carpenter-Battersby, *Hexateuch*, ii. 112, point out that some of the verbal details are different; instead of 'the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that is in them,' Gen. has 'the heavens and the earth and all their host'; the verb 'rested' is *shābhath* in Gen. but *nūah* in Ex.; the word 'Sabbath' is not used in Gen., nor is the blessing on the day connected with Yahweh's rest by 'therefore' (*al kēn*). But they also observe that *al kēn* is employed in connexion with the Sabbath in Ex. xvi. 29 (P); the verb *nūah* is found in the parallel passage Dt. v. 14, which may have prompted the writer's choice; and the other differences may be explained by the influence of the context: the triple division into sky, earth and sea is already recognised in v. 4, and the word 'Sabbath' was already before the writer in vv. 8, 10. But in any case he was under no obligation to quote Gen. ii. 1—3; it is the similarity in thought which suggests that the two passages emanate from the same circle of ideas. See the priestly passage xxxi. 17, where the addition 'and was refreshed' is an echo of the Sabbath law in E (xxiii. 12).

ethical code of profound depth, inculcating, in all fulness, piety towards God and right dealings with our fellow-men. The Christian Church has, of course, been justified in drawing from them all the spiritual teaching that can be drawn. In the modern religious use of the 'Ten Commandments' the principle is applied to them which was applied by Jesus Christ, that each specific command is to be complemented by the universal moral and spiritual requirements which conscience demands. But this interpretation of the commands according to a high ethical standard is apt to conceal the possibility that their original standard may have been less lofty. All the commands can be explained as teaching, not morals, so much as *preservation of rights*. Kautzsch sums them up as follows: '*Thou shalt not do violence to* (i) what belongs to God—1st, His sole right to worship; 2nd, His superiority to any earthly form; 3rd, His name; 4th, His day (as a type of all His other "holy ordinances"); 5th, His representatives; (ii) what belongs to thy neighbour—6th, his life (as his most precious possession); 7th, his wife (as next in preciousness); 8th, his goods and chattels; 9th, his honour. It is only in the last of the Commandments that another point of view makes its appearance, namely in the prohibition to touch even in thought the property of one's neighbour. Thus the climax is reached of the ascending scale which presents itself in the arrangement of the Commandments of the second table—in the advance from sins of act to sins of word, and finally to sins of thought.' But it is not certain that even the 10th 'word' really rises to a higher ethical standard than the others. Even in Dt., where the two words 'covet' and 'desire' are used, they may be, as Prof. Driver says, merely a rhetorical variation. But certainly in Exodus, where the wife is coupled with slaves, cattle and other property, there is no reference to *lustful thought*. The command is aimed against that greedy desire for another's goods which so often issued in violent acts—the oppressions and cheating which were rife among the wealthier classes, and were denounced by Amos, Isaiah and Micah¹. As far, then, as the nature of the commands is concerned, there is nothing in them which must necessarily be considered impossible in the Mosaic age.

(b) But a serious difficulty arises in connexion with the 2nd 'word.' Although it is true that the conscience of a nation could not have been on a level with the conscience of its noblest leader, yet if Moses himself prohibited the making of images it is strange that no one before

¹ Cf. Am. iii. 10, v. 11, viii. 4—6; Mic. ii. 2, 9, iii. 2, 3, 5; Is. i. 23, iii. 14, 15, v. 8, 23.

the 8th century appears to have been acquainted with the fact. It was apparently the universal practice to employ images in the worship of Yahweh. The *pesūtim* at Gilgal (Jud. iii. 19, R.V. 'quarries') were probably sacred stone images used in worship. The Danites (Jud. xviii. 30 f.) set up Micah's *pesel*¹, or 'graven image,' at Dan, and it was served by a line of priests originating with the Levite Jonathan, whose ancestry was traced to Moses. It is clear that the *pesel* was an image used both by Micah and the Danites for Yahweh-worship (cf. xvii. 13); and in chs. xvii., xviii., there is not the slightest blame attached to its use; in Micah's case the making of an image was a religious act on the part of his mother. A *pesel* was also set up in Manasseh's reign (2 K. xxi. 7), when there was a violent reaction from the recent prophetic movement towards reform. Another sacred object of frequent use in worship was the *Ephod*². It has been noticed as occurring in the list of Micah's properties. Gideon (Jud. viii. 27) made an ephod of 1700 shekels of gold, and set it up at Ophrah. The later religious editor denounces this as idolatry, but Gideon's previous zeal in overthrowing the altar of Baal (vi. 25—28) shews that he intended, by his ephod, to advance the worship of Yahweh. There was an ephod (1 S. xxi. 9), apparently a solid figure or image, in the sanctuary at Nob. And throughout the days of Samuel and Saul the ephod is in evidence as a recognised method of inquiring of the oracle (1 S. ii. 28, xiv. 3, 18 (LXX), xxiii. 6, 9, xxx. 7). As late as Hosea the use of the ephod remained unobjectionable. In Hos. iii. 4 it is mentioned (together with king and priest, sacrifice, *mazzēbhāh* and *terāphim*) as one of the requisites of Israel's normal political and religious life of which they will be deprived in exile. *Teraphim*, also, appear to have been employed by true worshippers of Yahweh³. They are often thought to have been images of ancestors worshipped in each household. But the evidence for ancestor-worship in Israel is very doubtful. It is unlikely that David (1 S. xix. 13, 16) would have had an image for any other purpose than Yahweh-worship⁴. The word 'teraphim,' as has been said, is coupled with ephod in the story of

¹ In xvii. 4 f. four different words are employed to describe objects used in Yahweh-worship: *pesel* ('graven image'), *massēkah* ('molten image'), *ephod* and *teraphim*. It is probable that the two verses belong to different sources, and it is doubtful how many images the words really describe. See Moore, *Judges*, in *loc.*

² The derivation and exact meaning are doubtful. See note following xxviii. 12.

³ The word is used of an image of an Aramaean deity in Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 32, 34 f.

⁴ The same passage shews that the plural word 'teraphim' could denote a *single* figure, and that it might be of the size and form of a man.

Micah, and in Hos. iii. 4. Among images for Yahweh-worship must also be reckoned the golden bulls of Jeroboam I at Bethel and Dan. It is quite evident that he intended them to represent Yahweh (1 K. xii. 28), as Aaron is related to have done (Ex. xxxii. 4). On the other hand the Deuteronomic compiler of the books of Kings denounced them repeatedly, and the opposition to them seems to reach back as early as Hosea (x. 5, 8); 'molten images,' also, are condemned in J (Ex. xxxiv. 17) and in Hos. xiii. 2. Lastly, besides the mention of various images, expressions were used in early times which imply that Yahweh was conceived of as visibly and locally present in His sanctuary. 'To see the face of Yahweh' occurs with some frequency; but later orthodoxy altered it to the form 'to appear the face of Yahweh' (*sic*), the impossible construction clearly pointing to the original form (cf. Ex. xxiii. 15, 17¹, xxxiv. 23 f., Dt. xvi. 16, xxxi. 11, Is. i. 12). And the expression 'to stroke, or smooth', the face of Yahweh (or Elohim), though it came to be used as a mere idiom for 'propitiate,' seems to date from a time when it implied the presence of a tangible figure (cf. Ex. xxxii. 11, 1 K. xiii. 6, 2 K. xiii. 4, Jer. xxvi. 19).

The evidence, therefore, suggests that Yahweh was universally worshipped in Israel with images till about the time of Jeroboam II, when the prophets began to raise their voice against a worship which was only external, and did not shew its fruits in righteousness and justice. If this is so, it may safely be said that a categorical command against the practice could scarcely have been laid down by the founder of the nation. Moses may have taught some of the lessons enshrined in the decalogue, but it is difficult to believe that he promulgated the 'Ten Words.'

(c) It is instructive to notice the relation in which the contents of the decalogue stand to the other laws assigned to Moses at Horeb. Each of the commands, with the exception of the 7th and 10th, finds a point of contact with laws preserved by Elohist hands in chs. xx.—xxiii.

1st	'Thou shalt have none other gods but me.'	xx. 23 a	'Ye shall not make [other gods] with me.'
2nd	'Thou shalt not make for thyself any <i>pesel</i> .'	xx. 23 b	'Gods of silver or gods of gold ye shall not make unto you.'

¹ The Samaritan version retains the accusative particle ל , instead of לָ 'unto.'

² The root of the verb, however, in Aram. can denote 'to be sweet.' This meaning is not found in Heb., but it is possible that 'to sweeten the face' may have been the early form of the expression.

3rd 'Thou shalt not take up the name of Yahweh for a false purpose (<i>shāṣ</i>).'	xxiii. 1 a 'Thou shalt not take up a false report (a report of <i>shāṣ</i>).'
4th 'Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it.'	xxiii. 12 'Six days thou shalt do thy work...&c.'
5th 'Honour thy father and mother.'	xxi. 15, 17 'He that smiteth—curseth—his father or his mother shall surely be put to death.'
6th 'Thou shalt do no murder.'	xxi. 12 'He that smiteth a man so that he die shall surely be put to death.'
7th 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.'	<i>vacat</i> ; cf. xxii. 16 f.
8th 'Thou shalt not steal.'	xxi. 16, xxii. 1—4 Kidnapping, house-breaking and cattle-lifting.
9th 'Thou shalt not bear lying witness against thy neighbour.'	xxiii. 1 b 'Put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.'
10th 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.'	<i>vacat</i> .

The commands of the decalogue are couched, as a whole, in a generalising didactic form, while those in the other column deal more in concrete instances. And it is difficult to deny priority to the latter.

(d) The above arguments consist of deductions from the contents of the decalogue. But the subjective considerations are entirely borne out when we examine the place which the decalogue holds in the Horeb chapters. As it stands it is in the forefront of the legislation; it should be followed by xix. 7, 8, a fragment of narrative connected with it. The Deuteronomist, finding it in this position in the source which he had before him, went further, and in his own writing placed it in isolated grandeur as the sole basis of the Horeb covenant. But in Exodus not a word is said to shew that the decalogue was the basis of any covenant. The covenant, both in J and E, is expressly based on other laws, which were—as stated in both narratives—inscribed by Moses himself (J, xxxiv. 27 f., E, xxiv. 4). E's description of the theophany, interrupted at xix. 19 by part of J's description, is continued in xx. 18—21, after which the covenant laws at once begin. And J's version of the covenant laws begins at xxxiv. 14 (see v. 10). Thus no room can be found for the decalogue in the original narratives of J and E, and the conclusion is inevitable that it was a later addition. The literary evidence suggests that in its original form, without the expansions, it came into being as a distinct code between E and the

rise of the Deuteronomic school, i.e. roughly speaking, between 750 and 650 B.C.

It cannot be determined with certainty whether its composition is to be assigned to the Northern or the Southern Kingdom. Kuenen, who believes in a 'Judean recension' of both J and E, says¹, 'If we are to regard the writer who summarised Yahwè's commands in the decalogue as an original and creative author, we must place him in the 8th century; but if we are to suppose that he merely resumed what the prophets of Yahwè had already uttered, we must make him a contemporary of Manasseh. His ethical conception of the service of Yahwè finds its closest analogue in Mic. vi. 1—vii. 6, which is in all probability a product of this latter period.' It is reasonable to suppose that the prophets, like Isaiah, drew round them by their magnetic influence, a circle of disciples, who would be eager to store up the 'testimony' and the 'torah' (cf. Is. viii. 16, 20) which they received from them. But if the decalogue was the work of such a disciple, it is not necessary to place him as late as Manasseh. The ethical conception of the service of Yahweh finds at least as close an analogue in the teaching of Hosea, as in Mic. vi., vii. No less than six of the 'Ten Words' may be compared with the brief surviving records of his preaching. The 1st 'Word' is implicitly contained in the pathetic story of Gomer (Hos. iii.), who symbolized Israel in her 'whoredom,' i.e. her adherence to other gods than Yahweh; and it is found almost *verbatim*, together with the Preface (in a non-Deuteronomic form), in xiii. 4 (and cf. xii. 9). Although, as has been said, Hosea speaks without disapproval of the ephod and teraphim (iii. 4), yet the 2nd 'Word' is in keeping with his unsparing denunciation of idols of silver and gold and of 'the calf of Samaria' (iv. 17, viii. 4b—6, xiii. 2). The sin forbidden in the 3rd 'Word,' if it be that of swearing false oaths, is found in iv. 2, 'swearing and lying,' and x. 4, 'swearing falsely' (*shāv*). The Sabbath is mentioned in ii. 11 as one of the religious festivals of which Israel would be deprived in exile. The 6th, 7th and 8th 'Words' find their counterpart in iv. 2; and it is significant that, apart from the decalogue, the word 'adultery,' with either a symbolical or a literal meaning, occurs in no Old Testament writing earlier than Hosea; nor does it occur again till Jeremiah. The 9th and 10th 'Words' find no exact parallels in Hosea; but, on the other hand, false witness and covetousness are denounced by his predecessor Amos, who preached in the north (v. 10—12; ii. 6, viii. 4—7).

¹ *The Hexateuch*, Engl. Transl. p. 244.

The decalogue, therefore, touching at so many points the Elohist legislation at Horeb and the teaching of Amos and Hosea, appears to be a result—and an immediate result—of prophetic teaching in the north. But it is probable that its present position in JE, and the narrative material attaching to it (see analysis) are due to a subsequent Judæan editor.

This study of the laws in Exodus makes it clear, beyond all doubt, that the Pentateuch embraces elements belonging to widely different periods; and it shews that with the advancing life of the people of Israel from Mosaic until post-exilic days, the basis of their national and religious constitution was successively and frequently modified. There is no consideration more fatal than this to a mechanical theory of divine inspiration. If the Pentateuch consists in the *ipsissima verba* of God, treasured up and written, or even verbally taught, by Moses, it is, as regards large portions of the law, an unintelligible chaos. The critical treatment of it, on the other hand, to which the guidance of the Holy Spirit has led students of modern times, is the reverse of destructive, in that it gives order and coherence to the records, and shews how, by the gradual changes in the national ordinances, God fulfilled Himself in many ways.

§ 4. *The Priesthood.*

The following remarks are not a study of the Israelite priesthood, which presents many and complicated problems, but a brief sketch of its history in so far as it bears upon the book of Exodus. For fuller treatment the reader is referred to the article 'Priests and Levites,' by W. Baudissin, in *DB* iv.

In all parts of the world, tribes that have reached a certain stage in the development of religious ideas feel that they require someone to mediate between them and the deity whom they worship. That the deity may be propitiated, and that he may preserve a kindly and protective attitude towards them, certain performances of religion are requisite; and the more elaborate these become, the more necessary is it to be provided with someone who possesses the technical knowledge required for the purpose. By reason of his technical knowledge, this mediator stands in a specially close relation to the deity, and is therefore able not only to propitiate him, but also to declare to the people his will in any matter on which they need guidance or correction. The Hebrew term *kohen*, 'priest,' appears to be derived from a root signifying 'to stand.' He is one who occupies a close relationship to God, in that he 'stands' continually before Him as His servant. This

early conception perhaps underlies the (probably late) expression applied to the priests in xix. 22: 'who come near unto Yahweh.' The functions of the Israelite priests in early times are not easy to define with certainty. But something may be gathered from the action of Moses. He was the great mediator between Yahweh and Israel (xx. 19, 21, cf. Gal. iii. 19); and, apart from his capacity as leader in the desert wanderings, his chief duty consisted in declaring to them the will of God. He pitched a tent outside the camp, where Yahweh 'used to speak to him face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend'; and everyone who wanted to enquire of the divine oracle used to go out to the Tent of Meeting (xxxiii. 7—11). And for generations afterwards this appears to have been the main function of a priest—to deliver *toroth*, statements of the divine will, to all who enquired of him (see p. 183). After the arrival in Canaan, when a body of laws began to be formed, it was a custom, perhaps learnt from the Canaanites, to decide certain social difficulties by the test of an ordeal; and this used to be performed 'before God' (xxii. 8, 9), i.e. at the nearest local sanctuary, where the priest would officially superintend the function, and formally pronounce the decision arrived at by means of the ordeal. Another ordeal, which though described only in P (Num. v. 11—31) was probably a survival of very ancient custom, was superintended in all its ritual details by the priest. And a formality of a different kind, the boring of a slave's ear (Ex. xxi. 6), was also performed at the sanctuary. And these are probably only specimens of many. But while priests held an official position in early times, it is quite certain that the act of sacrifice was not their exclusive prerogative. In all the regulations bearing upon worship in chs. xx.—xxiii., xxxiv., priests are not mentioned, the laws being addressed to the whole body of Israelites. At the important crisis of the inauguration of the covenant, it was not Moses or any other priest who offered sacrifice, but 'the young men of the children of Israel' (xxiv. 5). This perhaps reflects a common custom of deputing the duty of slaughtering and manipulating the body of the victim to the young men of the family, as being the strongest and most active members of it. But for a long time after the age of Moses, sacrifices were freely offered by non-priestly persons on all kinds of occasions: e.g. Gideon (Jud. vi. 20, 26), Jephthah (xi. 31, 39), Manoah (xiii. 19), the Beth-shemites (1 S. vi. 14), Saul (xiv. 34 f.), David's family (xx. 6), David (2 S. vi. 13, 18, xxiv. 25), Adonijah (1 K. i. 9), Solomon (iii. 4, viii. 63).

The mention of 'the priests' in Ex. xix. 22, 24 is difficult. In pre-Mosaic days the religious practices of Israel were in all probability similar to those of other nomads; and the act of sacrificing and the general conduct of worship would lie with the father of each family. It is quite unlikely that there was a recognised body of official priests before the arrival at Sinai. Indeed it is not until xxxii. 25—29 that the first formation of such a body is recorded (see below). Their introduction into the narrative of the theophany appears to be an anachronism.

But when the Israelites had been a short time in Canaan a new development emerges into sight. The actual beginnings of it are obscure, but it gradually came about that certain members of the nation, who were skilled in the technical knowledge required for the dispensing of the divine oracle, were considered as a special body or caste. They did not belong to any one portion or tribe of Israel. Some of those who usually performed religious functions for their families perhaps confined their attention to them, and became recognised experts. Jud. xvii. contains an instructive narrative of an Ephraimite named Micah, who had a private shrine with an image (or images), and consecrated his son to be its priest. But when 'a young man...of the family of Judah who was a Levite' came by, he persuaded him to be his priest for a yearly wage. His son could fulfil the office well enough, but it was more satisfactory to have procured the services of an expert (v. 13). A 'Levite,' then, was a term which connoted not ancestry but profession; it was equivalent to 'clergyman'—according to the notions of a clergyman's office which then prevailed. The origin and derivation of the word are quite uncertain. The Hebrew form of it is *Lēwī*. But not only was the individual official styled a *Lēwī*, but also the whole body of them—the clerical caste; and so we find the expression *benē Lēwī*, 'the sons (i.e. members) of the *Lēwī* body.' In the book of Exodus the name occurs once with its individual, and once with its corporate, signification. In iv. 14 Yahweh speaks to Moses of 'Aaron thy brother the Levite.' As pointed out in the note on the words, it would be quite superfluous to tell Moses to what tribe his own brother belonged; and the passage probably belongs to a time when the official body of Levites were believed to have been genealogically descended from an ancestor Levi. In xxxii. 25—29 (J) there appears to be an attempt on the part of the prophetic historian to explain the origin of the *Lēwī* body¹. The *benē Lēwī*

¹ Other instances of narratives in J whose object is to account for existing customs or institutions may be seen in Gen. xxxii. 82 (the custom of abstaining

consecrated themselves for divine service by their zeal in punishing the Israelites for some sin which the remains of the narrative do not explain.

The chief problem, however, which calls for explanation, is the relation in which the official body stood to the tribe of Levi the son of Jacob. The solution which is widely adopted at present is that membership in the body came to be explained as a blood-relationship. This was rendered easier by the title *bene Lewi*—the *sons* of Levi were believed to be sons by lineal descent—and also by the fact that the priesthood in many of the sanctuaries actually became a hereditary privilege. The line of Eli—Eli, Phinehas, Ahitub, Ahimelech, Abiathar—is an instance in point. (See Driver on the corrupt text in 2 S. viii. 17.) In some parts of the country the genealogical descent was traced to Moses (cf. Jud. xviii. 30), but in the larger number of cases to Aaron. And thus Moses and Aaron were the first and greatest ‘sons of Levi,’ and therefore they were brothers. The piecing together of scanty evidence must necessarily be to a certain extent conjectural; and it would of course be absurd to dogmatize on the matter. But this explanation is quite in accordance with what we know of ancient habits of thought, and seems to account for the facts more simply than any other. Further, if the *bene Lewi*, as a tribe, never had a real existence, it is easier to explain an otherwise extraordinary fact—that they alone are recorded to have received no tribal territory in the land of Canaan. According to P (Josh. xxi.) the priests and Levites received certain towns, scattered throughout the country. But not only do the earlier writers say nothing of such an arrangement, but no less than six of the towns occur in the short early fragment, Jud. i., as places from which the Israelites could not drive out the native inhabitants—i.e. Taanach (Jud. i. 27), Gezer (v. 29), Nahalol¹ (v. 30), Rehob (v. 31), Beth-shemesh (v. 33), Aijalon (v. 35); and two others, Hebron² and Debir, are expressly stated (Josh. xv. 13—19 = Jud. i. 8—15, 20) to have been appropriated by Caleb and Othniel the son of Kenaz. The individual Levites were for the most part very poor; many of them, like Micah’s Levite, wandered about looking for a home and occupation. And afterwards, when local sanctuaries, in which

from eating the hip sinew of animals), Ex. iv. 24—26 (infant circumcision), xii. 21—23, 29 f., xiii. 11—13 (the offering of firstlings, and its connexion with the Passover), xii. 34, 39, xiii. 3 a, 4, 6 f., 10 (the Festival of Unleavened Cakes). And several stories account for the sanctity of particular objects or places; e.g. Gen. xii. 6 f., xvi. 13 f., xxi. 33, xxvi. 23—25, xxxi. 46—48, xxxii. 30 f., xxxv. 20.

¹ In Josh. xxi. 35 it is spelt Nahalal.

² Josh. xxi. 12 is an attempt to harmonize the discrepancy.

some of them had risen to considerable wealth and position, were abolished in the Deuteronomic reform, they were reduced to straits ; so that they are commended, in Dt., to the charity of the Israelites, together with strangers, widows and orphans (see xii. 12, 18 f., xiv. 27, 29, xvi. 11, 14, xxvi. 11 ff.).

Still another problem requires attention. How was it that though Moses was the great leader of the nation and the first official at the desert sanctuary, Levites in many parts of the country traced their descent not to him but to Aaron? In Ex. xviii. 12 Aaron does not act as a priest ; he is apparently an elder, or sheikh. And in xxiv. 14 he and Hur (cf. xvii. 12) are left, in the capacity of sheikhs, to control and govern the people. See also v. 9. There is nothing in J or E which implies that Aaron was the great priest of the Israelites¹. We are once again landed in the region of conjecture. It is possible to suppose that in course of time Moses—who was never related to have offered sacrifice—was considered exclusively as the leader and the lawgiver ; and Joshua, who had been his assistant in the sanctuary, became the warrior captain who succeeded him in his leadership. So that when sacrifice, as well as the dispensing of the oracle, came to be included among the exclusive rights of Levites, they traced the rights to the next most important personage whose name figured in the ancient traditions.

It is important to notice that before the time of the exile there is not a trace of the idea that Levites are inferior to priests ; Levites *are* priests. There was one line of priests, however, to whom a special prestige attached. When Solomon built his magnificent royal chapel at Jerusalem, he appointed as its chief official Zadok, who had previously acted as one of David's priests. In so doing he dismissed David's principal priest Abiathar. The latter, as has been said above, was descended from Eli ; and Eli—to judge from the name of his son Phinehas—probably traced his descent to Aaron through Phinehas and Eleazar². But no pre-exilic writings contain any statement with regard to Zadok's descent. The priests at Jerusalem were content to be known as the 'sons of Zadok.' And the more that the southern kingdom prospered, the more important did the royal sanctuary and its officials become ; especially must this have been the case after the fall of the northern kingdom. But the Levites in the northern

¹ Unless Dt. x. 6 is from E, in which case the passage contains the earliest trace of the idea.

² Even the Chronicler, who exalts the line of Zadok, admits Eli's Aaronic descent, but he relegates it to the inferior line of Ithamar (1 Chr. xxiv. 8).

kingdom were further distinguished from the Jerusalem priests by the fact that the official worship of Yahweh was carried on under the form of bull-worship, certainly at Bethel and Dan (1 K. xii. 29), and probably also at many other leading sanctuaries. And in many places in Judah images of some sort were employed 'from Geba to Beersheba' (see 2 K. xxiii. 8). It is easy therefore to understand the dislike which the Jerusalem priests would feel towards them, and the serious friction that would ensue, when, by the Deuteronomic reform, all the country sanctuaries were suppressed, and it was laid down that the Levites who had served in them were to receive an equal share in religious rights with the priests at the capital (Dt. xviii. 6—8). It would appear from the somewhat obscure statement of 2 K. xxiii. 9 that the Jerusalem priests contrived to hold their own, so that the country priests, although possessed of some privileges, did not manage to gain the right of sacrificing. Ezekiel, himself a Jerusalem priest, vehemently states his own view of the matter (xliv. 10—16),—that the country Levites, who had formerly officiated in worship at which images were used, ought to be degraded to the position of inferior assistants to 'the Levite priests the sons of Zadok.' Some writers have conjectured that it was during this ecclesiastical contest that the story of Ex. xxxii. 1—24 received its present shape. The earlier form of it was probably a protest against image-worship, introduced in a late *stratum* of E in connexion with the delivery of the Ten Words (xx. 1—17). But since the country Levites, at some sanctuaries at least, worshipped Yahweh under the form of bulls, it is not impossible that a tradition had sprung up among them that bull-worship could be traced to their founder—Aaron himself. But whether they actually made this claim or not, it is plausible to suppose that the narrative received its present sinister form at the hands of those who denounced the Aaronite Levites for idolatry by condemning their founder for the same sin.

Thus far only those passages in Exodus which are earlier than P have been touched upon. But an extraordinary feature of the later history of the priests is that after the return from exile everyone without exception who claimed to be a priest was obliged to prove his descent from Aaron. The term 'sons of Zadok' disappeared, and every priest was now a 'son of Aaron,' Levites being reduced, as Ezekiel had wished, to the position of inferior officials. And yet at a later time the name Zadok reappears in the title 'Sadducee.' This, however, is not the place to deal with the subject, and it is still a problem of considerable difficulty. (See an article by Prof. Kennett

in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1905; and by the present writer, Sept. 1905.)

The final exaltation of the 'sons of Aaron' to the position of the only possible priests at the only possible sanctuary is the point of view from which the priestly writers looked back at the events at Sinai. They represented the state of things which obtained in their own day as having existed by divine ordinance from the first. Aaron their reputed founder, and his sons, are personages of extreme sacredness and importance. The Levites, their inferiors and assistants, are mentioned, in Ex., only in xxxviii. 21, which anticipates the full definition of their status and duties in the book of Numbers.

The following are the injunctions laid down in Exodus with regard to the vestments and the consecration of the priests.

The Vestments. Ch. xxviii. (1) *Of Aaron.* By far the most important item (which is mentioned first) is that which marked him out as the priest *par excellence*—one whose chief duty it was to declare God's will to men, and to represent men before God,—i.e. the *Ephod*. This was to be of the most elaborate workmanship, like the inner veil in the Tent: the finest linen woven by a designer with gold, violet, purple and scarlet threads. Its shape is not fully described; but it appears to have been merely a broad piece of material which was worn round the chest and under the arms. The elaborate accessories, on the other hand, are described in more or less full detail—the two shoulder-straps, each with a jewel in a gold filigree setting fastened to it, and each jewel engraved with the names of six of the tribes of Israel; and immediately below the ephod was worn the artistic girdle. The ephod was doubled in front, forming the *Hoshen* (EVV 'breastplate'), a square pouch in which were carried the Urim and Tummim; and the pouch was covered with twelve jewels placed in four rows in gold filigree settings. The pouch was kept closed at the upper end by gold chains fastened to the two upper corners and to the jewels on the shoulder-straps, which thus acted as buttons; and at the lower end there were rings at the two corners on the under side of the pouch which exactly coincided with two other rings fastened to the ephod; and the two pairs of rings were tied together by violet ribands. On each of the twelve jewels was engraved the name of one of the tribes. With the ephod was worn a *violet robe*, made in one piece like a chasuble, with an opening for the head. The opening was strengthened by 'a binding of woven work' to prevent it from being torn. And round the lower rim of the robe there ran alternate golden bells and pomegranates. On the head was worn a *turban* (*miznepheth*), and upon the front of it a *golden*

diadem or fillet, tied with a violet thread, and inscribed with the words *Kōdhes̄h leYahweh* 'Consecrated to Yahweh.' Beneath the 'robe of the ephod' was worn a *tunic*, woven in a check pattern; its shape was probably something like that of a cassock. And it was bound to the person by an embroidered *sash*.

(2) *Of Aaron's 'sons.'* Their vestments were of the simplest kind. *Tunics*, of which the material is not specified; but they were probably intended to be of a check pattern similar to Aaron's. *Sashes*, which were apparently similar to his. *Turbans* (*migbā'ōth*); these were different from Aaron's, and the derivation of the word suggests that they were wound in such a way as to raise them to a height above the head. *Linen breeches*, worn because in performing their duties at the altar the priests stood upon a high ledge. (Contrast the early regulation in xx. 26.) Shoes are nowhere mentioned, and it may be taken for granted that priests always officiated with their feet bare. In the case of the priests' benediction this was laid down as imperative even after the destruction of the temple. (*Rosh Hashana* 31b; *Sota* 496.) The post-Biblical passages which treat of the priestly vestments are B. Sir. xlv. 6—13, l. 5 ff.; Philo, *Vita Mos.* iii. 11—14 (ed. Mangey ii. 151—5); *De Monarchia* ii. 5, 6 (ed. Mang. ii. 225—7); Joseph. *Ant.* III. vii. 4—7; *Bell. Jud.* v. v. 7; Mishn. *Yoma* vii. 5.; Jerome, *Ep. ad Fabiolam* x.—xviii. (ed. Vallarsi i. 360—6).

The Consecration. Ch. xxix. 1—37. The ceremony of consecration both for Aaron and his sons is, with one exception, the same. It is probable that it represents approximately the ritual which obtained at the time of the writer; but whether the whole ceremony continued to be performed in the later days of the priesthood is doubtful. See Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div. II. Vol. i. 215 f.

(1) They bathed in water, to wash away all ceremonial impurity attaching to them at the moment. (2) They were clothed in their vestments. (3) After the high priest had been vested, he was anointed with oil. It is only in a later *stratum* of P that Aaron's sons, the ordinary priests, are also anointed. (See note on v. 7.)

These acts comprise the preparation of the persons of the priests. Now follows that which brings them into relation with God.

(4) A bullock was brought before the Tent for a *Sin-offering*—a propitiatory gift whereby the persons concerned were separated from all that was not holy. Aaron and his sons formally signified that they were the persons concerned, by placing their hands upon the head of

the bullock. When the animal had been killed, its blood was smeared upon the horns of the altar, and dashed at its base, to do away with the impurity of an altar made with human hands. It was thus consecrated to receive the victim. Then the intestinal fat was burnt, as God's share in the offering. And lastly the flesh, skin and dung were burnt outside the camp. As the sin-offering was, in this case, in behalf of the priests themselves, they did not, as was usually the case, receive the flesh for their own use. (5) A ram was next offered as a *Burnt-offering*,—that is to say, not only the fat, but the whole animal was burnt, after the laying on of hands, and the dashing of the blood at the base of the altar. (6) A second ram was then offered as a *Peace-offering*, the distinguishing feature of which was that the ordinary worshipper normally received a share for the purpose of a sacrificial meal. (In the present case Moses acted as priest, while Aaron and his sons held the position of the ordinary worshipper since they were not priests until the ceremony was completed.) Besides the usual ritual of the peace-offering, two special ceremonies were performed, because the ram was not only a peace-offering but also a 'ram of consecration.'

(a) Aaron and his sons were consecrated for service in every limb of their body. This was symbolized by smearing the blood of the ram on their right ear, thumb and great toe; and the blood was dashed at the base of the altar. (b) The fat portions and the right shoulder, together with part of a cereal offering, which were to be given to God by burning, were first placed in the hands of the ordinands, and offered (lit. 'waved' or 'swung,' see n. on v. 27) before God. This was the priestly interpretation of the ancient expression 'fill the hand'—ordain for service. Then these portions were burnt in the usual way. The burning of the right shoulder was unusual. It is called 'the shoulder of the contribution' (R. V. 'the thigh of the heave-offering') because it was normally taken from the carcass as a contribution to the priest. And the priest, in ordinary cases, also appropriated the breast, after 'waving' it. In the present case, Moses 'waved' the breast and took it for himself, but the shoulder was given to God. (c) Lastly the rest of the carcass was boiled, and Aaron and his sons, in the capacity of ordinary worshippers, ate it and the rest of the cereal offering, as a sacrificial meal. (d) This ceremony was to be performed daily for seven days. In a later passage (Lev. viii.), where Moses' performance of these injunctions is described, three further details are added: (i.) Moses anointed not only Aaron but also 'the Tent and all that was therein,' 'the altar and all its vessels and the laver with its base'

(*vv.* 10 f.); (ii.) he also sprinkled Aaron and his sons and their garments with a mixture 'of the anointing oil and of the blood which was upon the altar' (*v.* 30); (iii.) the repetition of the ceremony for seven days is understood to involve that Aaron and his sons shall not depart from the door of the Tent during the seven days (*vv.* 33, 35).

§ 5. *The Tabernacle; its structure, historicity and religious significance.*

1. *The Structure.* The contents of the Tabernacle, its various articles of furniture, the veil and screen, and the apparatus for service, are dealt with in the notes. But it may be useful to discuss here, in a continuous form, the difficulties occasioned by the description of the Tent itself.

Many attempts have been made to elucidate the details specified in *xxvi.*, *xxvii.* 9—18, and to produce from them a coherent description; and it would be of little use to enter into a prolonged discussion of their various merits. The commentaries of Dillmann, Baentsch and Holzinger, the *Archaeologies* of Keil and Nowack, the dictionary articles of Riehm¹, Riggensbach² and Benzinger³, and the monographs by Bahr, Popper, Brown and Caldecott, present a bewildering abundance of conflicting opinions. The work, however, which appears to the present writer to leave the fewest problems unsolved is Kennedy's article 'Tabernacle' in *DB* iv. He strikes out, on some points, an independent and successful line of his own, which he will doubtless present more fully in his forthcoming commentary.

(a) *Curtains*, *xxvi.* 1—6. It must be remembered throughout that the narrator wished to describe a *Tent*—not a solid building. *xxvi.* 1 clearly states that the Dwelling is to be made of ten curtains each 28 × 4 cubits. They are to be joined (how is not specified) into two sets of five. These two sets are again to be joined by 50 gold hooks, caught into 50 loops of violet, placed along the edge of each set; 'and the Dwelling shall be one.' The Dwelling is therefore one great curtain, 28 × 40 cubits. But, as in an ordinary tent, while the covering is the first consideration, wooden supports are necessary to hold it up, so it is with the Dwelling. This relation of the woodwork to the Dwelling is rightly insisted on by Fairbairn⁴: 'The boards in the original description appear only as a sort of accessory, and are not referred to till after the two sets of curtains which properly formed the tent are described.'

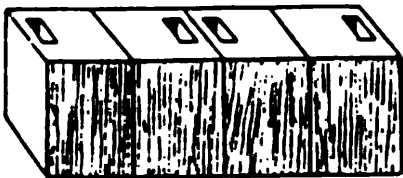
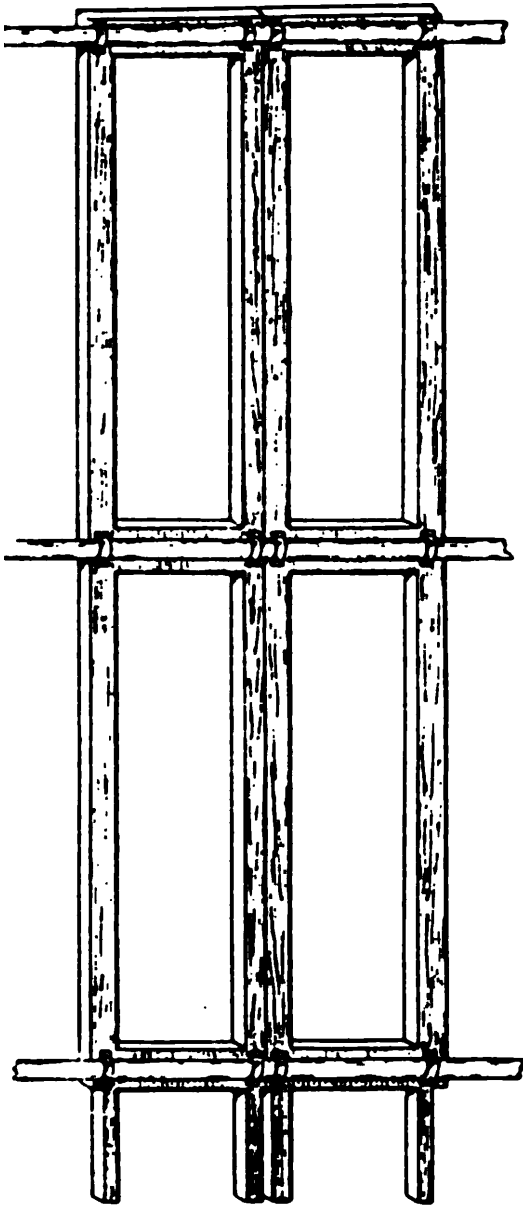
¹ *Bibl. HWB.*

² *PRE*².

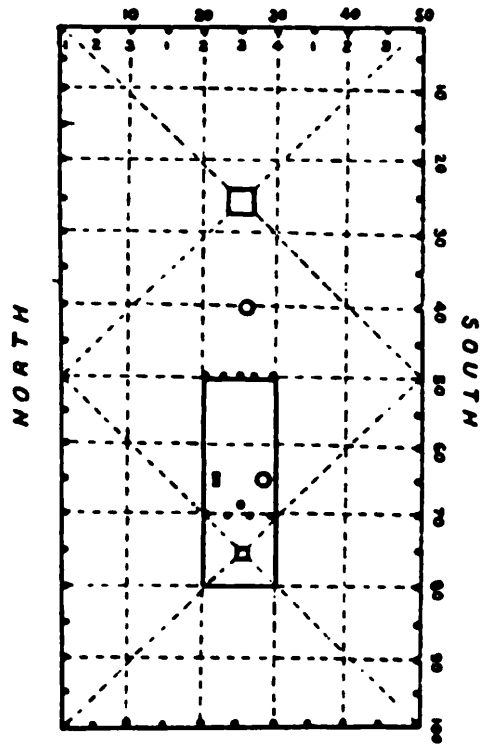
³ *Enc. B.*

⁴ *Typology of Scripture*, 243 footnote.

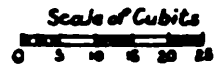
(b) *Kerāshīm*, xxvi. 15—30. The invariable opinion hitherto has been that the 'boards' specified in xxvi. 15 f. are solid beams of wood. They are to be 10 cubits in height and $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubit in width. Their thickness is not mentioned. Twenty 'boards' form each of the long sides of the Tent (vv. 18, 20), and six the hinder (western) end (v. 22). This would make the wooden walls 30 cubits on each of the long sides. The length of the western end will be discussed below. Each 'board' (v. 19) is to have two bases ('*adhānim*, R.V. 'sockets') of silver, i.e. solid blocks of silver into which it is fixed. And each 'board' has two *yādhoth*, each of which has a base corresponding to it (v. 17). These *yādhoth* are understood by Benzinger and others to be 'pivots' (Joseph. *σρόφιγγες*), which are fixed into the bases. It is noticeable, however, that (in v. 37) though the five pillars at the eastern entrance stand on bases, nothing is said of *yādhoth*. An insuperable difficulty arises here. If these wooden walls are to support the curtains, the latter must hang outside them; but if the walls are composed of solid beams touching one another throughout, the magnificent curtains worked with cherubim become invisible from within; and when the covering of goats' hair is thrown over them, they become invisible from without! Benzinger suggests (see below) that the goats' hair covering was drawn out from the curtains, and fixed by ropes and pegs, so that the beautiful curtains would be visible to one peering into the narrow open space thus formed. But of this the account in Exodus says nothing. By some writers the difficulty is felt so acutely that they suggest that the curtains worked with cherubim were intended to hang *inside* the walls as tapestry. But there is not a hint in Exodus as to the method by which they are to be held up. And against this supposition is the fact that the goats' hair covering is said to overlap the curtains by one cubit on each of the two long sides, 'to cover it' (xxvi. 13). And, further, in the secondary portion of the priestly narrative (xl. 19), Moses 'spread' the Tent (i.e. the goats' hair) over the Dwelling (i.e. the curtains). It is here that Kennedy's ingenious explanations throw the greatest light. He argues that the *kerāshīm* are not 'boards' but 'frames' of comparatively thin wood; that the two *yādhoth* are not 'tenons' or 'pivots' but 'arms' (as the Hebrew word itself rather implies), i.e. long pieces of wood which formed the sides (LXX *μῆρη*) of the frames; and that the expression 'joined one to another' (xxvi. 17) means 'joined by cross-rails' like the rungs of a ladder. (This is further explained in the notes.) Now if the *kerāshīm* are frames, composed of side-arms and cross-rungs, it is evident that the curtains,

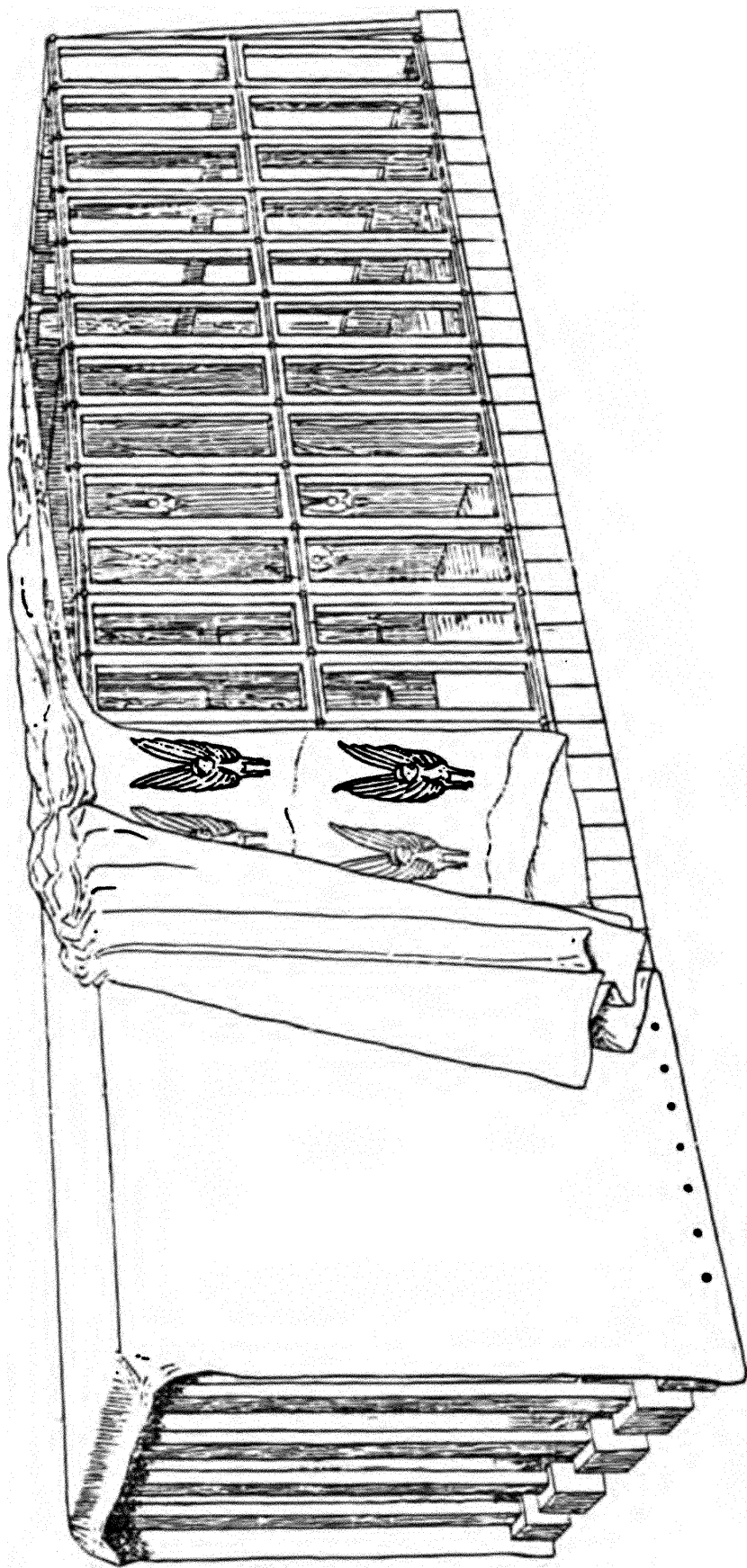


Two Kerashim
with Bars Rings & Bases



Plan of the
Court of the Dwelling





The Tabernacle, from the North-East.

when thrown over them, are visible from within the Dwelling, and that they are divided into a series of panels. (Moreover this was the case in Ezekiel's temple (xli. 18—20), where a cherub and a palm tree appeared in each panel of the wall.) The frames are strengthened by five bars running through rings. One unbroken bar ran continuously the whole length of a side of the structure, and the other four presumably ran above and below it, at the top and the bottom, two half-length bars in each case being placed end to end, and reaching the whole length. Thus, when inserted in position, there were three full-length bars; and this renders it probable that each frame had three cross-rungs, over which the bars ran. Further advantages of Kennedy's scheme will be seen later.

The description of the hinder (western) end of the structure causes great difficulties. In xxvi. 22 it is composed of six *kerashim*. As each is $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubit in width, the wall will be 9 cubits in length. But it is allowed on all hands that the Most Holy place, formed by three walls and the veil, was a perfect cube of 10 cubits—the side measure being half of that in the shrine of Solomon's and Ezekiel's temples. There is, therefore, 1 cubit of wall left to be accounted for; and Kennedy very plausibly accounts for it by allowing $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit for the thickness of each of the side walls with its bars. But in *vv.* 23—25 two more *kerashim* are specified, making a total of eight with their bases. Benzinger despairs of *v.* 24 as hopelessly corrupt. He places the eight 'beams' in a line, to form the western wall, making a length of 12 cubits, and standing outside the ends of the side walls. But since the Most Holy place is a cube of 10 cubits (which he takes to be the inside measurement), he, with several other writers, concludes that the 'beams' are each 1 cubit in thickness. Apart from the enormous difficulties involved in the use of beams $1 \times 1\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ cubits, this explanation does not account for the specifications in *vv.* 23, 24, in which the two *kerashim* are mentioned separately from the six, and intended for a special purpose. Holzinger (*Kurz. Hand-Komm.* p. 128) suggests that the seventh and eighth 'beams' (*v.* 25) may be a late gloss for the two end beams of the six (*v.* 22), and the 'sixteen bases' a correction for 'twelve bases,' to agree with it. The hinder wall stood between the last *kerashim* of the two long sides, and the walls were fastened at each corner by a clamp. But he pronounces *v.* 24 'unintelligible in details.' Kennedy believes that the two extra *kerashim* are to be used simply to strengthen the corners. The last frame at each end of the hinder wall is to be doubled, the second frame forming a buttress, sloping upwards and terminating just under the

topmost bar. This involves the adoption (with many writers) of the Samaritan reading 'double' (*to amīm*, lit. 'twins') for the present Hebrew reading 'entire' (*tammīm*). The words may be rendered: 'and let them be double beneath, and likewise let them be double at the top of it [i.e. the Dwelling] towards the one ring,'—implying that the same is to be the case towards the ring at the other corner¹.

By those who do not hold the passage to be corrupt, and yet who believe that the *kerāshim* were thick beams, many fanciful explanations have been offered. The least impossible is that of Keil, to which Dillmann hesitatingly assents, that the 'double' *keresh* meant two beams fastened at right angles. In this case either reading—'double' or 'entire'—could be explained; the beams are to be considered either double, or fastened into one, from bottom to top. But even so, Dillmann is forced to assume that 'beneath' and 'at the top' imply that a piece in the middle is cut away, to allow for the passage of the bar. Nowack follows Bähr in supposing that 'double' means 'exercising a double function,' the corner beam belonging both to the end and the side wall, although in the measurements it could only be reckoned to the end wall. Riegenbach accepts the strange suggestion of Riehm, that the corner beam was 'entire' at the top, but cut with a re-entering angle at the bottom, giving the appearance of a double corner. This would only have weakened the corner, with no compensating advantage.

The passage is certainly obscure, and possibly corrupt. But it is extremely improbable that any explanation is right which does not preserve intact the statement of v. 22, that the *kerāshim* which formed the end wall were six in number, and each was $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubit in width.

The inside measurements of the Tent, adopted by many writers from early times, produce improbable and unsymmetrical results only if the *kerāshim* are thick beams. In Solomon's temple the measurements were quite certainly inside, from wall to wall. But in the Tabernacle, the walls are represented by curtains, whose thickness may be neglected. The Dwelling *consists of the curtains*, and therefore the measurements must be from curtain to curtain. And thus Kennedy's supposition that the *kerāshim* were frames, which, with their bars, were each $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit in thickness, allows an inside measurement of 10 cubits. And the outside measurement is the same; so that from within or without the whole structure measures, symmetrically, $30 \times 10 \times 10$ cubits, and the Most Holy place $10 \times 10 \times 10$ cubits.

¹ This is preferable to 'towards the first ring,' i.e. the uppermost of the three rings fastened to each *keresh* to hold the bars.

(c) We can now return to the curtains, and consider the method in which they are spread over the frames.

(1.) xxvi. 1—6. The Dwelling is one great curtain, 28×40 cubits. Now if, according to the calculations of Nowack and Benzinger, the end wall measures 12 cubits, and the side walls 31 cubits each, and they are 10 cubits in height, the curtain will hang down 8 cubits at the sides and 9 cubits at the end. But if, more probably, the walls measure 10 cubits (the end) and 30 cubits (the sides), and their height is 10 cubits, the curtain will hang down 9 cubits, i.e. one cubit off the ground, at the sides, and 10 cubits, i.e. just touching the ground, at the end. In either scheme the separating of the Most Holy from the Holy place is rightly taken account of in the formation of the curtain; the joining of the two sets of five pieces of tapestry (with 100 violet loops and 50 gold hooks) lies along the line of the veil which divided the Dwelling into its two parts.

(2.) v. 7—13. Above the Dwelling was spread the goats' hair covering, named, rather confusingly, in v. 7 'the Tent.' This consisted of eleven pieces, comprising two sets of six and five respectively, joined by 100 loops (colour not stated) and 50 *bronze* hooks. The whole was one covering, 30×44 cubits. With Benzinger's measurements this hangs down 9 cubits, i.e. 1 cubit off the ground at the sides. With Kennedy's it just reaches the ground. Both are in agreement with v. 13, in which the goats' hair is said to overlap the tapestry at the sides by 1 cubit. But the measurements along the length of the structure are thrown into confusion by v. 12. The goats' hair covering is 13 cubits (Benzinger), or 14 cubits (Kennedy) longer than the roof length. V. 9 says that one piece (i.e. 4 cubits' width) shall be 'doubled over against the front of the Tent.' This would allow 9 cubits hanging at the back (Benzinger), or 10 cubits just reaching the ground as on the two long sides (Kennedy). But v. 12 says that an extra half curtain (i.e. 2 cubits' width) remains, which is to hang at the back of the building. In order to allow of this, Benzinger is forced to assume that 'the sixth curtain,' of v. 9, must mean 'half the sixth curtain'; so that 2 cubits are doubled at the front of the building, 31 cubits cover the roof, leaving 11 cubits hanging at the back. The extra cubit at the back he supposes, without any evidence, to have been drawn taut and pegged to the ground—as he also supposes to have been the case at the sides. But to make 'the sixth curtain' mean 'half the sixth curtain' is a more violent expedient than to regard v. 12 as a gloss (Kennedy, Holzinger *al.*). Either there were two divergent traditions as to the arrangement of

the goats' hair, preserved in *v.* 9 and *v.* 12 respectively, or the writer of the gloss in *v.* 12 misunderstood *v.* 9.

With regard to the portion doubled in front, the effect would be that of 2 cubits hanging over the edge of the roof, and protruding at the sides¹. Joseph. *Ant.* III. vi. 4 describes it as an ἀέτωμα, 'gable,' and παστας, 'porch.' This would be useful in excluding all light, which might otherwise penetrate along the top of the entrance screen; and it would also exclude any dripping in of rain-water at the same place. But it is not at all improbable that the chief thought in the narrator's mind was a wish to present a miniature counterpart to the porch in Solomon's and Ezekiel's temples.

The other coverings of the Dwelling, the dyed rams' skins and the dugong skins, are enjoined in xxvi. 14, but their size is not stated; but to be of any use they (or at least the dugong skins) must have descended to the ground.

(*d*) *The pillars of the court.* The only further item which calls for special consideration here is the difficulty occasioned by the narrator's enumeration of the pillars required for the court. On the north and south sides the hangings measure 100 cubits, and on the western side 50 cubits. On the east there are three hangings; those to the north and south of the entrance measure 15 cubits each, while the entrance itself consists of an embroidered portière or screen (*māsāk*) of 20 cubits. The periphery of the court is thus 300 cubits. The pillars which support the hangings are numbered 20 on each of the long sides, and 10 on each of the short sides; there is therefore a pillar for every 5 cubits of hanging. This, though mathematically accurate, and satisfying the narrator's instinct for symmetry, is in practice exceedingly difficult. For if the corner pillars are reckoned twice, as some writers suppose, the distance from one another of the pillars on the short sides would be $\frac{50}{3}$ cubits, i.e. rather more than the distance, $\frac{100}{3}$ cubits, between the pillars on the long sides; while if the corner pillars are not to be reckoned twice, the longer sides require 21 pillars each, the western end 11, and the eastern end $5 + 4 + 4 = 13$. To preserve, as far as possible, both symmetry and mathematics Kennedy explains as follows: 'counting 4 for the entrance, and 3 for the curtain to the left (*vv.* 16, 14), we proceed round the court,

¹ Kennedy, in his illustration of the structure in *DB*, disregards, by an oversight, the part which must have protruded at the sides, giving the impression that it was tucked in beneath the first piece which covered the side walls. This would require a transverse cut in the material at the top of each wall, of which the text gives no hint.

reckoning always from the first corner pillar met with and counting no pillar twice.' His diagram (here reproduced by permission of the publishers of Hastings' *DB*) illustrates this¹. But though this is the only way of giving a meaning to the narrator's words, symmetry is, as a matter of fact, completely destroyed, because the entrance does not stand in the centre of the eastern end. It is inconceivable that P intended this. But in planning on paper a purely theoretical scheme of numbers—3, 4, 5 and their multiples—the practical difficulties escaped him. The straits to which writers are reduced in the attempt to explain the narrator's words can be seen in *The Tabernacle, Its History and Structure*, by W. Shaw Caldecott, who not only places the screen with its four pillars at a distance eastward of the court, but assumes an hiatus of one pillar on the north side, forming a second entrance (pp. 169—177). Of this there is not the slightest hint in Exodus, although Ezekiel's court had both a northern and a southern entrance (ch. xl.). As to Solomon's court this is uncertain (see *DB* iv. 702).

The following are the principal measurements in a tabular form :

	Cubits	Feet (approx.)
Ten curtains of the Dwelling, each	28 × 4	42 × 6
Eleven curtains of goats' hair, each	30 × 4	45 × 6
Height of the Dwelling	10	15
Width of the Dwelling	10	15
Length of the Most Holy place	10	15
Length of the Holy place	20	30
Width of <i>Kerāshīm</i>	1½	2¼
Thickness of <i>Kerāshīm</i> (with bars)	½	¾
Side of the court	100	150
End of the court	50	75
Screen at entrance to the court	20	30
Hangings on each side of screen	15	22½

2. *Historicity.* The book of Exodus affords abundant proof that the priestly writers did not make it their aim to present history as it was, but to systematize traditions and often to supplement them, under the dominance of religious ideas. Nowhere is this more strikingly illustrated than in the description of the Tabernacle. The ideas with which the writers were inspired are a study totally distinct from the question whether those ideas corresponded with actual

¹ The words NORTH and SOUTH have been accidentally printed in his diagram on the wrong sides of the court. This is corrected in the accompanying figure.

historical data. Most students of the Old Testament to-day can start with the presupposition that a series of chapters exhibiting countless characteristics of P, and finding no parallels in J, E, or D, will probably contain matter which cannot claim to be historical. And the presupposition finds ample support when the chapters are carefully studied.

(a) First it is to be noticed that the writers, in drawing up an ideal scheme, have allowed inconsistencies and obscurities to creep in, which render many important details impracticable. The difficulty of arranging the pillars of the court has already been noticed; others, such as the following, may be mentioned. The altar of burnt-offering (xxvii. 1—8) is a hollow wooden structure plated with bronze, within which a fire burnt. If this fire was hot enough to consume whole animals, it must soon have charred to ashes the wooden structure! The *kerāshīm* which supported the curtains of the Dwelling (though they were not solid beams one cubit in thickness, which would weigh nearly a ton each) must have been at least $\frac{1}{3}$ cubit in thickness (see above); and 48 of these, with their 13 bars, and 100 bases of solid silver, the 9 pillars for the veil and the screen, together with the 300 pillars of the court, their bases of solid bronze, their pegs, cords, &c., would be a burden requiring a number of transport waggons out of all proportion to the capabilities of a nomad caravan in the desert. And the difficulty reaches its climax when it is stated in Num. vii. 8¹ that the Merarites were assigned *four* waggons for the purpose.

Again, in spite of the mass of detailed information, the omissions are surprising; for example, nothing is said of the shape of the cherubim, the formation of the 'feet' of the ark and the table, the size of the two outer coverings of the Tent, the material of the lamps which were placed upon the lampstand, the nature and position of the 'ledge' on the bronze altar, the position of the 'rail' (R.V. 'border') round the table, the position in which the poles were attached to the ark, the table and the incense altar, the position of the ornamentations on the lampstand, the thickness of the solid gold *kapporeth*, and of the flat top of the table, the thickness of the *kerāshīm* and the method of fixing them into their silver bases, the method (if any) of fixing the bases themselves², the method of coupling the several pieces which

¹ A passage belonging to a later *stratum* of P than Ex. xxvi.

² The bases were probably not thought of as sunk in the ground, for precious metal must have been intended to be visible. On the other hand, if the silence of the narrator is to be pressed, and they were not fixed at all, the weight of the four-fold covering would force the walls inwards.

composed the two parts of the curtain and of the goats' hair covering. All these, and other details, cannot have been omitted from the text accidentally; and they form remarkable gaps in a series of specifications intended to guide Moses and his workmen. They are *minutiae* which escaped the narrators.

(b) In the next place it is natural to ask how it was that these untrained nomads, fresh from Egyptian slavery, possessed the utmost artistic skill in joinery, weaving, embroidery, the casting and hammering of metals, and many other branches of handiwork, and also in the manufacture of the highly finished tools which the work required—while generations later, as a settled and comparatively civilised community, the Hebrews were so ignorant of these arts that Solomon was obliged to hire Phoenician workmen for his temple (1 K. v. 6, vii. 13 f., 40, 45). Further, it is difficult to suppose that a desert tribe, even after spoiling the Egyptians, possessed the requisite materials. Apart from the precious stones and the fine linen thread, the amount of metals alone, as given in xxxviii. 24—29, works out roughly (on the lowest computation of the shekel, i.e. 210·48 grs.) as follows¹: gold, 40,553 oz., silver, 132,297 oz., bronze, 92,699 oz. Moreover it would be very difficult to procure in the desert the olive oil for the lamps, and the dyes—violet and purple from Tyrian shell-fish, and crimson from an insect found on a particular kind of oak tree.

(c) An insurmountable difficulty in accepting P's descriptions as historical is the fact that some details are directly opposed to commands and descriptions in the earlier writings. The 'Tent of Meeting,' in E (xxxiii. 7—11), was a simple nomad tent, which 'Moses used to take and pitch outside the camp.' No ingenuity can identify this with the elaborate structure of P, for the stationing of which in the *centre* of the camp careful injunctions are laid down in Num. ii. In the primitive sanctuary, the only attendant was Joshua, an Ephraimite; but in Num. iii. 5—10 the tribe of Levi alone are to serve the Dwelling, 'and the stranger [i.e. the non-Levite] that cometh nigh shall be put to death.' According to the early regulations, the only form of altar which it was permissible to erect was one of earth or unhewn stone; the use of any tool polluted it (xx. 24 f.). But if the commands in xxvii. 1—8 for the construction of the altar were really given at Sinai a few weeks later, the object of the earlier command cannot be imagined². And contrast xx. 26 with xxviii. 42 f.

¹ The present English value of the gold would be about £157,908, and of the silver £20,247.

² The explanation has been offered that xx. 24 f. refers not to the Tabernacle altar, but only to any altars which might from time to time be erected in various

(d) Lastly, throughout the whole pre-exilic history of Israel no genuine passage occurs which hints at the existence of P's Tabernacle. The ark has a history from early times, but in all the vicissitudes through which it passed the Tabernacle is not mentioned. At Shiloh the ark, guarded by Eli and the Ephraimite Samuel, was placed, not in the Tabernacle, but in a solid temple (1 S. i. 9, iii. 3, 15), to which Jeremiah (vii. 12) refers—'where I caused my name to dwell (*shākan*) at the first.' After the ark was restored by the Philistines, the only possible place where it could rightly have been kept would be the place whither the Tabernacle (if it existed) had been moved at the destruction of Shiloh—if Shiloh was destroyed at that time. But in entire neglect of the Tabernacle it was housed first with Abinadab, and then with Obedom. Afterwards David took it to his capital; but still the elaborate Mosaic Tabernacle does not appear; David himself pitched a tent for it. When, however, Solomon removed it to his newly built temple (1 K. viii. 4), the 'tent of meeting' is mentioned as being taken with it. No explanation is given as to where this tent had previously been kept, nor what was now done with it and with all the ancient furniture, pillars, hangings, &c. We are forced to conclude that the tent which David had pitched was, in this verse, transformed, by a late writer, into the 'tent of meeting'; cf. 2 Chr. v. 5. In another passage (1 S. ii. 22), although the ark was in a solid temple at Shiloh, reference is made to 'the women that served at the door of the tent of meeting.' Considerable doubt is thrown on the words by the fact that the latter half of the verse, after 'all Israel,' is omitted in the LXX. They are evidently based upon Ex. xxxviii. 8 (see note), and must be considered a late gloss. It is only in the Chronicles that the Tabernacle is thought of as in existence before Solomon's temple. In 1 Chr. xvi. 39, xxi. 29, 2 Chr. i. 3 the Tabernacle is at the high place at Gibeon. But not only does 1 K. iii. 4 make no mention of it when Solomon sacrificed at 'the great high place' at Gibeon, but v. 2 condones the practice of sacrifice at high places because there was no house yet built for Yahweh. But could any such condonation have been necessary if Solomon sacrificed in the divinely appointed Tabernacle?

places; and that the prohibition of hewn stones and of tools was made in order to prevent such altars from being permanent. But beside reading into the text a great deal that is not there, this explanation fails to do away with the difficulty. A tool would be a pollution in the one case as much as in the other. And the writers who described the Tabernacle and the organized priestly and Levitical system took their stand upon the principle laid down in Dt. xii. 13 f.; only one sanctuary and one sacrificial altar was allowable or conceivable. See note on *Altars*, pp. 125 f.

3. *Its place in Israel's religious history.* If the Tabernacle of P was not erected by Moses in the desert, and did not at any time exist, it is important to determine the reasons for its elaborate representation in the middle books of the Pentateuch. Its value as an embodiment of religious ideas is quite unaffected by the question of its historicity. The keynote of the whole is struck in Ex. xxv. 8: 'Let them make me a sanctuary *that I may dwell among them*'; cf. xxix. 45. The supreme interest of the study of Israel's religion lies in the fact that the truths of God's nature and character were realised slowly and gradually—*πολυμερῶς και πολυτροπως*. It is contrary to everything that we know of the divine methods of working that the full truth should be revealed all at once. Israel was led from monolatry to monotheism; their prophets, by emphasizing the universality of God's rule, and His infinity, cast discredit on the use of images and on the Canaanite worship at the high places; and this led to an era of reformation, when, for the sake of purity of worship, it was felt that there should be one sanctuary only—a spot where the religion and worship of Israel would be concentrated. This movement was assisted by the existence of the splendid temple which Solomon had long before built in the capital as his royal chapel. But underlying this centralization of worship, there was a deep innate longing which could find its full satisfaction only in the Incarnation—a desire for a concrete objective presence of God among men. And the longing began to burn hot, when, by the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile in Babylon, Israel ceased to be a civil community, and were bound together solely by a unity of religion¹. Political and national ambitions gave place to religious ideals; and these ideals were shaped by this longing for something concrete, round which Israel, as a body of co-religionists, might rally. The first inspired product of the period was the programme sketched by Ezekiel (xl.—xlviii.). His imagination pictured a temple of the future, with a highly organized worship and priesthood, standing on a sacred site of ideal proportions, carefully guarded from defilement 'to make a separation between that which was holy and that which was common' (xlii. 20). The priests who had formerly taken part in the worship on the high places must be degraded to the position of temple servants (xliv. 6—14). The civil governor of the future is merely a 'prince,' who, as a devoted layman, is entirely subservient to the priestly system (xlvi. 1—18, xlviii. 21 f.). And the centre and kernel of the system is 'the most holy place,' a perfect

¹ See G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 275—279.

cube of 20 cubits; this represented the completeness and perfection of the divine nature. And within it appears the glory of Yahweh, and a voice declares that this is 'the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, *where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever*' (xliii. 7).

But it is easy to see that this idealism might take another form. When, after the return to Jerusalem of the most loyal of the exiles, an attempt was made to establish a priestly system somewhat on the lines of Ezekiel's suggestions, devotional spirits, in contemplation of Israel's past, delighted to imagine that the concrete visible sign of Yahweh's presence had been the centre of their worship from the first. If the nation was ideal, their beginnings must have been ideal. And as the picture shaped itself in their meditations, it was based upon one factor and another in the actual histories which they possessed. Moses had made a 'tent of meeting' where Yahweh spoke to him face to face, and an ark to which Yahweh attached his presence. Solomon had built a gorgeous temple, which had come to be the only place where Yahweh might be worshipped with sacrifice. And so the splendours of Solomon's temple, and of Ezekiel's vision, and probably some of the actual arrangements of Zerubbabel's temple, were projected into the past. And to this imaginative picture details were added by successive priestly thinkers, and the whole has been handed down to us as the record of a spiritual longing, pointing towards the time when 'the Word tabernacled among us, and we beheld his glory.'

4. *Its relation to the temples of Solomon and Ezekiel.* The Tabernacle was to partake of the glories of the Temple; but since the Israelites were wandering in the desert, it must be *portable*. The innermost shrine of the temple was a cube of 20 cubits (1 K. vi. 20, Ez. xli. 4); that of the Tabernacle was 10 cubits. The larger portion of the temple, the 'Holy Place,' was a rectangle 40 × 20 cubits and 20 cubits in height (1 K. vi. 2, 17, Ez. xli. 2); that of the Tabernacle measured 20 × 10 × 10 cubits. Solomon's cherubim each measured 10 cubits between the tips of the outstretched wings (1 K. vi. 24); those in the Tabernacle were small enough to stand on a space 1½ × 2½ cubits. The side walls of Ezekiel's temple were composed of cedar panels, carved with cherubim, palm trees and flowers (xli. 18—20)¹; those of the Tabernacle consisted of light wooden

¹ 1 K. vi. 18 states that the walls of Solomon's temple were carved with gourd-shaped ornaments and flowers. But LXX omits the verse, and it must be considered doubtful. It is not impossible, however, that the pre-exilic temple

frames, with curtains hanging behind them, and shewing as panels worked with cherubim. In Ezekiel's temple the partition which separated the most holy place, and the eastern wall of the building, were of cedar, with carvings (xli. 21, 24 f.); in the Tabernacle their place is taken by the veil and the screen woven with figures¹. And in general it may be said that the exact and ideal symmetry of Ezekiel's scheme is carefully imitated on a miniature scale in the Tabernacle. But another important feature in this imitation is to be noticed. Although Yahweh dwelt among His people, and deigned to shew a 'conversableness with men,' yet reverent care must be taken to emphasize the supreme holiness—the unapproachableness—of the divine presence. 'The inaccessibility was not absolute, but the solitary exception made the sense of inaccessibility more intense than if there had been no exception. Had entrance been absolutely forbidden, men would have regarded the inner sanctuary as a place with which they had no concern, and would have ceased to think of it at all. But the admission of their highest representative in holy things on one solitary day in the year taught them that the most holy place was a place with which they had to do, and at the same time showed it to be a place very difficult of access².' This inaccessibility was further marked by making gradations of sanctity in the successive parts of the sacred precincts. Ezekiel (xlv. 1—4, xlviii. 8—12) places his temple in a square of 500 cubits, which is holy. Within this is a specially sacred portion which belongs to the priests alone, who thus surround the temple and guard it from all danger of pollution. P similarly (Num. ii.) pictures the Tabernacle as surrounded by the Israelites, three tribes on each of the four sides. And within them a smaller square was formed by the priests and the three Levitical families of Gershon, Kohath and Merari.

This gradation is marked, again, in the Tabernacle in a unique manner by the varying values of the materials used. The *Kappōreth*, and its cherubim were of solid gold of a specially refined quality, described as 'pure gold.' The ark was sheathed inside and out with pure gold. And the same metal was employed for the lampstand, and

underwent considerable alterations in the course of its history, and that Ezekiel's plan, though ideal, was based upon it to a larger extent than we have any means of realising. See *DB* iv. 708 (last paragraph but one).

¹ The supposition (see art. 'Veil' in *DB* iv.) that Zerubbabel's temple had a veil and screen instead of wood cannot be verified, and is improbable. The Tabernacle, in order to be portable, must have them, and afterwards Herod's temple conformed to it. But the second temple was probably erected before P wrote, and i may be assumed that it had wooden partitions.

² Bruce, *Expositor*, Dec. 1889.

for the covering of the table and the incense altar—objects which stood in the closest proximity to the ‘most holy place.’ The pillars for the veil stood on bases of silver, which, as the veil must have hung inside the pillars, were reckoned as belonging to the ‘holy place.’ But the bases of the pillars at the entrance which supported the screen belonged to the court, and were therefore of bronze. Similarly the hooks in the curtain which formed the Tent proper were of silver, while those in the goats’ hair covering were of bronze. And in the court itself, furthest removed from the most holy place, bronze was employed for the laver, the altar and the bases of the pillars. The same principle is seen in the case of the hangings: the veil was worked with cherubim in three colours; the entrance screen, and the hanging at the entrance of the court were in three colours, but without the cherubim; while the ordinary hangings of the court were of plain white linen. Once more, the principle is observed in the garments of the ministers. Aaron, concentrating in his person the sanctity of the whole nation, and marked out as ‘holy unto Yahweh,’ wore ‘holy garments for glory and for beauty,’ described in Ex. xxviii. 1—39; his sons wore coats, sashes, turbans and linen breeches ‘for glory and for beauty,’ but greatly inferior to Aaron’s robes (vv. 40—43); and for the Levites no special garments were appointed.

5. *Symbolism.* The extraordinary minuteness of the description of the Tabernacle, its measurements and specifications, its elaborate symmetry, its consistent adherence to the numbers 3, 4 and 5 with their halves and multiples, its frequent employment of the ratio 2 : 1, and the wonderful effect which the whole description has of carrying the thought incessantly to the most holy place, together with a certain oriental glamour which attaches to it all, have exercised a powerful fascination on many generations of Jews and Christians. It was natural that both in ancient and modern times it should have been a mine of symbolical interpretations. But it is very remarkable that the Old Testament writers themselves nowhere offer the slightest suggestion as to the symbolism of any of its parts. It is possible, however, that in the late passages, Ex. xxxix. and xl. 19—33, the first beginnings of Rabbinic speculation are to be detected. Both are punctuated by the seven-fold repetition of the words ‘as Yahweh commanded Moses’; and this may have been an attempt to imitate the recurring ‘and it was so’—‘and God saw that it was good’—in Gen. i.¹ The finished work was inspected and blessed by Moses

¹ See further the preliminary note on chs. xxv.—xxxI.

(xxxix. 43); cf. Gen. i. 28, 31, ii. 3. Thus the new ritual order is brought into parallelism with the old cosmic order—a line of thought afterwards elaborated by Josephus. Typological research offers a fruitful field for devotional study; but its results depend largely on individual temperament and presuppositions, and can in no case be accepted as final. It is nevertheless difficult to refrain from pointing out some of the spiritual analogies which suggest themselves, apart from the interpretations found in the New Testament, which are collected on pp. cxxviii.—cxxxiii.

Names. The names by which the building was known suggest different aspects under which the divine presence among men must be regarded. The fundamental truth that God is present is expressed in the *Dwelling* (*mishkān*), commonly rendered the 'Tabernacle.' It contains in germ all the manifold teaching which finds its highest expression in the writings of S. John. As the Father 'abides' in the Son, and He in the Father, so the Son 'abides' in men, and they in Him. The *Tent* (*'ōhel*), on the other hand, is a symbol of transitoriness; it emphasizes to us the fact that the Tabernacle was but a type, and 'nigh unto vanishing away' when the true 'abiding' began. The names further teach something of the divine character as revealed to men. The innermost shrine was the *Most Holy* place, and every portion of the Dwelling and the court, their furniture and utensils, was *holy*. It was a concrete symbol of the truth which had been taught by the prophets, that Yahweh was 'the Holy One of Israel,' transcendently separated from every shadow of human weakness and limitation and pollution. But because He was so separate, man could not learn of His nature and character without a revelation. Even the Tabernacle itself, the symbol, was not of human invention; it was revealed according to the pattern shewn to Moses in the mount. And it was named the *Tent of Witness* (Num. ix. 15, xvii. 7, xviii. 2), or the *Dwelling of Witness* (Ex. xxxviii. 21, Num. i. 50, 53, x. 11). 'The "witness" was the revelation which God had made of His will expressed in the "Ten Words"... This "witness" was the solemn declaration of the claims and nature of God, who took up His dwelling in the midst of Israel. The Tent under which He dwelt had this enshrined in it to determine its character.' (Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 235.) Within it rested that which declared the righteousness, the justice, the moral requirements of God. Hence we meet with the expressions 'the ark of witness' (Ex. xxv. 22, xxvi. 33 f., xxx. 6, 26), 'the tablets of witness' (xxxii. 18, xxxiv. 29), and even 'the veil of witness' (Lev. xxiv. 3). It carries us forward again to the

teaching of S. John, according to which the Incarnate Christ is the witness to men of what the Father is, this being developed into the further thought that the Church, having received from the Father His witness to the Son, is to be herself also a witness to the world of what the Son is. Once more, the spot in which the witness dwelt was also named by the title which the narrators understood to mean the *Tent of Meeting*,—the Tent where God was willing to meet with His people and shew His ‘conversableness,’ His sympathy and love, His readiness to advise and help, and to enter into intimate communion with men, ‘face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend’ (Ex. xxxiii. 11).

In considering the various parts and properties of the building, it is not possible to determine the extent to which the narrators themselves attached symbolical significance to the several details. But the chapters in Exodus which concern them belong to a late, reflective stage in Hebrew thought, and it is unreasonable to doubt that, to a considerable extent, the writers deliberately aimed at expressing spiritual truths. It must be carefully borne in mind that although they may unconsciously have provided symbols of great Christian truths which were afterwards revealed, yet they must themselves have conceived of truths clothed in these symbols, which were far short of what we have since been enabled to learn through the revelation in Jesus Christ. And a sympathetic study of the Tabernacle must therefore distinguish between what was symbolical to them and what is typical to us.

Numbers. It is easy to be led into extravagance in attempting to interpret the significance of numbers; allegorical arithmetic has called forth fantastic absurdities from both Jewish and Christian writers. But it is perhaps right to see in the number *three* a symbol of the divine, in *four* the totality of what is human, and in *seven* ($4 + 3$) and *twelve* (4×3) the all-embracing unity which combines them both¹. The number *ten*, and its multiples, seem to suggest symmetry, a large and satisfying completeness which is the expression of perfection. This symmetry reaches its climax in the ‘Most Holy’ shrine, which is a perfect cube of ten cubits; as in the case of the ideal Jerusalem of the Apocalypse (xxi. 16) ‘the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal.’ In the ‘Holy Place’ which formed the

¹ I hesitate to say, with Dr Ottley, ‘the number twelve, four multiplied by three, corresponds to a more intimate relationship between the Creator and the creature than is expressed in the number seven.’ At any rate it may be doubted whether it possessed this fuller force in the minds of the writers of Exodus. Seven is found, in the Tabernacle, only in the seven-branched lampstand.

approach to it there is indeed order and symmetry in the measurements $20 \times 10 \times 10$ cubits, but it fails to reach complete perfection, 'a contrast which suggests the incompleteness of the visible kingdom of God as contrasted with the ideal perfection towards which it tends.' (Ottley, *Aspects of the O.T.*, p. 264.) On the whole subject, however, see art. 'Number' in *DB* iii. 566.

Metals. It is possible that a distinct meaning was attached to each of the metals employed—gold, silver and bronze; but more probably they implied only gradations of sanctity in the different parts of the sacred precincts (see above).

Colours. There is some evidence that the Hebrews gave significance to colours, but none that is connected with the Tabernacle. Of those employed in the Tabernacle *white* may be the emblem of purity, the result of the cleansing away of the stains of sin (cf. Ps. li. 7, Is. i. 18). *Blue*, or rather *hyacinth*, was perhaps thought of as the sapphire hue of the heavens (cf. Ex. xxiv. 10), but this is doubtful. *Purple* has at all times been the sign of royalty (cf. Jud. viii. 26, Cant. iii. 10). To *scarlet* or *crimson*, as distinct from purple, it is difficult to attach a symbolic meaning. It can hardly be considered the colour of blood, which is 'red'. Mr Thatcher (art. 'Colours,' *DB* i. 456) is on the safe side when he says, 'In matters pertaining to ritual (esp. in the tabernacle) colours are frequently used, but it has not yet been satisfactorily shown that they were used symbolically, or that they were other than the most brilliant colours procurable when the descriptions were given.' See also Ruskin's words on 'the sacred chord of colour' (*Mod. Painters*, iv. iii. § 24).

Furniture. On the other hand the significance of the furniture may be explained with greater confidence.

(a) The *Altar of bronze* was the embodiment of the whole sacrificial system. It was the first thing that met the worshipper when he came in by the entrance at the east of the court, and it stood between him and any nearer approach to God's presence. The writer who described it would eagerly have endorsed the later words, which sum up the truth which it symbolized,—'apart from shedding of blood there is no remission' (Heb. ix. 22).

(b) The *Laver* probably stood immediately in front of the entrance into the Tent. And from this point onwards there was access only for

¹ It is quite improbable that the red of the dyed rams' skin covering was in any way symbolical. Red-dyed leather was used for shoes, saddles and other articles from the earliest times.

the priests ; but they performed their functions as the representatives of the people, so that what was true of them was ideally true of the whole nation. It is very striking to notice that for the most part the 'Holy Place' was thought of as a sublime reproduction of an ordinary dwelling-house. Before entering the private apartments of any man, at least for a formal visit or for a meal, the hands and feet would always be washed. And it was so in the case of God's Dwelling. Ceremonial purity—the outward expression of heart purity—was necessary before the priests could approach the Holy Place or offer sacrifice at the altar. What the writer could not know was that his description foreshadowed the spiritual 'laver (*or* washing) of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost' (Tit. iii. 5).

(c) On entering the Tent, the eye would at once be struck by the *Lampstand*, by which the Holy Place, like an ordinary house, was lighted. The symbolic meaning of it may perhaps be gathered from Zech. iv. It would appear that Zerubbabel's temple contained a seven-branched lampstand¹, which formed the basis of (or perhaps was due to) Zechariah's vision, and which also suggested the lampstand in the description of the Tabernacle. And the prophet's symbolical explanation of it, which was probably known to the writer of Ex. xxv., is that the seven lamps 'are the eyes of Yahweh ; they run to and fro through the whole earth².' The light of the lamps represents the complete (seven-fold) revelation of God's presence and all-seeing providence, illuminating the sanctuary which was the core and heart of the nation's life.

(d) The lampstand stood on the left, or south, side of the Tent. On the opposite side stood an article of furniture which every private dwelling-house possesses—a *Table* for food. In primitive days the 'Presence Bread' (see on xxv. 30) was placed before the Deity for His consumption. But in the time of P such crude notions had been left far behind. The priests (representing the people) consumed the loaves, with the accompaniment of the burning of frankincense and libations of wine, thus transforming the ceremony into a feast of thanksgiving—a Eucharist. It is another signal instance of the truth of 1 Pet. i. 12, that the Old Testament writers unconsciously pointed

¹ In Solomon's temple light was supplied by ten several lampstands, five on each side of the entrance to the shrine (1 K. vii. 49).

² V. 10 b should be rendered 'these seven are the eyes of Yahweh...&c.' : the words are the continuation of v. 6 a, 'spake unto me saying,' the intermediate passage being an interpolation from an address to Zerubbabel belonging to an earlier date in the prophet's life (see G. A. Smith, *in loc.*).

to something far higher than the meaning which they attached to their own words.

(e) One piece of furniture in the Holy Place yet remains. It is of a distinctive character, and would not find any equivalent in an ordinary dwelling-house. The golden *Altar of Incense* stood close to the veil, and its true significance was connected not with the Holy Place, but with the Most Holy. As in the case of the bread the incense had in primitive times a crude anthropomorphic meaning; the smoke of burning sacrifices (see n. on xxx. 34—38) rose to the Deity and pleased Him by its sweet odour. But in the present case the meaning is largely determined by the position which the altar occupied in the Tent. 'The Altar of Incense bore the same relation to the Holy of Holies as the Altar of Burnt offering to the Holy Place. It furnished in some sense the means of approach to it. Indeed the substitution of *ἔχουσα* for *ἐν ᾗ* (Heb. ix. 2) itself points clearly to something different from mere position. The Ark and the Altar of Incense typified the two innermost conceptions of the heavenly Sanctuary, the Manifestation of God and the spiritual worship of man' (Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 247). The smoke of the incense was analogous to that of the burnt-offering. The latter expressed the offering of self, the former the offering of the heart's adoration and homage—both necessary before man can gain, or bear, complete access to the Presence of God.

(f) Finally, the Presence itself is manifested in the *Ark*; and the *Tablets of the Law* within, and the '*Propitiatory*' (see on xxv. 17) above, represent the two complementary aspects of the divine character which is there revealed—His stern moral requirements and His infinite compassion; there 'mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' The *Cherubim* above the ark are the divine throne. In the far past they were symbols connected with a primitive mode of thought. 'The "cherub" survived as one of the traces of a Hebrew mythology, which was retained by the prophets because it represented pictorially the attributes of the majesty of the God of Israel, and was employed to express more vividly the means by which His glory is revealed to man' (art. 'Cherubim,' *DB* i. 378).

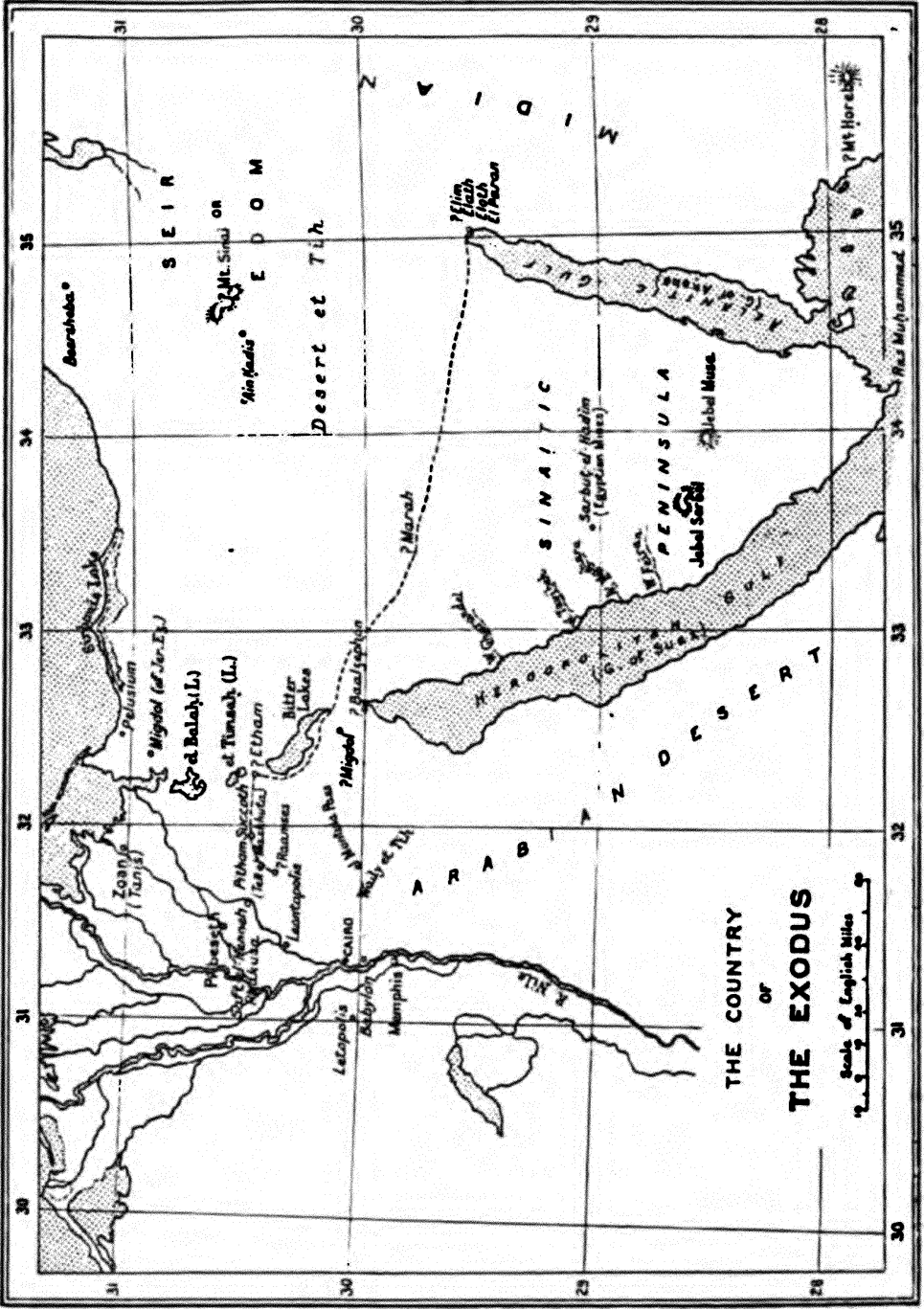
An interpretation of some of the ruling features of the Tabernacle will be found in a suggestive note by Westcott (*Hebrews*, pp. 235—7); see also Ottley's Bampton Lectures, *Aspects of the Old Testament*, pp. 247—264. A fuller treatment of details may be seen in Keil's *Archæology* (Engl. transl.), pp. 125—7, and in Fairbairn's *Typology*, pp. 232—278. The latter makes some sensible strictures on the

very minute and fanciful investigation of Bähr, *Symbolik d. Mosaischen Cultus*. Allegorical explanations are plentiful in patristic writings; see Clem. Al. *Stromateis* v. 6, §§ 32—34; Theod. Mops. on Heb. ix. 1; Theodoret, *ib.*; Origen, *Hom. in Ex. ix.*; Greg. Nyss. *De Vita Moysis*. At an earlier period Josephus and Philo present what were probably the current methods of interpretation at the two great centres of Jewish thought, Jerusalem and Alexandria. The ideas of the former are what may be called naturalistic. 'The several parts [of the Tabernacle, its vessels, and the dress of the priest] have been framed to imitate and represent the Universe.' His chapter on the subject (*Ant.* III. vii. 7, and cf. *B.J.* v. v. 4—7) is quoted *in extenso* by Westcott (*loc. cit.*). Philo, with his Alexandrian training, follows a similar line of exegesis, but combines it with a philosophical element (*Vit. Mos.* ii. 155 ed. Mangey). Among some modern writers there is now a tendency, which runs all too easily to extremes, to explain large parts of Israelite traditions as having a naturalistic or cosmological origin, being based upon the number and movements of the planets, and the like. This may prove a fruitful line of study in the future, but at present the theories are, for the most part, speculations which, though sometimes ingenious, rest upon very scanty evidence.

§ 6. *The Geography of Exodus.*

In spite of the steadily increasing fund of knowledge afforded by excavations, not a trace has been found of the presence of the Hebrews in Egypt. So that while discoveries have been of great interest and value as a means of testing the archaeological and geographical accuracy of the Biblical writers, they cannot be used as *proofs* of the truth of the narrative. The earliest Hebrew writer whose narrative has come down to us lived some four centuries after the Pharaoh in whose reign the exodus probably took place; so that it might be expected that he would sometimes be inaccurate in details and guilty of anachronisms; but, so far as our present knowledge enables us to judge, the mistakes are surprisingly few.

(a) The scene opens in *Goshen*. This is the vocalisation of the word with which we are accustomed, and which is due to the Masoretic scribes; it is probable, however, that Geshem or Gesem is the more original form (LXX Γεσεμ). M. Naville, the French explorer, excavating in 1885 at a village named Saft el-Henneh, c. 40 miles N.N.E. of



Cairo, found a shrine of the 4th cent. B.C., with an inscription which shewed that the place where the shrine stood bore the name *Kes*. In the ancient hieroglyphic lists of the 'nomes' or administrative districts of Egypt, *Kesem* is mentioned as the 20th nome of Lower Egypt, and its capital is named *Pa-Sopt*. Sopt was the name of the god to whom the shrine was dedicated, and is evidently the modern Saft; and Kesem is the older and fuller form of Kes. Kesem (= Gesem or Goshen) was, therefore, the ancient name of the district in which Saft stands. In Gen. xlv. 10 LXX has Γέσεμ Ἀραβίας, which is a further indication that Kesem is rightly identified with Goshen, for Arabia was the name of a nome in the same direction, whose capital was *Phakusa*, i.e. Kes with the Egyptian article *Pa*. M. Naville infers from the texts of the 19th and 20th dynasties that Kesem 'was not an organized province occupied by an agricultural population; it was part of the marsh land called *the waters of Ra*... It could be given by the king to foreigners, without despoiling the native population. It must have been something very like the borders of the present Sharkiyeh, N. of Fakoos, where the Bedawin have their camps of black tents and graze their large flocks of cattle.' If this is so, the description of Goshen as 'the best of the land' (Gen. xlvii. 16) is somewhat exaggerated.

(b) When the Israelites were forced into building labour, it is related that they built for Pharaoh *Pithom* and *Raamses* (Ex. i. 11). The former has been clearly identified by M. Naville. Two years before his discovery of the shrine of Sopt, he found at Tell-el-Mashkuta inscriptions which shewed that the ancient name of the place was *Pi-Tum*, the 'house of Tum.' Tell-el-Mashkuta, 'the mound of the statue,' is so named from a statue, which is there at the present time, of Ramses II sitting between the two solar deities Ra and Tum. There can be no doubt that Pi-Tum is the Biblical Pithom. M. Naville further found that Pi-Tum was a square city, about 220 yards in length, enclosed by enormous brick walls, and containing store chambers built of brick, and a temple. The store chambers were of various sizes, rectangular and very numerous. They had no communication with one another; but could be filled with corn from the top, and emptied also from above, or through a reserve door in the side. They stood on a thick layer of beaten clay, which would prevent rats from getting into them. Tell-el-Mashkuta is the only place where such granaries have hitherto been excavated. It is known, from inscriptions discovered on the spot, that the city was founded by Ramses II. It would be used partly as a magazine for

supplying provisions to Egyptian armies about to cross the desert, and partly, perhaps, as a fortress for the protection of the exposed eastern frontier. The discovery is important; for if the statement in Ex. i. 11 is accurate—which there is no evidence to lead us to doubt—the Pharaoh of the oppression is proved to be Ramses II; and since Ex. ii. 23 implies that the Pharaoh of the Exodus was Ramses' successor, the Exodus took place under Merenptah.

The site of the other store city Raamses has not yet been settled with equal certainty. Ramses II was a great builder, and he erected many towns and temples in the eastern Delta. Zoan, i.e. Tanis (modern *San*), is often called in the papyri Pa-Ramessu Meriamum ('The Place of Ramses II'). It was built, indeed, in the 12th dynasty; but Ramses added so much to it that M. Naville calls him its 'second founder.' But since its true name Zoan is preserved in the O.T. (Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43, Is. xix. 11, 13, xxx. 4, Ezek. xxx. 14, Num. xiii. 22), Maspero¹ and others think that the Raamses of Exodus is a place built by Ramses which has not at present been identified².

(c) The first movement of the Israelites was 'from Raamses to Succoth' (xii. 37). Succoth is a Semitic word meaning 'booths', but here it is probably a Semitic adaptation of an Egyptian word *Thku(t)*. A papyrus speaks of 'a royal fortress (*hetem*) of Thku, close by the pools of Pithom.' In the inscriptions at Tell-el-Mashkuta the name Thku is of frequent occurrence, in such a way as to suggest that Pithom and Thku, if not identical, were so closely associated that the names could be used interchangeably. W. Max Müller suggests that they were 'neighbouring places which had grown together by expansion so as to form one city.' If, then, Succoth was practically identical with Pithom, we may suppose that the gangs of Israelite labourers at Raamses moved in a body, and joined the labourers at the other great building centre.

(d) 'And they journeyed from Succoth, and encamped in *Etham*, in the edge of the wilderness' (xiii. 20). The N.E. frontier of Egypt, along the line of the present Suez canal, was in ancient times guarded by fortresses and a strong wall. It is not certain, though it is probable, that the wall ran the whole length of the isthmus. In the period of the New Kingdom there were two chief fortresses, commanding the two routes from the desert—the northern named the *hetem* of Zaru,

¹ *Rev. Archéol.* xxxiv. (1879) 323 f.

² See, however, *Addenda*.

³ It was the name of a place E. of Jordan, of which an explanation is given in Gen. xxxiii. 17.

and the southern the *hetem* of Thku. In the reign of Merenptah the Shasu nomads of Atuma (probably Edom) received official permission to pass the *hetem* of Thku towards the lakes of Pithom, in order to obtain a living for themselves and their cattle. It is tempting to identify this southern *hetem* with the Biblical Etham. Its exact site cannot at present be determined, but it was evidently close to Pithom-Succoth. The fact that Ex. xiii. 20, Num. xxxiii. 6 appear to represent the distance as a day's march is not a serious difficulty. By the time of the priestly writer all exact knowledge of Egyptian localities might easily have been lost. And in any case it would be natural for the Israelites to move very slowly at the start, in order to pick up as many of their kinsmen as possible from the surrounding districts. Maspero, however, questions the identification, on the ground that a stronger guttural than the Hebrew *aleph* would have been expected as a transcription of the Egyptian guttural *h*; but it is not impossible that the Hebrew word was originally spelt with a stronger guttural, which became softened during the centuries which intervened before the time of the priestly writer. The identification perhaps finds further support in the fact that the Wilderness of Etham (Num. xxxiii. 8) is also called the Wilderness of Shur (Ex. xv. 22; cf. Gen. xxv. 18). *Shur* is the Hebrew word for a 'wall'; and the name may have originated in the frontier walls (Eg. *anbu*) along the isthmus, which were strengthened at important spots by the fortified *hetems*.

(e) Increasing difficulties beset the question as to the spot at which the Israelites crossed the sea. Ex. xiv. 2 is tantalizingly explicit: 'speak unto the children of Israel that they turn back and encamp before *Pi-hahiroth*, between *Migdol* and the sea, before *Baal-zephon*: opposite it shall ye encamp by the sea.' *Pi-hahiroth* has the appearance of an Egyptian word compounded with *Pi*, 'house' (as in Pithom and *Pi-beseth*, Ez. xxx. 17). The site is unknown. Prof. Petrie (*Researches in Sinai*, p. 204) finds *Pi-hahiroth* in Paqaheret, the name of a place of which Osiris was god. The only Serapeum or shrine of Osiris known in this region is towards the northern end of the Bitter Lake. But that appears to be too far north to allow of the 'turn' southward. *Migdol* is Semitic, and connected with the Heb. *migdāl*, a 'tower,' of which the Egyptian form *maktl* occurs frequently in the inscriptions. It is known from an inscription of the reign of Usertasen I (2758—2714 Petrie) that the frontier walls were manned with guards, who watched on the top and were changed each day. Thus there must have been a series of watchtowers. A *Migdol* is

mentioned in the reign of Merenptah's successor, Seti II, as standing south of the route guarded by the *hetem* of Thku. But it is impossible to say whether this, rather than any other of the towers, was the Migdol near which the Israelites encamped. The site of *Baal-zephon* (clearly a Semitic name) is entirely unknown. W. M. Müller (*Enc. B.* i. 409) notes that a goddess named Ba'alt(i)-šapuna was worshipped at Memphis. If this is so, the corresponding male divinity Ba'al-šapuna probably had a town devoted to his cult¹.

Two theories must be mentioned, only to be set aside. (i) Josephus (*Ant.* II. xv. 1) makes the Israelites march through Letopolis-Babylon, i.e. round the south side of the hill on which Cairo stands, through the *Wādī et-Tih*, and then northwards so as to move through the Pass *el-Muntūla*. But this disregards all the Biblical evidence. (ii) Brugsch and others advanced the theory that the route was from Zoan-Tanis (which they identified with Raamses) to the shore of the Mediterranean, along the thin neck of land north of the ancient Sirbonian bog, and thence to the Migdol of Jer. xlv. 1, xlvi. 14, Ez. xxix. 10, xxx. 6, which was not quite 12 miles south of Pelusium; so that the water which was dried up was the northern end of the Sirbonis. But this view has been negated by the discoveries which have settled the position of Goshen.

These discoveries suggest a route midway between the two. The course of the modern Suez canal runs from Port Said to Suez, passing successively, on its southward course, through the Balāh lake, the Timsāh ('crocodile') lake, and a large bitter lake known in the 12th dynasty as the 'Great Black Water.' The latter lies roughly N.W. and S.E., and its southern point is rather more than 20 miles north of Suez. In the 12th dynasty it appears to have reached far enough northwards to be joined with the Timsāh lake, but it is not known whether that was the case in the 19th dynasty. There is no evidence within historical times that it reached southward to the Gulf (see *Enc. B.* art. 'Exodus,' 1439), though geologists are agreed that at one time there was a complete channel from the Mediterranean to the Gulf. Now if the Israelites moved eastward along the *Wādī et-Tumilāt* to the frontier wall, they would reach it at a point close to

¹ Some explain the name as Baal, or Master, of the Northern point of the Red Sea, or of the North wind, to whom sailors would pray for a fair passage down the gulf. There was a Phœnician deity Baal-zaphon ('Baal of the North'), mentioned several times in Assyrian inscriptions, who was worshipped in the region of Mt Lebanon.

the Timsah lake. M. Naville suggests that the crossing was effected at a point between the Timsah and the large bitter lake, assuming a shallow connexion between them. But this gives room for hardly any southward movement such as is contemplated in the command 'turn back' (xiv. 2). There are thus two alternatives left to be considered. Did they cross the N. point of the Gulf of Suez, where it is two-thirds of a mile in width, or the S. point of the large bitter lake? The word 'sea' does not of itself exclude the possibility of the lake, for the small lake on the E. of Galilee is called the Sea of Kinnéreth (Kinn^röth), and in the N.T. the Sea of Galilee or of Tiberias; and, by an even wider application, the word is used of the Nile (Nah. iii. 8, Is. xix. 5) and of the Euphrates (Jer. li. 36). Indeed classical Hebrew had no other word to express (like *λιμνη*) a piece of water surrounded by land. Again, there are no subjective considerations which decide the point. Subsequent Biblical writers, it is true, convey the impression that they believed the crossing to have been made over the open sea; but all that it was possible for them to do was to repeat the 'sea' which they found in the original narrative. Setting aside the picture drawn by P of the double wall of water (see note on xiv. 22), the miracle, i.e. the wonderful providence of God, is not more striking if the wind caused an unusually low tide in the Gulf of Suez, than if it caused an unusually wide margin at the S. of the bitter lake. The miracle consisted in the strong wind being sent in the required direction at the required moment. On the other hand there are two indications in favour of the lake. 1. The name *Yam Süph*, 'sea of reeds,' seems to point to a marshy spot covered with reeds or flags¹. The name would suit any part of the swamps on the E. of Goshen. It is true that at a later time the name was applied not only to the Gulf of Suez but also to the eastern (Aelanitic) arm of the sea (Num. xxi. 4, Dt. ii. 1, 1 K. ix. 26, Jer. xlix. 21), and it is a little strange that the name of an inland lake or swamp should have been thus extended to the whole sea. But it is probable that the northern point of the Gulf was considerably nearer to the lake than it is now; and the extension of the name cannot be considered impossible. 2. There is, however, another fact which has hardly received the attention it deserves, i.e. that it was an 'east wind' which drove the water from its usual boundaries (xiv. 21). It is pointed out (Dillmann-Ryssel, *Comm. in loc.* p. 165) that if the wind were due east it would

¹ The meaning of *süph* is discussed in the notes on ii. 3, xiii. 18.

have driven the waters right against the Israelites. But since the Hebrew language has no terms other than North, South, East and West to express all the points of the compass, an 'east wind' may come from either N.E. or S.E.; and if the N. point of the Gulf be the point of crossing, we are forced to accept the former. But the wind that would really drive the waters of the Gulf southwards would be the North-*West*. Other writers, observing that the song in ch. xv. does not mention the direction of the wind, assume that the 'east' wind in ch. xiv. is a mistake. But if the point of crossing was the S. point of the lake, a S.E. wind is exactly that which is required to drive the water in a north-westerly direction—that is along the direction in which the lake lies. Ruppell (*Nubia* 184, cited by Dillmann) says that in April and the beginning of May the S.E. wind often blows along the Gulf with great force, generally for three days at a time, as a reaction from a still stronger N.W. wind, which, however, does not last long. Now the 'east' wind is nowhere clearly used in the O.T. with the meaning 'north-east,' while it is frequently used to denote the violent scorching S.E. wind, the Sirocco; Gen. xli. 6¹, 23, 27, Hos. xiii. 15, Jer. xviii. 17, Ps. xlvi. 7 (8) &c. (see Driver on Am. iv. 9 in *Camb. Bible*). And, if the words of the song (xv. 7 f.) are to be given weight, a hot wind seems to be implied in Yahweh's wrath which 'consumeth them as stubble,' standing in juxtaposition with 'the blast of thy nostrils.'

Complete certainty with regard to the point of crossing cannot be reached until the locality of the places mentioned in xiv. 2 is accurately identified—perhaps not even then. But though there are difficulties on both sides, the data appear to be more fully satisfied by the southern point of the bitter lake than by the northern point of the Gulf of Suez.

(*f*) When the body of fugitives emerged into the desert of Shur or Etham, two routes were open to them—(1) the *haj* route now followed by pilgrims going from Cairo to Mecca, running eastward across the peninsula to Elath at the N. point of the Gulf of Akaba; (2) the route to the traditional Sinai, which runs southward, close to the Gulf of Suez. The latter is graphically described by Palmer (*The Desert of the Exodus*), and is, by most writers, accepted as the course taken by the Israelites. Prof. Petrie (*Researches in Sinai*) still advocates it. J relates that the Israelites reached *Marah* after three days' march (xv. 23), and thence they came to an oasis at *Elim* (v. 27). Neither

¹ See Driver's note.

of these names has been identified on the southern route. Palmer reached a bitter spring *Ain Hawwarah*, three days' march from Suez ; and, a little further on, tamarisks and palms and a running stream in the *Wādy Gharandel*, which is by many identified with Elim. But there is no other ground for the identification than the fact that these spots lie on the supposed route. On the other hand there is much to be said for identifying *Elim* with the place described by the different names *Elath*, *Eloth* (Dt. ii. 8, 2 K. xvi. 6) and *El-Paran* (Gen. xiv. 6¹), a port on the eastern arm of the Red Sea. The name appears in Greek as *Aἴλανα* ; hence the name Aelanitic Gulf.

Continuing the narrative—JE do not preserve the name of the place where the manna was given, while P, who states that it was in the 'Wilderness of Sin' (Ex. xvi. 1), clearly places the incident after the stay at Sinai (see analysis on *vv.* 33 f.). Again, the smiting of the rock (xvii. 6) is explicitly stated by E to have taken place 'in Horeb,' the name Meribah being attached to the spot in consequence of the incident ; while J (Num. xx.) places a similar incident (with the name Meribah) near Kadesh and Edom (*v.* 14). It is improbable, therefore, that it occurred at the south of the peninsula (see below). Once more, E relates (xvii. 8—16) that the Amalekites fought with Israel in Rephidim. Whether or not this be a confusion with J's narrative in Num. xiv. 40—45, it is extremely probable that the story in Exodus belongs to a period near the end of Moses' life, and must, for that reason if for no other, be placed near the borders of Palestine (see notes). The direct evidence, therefore, afforded by JE as to the route between Suez and Sinai is confined to Marah and Elim.

When we turn to P the evidence for this portion of the journeys is no less ambiguous. The incident of the manna is placed in 'the Wilderness of Sin which is between Elim and Sinai' (xvi. 1). There would appear to be a connexion between the names Sin and Sinai, but that reveals nothing as to the locality of either. There is no modern evidence for a wilderness of that name in the south of the peninsula. In P's itinerary (Num. xxxiii.) an encampment 'by the *Yam Suph*' is mentioned (*v.* 10) between Elim and the Wilderness of Sin. This is usually supposed to refer to the Gulf of Suez ; but the name can also, as we have seen, be employed to describe the Gulf of Akaba. Those who maintain the traditional site of Sinai place this encampment by the sea at the mouth of the *Wady Tayibeh*, on the more southern

¹ The passage, however, does not mention the sea, and El-Paran was, perhaps, not as far south as Elath.

of the two possible routes from the Wady Gharandel to the mountain. Rendel Harris (art. 'Exodus to Canaan' in *DB* i.) says, 'The most striking identification on this route is the encampment on the sea-shore five days after having left it. But it is clear that, striking as this is, the same thing is true of the route of the Mecca pilgrims; so it can hardly be called a conclusive identification.' After the Wilderness of Sin the itinerary (Num. xxxiii. 13) gives two encampments, *Dophkah* and *Alush*. Ebers and Rendel Harris suggest that *Dophkah* may be near the entrance to the Wady Maghareh. The latter writer says, 'This wady contains the oldest Egyptian mines, and as the blue-stone [turquoise, Petrie] which the Egyptians quarried is known by the name of *Mafkat*, and gave its name to the district of *Mafkat*, it is a tempting suggestion to identify *Dophkah* as an erroneous transcription of *Mafkah*.' But this is purely conjectural (*LXX* has *Ραφακα*), and the sites of *Dophkah* and *Alush* remain entirely unknown.

Nor are the names on the route after the stay at Sinai more helpful. Num. xxxiii. 16—36 contains twenty names between Sinai and Ezion-geber. The latter stood at the northern end of the Gulf of Akaba, 'beside Eloth, on the shore of the Yam Suph, in the land of Edom' (1 K. ix. 26). Of these twenty names not one can be identified with any point on a route from the south of the peninsula, though Palmer (p. 508, 9) finds some resemblances to modern names in *Hazeroth*, *Rissah*, *Haradah* and *Tahath*. The first of these he identifies with 'Ain el Hudrah about half-way between *Jebel Musa* and *Ezion-geber*. But since *Hazeroth* signifies 'enclosures' it might be applied to many places (*EB* iii. 3316 f.). Trumbull (*Kadesh-Barnea*, p. 314) rejects it 'on the ground of its location and approaches'; it is not a place where pastoral enclosures would be possible. Moreover the name occurs, together with other unknown localities, in Dt. i. 1, and 'interpreted in their obvious sense the words define...the locality E. of Jordan in which the following discourses were delivered' (Driver *in loc.*). In the same passage a *Di-zahab* is mentioned, which Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 523) identifies with *Mina-ed-Dahab*, the third of seven boat-harbours between the *Ras Muhammad* and *Akaba*, nearly due east of *Jebel Musa*. But this not only forces the words in Dt. i. 1 to be taken in a very unnatural sense as referring to the previous journeyings of the Israelites, but is objected to by Keil on the ground that *Mina-ed-Dahab* is too inaccessible on the side of [the traditional] Sinai for the Israelites to have made it one of their halting places. Further, if *Laban* in Dt. i. 1 be the same as *Libnah* in Num. xxxiii. 20 (though both are unknown), it is another indication that the route

between Sinai and Ezion-geber was in the region close to the Negeb, Edom and Moab.

Petrie's arguments in support of Palmer's route are slender. He identifies Marah with the Wādy Hawwarah, because the latter contains a spring, and is two hours' journey before the Wādy Gharandel, which is three days' journey from Suez. And he adds, 'it seems clear that the writer of these itineraries knew the road to the present Sinai well. The description exactly fits that road, and it will not fit any other.' As regards the eastward route to the Gulf of Akaba he merely remarks that 'the account of the journey cannot agree with that.' But he does not support the statement. There may well have been in the days of the Israelites a brackish pool, three days' journey from the frontier on the Mecca road, which has since disappeared. Exodus says nothing of the distance from Marah to Elim, which may have been considerable, and not one of two hours' journey. Petrie also says, 'There is a further presumption that the writer did not regard Midian as being inaccessible to asses, as Moses returned thence with an ass (Ex. iv. 20). This is possible up the Gharandel road, but could scarcely be done on the longer waterless route of the Derb el Hagg.' But if the pool, afterwards called Marah, lay half-way along the route, it was not waterless.

For the traditional site of Sinai, therefore, there is no Biblical evidence which can be called strong, much less certain.

The origin of the tradition which placed Sinai in the south of the peninsula cannot be traced. S. Paul's reference to 'Sinai in Arabia' (Gal. iv. 25) tells nothing as to the extent of the district which was called Arabia in his day, or the locality of Sinai. The tradition first emerges about the 3rd century A.D., when the *lauras*¹ of monks were found in the mountainous tract of the present Sinai. But even then the traditions differed as to the exact spot. Witnesses are cited from Dionysius Alex. (in Eus. *H.E.* vi. 41 f., 44) down to Cosmas Indicopleustes who visited the country c. 535 A.D., in favour of Mt Serbāl, a height near the junction of *Wādy Feiran* and *Wādy es Sheikh*, and close to which stood the episcopal town Pheiran (Beke, *Sinai and Arabia*, 17—44). On the other hand the *Peregrinatio Silviae* (probably c. 385—388 A.D.)—an account by Silvia, a lady of Aquitaine, of a pilgrimage which she made—describes 'Syna the holy mountain of God' in such a way as to identify it clearly with Jebel Musa, in front of which lies the large flat plain of *er-Rahah*, where it is supposed that the Israelites encamped. Jebel Musa is about 20 miles E.S.E. of Mt Serbāl. The sanctity of this spot was emphasized by Justinian (527—565 A.D.), who founded a church there. It has had many modern advocates; but these, again, differ as to whether the actual Jebel

¹ i.e. buildings in which each monk lived a separate life, secluded in his own cell.

Musa or the rugged mass Ras-es-Şafsaf—a little to the N.W. of it—be the true Sinai. See Currelly in Petrie's *Researches in Sinai*, 250—4. Illustrations will be found in Benzinger's *Bilderatlas*.

On the other hand much of the Biblical evidence appears to militate strongly against the traditional site. One point, indeed, which is sometimes urged, has been met by Prof. Petrie. The Egyptians, as late as the 20th dynasty, worked mines in the south of the peninsula, in the Wādy Maghareh and in Sarbut el Hadīm. The labour was performed chiefly by foreign prisoners, guarded, of course, by Egyptian soldiers (see Palmer 196 f., 233 f.). And some have thought it improbable that the Israelites, who had avoided the Philistine road for fear of possible enemies (Ex. xiii. 17), would deliberately march through a district containing Egyptian troops; or, if they had done so, that they would have been able to remain unmolested at the mountain. This, however, is without force if Petrie's statement (p. 206) is correct, that Egyptian expeditions for mining purposes were 'at most in alternate years, and in the time of Merenptah only once in many years. Hence unless an expedition were actually there in that year, no reason existed for avoiding the Sinai district.'

The statement of Dillmann (on Ex. iii. 1) has been generally accepted, that 'there is no distinction in the Bible between Sinai and Horeb; they are different names for the same locality, and the names interchange only according to the different writers, or, as in Sir. xlvi. 7, in the same verse according to the parallelism of its members.' But there seems to be evidence in the Bible for two different traditions as to the position of Sinai and Horeb respectively. The former name is employed (in the Hexateuch) by J and P, and in Dt. xxxiii. 2 (see Driver on the date of the chapter), and the latter by E (Ex. iii. 1, xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6) and D, and in 1 K. xix. 8 which is coloured by Deuteronomic language.

1. SINAI. J relates that the name Meribah was given (Num. xx. 7—13) to the place where Moses brought water from the rock. In Ex. xvii. 6 (E) this took place at 'the rock in Horeb¹.' But the former story is placed by a compiler between two statements of E relating to Kadesh (Num. xx. 1b, 14). The inference from this—that the Meribah incident took place at Kadesh—is accepted by P,

¹ It is pointed out in the note on this verse that the name of the place at which the incident occurred has fallen out. It is not impossible that it was purposely omitted, because it conflicted with the Sinai tradition of P.

who speaks of 'the waters of Meribah of Kadesh [Meribath Kadesh]' in Num. xxvii. 14 = Dt. xxxii. 51. It appears, therefore, that *the mountain which P considered equivalent to Horeb was at, or near Kadesh*. P also says, in the same passages, that Meribath Kadesh is 'in the wilderness of Zin.' Compare Num. xx. 1, where P's statement of the arrival at the wilderness of Zin is placed immediately before E's statement (v. 2) that the people abode at Kadesh. And in Num. xxxiii. 36 P explicitly identifies the wilderness of Zin and Kadesh. See also Num. xxxiv. 3, 4, Jos. xv. 1, 3.

Kadesh, or Kadesh Barnea', was identified in 1842 by Mr Rowland as the modern 'Ain Kadis, some 50 miles S. of Beersheba in the desert *et-Tih* (see Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*). The name signifies 'holy,' and the place was probably a sacred one not only to the Israelites but also to the other tribes in the neighbourhood. Its sacredness is also shewn by the name 'En-mishpat ('Well of Judgement') which is given to it in Gen. xiv. 7.

Further, P appears to identify Zin and Paran. In Num. xiii. 3 Moses sent spies from the wilderness of Paran; but in v. 21*b* they spied from the wilderness of Zin to Rehob, and (v. 26*a*) they returned to the wilderness of Paran. And immediately afterwards (v. 26*b*) follow the words, probably from E, 'to Kadesh.'

Once more, Paran is closely associated with Sinai. In Num. x. 12 (P) it is the first stopping-place after the wilderness of Sinai. In Dt. xxxiii. 2 Sinai is mentioned in parallelism with Seir (= Edom) and Paran (cf. Hab. iii. 4, where Teman, a part of Edom, is parallel with Mt Paran); and in Jud. v. 4 f., if the words 'that is Sinai' are genuine (see Moore), Yahweh comes from Seir and the country of Edom, and, in order to help His people in Palestine, passes Sinai. If El-Paran (Gen. xiv. 6) is the same place as Elath or Eloth, it is another indication of the locality of Paran¹. And in Num. xx. 16 (E) Kadesh is said to be in the uttermost of the border of Edom.

Thus Sinai is very closely associated with Zin, Kadesh and Paran, and all are at the borders of Edom².

A similar result is reached in another way. E's story of Meribah 'at the rock in Horeb' (Ex. xvii. 6 f.) is introduced by P's statement that the Israelites pitched in Rephidim. P therefore understood

¹ 1 K. xi. 18 seems to imply that a place named Paran lay between Midian and Egypt.

² In this connexion should be noted the plausible emendation in Dt. xxxiii. 2, instead of קרֹשׁ מְרִבְתָּ קָדֵשׁ 'from ten thousands of holiness' to read either מְרִבְתָּ קָדֵשׁ 'to Meribath Kadesh' or מְרִבְתָּ קַ 'from Meribath K.' (See Driver.)

the sacred mountain to be in close proximity to Rephidim. So also Num. xxxiii. 15. And in Ex. xvii. 8 E relates that the Amalekites fought with Israel at Rephidim. Palmer conjecturally identifies Rephidim with *Wādy Feiran*, about 30 miles N.W. of the modern Sinai. But there is nothing to support the supposition that a body of Amalekites had left their country and moved to the S. of the peninsula. In Num. xiv. 40—45 (J) they were in their ordinary locality when, in conjunction with the 'Canaanites,' they defeated Israel (see note on Ex. xvii. 8); and in Dt. i. 44 the 'Amorites' (= 'Canaanites' in J) are said to have beaten down Israel 'in Seir.' Thus Rephidim, together with Kadesh, Zin, Paran and Sinai, is to be placed close to Edom.

It is true that the itinerary in Num. xxxiii. gives twenty stations between the departure from Rephidim and Sinai, and the arrival at 'the wilderness of Zin which is Kadesh.' But this cannot be taken as evidence that Sinai and Kadesh were any great distance apart. The itinerary gives forty stages in the whole journey, which were probably adjusted artificially to the forty years' wandering. The twenty names between Sinai and Zin are, for the most part, unknown. But the second of them, Hazērōth, which is also the second station in J (Num. xi. 35), is followed immediately by Paran in J (xii. 16), and is one of several towns adjoining the 'Arabāh (Dt. i. 1). The sixteenth, Benē-ya'akān, which appears in Dt. x. 6 as Be'ērōth-benē-ya'akān 'the wells of the sons of Ya'akān,' may have been the home of the Horite tribe Ya'akān mentioned in 1 Chr. i. 42 ('Akan, Gen. xxxvi. 27), in which case its locality must have been in, or near, Edom.

All the lines of evidence, therefore, combine to place Sinai in the desert S. of Judah, now known as *et-Tih*, in close proximity to Kadesh and Edom. Trumbull (p. 319) speaks of Kadesh as 'an encircled fastness among the mountains.' It is true that none of the neighbouring mountains are very high, but our impression of the great height of Sinai is of course due to the wonders of the theophany recorded in Ex. xix.; there is no statement in the O.T. which makes it necessary to think that it was a towering peak¹.

2. HOREB. The traditions which give the name Horeb to the sacred mountain appear to place it not on the West, but *on the East of the Gulf of Akaba*.

¹ The possibility must be left open that, according to Wellhausen's conjecture, Kadesh was originally the site of the legislation, and that the names Sinai and Horeb were due to later tradition.

It is to be noticed that while E relates events at Kadesh (Num. xiii. 26*b*, xx. 1*b*, 14) and at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 8), he does not connect them in any way with Horeb. He connects Horeb with Midian (see note on ii. 15). In iii. 1 Moses, when tending the flocks of Jethro the priest of Midian, led them for pasturage 'behind,' i.e. *West*, of the wilderness to Horeb. It has often been assumed that Jethro, with a detached body of Midianites, had moved, for some unknown reason, to the S. of the peninsula; but the supposition is without evidence, and is in itself very improbable. If, however, Jethro was living in Midian, where he is found in ii. 15, and if Horeb was the modern Sinai, the 'wilderness' must be the desert *et-Tih*; and it is quite inconceivable that Moses led the sheep to the west of that desert before moving southwards.

Again, in xviii. 5 Jethro visited Moses at the mountain. This, according to the traditional view, involved his travelling round the northern end of the Gulf of Akaba and then southwards, the whole length of the peninsula, with Zipporah and her sons. Moreover his visit occurred just as the Israelites were about to leave the mountain (see notes); but xviii. 27 says that 'he went his way into his own land.' This clearly implies that he went by a different route from that which the Israelites would take. If, however, his visit was paid in the S. of the peninsula, his route homewards would, for a large portion, be identical with that of the Israelites; he could have travelled with them as far as the northern point of the Gulf of Akaba. [The same difficulty attaches to the traditional site of Sinai in J's narrative, Num. x. 29 f.] Horeb must therefore be located at some point west, or south-west of Midian, on the east of the Gulf. And it is worthy of note that in modern maps a Jebel Harb is situated on the east of the Gulf, a little south of lat. 28°.

Dt. i. 2 says that 'it is eleven days' journey from Horeb by way of Mt Seir unto Kadesh-barnea.' If Sinai is in the immediate vicinity of Kadesh, this statement makes it impossible to identify Horeb with it. Robinson travelled in 1838 from Jebel Musa, the traditional Sinai, to Akaba, and thence to the neighbourhood of 'Ain Kadis in exactly eleven days. But if Horeb be placed on the eastern side of the Gulf, and not quite so far south as Jebel Musa, the journey to Kadesh would be of the same length; and the description in Dt., 'by way of Mt Seir,' or 'by the Mt Seir road,' would be at least as suitable as on the traditional route.

In Dt. i. 19 Moses says that the route from Horeb to Kadesh was through 'a great and terrible wilderness,' 'by way of (or to) the

mountain of the Amorites.' The expression is of the same form as 'by way of Mt Seir' in *v.* 2. D and E frequently employ the name 'Amorites' as a general description of the native inhabitants of Canaan on the west of the Jordan, but sometimes also more particularly for the peoples ruled by Sihon and 'Og on the east and south-east of the 'Arabah (cf. *vv.* 4, 44). And the expression 'by way of (or to) the hill country of the Amorites' would be perfectly suitable to a route which passed round the northern end of the Gulf of Akaba from its eastern side, and then struck N.W.

1 K. xix. 3, 8. Elijah went from Beersheba 'forty days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God.' The forty days and nights cannot be taken as a literal measure of time, shewing the length of the journey; for Beersheba is only 50 miles N. of Kadesh, and for a strong man of the deserts this would hardly add two days' journey to the eleven required between Kadesh and Horeb. But the expression implies that he went away into wild desert regions, far from the haunts of men. And this would be as true of the Arabian desert east of the Gulf of Akaba as of the Sinaitic peninsula.

§ 7. *The Historical Value of the Book of Exodus.*

One of the most profoundly important features in the religious thought of modern times is the growing realisation among Biblical students that the nature and meaning of 'Inspiration' can be arrived at, not by any preconceived ideas as to what it ought to mean, but by a patient investigation of the books themselves. With regard to prophecy we read that 'men spake from God, being carried along by [an inspiration of] the Holy Spirit' (2 Pet. i. 21). If this is also true in regard to narratives, it is right to ask how, and to what end, were the writers 'carried along'? And an answer is provided in 2 Tim. iii. 16: 'every divinely-inspired writing (*πασα γραφή θεοπνευστος*) is also profitable for teaching, for conviction, for correction, for discipline which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be equipped, completely equipped for every good work.' In other words Scripture is inspired in such a way as to possess a moral, ethical, spiritual value. And it makes no claim to inspiration of any other kind; nor does a careful and reverent study of its contents lend any countenance to the belief that its purpose, in God's hands, is other than spiritual. The moral and religious value of the book of Exodus—which forms the subject of the next section—is therefore entirely distinct from the accuracy of its details in matters of history, geography or archaeology.

And if it be found that many details of the narrative are certainly or probably unhistorical, the results of the enquiry will have merely a secular interest, and will not affect the true character and purpose of the writing. Biblical criticism by itself, as has been well said, is like the analysis of fresh water : it leaves us thirsty. But that is no reason for refusing to analyse.

The primary canon of sound historical criticism is that only narratives contemporary, or nearly so, with the events related, and, moreover, consistent with themselves, can claim to be *literally exact* records. Now if it is ever right to speak of the 'assured results' of literary criticism, one of them is that Exodus was not written by Moses. He nowhere claims to be the writer, and he is mentioned throughout the narratives in the third person. If, as all the evidence seems to shew, the earliest written records we possess date from the 9th or 8th century B.C., though it is probable that they, in turn, are based upon some written records behind them, the narratives in their present form are some three or four centuries later than the events described. And if large portions are to be assigned to post-exilic priestly writers, much of the book is at least two centuries later still. Again, the most cursory examination of the contents reveals the fact that they are often inconsistent, that the different literary *strata* have preserved divergent, and frequently contradictory, traditions. The records, then, are not literally exact : and it is the duty of the historical student to attempt to trace the underlying basis of fact on which the traditions have been built¹.

In the Old Testament there are presented to us the varying fortunes of a Semitic people, who found their way into Palestine, and were strong enough to settle down in the country in defiance of the native population. They partly conquered the natives, and partly became united with them. But although the invaders must have been greatly in the minority as regards numbers, they were knit together by a strong national bond which made them formidable. At first they were divided geographically into groups, but they gradually won their way to a national and political unity. This national bond which animated the Hebrews was the outcome of a firm religious belief which was common to all the branches of the tribe—the belief that every member of the tribe was under the protection of the same God,

¹ As early as the 9th century A.D. the Jews themselves, under the influence of Persian attacks on their faith, were beginning to criticise the chronology and even the theology of the O.T. See Gottheil, *Some early Jewish Biblical Criticism*, JBL xxiii. 1—12.

Yahweh. He, and no other deity, was their God; and they, and no other nation, were His people and His care. This community of belief and worship was so deeply rooted that it remained firm through all the vicissitudes of their history. It was at times combined with the worship of the deities acknowledged by the native population with whom they were intermingled; it was at times threatened with destruction by persecution or by the captivity of the greater part of the nation. But it triumphantly survived. At a comparatively early stage it was evolved, in some minds, into the still higher principle of monotheism; Yahweh was not only the God whom the Hebrews worshipped to the exclusion of all others, but He was realised to be the one and only Deity who had any existence. 'Yahweh thy God is one' was the sublime truth to which they were led by the inspiration of their teachers the prophets.

Now if it be asked from what source they gained their first united belief in one Deity, which separated them from the surrounding Semitic tribes, the analogy of other religions suggests the answer that it probably resulted from the influence of some strong personality—some teacher who was in advance of his time. The book of Exodus is, therefore, in accordance with all probability in describing the movement as having originated with Moses. *The existence and character of the Hebrew race require such a person as Moses to account for them.* But while it may be safely contended that Moses was a real person, and that the denial of this is scarcely within the bounds of sober criticism, it does not follow that all the *details* related of him are literally true to history. In all times it has been the tendency to add to the original portraiture of a great figure. Exactness in the science of history is a very modern product. Vague traditions of the founder of the national religion were orally handed down, and at every repetition of them some new feature would be added—some new virtue or excellence would be ascribed to him, legendary details would gather round his life. Prof. Driver¹ says of the patriarchs what is signally true of Moses: 'the basis of the narratives in Genesis is in fact *popular oral tradition*; and that being so, we may expect them to display the characteristics which popular oral tradition does in other cases. They may well include a substantial historical nucleus; but details may be due to the involuntary action of popular invention or imagination, operating during a long period of time; characteristic anecdotes, reflecting the feelings, and explaining the relations, of a

¹ Art. 'Jacob' in *DB* ii. 534.

later age, may thus have become attached to the patriarchs; phraseology and expression will nearly always be ascribed rightly to the narrators who cast these traditions into their present literary shape.'

A. Moses is portrayed under three chief aspects: (1) the Leader, (2) the Promoter of the religion of Yahweh, (3) the Lawgiver and moral Teacher or Prophet.

1. *Moses as Leader.* The narratives in Genesis are entirely consistent in regard to the fact of the migration of the family of Jacob into Egypt. There is, however, a possibility that those who came to Egypt consisted only of part of the Israelite clan. A well-known inscription on a stele of Merenptah, found by Prof. Petrie at Thebes in 1896, describes the peace that ensued upon the king's conquests: 'The' villages are again settled. He who prepares his harvest will eat it. Ra has turned himself (favourably) to Egypt. He is born for the purpose of avenging it, the king Merenptah. Chiefs are prostrate, saying "Peace!" Not one among the nine bows (the barbarians) raises his head. Vanquished are the Tehennu (Libyans); the Khita (Hittites) are pacified; Pa-Kan'ana (Canaan) is prisoner in every evil; Ashalni (Ashkelon) is carried away; Gezer is taken; Yenoam is annihilated; Ysiraal is desolated, its seed (or fruit) is not²; Charu (Palestine) has become as widows for Egypt; all lands together are in peace. Everyone that was a marauder hath been subdued by the king Merenptah, who gives life like the sun every day.' Ysiraal, which has the determinative for 'men,' while all the other names have the determinative for 'country,' and therefore refers to Israel not as a land but as a tribe or people, is in close proximity to towns or districts of Palestine. And Petrie and Maspero conjecture that they were descendants of certain Israelites who had been left behind in Canaan when the main body went to Egypt, or who had returned thither after the famine³. But whether or not some Israelites remained

¹ The translation is that given by Prof. Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, 62 f.

² M. Naville (*Recueil de Travaux*, xx. 32—37) renders it 'Israel is come to nought: he has no more offspring,' i.e. the Israelites have departed from Egypt, and none of them are left behind. M. Naville says, 'In the mouth of the king of Egypt or of his official scribes, the departure of the Israelites could prove to be nothing but their destruction.' But would the departure of a tribe of nomads into the desert necessarily prove their destruction? Prof. Kennett suggests to me that the inscription may record the substance of a despatch from an official in Palestine, who would presumably write in a Semitic language. If so, the people indicated by Ysiraal might be not Israel but the natives of *Yizre'e'l* (Jezreel), in which case the passage contains a play on the word *zera'* ('seed'). It may be noted that 'Israel' resembled 'Jezreel' in sound closely enough for Hosea (i. 4 f.) to play on the two names.

³ See art. 'Asher' in *Enc. Bibl.* for some conjectures which have been made with regard to the tribe of that name.

in or near Palestine, there is no sufficient reason for doubting the Hebrew tradition of an emigration to Egypt.

Again, if the Israelites obtained permission—as foreign tribes are known to have done¹—to occupy pasture land within the Egyptian frontier, there would be nothing surprising if some of them were pressed into compulsory building labour; for it was a common practice to employ foreigners and prisoners in this manner. It is no objection to this that the Israelites are not mentioned in inscriptions as forming part of the *corvée*; an insignificant tribe might not be distinguished by the Egyptians from other foreigners. But in order to rouse them, and knit them together, and persuade them to escape from the country, a leader was necessary. If, therefore, it is an historical fact that they were in Egypt, and partially enslaved, it is more likely than not that the account of their deliverance by Moses also has an historical basis. It is clear from inscriptions that strenuous efforts were made to prevent slaves and foreigners from escaping across the frontier. And the escape of the Israelites was perhaps rendered easier by some succession of natural calamities arising from an unusual overflow of the Nile. It is suggested on pp. 43—6 that the plagues, which the Hebrew tradition in the course of centuries pictured as ‘miraculous’ judgements sent by Yahweh, had in each case a natural foundation in fact. If Moses seized the opportunity when the country was in distress, and discipline was relaxed, to lead out the Israelites, it was the plagues that occasioned the exodus, and not the exodus the plagues².

In the narrative of the crossing of the sea the writers are in complete agreement as to the *fact*; but the divergence between the accounts of P and JE as to the *manner* in which it was performed, affords a remarkable instance of the tendency of oral tradition to attach legendary details to the original occurrence. Nothing of real value is gained by insisting that the deliverance at the sea was ‘miraculous’ and not ‘natural.’ If, according to the earlier form of the story, God in His over-ruling providence deliberately employed a natural phenomenon to facilitate the escape of the Israelites, His

¹ Prof. Driver (*Auth. and Arch.* 59) cites an inscription of Merenptah’s reign in which an Egyptian officer reports that the Shasu, or nomad bands, of Atuma (Edom) had been allowed to pass the castle at Thku(t), ‘in order to obtain a living for themselves and their cattle in the great estate of Pharaoh.’

² The confused Greek and Egyptian traditions respecting Israel in Egypt and the Exodus are preserved by the following writers: Hecataeus of Abdera (in Diod. Sic. xl. 3), Manetho (in Jos. c. Ap. i. 14, 26 f.; cf. Eus. *Praep. Ev.* x. 18), Lysimachus of Alexandria (in Jos. c. Ap. i. 32), Chaeremon of Naukratis (in Jos. c. Ap. i. 32), Diodorus Siculus, xxxiv. 1, Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 3—5.

divine power is in no way enhanced by supposing that He contravened His normal method of working. It is important to observe that the more or less accurate Egyptian colouring given to the narrative by the mention of the localities with which the Israelites were connected, does not of itself prove that the narratives are historical. But if the Israelites were in Goshen, and if they emerged into the desert, it is perfectly possible that the account of the crossing of a piece of land usually covered by water, in which all the narratives agree, is based upon fact.

The same may be said of the places mentioned in the course of their migration. If it is true that they did not take the N.E. route through the Philistine country, their natural course would be along the eastward highway, towards the northern end of the Gulf of Akaba (see § 6). Moreover there is no reason to doubt the tradition, in which all the writers concur, that they found their way to a mountain which had been sacred long before the time of the Exodus; and Moses only followed a practice which must have been common before his day, and has been common among nomad tribes ever since, when he induced the Israelites to make a *haj*, or religious pilgrimage, to a well-known sacred spot.

Between the departure from Egypt and the arrival at the sacred mountain, six incidents are related—the sweetening of the waters, the gift of manna, the gift of quails, the smiting of the rock, the fight with Amalek, and the visit of Jethro. Of these the last four are shewn, by internal evidence, to belong to a period after the arrival at the mountain. But the historicity of a battle with an Amalekite tribe, and of Jethro's visit when he advised Moses to institute a change in the methods of organization, need not be questioned, though many of the details in the narratives are probably later accretions. With regard to the miracles recorded in the other incidents, the remark made above will apply. The traditions of miracles may very probably have had a basis in 'natural' facts. And in these natural facts the really wonderful element would consist in the over-ruling providence of God, which, without reversing His ordinary methods of working, made natural phenomena to turn to His praise by the *opportuneness* with which they occurred for the help and sustenance of the tribe whom He had marked out for conspicuous service to the world.

It is thus evident that to dogmatize on the extent to which the Exodus narratives are historically accurate is in the last degree precarious. That Moses was not an individual, but stands for a tribe or group of tribes, and that the narratives which centre round him as an

individual are entirely legendary, is to the present writer unthinkable. The minuteness of personal detail, the vivid picturesqueness of the scenes described, the true touches of character, and the necessity of accounting for the emergence of Israel from an elementary nomad condition into that of an organized tribal community, are all on the side of those who maintain that *in its broad outlines* the account of Moses' leadership is historical. But as regards particular incidents and details the decision in each case resolves itself into a balance of probabilities. And it appears probable (1) that the *ipsissima verba* of individuals are the work of the narrators, who, in perfect good faith, after the manner of Thucydides and many another writer, put into their mouths utterances suitable to the occasion, (2) that the narrators enriched the narratives from their own imagination, and the narratives were also expanded in the course of oral transmission, with many details and touches of local colouring, and (3) that the traditions acquired a miraculous element in the centuries that intervened between the events and the times of the several writers.

2. *Moses as the Promoter of the religion of Yahweh.* Throughout the Old Testament, with the exception of Ez. xl.—xlviii., the forms and ceremonies of Yahweh-worship are represented either as originating from the teaching of Moses, or as laid down by him with fresh and binding emphasis. And the fact that every stage in the religious evolution of Israel is traced to the initiative of one man, is a strong argument in favour of the tradition that that man was an historical person, and that he laid a religious foundation upon which the superstructure could afterwards be built.

First it is to be noticed that J uses the name Yahweh from his very first sentence, Gen. ii. 4*b*, and onwards, and assumes that Yahweh was known and worshipped by the ancestors of the race. And in Exodus the expression 'Yahweh the God of the Hebrews' is characteristic of his writing, iii. 18, v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3. But, in agreement with E and P, he ascribes to Moses a new departure in Yahweh-worship inaugurated at Sinai. E and P agree in relating that the name Yahweh was a new revelation to Moses when he was about to deliver Israel, and that he taught it to his countrymen in Egypt. And yet in iii. 6 E represents Yahweh as saying to Moses, 'I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob¹.' And in vi. 3 P states explicitly that God appeared unto Abraham,

¹ Possibly, however, the latter clause is a later insertion, as in 15*f*., iv. 5.

Isaac and Jacob, but He was not known to them by the name Yahweh. All the sources, therefore, imply that Moses did not teach the Israelites a totally new religion ; they had worshipped God from primitive times in the primitive manner of Arabian nomads ; but he put before them a new aspect of their religion, he gave a fresh impetus to it by defining more clearly the relation in which they were to stand to God ; He was to be in a peculiar sense their own God. And this new relation between the Deity and His worshippers was embodied in the name Yahweh. Whatever was the exact force which the name had for them, there appears to be a firm historical basis underlying the traditions, that by this teaching Moses induced the Israelites to feel that they were henceforth in all their tribal branches one body, united in the common worship of a single Deity. When we go further, and enquire whence Moses derived his knowledge of the name Yahweh, we are landed in the region of conjectures. Two points, however, are clear : firstly that the God of the Israelites had, before Moses' time, been conceived of as dwelling on the sacred mountain (see note on iii. 1), and secondly that He was worshipped by a branch of the Midianites named the Kenites (Jud. i. 16, iv. 11), of whom Jethro was a priest (Ex. iii. 1, xviii. 1). On the basis of these facts two conjectures have been made. Stade, Budde and others have supposed that Moses learnt the name Yahweh from the Midianites when he was living among them ; He was, therefore, a foreign God so far as the Israelites were concerned ; and that, after they had heard His name for the first time from Moses in Egypt, they journeyed to Horeb, and were there admitted by Jethro into the Kenite worship by a sacrificial feast at which Jethro officiated (xviii. 12). But it is hardly likely that the Israelites enslaved in Egypt could have been so rapidly roused and convinced by Moses' proclamation of an entirely new and foreign Deity. And the action taken by Jethro in organizing the sacrificial meal might easily arise from the fact that he was in his own territory, and naturally acted as host towards the strangers who visited him. The other conjecture, which can claim some plausibility, is that Yahweh was the God who was recognised by Moses' own tribe ; cf. iii. 6 'the God of thy father,' xv. 2 'my father's God.' And Moses' work would then consist in proclaiming as the God of the whole body of Israel Him whose help a small portion of them had already experienced. But the origin of His worship by Moses' tribe and the Midianites remains quite unknown.

When the Israelites had arrived at the abode of Yahweh, it would be natural to expect them solemnly to pledge themselves to His

worship. It is probable that the narrative in xxiv. 3—8, which relates this, is based upon fact. The absence of priests, and the mention of 'young men' as the proper persons to slaughter the sacrificial victims point to an early date for the passage (see p. lxx.). The ceremony of the sprinkling of blood both upon the altar (which represented the presence of the Deity), and upon the worshippers, was probably a survival from a far-off time when the god of a tribe was thought to be of the same blood with his people, and this bond was periodically renewed and strengthened by the material participation in the same sacred blood of a victim¹. But the Israelites were not a single tribe, but a confederation of tribes which also included a 'mixed multitude.' If, therefore, this primitive conception were really the germ of the Israelite idea of sacrifice (which some writers doubt), it had long passed away; and the ceremony was simply the form in which the tribes made their vow to worship Yahweh. And when Jethro the Kenite appeared, at the *end* of the Horeb scenes (see note on xviii. 16), he organized a sacrificial feast 'before God,' not in order to introduce the Israelites to the Kenite worship, but solemnly to unite them with the Kenites by vows of friendship and alliance, to which Yahweh, the Deity whom they both worshipped, was witness.

But if Moses combined all the Israelites in the acknowledgement of one God, did he (1) lay down any details of the cult, or (2) appoint any sacred objects or paraphernalia of worship? (1) It may be regarded as practically certain that Moses would inform the people of the mode of worship required from them, much as the foreigners in Samaria were taught 'the manner [the customary ritual] of the God of the land' (2 K. xvii. 25—28). But this mode of worship must have been one suited to migrating nomads, and not the more developed forms which grew up after the settlement in Canaan. It is, however, this more developed stage which appears in the laws on worship preserved in JE (E, xx. 23—26, xxii. 29—31, xxiii. 10—19, J, xxxiv. 17—26). In the first passage the multiplicity of altars seems to imply a multiplicity of sanctuaries; and the prohibition of hewn stones and of steps, though very ancient as compared with the injunctions for the elaborate priestly altar of xxvii. 1—8, appears to belong to a time when there was some danger of the ancient customs being violated, and when some skill in handicraft had been acquired. xxii. 29 f. is concerned with the offering of firstfruits and firstlings. The two subjects are closely connected, and probably both belong to

¹ See Rob. Smith, *RS*³ 312—320, and *Addenda*.

a time when the Israelites had entered upon agricultural pursuits. In the deserts they could have no fruits or corn to offer. The sacrifice of firstlings for a sacrificial meal seems to have been ancient and pre-Mosaic (see p. 66), but not the offering of them as a stereotyped tribute to God. Similarly the three annual pilgrimages enjoined in xxiii. 14 f., 16 f., xxxiv. 18 a, 22 f., cannot have been observed before the arrival at Canaan. They marked stages in the harvest, and consisted of processions to the local sanctuaries for feasting and dancing. And to the same period belong the law of the fallow year (xxiii. 10 f.), and *in its present form* the law of the Sabbath (12 f., xxxiv. 21). There remain only xxii. 31; xxiii. 18 a = xxxiv. 25 a; xxiii. 18 b; and xxiii. 19 b = xxxiv. 26 b (which are in juxtaposition in Dt. xiv. 21). The purpose of the first of these is clearly to prevent the eating of flesh from which the blood has not been properly drained. The principle, though not the present form of the injunction, is probably of great antiquity. The avoidance of leaven as a form of corruption was probably ancient. And the prohibition of leaving fat until the morning seems to belong to the same primitive circle of ideas as the prohibition of eating flesh with the blood; the fat, like the blood, contained the life of the animal, and if left till the next day, when the first stage of corruption would have begun, it would be regarded as dead. The origin of the last prohibition is obscure. If it refers to some form of Canaanite magic (see note) it must be post-Mosaic; but it may only be a primitive rule to safeguard against the possibility of putrefaction (see art. 'Magic' in *Enc. B.*, and Rob. Smith, *RS*² 221), or against the cutting off of the supply of milk (see *Addenda*).

Of the cultus laws, therefore, preserved in the covenant code of Israel, those which are demonstrably Mosaic are reduced to a vanishing point. xx. 24 f., xxii. 31, and xxiii. 18 b point ultimately to very ancient custom, perhaps also xxiii. 18 a, 19 b, and it is probable that the observance of the Sabbath has its roots in a far-off pre-Israelite age (see note on pp. 121 f.); but more than this cannot be said with certainty. And the groundwork of the regulations for the Passover (chs. xii., xiii.) seems to have been a primitive ceremony which was almost certainly a pre-Mosaic institution. (See pp. 64 ff.) It is worthy of note that Jeremiah, the prophet of inward and individual religion, explicitly denies (vii. 22) that Yahweh gave the Israelites any commands 'concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices' in the day that He brought them out of the land of Egypt.

(2) From an historical point of view it is extremely unfortunate that the insertion of P's ideal picture of the paraphernalia of worship

has swept away all descriptions which JE may have had except the two fragments Num. x. 33—36 (J) and Ex. xxxiii. 7—11 (E). The former assumes the manufacture of a sacred ark (the account of which probably underlies Dt. x. 3), and the latter of a sacred tent. The former shews that the presence of the ark was in some sense an equivalent for the presence of Yahweh (cf. Num. xiv. 42 ff.); but no early statement of its form or purpose has been preserved. The latter relates that the tent was one which Moses could himself pitch, perhaps, as we may suppose, with Joshua's help; it must, therefore, have been an ordinary Bedawin tent. And in it Moses used to attend, to administer the sacred oracle to anyone who came to enquire of it.

3. *Moses as Lawgiver and Teacher.* The author of Dt. xxxiv. 10 expresses the reverent acknowledgement which the nation in his day accorded to the moral and spiritual aspects of Moses' work: 'There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom Yahweh knew face to face.' Compare xviii. 15—18, Acts iii. 22, vii. 37. There is abundant justification for the belief that Moses gave to Israel injunctions which were not merely ritual. It is arbitrary to assume that the prophets of the 8th century and onwards, who preached a high ethical morality, preached something entirely new. It is true that in their early days, e.g. in the time of the Judges, the character of the Hebrews was at a low ebb; but the prophets always held up a lofty ethical ideal as something which the nation had *failed to reach*, and proclaimed that for this failure the sinful people were answerable to a holy God who expected better fruit from them (cf. Hos. iv.—vi., Am. v., vi., viii., Is. i., v., xxviii., Mic. ii., iii.). And since human nature is alike in all ages, it can be safely assumed that long before the prophets there were at least isolated men and women more high-souled than the masses around them, who strove to live up to the light which they possessed. And as the national history of Israel postulates a leader who shaped and unified the heterogeneous elements enslaved in Egypt, and as their unanimous adherence to the worship of a single Deity postulates a great personality who proclaimed to them that worship and drew them as one body into the acceptance of it,—so the ethical morality, which appears in the book of Exodus quickened and intensified by the prophets, postulates a teacher in advance of his time, who instilled into the nucleus of the nation the germs of social justice, purity and honour. When Moses was leading the tribes in the desert, and during the long stay at Kadesh, he would have been below the standard of an ordinary sheikh if he had not given decisions on social matters. His position as judge, or arbiter of

disputes, is supported both by intrinsic probability, and by the narrative in Ex. xviii. And it was owing to his work of advising and teaching in the sacred Tent that the title 'prophet' attached to him in later tradition (Dt. xxxiv. 10, quoted above, should be compared with such passages as Ex. xxxiii. 11*a*, Num. xii. 5—8).

We can thus study the codified laws ascribed to Moses with the presupposition that the social life of Israel contained an element of social morality, of which the germs were due to Moses.

But in the life of a nomad tribe the controlling factor is not a *corpus* of specific prescriptions, but the power of custom. An immoral act is condemned because 'it is not wont' so to be done' (Gen. xxxiv. 7, 2 S. xiii. 12). The stereotyping of custom in written codes is the product of a comparatively late stage in national life. And all the evidence seems to shew that Israel was no exception to the rule. It may be confidently asserted that Moses would not commit to writing a series of moral precepts; his work would consist in moulding the public opinion of the tribes over whom he was sheikh. His power was the power of personal character. And the general result with regard to the *written* moral and social laws in Exodus is the same as that reached above with regard to the ritual laws of Yahweh-worship—i.e. that while some elements are demonstrably ancient, it is impossible to say of any particular detail that it is certainly derived from Moses himself. If he introduced the whole of Israel to the religion of Yahweh, he also planted in them the seeds of a moral goodness inspired by the uniqueness of that religion. This is a glory which our lack of detailed information cannot take from him².

B. *Aaron*. By the side of Moses the narratives of the Pentateuch place the figure of Aaron. But he stands on a very different footing. The personality of Moses, as we have seen, is required by the existence and character of the Hebrew race in Palestine; but that of Aaron is not required at all in the same way. The description of the sanctuary in Ex. xxxiii. 7—11 makes no mention of him, and leaves no room for him as priest. Moses is obviously chief priest through whom the people receive divine instruction, and Joshua is his sole assistant. The passage is assigned to E, which mentions Aaron indeed, but in such a manner as to imply that he and Hur were elders or *sheikhs* rather than priests (see xxiv. 14, xvii. 10—12). And in J Aaron

¹ Not as R. V. 'ought not to be done.'

² Peters, *The Religion of Moses*, JBL xx. 101—128, presents a useful survey of the facts, though his arguments for the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue do not seem to the present writer convincing.

occurs, in a similar capacity, in conjunction with Nadab and Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel (xxiv. 1, 2). In the narratives of the plagues he plays no part in the small fragments preserved from E (though his action may possibly be implied in Josh. xxiv. 5), while in J he is introduced in a way that suggests that his name is a later insertion (see also iv. 29). Thus the basis of fact which underlies the Aaronic traditions is probably that he was, like Hur, an important civil member of the Israelite body; in Mic. vi. 4 he is mentioned with Moses and Miriam as having taken a leading part in the Exodus. But very little of real personal detail has been preserved to us. (See pp. lxiv.—lxx., on the growth of the priestly traditions.) With the final exaltation of Aaron, in post-exilic times, to the supreme position of the ancestor of all priests is connected the description of the Tabernacle in chs. xxv.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl., of which the historicity is unhesitatingly denied by all who accept the main principles of historical and literary criticism (see pp. lxxix.—lxxxii.)

We have seen then that the accounts of Moses as Leader, as Promoter of the religion of Yahweh, and as moral Teacher, may claim to rest upon a basis of historical fact, but that in very few details can we be confident that we know accurately either his deeds or his words. And while Aaron may have been an important *sheikh*, he was not a priest. But though this leaves us with very little *certain* knowledge of either Moses or Aaron, the historical value of the book is in no way exhausted; it is only transferred from the time of the events described to the times of the writers who described them. There may very possibly have been written documents behind J and E, but nothing is known of their nature or extent. The gain which is indisputably ours is a large knowledge of the days of the prophetic narrators. They project into the past, as upon a screen, a luminous picture of their own beliefs about God, their conceptions of His character and methods of working, their own ethical and social standard, the religious institutions and ritual customs which, as the result of a long growth, prevailed in their own day. The late priestly portions of Exodus are a purely ideal expression of a spiritual longing, though even this expression to some extent reveals existing conditions after the exile. But the non-priestly portions are, in a very real sense, history; they form a contemporaneous illustrative commentary upon the events related in 2 Kings and the utterances of the pre-exilic prophets.

§ 8. *The Religious Value of the Book of Exodus.*

An attempt has been made in the preceding section to estimate the extent to which the book is of value to the historian. The conclusions reached are of necessity somewhat vague. There must be a large use of the word 'perhaps' in dealing with a period so remote, and with a book whose structure is so complicated, and which took so long to grow. But when we pass from the historicity to estimate the religious value of the book, we pass to firm ground; we pass from what is incidental to what is essential. An organism may rise through a long and slow process of development, biologists may differ as to its earliest or any of its subsequent stages; but that need not prevent them from being in complete agreement as to its functions and capacities in its completely developed state.

The book of Exodus, together with the rest of the Bible, has a divine and a human side. Dr Ottley (*Aspects of the Old Testament*, pp. 19 f.) draws a striking analogy between this two-fold aspect of Scripture and the union of the Divine and Human in Christ: 'There is then admittedly a human side to Scripture, and the condescension which we witness in the Incarnation of the Son of God has left to the human instruments of His will more than we had once supposed. He has employed different types of mind and character to execute or advance His purposes. In the recording of His acts and words He has sanctioned the employment of literary methods which in a higher stage of culture might be judged inappropriate. He has consecrated individual peculiarities or special intellectual endowments to ends of His own. The result is that to the critical eye Scripture wears an ordinary and occasionally even humble exterior; it is not free from such incidental defects, limitations and errors as are incident to all human composition; but under this lowly form is concealed a special divine presence. Here, as in the Incarnation, may be discerned the self-unveiling of a divine Spirit, the operation of divine power, the appeal of divine love.' The chief ambition, therefore, of the student of Exodus must be to trace something of this unveiling of God, His power and love, in the human collection of narratives, traditions, laws and ritual details before him. And for this purpose, the realisation that the book passed through various stages in its literary history is of the utmost constructive value. Not only in successive books of the Bible but in successive strata of one book, we see a spiritual development corresponding to the literary development. The two earliest

prophetical writers were allowed to reveal as much of the character of God as could be known in their day. The additions made to the book by later pre-exilic prophets exhibit a distinct advance in depth and insight. The post-exilic priests, while they endorsed all the previous revelation, concentrated their thoughts mainly upon a single aspect of the Divine Being and His relations with His people.

1. The teaching of JE consists in the presentation of God's Person and attributes by means of a history of His actions. It is a continuous illustration of the words 'I will be what I will be.' By His dealings with His people, God slowly unfolded the meaning of His Name (see note on iii. 14).

The writers start from the thought that in order to fulfil His eternal design, God chose the nation of Israel from all other nations to be His people. But He did not suddenly select a nation that was exactly like all others, and suddenly make it fit for His purposes. He had made long preparation beforehand; He was known to their fathers (ii. 24, iii. 6, 15 f., iv. 5, xv. 2, xviii. 4, xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 1). And when the moment drew near at which the nation as a whole was to be united in His worship, He provided the special preparation of suffering. He allowed Israel to come into Egypt, and Jacob to sojourn in the land of Ham; He turned the heart of the Egyptians to hate His people, to deal subtilly with His servants, in order that their cry and their groaning might ascend to His ears, and that by their sufferings they might be bound together with the sympathy of brothers in affliction. But the preparation also included the fashioning of an instrument for His purposes; the circumstances of Moses' childhood, and his long absence from Egypt, ending with the great revelation at Horeb, equipped him for his work. And now all was ready, and Israel became God's people, and Yahweh became 'the God of the Hebrews' (iii. 18, v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3), and rescued them with a mighty hand. But before Israel could be admitted into full covenant relation with their God, they had to be tested (xv. 25, xvi. 4, xx. 20), by dangers (xiv.), privations (xv. 22 ff., xvi. 1 ff., xvii. 1 ff.), and war (xvii. 8—16), and taught that when they cried unto Yahweh in their trouble, He delivered them out of their distress. Their behaviour under the trial was not a good omen for the future, but God's patience and love never wearied. When at last He had brought them to His own abode, He gave to them a visible sign of His presence and His majesty in the Theophany, as He had before given it to Moses; and He bound them to Himself by a solemn covenant. And finally, although they sinned against Him and broke the covenant, He again forgave them

and promised that His presence would go with them ; in spite of everything He would still shew Himself to be all that He would be—the Guide and Saviour of His people.

The picture of the Divine character which emerges in this history is manifold. Standing at an early stage in the growth of religious thought, the early writers, especially J, employed anthropomorphic expressions with some frequency, though it is probable that they did not always interpret them literally. Yahweh 'comes down' (iii. 8, xix. 11, 18, 20, xxxiv. 5), He puts forth His hand (iii. 20, xv. 6, 12, 16, cf. xxiv. 11), He 'met' Moses and 'sought to kill him' (iv. 24), He 'took off' or 'bound' the chariot wheels of the Egyptians (xiv. 25), the elders 'saw the God of Israel' (xxiv. 9, 11), He talked with Moses 'face to face' (xxxiii. 9, 11), Moses could see the after parts of Him (23), and Yahweh passed by before him (xxxiv. 6). These, however, are little more than surface indications of more ancient modes of thought. Side by side with them are seen deep and spiritual conceptions to which the divine Spirit had led the prophets. The early writers did not dwell upon His character and attributes in the abstract, but as they bore upon the guidance and discipline of His people. He was the Creator, who from of old appointed one man to be dumb, another deaf, and consequently it was He who 'appointed a mouth' for Moses (iv. 11). He was supreme in His power over nature ; this was shewn for His people's sake by a series of wonders—the plagues, the crossing of the sea, the sweetening of the water, the manna, and the water from the rock. He thereby proved Himself greater than all other gods (xv. 11, xviii. 11). And there were some intimations of the mysteriousness of His Being. Moses himself could not look upon His full glory (xxxiii. 19—23), and both to Moses and to the people He could appear only in a partial manifestation as the 'Angel' (iii. 2, xiv. 19, xxiii. 20, 23, xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2), but the 'Angel' was to be identified with the fulness of His Being which could not be seen (xxiii. 21, cf. Is. lxiii. 9, a reference to the Exodus). In His attitude towards His people He shewed that perfect combination of justice and mercy to which human rulers cannot attain. It is true that

'Earthly power doth then shew likest God's
When mercy seasons justice,'

because that is the highest that earthly power can reach ; but the 'attribute of God Himself' is perfect (not seasoned) justice, side by side with perfect mercy. He punished His people when they sinned

(xxxii. 35, xxxiii. 3), but He was, with all His severity, 'compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth' (xxxiv. 6 f., cf. xv. 13, xxxiii. 19). He was always ready to 'meet' His people in closest and most loving intimacy (xxxiii. 7—11), and to listen to the intercessions of their leader (xxxiii. 12—17). He guided them with tender care (xiii. 17 f., 21 f.), and fought for them against their enemies (xiv. 14, 25, xvii. 8—16). And not the least conspicuous aspect of His rule over them is seen in the varied laws which He laid down for the control of their social and moral life. He understood them so well that His laws, as collected in the first instance by JE, were not a difficult body of precepts; they were suited to their early state of development; they were a *παιδαγωγος* to lead them to something higher.

2. The later additions contribute little to the narrative of JE, but they mark an advance in the ideas of God. A striking instance of the spiritualising of the conceptions of His nature is seen in xx. 22 *b*. Yahweh does not come down and speak from Sinai, but He speaks *from Heaven*. And He is no longer the greatest of all gods, but commands that other gods be not even named—their existence is not to be recognised (xxiii. 13). And as being the only true God, He is 'jealous' of His supreme prerogative (xx. 5, xxxiv. 14). A fresh thought in His care for His people is that He heals them of all diseases (xv. 26, xxiii. 25 *b*, cf. Hos. xi. 3). A deeper aspect of His dealings with Pharaoh is hinted at in ix. 16, of which S. Paul makes use in his argument (Rom. ix. 17)—He allowed Pharaoh to 'stand,' i.e. to remain undestroyed, in order to shew him ['in him,' Rom.] His power, and to make His Name—His nature—known in all the earth.

Conversely there is an intensified realisation of the purpose for which God chose His people. They are to be 'holy men' unto Him (xxii. 31), i.e. completely separated from everything which will injure their state of consecration to His service. And as an outward sign and symbol of this 'separateness' they are to destroy the enemies of His religion and their objects of worship (xxiii. 24, 31 *b*—33, xxxiv. 11—16). To fail to do this, or to join in idolatrous worship, is sin, for which Yahweh will wipe the sinner out of His 'book' (xxxii. 32 f.). But the climax is reached in two passages in which the thought of divine *love* shines more clearly than ever before. In iv. 22 Israel is God's son, His firstborn, His nearest and dearest; it is akin to Hos. xi. 1, 4. And in xix. 3 *b*—6 is pictured the strong tenderness of an eagle towards its young, carrying it safely to its eyrie, as a symbol of the divine Father taking His children out of the reach

of danger to His own abode (cf. Dt. xxxii. 11, Is. lxiii. 9 *b*). Further, the universality of His government is taught for the first time in the words 'all the earth is Mine' (5 *b*). But that very fact gives an entirely new and glorious meaning to the choice of Israel. They are not only a 'holy,' separated people, and a people that is a possession more valuable to God than all other nations, but they are a 'kingdom of priests'—an organized community under the government of a King, every member of which has a mediatorial office, to intercede for all other men, and to minister to them in things pertaining to God. It is the only statement in the book of the true divine mission of Israel.

3. The priestly writers, in the narrative portions, follow the same ground as JE. The revelation of the name Yahweh, the choice of Israel as His people, and the oath to their forefathers are all contained in vi. 2—8. The plagues, and the crossing of the sea declare that God punishes His enemies and rescues His people. And generally speaking P accepts and endorses the spiritual teaching of the earlier writings. But two thoughts rise into such bright prominence as almost to throw everything else into the shade—or rather two complementary aspects of one thought, i.e. the separateness, the 'holiness' of His people, and as the cause of it the permanent abiding of His holy Presence in their midst. On p. lxxxiv. it is shewn that the Tabernacle and its worship were the product of religious contemplation and of a longing for the visible presence of God, which pointed to, and was only fulfilled in, the Incarnation. But the ideas may here be studied more in detail. If Yahweh's presence was to be imagined in any sense as objective, it could not be in human form; religious conceptions had advanced far beyond anthropomorphism. It took the material and yet mysterious form of the intense light of fire, which was described by the word 'Glory.' Directly the sacred mountain was reached, Yahweh revealed Himself; 'the glory of Yahweh abode on Mt Sinai...and the appearance of the glory of Yahweh was like devouring fire' (xxiv. 16 *f*.). And the account of Moses' converse with Him is an allegory which contains the profoundest spiritual teaching. Man's soul, like his body, is enormously influenced by its environment. The 'glory' was reflected upon Moses' face, and clung to him (xxxiv. 29—35). Moses alone stood in a relation to God close and intimate enough for such a transfiguration to be possible or bearable; the people durst not gaze even upon the reflexion. But Moses was the representative of his nation, and the glory upon his face was a pledge and symbol of the abiding of the divine glory upon the whole people.

But this 'abiding' must not only be symbolized, it must be realised

objectively ; God must dwell, tabernacle¹, in their midst. And consequently His place of dwelling must be, like David's temple, 'exceeding magnificent.' As Hooker says, 'Touching God Himself, hath He anywhere revealed that it is His delight to dwell beggarly ? And that He taketh no pleasure to be worshipped saving only in poor cottages ?... Were it not also strange, if God should have made such store of glorious creatures on earth, and leave them all to be consumed in secular vanity, allowing none but the baser sort to be employed in His own service ? To set forth the majesty of kings, His viceregens in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath are produced. We think belike that He will accept what the meanest of them would disdain.' (See *Eccl. Pol.* v. xv. 3—5.) It is not indeed 'as though He needed anything.' The beauty of the Tabernacle, and the beauty of worship in all churches in all ages, is acceptable to Him, not because it adds anything to Him but to the worshipper. It calls forth the spirit of self-sacrifice, the spirit of giving rather than receiving, the outward expression of the devotion of 'every man whose heart maketh him willing' (Ex. xxv. 2). Therein lay the whole difference between this ideal worship of Yahweh and the pagan worship of idols. Ruskin, though he treats the erection of the Tabernacle as an historical fact, beautifully expresses the underlying thought. He points out that against the danger of idolatrous worship 'provision was not made in one way, (to man's thoughts the simplest, the most natural, the most effective,) by withdrawing from the worship of the Divine Being whatever could delight the sense, or shape the imagination, or limit the idea of Deity to place. This one way God refused, demanding for Himself such honours, and accepting for Himself such local dwelling as had been paid and dedicated to idol gods by heathen worshippers. And for what reason ? Was the glory of the tabernacle necessary to set forth or image His divine glory to the minds of His people ? What ! purple or scarlet necessary, to the people who had seen the great river of Egypt run scarlet to the sea under His condemnation ? What ! golden lamp and cherub necessary, for those who had seen the fires of heaven falling like a mantle on Mount Sinai, and its golden courts opened to receive their mortal lawgiver ? What ! silver clasp and fillet necessary, when they had seen the silver waves of the Red Sea clasp in their arched hollows the corpses of

¹ It was this that led to the Rabbinic description of the 'glory' by the term *Shekinah*, derived from *shākan*, 'to dwell' or 'tabernacle.'

the horse and his rider? Nay—not so. There was but one reason, and that an eternal one; that as the covenant that He made with men was accompanied with some external sign of its continuance, and of His remembrance of it, so the acceptance of that covenant might be marked and signified by men, in some external sign of their love and obedience, and surrender of themselves and theirs to His will; and that their gratitude to Him and continual remembrance of Him, might have at once their expression and their enduring testimony, in the presentation to Him, not only of the fruits of the earth and the tithe of time, but of all treasures of wisdom and beauty; of the thought that invents, and the hand that labours; of wealth of wood, and weight of stone; of the strength of iron, and the light of gold.' (*Seven Lamps*, 'The Lamp of Sacrifice, i. § 6.)

But at the same time that God must tabernacle in the midst of Israel, His 'holiness,' His 'unapproachableness' must be safeguarded. Mediators were needed, whereby the divine influence might reach the people. And so both the building itself, and the people, were arranged on the principle of a descending scale of 'holiness.' The 'most holy' shrine contained the 'Glory'; it was approached by a 'holy' place, and that by an outer court. And the different degrees of sanctity were marked by the different metals and coverings employed (see pp. lxxxv. f.). Again Aaron and Moses, who from different points of view represented the nation, could enter into the 'most holy'; the 'holy place' was frequented by the priests; and in the outer court the Levites officiated. And once more, the arrangement of the camp bore out the same idea. The tribes pitched their tents round the Tabernacle, but the Levites and the sons of Aaron formed an inner cordon (Num. ii., iii.) 'that there be no wrath upon the congregation of the children of Israel' (i. 53).

All the manifold details in the manufacture of the Tent, and its hangings and furniture, the 'holy garments' of Aaron and his sons, and the elaborate ritual enjoined for their consecration, together with the mass of ceremonies and sacrifices specified in Leviticus and the priestly portions of Numbers, were the work of generations, but all contributed to the great central thought, the magnificent ideal which has yet to be realised in the Christian Church—a perfectly organized Body, consecrated to the God whose Glory tabernacles in their midst. From the Jewish nation, as such, the Glory is departed, but the hope of the Christian Church rests upon the historic fact that the Word tabernacled among men, and there were those who saw His Glory (Jn. i. 14).

4. Such, in broad outline, is the religious teaching of the book of Exodus. Across every page of the record the divine Spirit writes 'I will be what I will be.' That is its whole content and inspiration. Both before and after the book was revered as canonical scripture, its history was revered, and referred to as the standard by which to gauge the greatness of God's power, the severity of His justice, and the depths of His love. This attitude is seen most strikingly in those passages in which the events of the exodus and the wanderings are passed under review, either in the form of a joyful thanksgiving, as in Pss. cv., cxxxvi., or more often of a sorrowful confession of national sins in the past and present, and of a warning from the ancient examples of rebellious ingratitude, as in Neh. ix., Pss. lxxviii., lxxxi., cvi., Ez. xx. The references to the fact of the exodus for the purpose of impressing prophetic and spiritual teaching are very numerous—Jud. ii. 1, 2, vi. 8—10, x. 11, 1 S. x. 18, 2 S. vii. 6, 23 f. (= 1 Ch. xvii. 5, 21 f.), 1 K. viii. 16 (= 2 Ch. vi. 5), 51, 53, ix. 9, 2 K. xvii. 7, 35 f., xxi. 15, Ps. lxxx. 8, Is. lii. 4, Jer. ii. 6, vii. 22, 25, xi. 4, 7 f., xvi. 14, xxiii. 7, Hos. ii. 15, xi. 1, xii. 9, xiii. 4, 5, Am. ii. 10, iii. 1, ix. 7, Mic. vii. 15, Hag. ii. 5, Dn. ix. 15'. The divine severity exhibited in the plagues is recalled in 1 S. iv. 8, vi. 6, Ps. cxxxv. 8, 9, Jer. xxxii. 20, 21, Am. iv. 10 (?); and the triumph over Yahweh's enemies at the Red Sea in Nah. i. 4, Ps. lxvi. 6, lxxiv. 13 f., lxxvii. 15—20, lxxxix. 10, cxiv. 3, Is. xi. 15 f., xliii. 16 f., li. 9 f., lxiii. 11—13; in each of the last four passages, the ancient deliverance is treated as an assurance of a deliverance in the future. Moses frequently, and Aaron occasionally, is mentioned by name in connexion with the history—1 S. xii. 6, 8, 1 K. viii. 9, 1 Ch. xxi. 29, 2 Ch. i. 3, v. 10, Ps. xcix. 6, ciii. 7, Jer. xv. 1, Mic. vi. 4 (including Miriam), Mal. iv. 4; and see Hos. xii. 13. Passing on in the order of the narrative, the pillar of cloud is referred to in Ps. xcix. 7, and affords a beautiful prophetic illustration of God's protection of Zion in Is. iv. 5. The incidents at Meribah and Massah supply the well-known warning against hardness of heart in Ps. xciv. 8 (see R. V.). The water from the rock is mentioned in Ps. cxiv. 8, and the prophet of the Return employs it as a counterpart of the blessings which will be vouchsafed to those that 'go forth from Babylon,' Is. xlvi. 20 f. The wonders of the Theophany lend themselves to poetic treatment in Jud. v. 4 f., Ps. lxviii. 7 f. (cf. v. 17), Hab. iii.

¹ To these should perhaps be added Ez. iv. 4—6, where the 430 days of the prophet's symbolic action furnish a parallel to the 430 years (Ex. xii. 40) of Israel's bondage in Egypt.

3—6, in each case as an ideal accompaniment of an approach of Yahweh to help and rescue His people. Appeal is made in Ps. l. 5 to the covenant sacrifice, which put Israel into a special relation with God. The law given at Sinai is referred to in 1 K. viii. 21, 2 Ch. v. 10 (tablets of stone), Jer. xxxiv. 13 f. (release of slaves), Mal. iv. 4, and above all in Jer. xxxi. 32 where the prophet draws his epoch-making contrast between the old covenant and a new covenant of the heart. The raining down of manna is perhaps alluded to in Ps. lxviii. 9 (see Perowne). To actual words of the book of Exodus there are very few references: Is. xii. 2, Ps. cxviii. 14 echo the song of Moses at the sea; in Ps. cxxxv. 4, Mal. iii. 17 the word 'peculiar treasure' (*segullah*) is perhaps derived from Ex. xix. 5; the wonderful description of divine mercy in Ex. xxxiv. 6 has affected several later passages—2 Ch. xxx. 9, Neh. ix. 17, 31, Ps. lxxxvi. 15, ciii. 8, cxi. 4, cxii. 4, cxlv. 8, Joel ii. 13, Jon. iv. 2, Nah. i. 3; and compare Nah. i. 2 with Ex. xxxiv. 14. The specifically priestly portions of Exodus are alluded to in a few late writings and editorial additions: the roasting of the Passover with fire 'according to the ordinance,' 2 Ch. xxxv. 13 (cf. Ex. xii. 8); 'the tabernacle of Yahweh which Moses made in the wilderness,' 1 Ch. xxi. 29; 'the tent of meeting of God,' 2 Ch. i. 3; on 1 S. ii. 22 see p. 234; the priesthood of Aaron 'to go up unto mine altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod before me,' 1 S. ii. 28; the anointing oil poured upon Aaron, Ps. cxxxiii. 2; and the inscription 'Holiness to Yahweh' which in Ex. is placed upon the high priest's turban, is in Zech. xiv. 20 so universal in the ideal Jerusalem that it is found on the very bells of the horses and applicable to every pot in the city. For the passages based on the list of stones in the 'breastplate' see note on xxviii. 17—20.

5. The same phenomena are seen in the Apocryphal books. Retrospects of the events in Egypt and the wanderings are found in Jdth. v. (the moral of it is given in *vv.* 17 f.), Wisd. x. 15—21, xi. (Wisdom is regarded as equivalent to the divine providence which guarded the Israelites), *id.* xvii.—xix. (a highly imaginative description of the sufferings of the ungodly Egyptians and the triumph of the pious people of God). The fact of the exodus is referred to in 2 Esd. i. 7, ii. 1, xiv. 29, Est. xiii. 16, Bar. i. 19, ii. 11. Moses and Aaron are praised among 'famous men' in Sir. xlv. 1—5, 6—22 (the latter passage includes a detailed description of the Aaronic vestments). The following references to events and other details in Exodus may be noted: the institution of the Passover, 1 Esd. i. 6, 12; the plagues,

2 Esd. xv. 11 ; the crossing of the sea, 2 Esd. i. 10, 13, 1 Mac. iv. 9 ; Israel named God's 'firstborn,' Sir. xxxvi. 12 ; 'I gave you Moses for a leader and Aaron for a priest,' 2 Esd. i. 13 ; pillar of fire, *id.* v. 14 ; Marah, *id.* v. 22 f. ; the revelation in the bush, the exodus and the arrival at Sinai, 2 Esd. xiv. 3 f. ; manna and water, 2 Esd. i. 17—20 ; quails, Wisd. xvi. 2 ; hornets, Wisd. xii. 8 (cf. Ex. xxiii. 28—30) ; the theophany, 2 Esd. iii. 17 f. ; the covenant and the writing of the law, Sir. xvii. 11—13, xxiv. 23, Bar. ii. 28 ; Moses' intercession, 2 Esd. vii. 36 (106) ; the Tabernacle, Wisd. ix. 8 ; the glory which descended upon it, 2 Mac. ii. 8 ; the altar of burnt offering, 1 Esd. v. 49 ; the fifth command in the decalogue, Tob. x. 12 ; the law of retaliation, Sus. v. 62 ; and Ex. xxiii. 22 is quoted in 2 Mac. x. 26.

6. When Exodus is read in the light of the New Testament its spiritual value is multiplied. We find, as S. Augustine says, that 'Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet'—'the New Testament lies concealed in the Old, the Old stands revealed in the New.' The references are of two kinds : those in which, as in the case of the Old Testament and Apocryphal references, the writers recall the language or historical events of Exodus in their plain and literal meaning to enforce or illustrate their argument ; and those in which they apply to language or events a symbolical or allegorical interpretation, shewing that Christianity was not something totally new, fallen complete from heaven, but a growth from the Old Covenant as a plant from a seed.

(a) Of the former class are the historical retrospects by S. Stephen (Acts vii. ; see *vv.* 17—41, 44), and S. Paul (Acts xiii. 17 f.), and the enumeration of Old Testament heroes whose actions were the sign of their faith (Heb. xi. ; see *vv.* 23—29). Our Lord referred to the words of Ex. iii. 6 as supporting the truth of the Resurrection of the dead (Mat. xxii. 32 = Mk. xii. 26, Lk. xx. 37), and S. Peter from the same passage derives the title 'the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of our fathers' (Acts iii. 13). In Rom. ix. the hardening of Pharaoh's heart plays an important part in S. Paul's argument that God has an absolute right to do what He wills with creatures of His own handiwork ; in the same connexion (*v.* 15) he quotes Ex. xxxiii. 19. In 1 Cor. x. 7 he refers to the idolatry of the golden bull as a warning. And in 2 Cor. viii. 15, in inculcating the duty of almsgiving, he quotes Ex. xvi. 18 (regardless of its original context) to illustrate the principle of 'equality.' Commands in the Decalogue are cited in Mat. v. 21, 27, (?) 33, xv. 4 (= Mk. vii. 10), xix. 18 f. (= Mk. x. 19, Lk. xviii. 20), Rom. vii. 7, xiii. 9, Eph. vi. 2 f.,

Jas. ii. 11 ; and words from the expansion of the fourth command are echoed in Acts iv. 24, xiv. 15, Rev. x. 6, xiv. 7. The law of retaliation (Ex. xxi. 24) is dealt with in Mat. v. 38. The O.T. command did not give rein to the passion of revenge ; it checked it by keeping it within fixed limits. But Christ aimed at quenching the least spark of it. The prohibition against cursing parents (Ex. xxi. 17) is referred to by our Lord (Mat. xv. 4 = Mk. vii. 10) ; and that against cursing a ruler (Ex. xxii. 28) by S. Paul (Acts xxiii. 5). In accordance with the law of the firstborn (Ex. xiii. 12) Jesus was presented in the Temple (Lk. ii. 23).

(b) The symbolical and allegorical treatment of the book derives much of its force from the ideas which New Testament writers entertained with regard to the person and functions of Moses. The acceptance by Christ and the apostles of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch has already been touched upon (pp. ix.—xi.). Not only, however, was Moses considered to be the author of the Pentateuch, but he was the Representative of the Old Covenant as Christ is of the New. He was 'faithful in all His [God's] house as a servant' (Heb. iii. 2—6), i.e. he was entrusted by God with an influence which was to affect and permeate not only his own generation but the whole of the Old Dispensation. And when, after the Transfiguration, Moses and Elijah vanished, and 'Jesus alone' remained (Mt. xvii. 8, Mk. ix. 8, Lk. ix. 36), it helped the watching disciples 'to see that the Old Testament being fulfilled in Christ is done away in Christ' (Plummer, *DB* iii. 808*a*). Jesus 'fulfilled' the Law by teaching that it was the spirit and not the letter of it which is binding (see especially Mat. v. 17—48, xii. 1—8, xv. 1—9). S. Paul, chiefly in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, works out the relation of the Law to the Gospel as only a Pharisee who had been lifted up to Christianity could have done it. And S. Peter in his 1st epistle dwells upon the truth that the Israel of old, with all its privileges and responsibilities, finds its true development and fulfilment in the Christian Church.

But because Moses and his Dispensation stood in this relation to Christ, the New Testament writers felt that his whole career afforded parallels to spiritual factors in the New Dispensation. The history of the Old Israel repeats itself in that of the New. (To say this is, of course, not to affirm that the Old Testament writers had the slightest idea that the events which they described were one day to receive a spiritual fulfilment. The mind of God alone knew it, when He guided the events and inspired the writings.) The series of Mosaic events which are cited as affording points of comparison with things spiritual

form an extremely interesting study, since they cover so many of the distinctive features of the New Dispensation, and illustrate in a striking manner the essential unity of the 'Divine Library.'

(a) The Name under which God revealed Himself to Moses (Ex. iii. 14) is, through the medium of the LXX ο ὢν, taken up and given a fuller content in Rev. i. 4, 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5. See also Jn. viii. 24, 28, 58, *εγώ εμι*.

(b) The centre and mainspring of Christianity is the Incarnation, the dwelling of God's glory among men in the Person of Jesus Christ. In 2 Cor. iii. 7—18 S. Paul refers to Ex. xxxiv. 29—35, arguing that the glory upon Moses' face¹, which accompanied his reception of the Law, was so great that the Israelites could not bear to gaze upon it, although that Law was merely a ministration of death, and of condemnation, and although the glory on his face was transitory. Much more will the ministration of the spirit, and of righteousness, be of surpassing glory. Again, Moses realised that the glory on his face was transitory, and so he could not boldly leave his face uncovered, lest the Israelites should see the fading of the glory². And the veil which he wore still lies, spiritually speaking, on the hearts of the Jewish nation, which will not be removed till they 'turn to the Lord,' as Moses used to remove it when he returned to the divine presence. But we Christians can speak boldly, and with unveiled face can reflect the glory of the Lord. If we are told that our gospel is obscure and hidden by a veil, it is only so in the case of those who are spiritually perishing. It is they who have been blinded by the 'god of this age,' to prevent the glory of God, which is, in fact, the Incarnate Christ, from dawning upon them. And in order to preach this gospel, God has 'made us sufficient as ministers of a new covenant, not of the letter but of the spirit' (v. 6); and those who accept our preaching are as an epistle, written 'with the Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in tables that are hearts of flesh' (v. 3).

(c) The Incarnation had its issue in the Passion; Christ's death, and the shedding of His blood procured atonement. This has its counterpart in the Passover (1 Cor. v. 7 f.; cf. Col. i. 14, Eph. i. 7 with Dr Armitage Robinson's note). And S. John (xix. 36) traces a fulfilment of a particular detail (Ex. xii. 46) in the fact that no bone of our Lord's body was broken.

¹ His use of the narrative is rendered easier by the LXX, which renders ἦν ('shone') by *δεδόξασται* and *δεδοξασμένη*.

² This idea is not found in the original narrative; see note.

(d) Christ's sacrifice is no less clearly connected with the covenant ceremony at Horeb (Ex. xxiv. 4—8). Our Lord explicitly refers to it in the words of the institution of the Holy Eucharist (Mat. xxvi. 28 = Mk. xiv. 24, Lk. xxii. 20, 1 Cor. xi. 25; see also Heb. ix. 18—20, and 1 Pet. i. 2 with Hort's note). In Heb. x. 29 a renegade Christian is one who 'hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing.'

(e) Though pleading in Heaven, Christ is still present among men. He is still Incarnate; hence the existence of the Church which is His Body. In Heb. xii. 18—24 the condition of the Church under the New Covenant is contrasted with that of the Israelites at Sinai. The characteristics of the two covenants are terror and grace (cf. Keble's *Christian Year*, Whitsunday).

(f) Sacramental incorporation into Christ's divine life had its foreshadowing in the old Jewish Church; all the Israelites were 'baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea' (1 Cor. x. 2).

(g) By the other great Sacrament, the divine life is fed and nourished in the members of the Church. Our Lord teaches (Jn. vi. 30—35, 41—58) that it was really God, and not Moses, who gave bread from heaven; and that the manna was but the symbol of the real 'bread from heaven.' (It is not here asserted that our Lord's discourse had reference exclusively to the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, which He was afterwards to institute; but it must have been impossible for the Evangelist—and it is impossible for us—having heard the words spoken at the Last Supper, not to see in the present passage their fullest and deepest application.)

And as Christ is the Bread of Life, so He is the Water of Life. In the mind of S. Paul the Israelites did not drink mere physical water but spiritual (1 Cor. x. 3, 4). The Targ. of Onkelos on Num. xxi. 17 ff. contains a legend according to which the well, mentioned in that passage, followed the Israelites on their journeys over hill and dale. S. Paul here refers to the legend, but combines with it an allusion to the rock which produced water (Ex. xvii. 6, Num. xx. 11). That rock, says S. Paul, is typical of Christ—'the spiritual Rock which followed them.'

(h) While the Israelites are the counterpart of the Christian Church, their enemies who opposed Moses (cf. 2 Tim. iii. 8) afford a parallel to those who obey not the gospel. In Rev. viii. 5, 7, 8, ix. 2—4, xi. 6, xv. 6—8, xvi. 2—4, 10, 13, 18, 21, the symbolism of punishment is clearly based on the plagues of Egypt. And our Lord's words about His power to cast out demons by the 'finger of

God,' as contrasted with the methods of the Jewish exorcists (Lk. xi. 19 f.¹), are perhaps an allusion to Moses and the magicians.

(i) On the other hand, those who have been redeemed from the slavery of sin can, like the Israelites rescued from Egypt, 'sing the song of Moses the servant of God' (Rev. xv. 3), and their names will not be blotted out of the book of life (iii. 5; cf. Ex. xxxii. 32 f. and note).

(j) And when redeemed they can fulfil the high destiny purposed for Israel (Ex. xix. 5 f.)—they become 'a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people that is a special possession' (1 Pet. ii. 9 (cf. v. 5), Rev. i. 6, v. 10).

But besides the ideas connected with the life of Moses, there are those which centre round the Tabernacle. The significance which the symbolism appears to have had for the writers of the book of Exodus has already been studied (pp. lxxxvi.—xc.); but in the New Testament we are in another world of thought. The ideas are strikingly free from the material and intellectual analogies of Josephus and Philo and some of the patristic writers. The principle of applying spiritual meanings to the Tabernacle is acknowledged in Heb. viii. 5 by a reference to Ex. xxv. 40. The heavenly pattern implies, for the writer of the epistle, not merely a vision but a real heavenly counterpart—more real indeed and more lasting than the earthly building which is its *ὑπόδειγμα* ('suggestive copy') and *σκιά* ('shadow'); cf. Wisd. ix. 8, 'a copy of the holy Tabernacle which thou preparedst aforehand from the beginning.' It is 'the real Tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, not man' (Heb. viii. 2); 'a greater and more perfect Tabernacle, not made with hands' (ix. 11); a Tabernacle in which Christ and not Aaron is the High Priest and Minister. The Mosaic Tabernacle was a temporary figure (*παραβολή*) of no lasting value for atonement (ix. 8—10). It was thus not merely, as in Josephus and Philo, a microcosm—'an epitome of that which is presented on a larger scale in the world of finite beings'—but an earthly analogy of something spiritual, something which was 'not of this creation.' God, in order to dwell among His people, dwelt in the Tabernacle. The Word, which 'was God,' became Flesh in order to tabernacle among us (Jn. i. 14); i.e. the Tabernacle corresponds to Christ's Humanity; His body was the true Temple (Jn. ii. 19—21); in His Humanity, perpetuated in His Body the Church (see below), 'dwelleth all the Fulness of the Godhead bodily' (Col. ii. 9, i. 19).

¹ Mt. xii. 28 has 'Spirit of God.'

But in the Tabernacle there were two parts, the immediate presence of God being shut off by the veil. So (Heb. ix. 24, x. 20) Christ passed through His earthly life (symbolized by the Holy Place), and still bearing His Humanity entered 'into Heaven itself' (the Most Holy). This thought is specially connected, in Heb. ix., x., with the ritual of the day of Atonement (see art. 'Day of Atonement' in *DCG* i.). The author of the epistle implies (ix. 2—5) that he could speak in detail of the meaning of the Tabernacle furniture, but that the discussion of them would be disproportionately long. The briefness of his passing reference to them would suggest to his readers that the symbolical meanings which he could attach to them were of secondary importance compared with his main theme. In Rev. iv. 5 the vision of the 'seven lamps burning before the throne' is based on the lampstand which stood near the entrance into the Most Holy Place. In xi. 19 the 'ark of His covenant,' the symbol of the divine presence, is seen in 'the Temple of God that is in heaven.' And in xv. 5 this Temple is called 'the Temple of the Tabernacle of the testimony in heaven.'

Again, a further deep and mysterious truth is taught in the New Testament. The Body of Christ still finds on earth a concrete representation in His Church; the Church is 'the extension and perpetuation of the Incarnation in the world' (cf. Eph. iv. 15 f., v. 23, 29 f., Col. i. 18, 24, ii. 9, 19). At present the representation is incomplete and potential, because though Christ has passed to His glory the 'revealing of the sons of God' is yet future (Rom. viii. 19). But when the Church in union with Him is glorified (1 Jn. iii. 2), and the 'spiritual house' is completely built up (1 Pet. ii. 5), then the saints 'who tabernacle in heaven' become, in fullest reality, 'His Tabernacle' (Rev. xiii. 6), so that the ideal of Ezekiel and the priestly writers is consummated (xxi. 3).

¹ Bp Gore, Bampton Lectures on *The Incarnation*, p. 219.

INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES.

The following list comprises the canonical and apocryphal passages (outside the Hexateuch) in which reference is made to the contents or the wording of the book of Exodus, together with all the New Testament passages cited in the Introduction.

		PAGE			PAGE
Jud.	ii. 1 f.	cxxvi	Ps.	lxxvii. 15—20	cxxvi
	v. 4	"		lxxviii.	"
	vi. 8—10	"		lxxx. 8	"
	x. 11	"		lxxxl.	"
1 Sam.	ii. 22	cxxvii		lxxxvi. 15	cxxvii
	28	"		lxxxix. 10	cxxvi
	iv. 8	cxxvi		xcv. 8	"
	vi. 6	"		xcix. 6	"
	x. 18	"		7	"
	xii. 6, 8	"		ciii. 7	"
2 Sam.	vii. 6	"		8	cxxvii
	23 f.	"		cv.	cxxvi
1 Kings	viii. 9	"		cvi.	"
	16, 51 f.	"		cxi. 4	cxxvii
	21	cxxvii		cxi. 4	"
	ix. 9	cxxvi		cxiv. 3	cxxvi
2 Kings	xvii. 7, 35 f.	"		8	"
	xxi. 15	"		cxviii. 14	cxxvii
1 Chr.	i. 3	cxxvii		cxliii. 2	"
	xvii. 5, 21 f.	cxxvi		cxli. 4	"
	xxi. 29	cxxvi f.		8 f.	cxxvi
2 Chr.	i. 3	cxxvi		cxli. 4	"
	v. 10	cxxvi f.		cxli. 8	cxxvii
	vi. 5	cxxvi	Is.	iv. 5	cxxvi
	xxx. 9	cxxvii		xi. 15 f.	"
	xxxv. 13	"		xii. 2	cxxvii
Neh.	ix.	cxxvi		xlvi. 16 f.	cxxvi
	ix. 17—31	cxxvii		xlvi. 20 f.	"
Ps.	l. 5	"		li. 9 f.	"
	lxvi. 6	cxxvi		lii. 4	"
	lxviii. 7 f., 17	"		lxviii. 11—13	"
	9	cxxvii	Jer.	ii. 6	"
	lxxiv. 13 f.	cxxvi		vii. 22, 25	"

INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES

CXXXV

		PAGE
Jer.	xi. 4, 7 f.	cxxvi
	xv. 1	"
	xvi. 14	"
	xxiii. 7	"
	xxxi. 32	cxxvii
	xxxii. 20 f.	cxxvi
	xxxiv. 13 f.	cxxvii
Ez.	iv. 4—6	cxxvi n.
	xx.	cxxvi
Dan.	ix. 15	"
Hos.	ii. 15	"
	xi. 1	"
	xii. 9	"
	13	"
	xiii. 4 f.	"
Joel	ii. 13	cxxvii
Am.	ii. 10	cxxvi
	iii. 1	"
	iv. 10	"
	ix. 7	"
Jon.	iv. 2	cxxvii
Mic.	vi. 4	cxxvi
	vii. 15	"
Nah.	i. 2 f.	cxxvii
	4	cxxvi
Hab.	iii. 3—6	"
Hag.	ii. 5	"
Zech.	xiv. 20	cxxvii
Mal.	iii. 17	"
	iv. 4	cxxvi, cxxvii
—————		
1 Esd.	v. 49	cxxviii
	vi. 6, 12	cxxvii
2 Esd.	i. 7	"
	10, 13	cxxviii
	13, 14	"
	17—20	"
	22 f.	"
	ii. 1	cxxvii
	iii. 17 f.	cxxviii
	vii. 36 (106)	"
	xiv. 3 f.	"
	29	cxxvii
	xv. 11	cxxviii
Tob.	x. 12	"
Jdth.	v. 17 f.	cxxvii

		PAGE
Est.	xiii. 16	cxxvii
Wisd.	ix. 8	cxxviii
	x. 15—21	cxxvii
	xi.	"
	xii. 8	cxxviii
	xvi. 2	"
	xvii.—xix.	cxxvii
Sir.	xvii. 11—13	cxxviii
	xxiv. 23	"
	xxxvi. 12	"
	xlvi. 1—5	cxxvii
	6—22	"
Bar.	i. 19	"
	ii. 11	"
	28	cxxviii
Sus.	o. 62	"
1 Mac.	iv. 9	"
2 Mac.	ii. 8	"
	x. 26	"
—————		
Matt.	v. 21, 27, 33	cxxviii
	38	cxxix
	17—48	"
	viii. 4	x
	10	"
	xii. 1—8	cxxix
	28	cxxxii n.
	xv. 4	cxxviii, cxxix
	1—9	cxxix
	xvii. 8	"
	xix. 8	x
	18 f.	cxxviii
	xxii. 32	"
	xxiii. 2	x
	xxiv. 36	"
	xxvi. 28	cxxx
Mk.	i. 44	x
	vi. 6	"
	vii. 10	x, cxxviii f.
	ix. 8	cxxix
	x. 3, 5	x
	19	cxxviii
	xii. 26	x, cxxviii
	xiii. 32	x
	xiv. 24	cxxx
Lk.	ii. 23	cxxix

cxxxvi INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES

		PAGE
Lk.	ii. 52	x
	v. 14	"
	ix. 36	cxxxix
	xi. 19	cxxxii
	xvi. 29, 31	x
	xviii. 20	cxxviii
	xx. 37	x, cxxviii
	xxii. 20	cxxxi
Jn.	i. 14	cxxv, cxxxii
	ii. 19—21	cxxxii
	v. 45—47	x
	vi. 30—35	cxxx
	41—58	"
	vii. 19, 22 f.	x
	viii. 24, 28, 58	cxxx
	xix. 36	"
Acts	iii. 13	cxxviii
	22	cxvi
	iv. 24	cxxix
	vii. 17—41, 44	cxxviii
	37	cxvi
	xiii. 17 f.	cxxviii
	xiv. 15	cxxix
	xxiii. 5	"
Rom.	vii. 7	cxxviii
	viii. 19	cxxxiii
	ix. 15	cxxviii
	17	cxxii
	xiii. 9	cxxviii
1 Cor.	v. 7 f.	cxxx
	x. 2	cxxxi
	3, 4	"
	7	cxxviii
	xi. 25	cxxxi
2 Cor.	iii. 7—18	cxxx
	viii. 15	cxxviii
Gal.	iv. 25	ci
Eph.	i. 7	cxxx
	iv. 15 f.	cxxxiii
	v. 23	"
	29 f.	"
	vi. 2 f.	cxxviii
Phil.	ii. 7	x
Col.	i. 4	cxxx
	19	cxxxii
	18, 24	cxxxiii

		PAGE
Col.	ii. 9	cxxxii
	9, 19	cxxxiii
2 Tim.	iii. 8	cxxxix
	16	cvi
Tit.	iii. 5	xc
Heb.	iii. 2—6	cxxix
	viii. 2	cxxxix
	5	"
	ix. 2	xcii
	2—5	cxxxiii
	8—10	cxxxix
	11	"
	18—20	"
	24	cxxxiii
	x. 20	"
	xi. 23—29	cxxviii
	xii. 18—24	cxxxi
Jas.	ii. 11	cxxix
1 Pet.	i. 2	cxxxi
	12	xc
	ii. 5	cxxxiii
	5, 9	cxxxii
2 Pet.	i. 21	cvi
1 Jn.	iii. 2	cxxxiii
Rev.	i. 4, 8	cxxx
	6	cxxxii
	iii. 5	"
	iv. 5	cxxxiii
	8	cxxx
	v. 10	cxxxii
	viii. 5, 7 f.	cxxxi
	ix. 2—4	"
	x. 6	cxxix
	xi. 6	cxxxi
	17	cxxx
	19	cxxxiii
	xiii. 6	"
	xiv. 7	cxxix
	xv. 3	cxxxii
	5	cxxxiii
	6—8	cxxxi
	xvi. 5	cxxx
	2—4, 10	cxxxi
	13, 18, 21	"
	xxi. 3	cxxxiii

THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

PART I.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT. THE EXODUS. THE JOURNEY TO THE SACRED MOUNTAIN.

CHAPTERS I.—XVIII.

THE book of Exodus carries on the narrative of the fortunes of the chosen people after the death of Joseph, opening with a description of the Israelite oppression in Egypt. The first half of the book is familiar to all who read the Bible. The vivid accounts of the oppression, of Moses' infancy and his flight into Midian, his divine call which meant so much to Israel, the plagues, the exodus, and the events which are related during the journey to the sacred mountain, have been stamped upon the minds of Jews and Christians from their childhood. They form a drama of thrilling interest, in which each successive writer who contributed to the composite whole felt deeply his responsibility as a religious teacher. Each of them as he wrote 'set God always before him.' So that the result is not a bare chronicle—a skeleton made up of the dry bones of historical facts. In the long course of ancient oral traditions the bones had come together, and had been covered with the flesh and skin of artistic narrative in which orientals excel; but from the moment that these narratives were employed by prophetic writers as a vehicle of religious truth, the divine Spirit came into them, and they lived and still live, as a record of the action of God in moulding a people prepared for Himself.

CHAPTER I.

Pharaoh's efforts to crush the Israelites.

The chapter describes the condition of the Israelites in Egypt from which Moses was soon to rescue them. The reigning Pharaoh took steps to crush them, partly by hard building labour, and partly by commanding the death of all their male infants. The narrative lends itself readily to devotional treatment. The exodus was to the Hebrews of subsequent ages a type of divine salvation, and to Christians it has always been a type of redemption from the slavery of sin. And the command, issued at the time of Moses' birth, to kill the male infants, forms a striking parallel to the similar command of Herod at the time when the Saviour whom Moses foreshadowed was born.

I. 1 Now these are the names of the sons of Israel, which *P* came into Egypt; every man and his household came with Jacob. 2 Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah; 3 Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; 4 Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. 5 And all the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob were seventy souls: and Joseph was in Egypt already. | 6 And Joseph died, and all *J* his brethren, and all that generation. | 7 And the children of *P* Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them.

I. 1-7. A brief introduction, summarising previous events which led up to the oppression.

1. *sons of Israel*. Both 'Israel' and 'sons of Israel' are found as the name of the tribe and nation as it evolved in history (see *v.* 7). The latter title was explained in the national traditions by tracing the descent of the whole people to an ancestor who had received the privileged name (Gen. xxxii. 28).

2-4. The sons of each mother are placed together; *Leah*: Reuben—Zebulun. *Rachel*: Benjamin. *Bilhah*: Dan, Naphtali. *Zilpah*: Gad, Asher. The two concubines follow the two wives.

5. *Seventy* was the traditional number; cf. Dt. x. 22. The names in the list of Gen. xlv. 8-27 make a total of 70 if Dinah be excluded. But since Er and Onan died in Canaan (*v.* 12), and Joseph and his sons were already in Egypt, a later priestly writer thought that they ought not to be included among those who went to Egypt with Jacob; he therefore made their total 66, including Dinah, and then inconsistently added Jacob himself, Joseph and his sons, to make up the 70. In Num. xxvi. there is a list of Jacob's descendants which includes the sons and grandsons of Ephraim and Manasseh; and this led the LXX in Gen. xlv. 27 to include the three grandsons and two great-grandsons of Joseph, making the total 75. So the LXX in the present passage; and this is followed in S. Stephen's speech, Acts vii. 14.

7. *the children of Israel*. The Heb. is the same as that of the rendering 'the sons of Israel' in *v.* 1. The expression must originally have implied a tribal kinship rather than a national or political unity. The beginnings of a national unity were due to the work of Moses. The question whether all the Israelite clans went to Egypt and took part in the exodus is touched upon on p. cix.

increased abundantly. Lit. 'swarmed'; cf. Gen. i. 20, R.V. marg.

the land. In Gen. xlvii. 11 (*P*) Jacob and his sons settle in 'the land of Rameses,' i.e. in the territory in which Ramses II afterwards built cities and frequently resided. It is apparently equivalent to 'the

¹ The name Israel is used in Mesha's inscription (the *Moabite Stone*), lines 5, 7; and in an inscription of Shalmaneser II it occurs in the form *Sir'lai* with reference to Ahab (*COT.* i. 184, 6). On the stele of Merenptah see p. cix.

8 Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which knew not *J* Joseph. 9 And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are ¹more and mightier than we : 10 come, let us deal wisely with them ; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them up out of the land. 11 Therefore they did set over them task-

¹ Or, *too many and too mighty for us*

land of Goshen' in which, according to *J*, the Israelites lived. 'The land' is thus not the whole of Egypt, but the portion assigned to them in the eastern part of the Delta.

8. *knew not*; *had not known*. The expression 'a new king' instead of 'another king' seems to imply a new dynasty, i.e. the 19th. See note following ii. 22.

9. *too many and too mighty for us*, as R.V. marg. It is probable that 'the children of Israel' represented, in Ramses' mind, the whole mass of foreign prisoners and slaves who were transported to the Nile valley during the campaigns of his long reign. In xii. 38 these foreigners are called 'a mixed multitude.' Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ed. 2, p. 301) says that the prisoners of Ramses' reign added to the descendants of the foreigners brought to Egypt after former wars 'certainly amounted to a third, and probably still more, of all the families of Egypt.'

10. *deal wisely*. In Acts vii. 19 S. Stephen adapts the LXX rendering of the word (R.V. 'dealt subtilly').

they also join themselves. The Egyptian sovereigns always felt that this danger was imminent. Enemies such as the Hittites, the Palestinian tribes, the *shasu* or robber bands of the Arabian peninsula, and wild hordes from the coasts of Asia Minor were constantly threatening ; and the most strenuous efforts were made by Egyptian officials to prevent fugitives from leaving the country. (See Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, pp. 57, 60.)

11. *taskmasters*; *gang-overseers*. The expression occurs here only ; but the 'labour-gang' (*mas*) is frequently spoken of. Solomon, whose reign was affected by Egyptian influence, levied men for building labour, 1 K. v. 14 f. (Heb. 28 f.).

Pharaoh. Heb. *Par'oh*. Hebrew appears to have been the only language of ancient times which adopted this Egyptian word. In Egypt *Pr-'o*, 'great house,' was originally used of the royal palace or estates. But during the Middle Kingdom (12th to 16th dynasty) it stood metaphorically for the king's majesty, 'something in the manner of the Sublime Porte' (Driver on Gen. xii. 15) ; and in the New Kingdom it became at once personal, and was soon a common term for the king. From the 22nd dynasty and onwards it is prefixed to the king's name—e.g. 'Pharaoh Necho.'

masters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for *J* Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses. 12 But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and the more they spread abroad. And they¹ were grieved because of the children of Israel. | 13 And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to *P* serve with rigour: | 14 and they made their lives bitter with hard *J* service, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field, | all their service, wherein they made them serve with *R*^p rigour.

15 And the king of Egypt spake to the Hebrew midwives, *E* of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of

¹ Or, *abhorred*

store cities. Such cities are mentioned in Solomon's reign, in connexion with labour-gangs (1 K. ix. 19), and in that of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 12). The Heb. word *miskenoth* is uncertain. Brugsch's explanation 'Temple-cities,' connected with an Eg. word *Mesket*, 'shrine,' is not generally accepted. The root-meaning appears to be 'to be useful' (in Is. xxii. 15 Shebna is called 'this servitor' or 'steward,' *sōkēn*, R.V. 'treasurer'); hence 'cities of useful things—or places' may mean 'cities containing magazines.' LXX, Tg.^{Jer.} wrongly have 'fortified cities,' though no doubt store cities were fortified.

Pithom. Eg. *Pi-Tum*, 'the House of Tum.' On this and Raamses see Intr. pp. xciii. f., and *Addenda*. LXX adds 'and On which is the city of the sun' (i.e. Heliopolis). But the buildings at Heliopolis, so far as can be learnt from inscriptions, were the work of Ramses' predecessor, Seti I.

12. *they spread abroad.* The word implies 'breaking out beyond limits and restraints.' It is characteristic of *J*.

were grieved; felt a sickening dread. Used of Moab, Num. xxii. 3 (R.V. 'were distressed').

13. *rigour.* v. 14. Lev. xxv. 43, 46, 53 (all P), Ez. xxxiv. 4 f.

14. On the making of bricks see v. 7.

service in the field. This would include the gathering of straw and stubble for brick-making, but probably also various forms of agricultural labour.

all their service &c. These words are in the accusative case; and the clause, which hangs very loosely with the rest of the verse, seems to be a later expansion.

15. *Hebrew.* The word is sometimes explained as 'one who comes from the other side (*ʿābher*) of the Euphrates,' referring to the migration of Abraham (cf. Jos. xxiv. 2 f.). But it may in fact have been first used in Canaan, and may refer to the crossing of the Jordan. If so, its use here is an anachronism. The origin of the term is, however, quite doubtful. See art. 'Hebrew' in *DB* ii.

the other Puah: 16 and he said, When ye do the office of a *E* midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the birth-stool; if it be a son, then ye shall kill him; but if it be a daughter, then she shall live. 17 But the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive. 18 And the king of Egypt called for the midwives, and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and have saved the men children alive? 19 And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwife come unto them. 20 And God dealt well with the midwives: | and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty. | *J* 21 And it came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that *E* he made them houses. | 22 And Pharaoh charged all his people, *J*

The office of midwife would probably be performed in many cases by relations or friends; cf. 1 S. iv. 20. But the fact that there were only two whose office was recognised implies that the writer of *vv.* 15—21 did not think of the Hebrews as very numerous.

to the Hebrew midwives. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. ix. 2) assumes that they were Egyptian women. Perhaps, with the change of a vowel point, we should read 'to the midwives of the Hebrew women.' Of the names Shiphrah¹ and Pu'ah nothing is known. It is possible that they are Hebraized forms of Egyptian words, or even Hebrew words. Semitic formations in proper names were common during the 18th—20th dynasties.

19. This may record a real fact. The hardiness of a nomad race, which afterwards enabled them to overcome the more civilised Canaanites, probably rendered them physically superior to the Egyptians.

21. *he made them houses*, i.e. granted them many children and descendants; cf. 2 S. vii. 11, 1 K. ii. 24; and Gen. xvi. 2, R.V. marg. 'Them'² must refer to the midwives, not to the 'people' of *v.* 20.

22. *the river.* The Heb. word is used almost exclusively of the Nile³. It occurs 22 times in Ex. (JE), and the plural is twice used of the Nile streams or canals (vii. 19, viii. 5 (1), both P). The earliest Eg. name for the Nile was *Ha'pi*. But the descriptive name '*iotr*' or '*iotr'o*', 'the great river' (Ptolemy *ὁ μέγας ποταμός*), came into use in the period of the Middle Kingdom. This was modified as '*io'r-o*,

¹ LXX Σεφωρά = Zipporah; cf. ii. 21. Pu'ah appears as a man's name in Jud. x. 1. See art. 'Puah' in *DB* iv.

² The word is masculine; but that is found not infrequently with feminine nouns in the plural.

³ Is. xxxiii. 21 watercourses (R.V. 'streams'), Job xxviii. 10 perh. 'shafts' of a mine (R.V. 'channels'), Dan. xii. 5 ff. of the Tigris.

saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into ¹the river, and *J* every daughter ye shall save alive.

II. 1 And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took *E* to wife a daughter of Levi. 2 And the woman conceived, and bare a son: and when she saw him that he was a goodly child, she hid him three months. 3 And when she could not longer

¹ See Gen. xli. 1.

and appears in Heb. as *y'ôr*, Ass. *Jaru'û*. The Greek name Νεῖλος, which is not found in Heb., was perhaps formed from the Heb. *nahâl*, 'stream' or 'wady.' For other large rivers, especially the Euphrates, Heb. uses *nâhâr*, Ass. *naru*.

CHAPTER II. 1—22.

The birth of Moses. His flight to Midian.

II. 1. the *daughter of Levi*, i.e. who was of the tribe of Levi. The form of the expression, if the text is correct, implies that her name had been previously mentioned¹. The names of Moses' parents have been preserved only in P. In Num. xxvi. 59 we read 'the name of Amram's wife was Yôchébed daughter of Levi...and she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister.' In Ex. vi. 20 Yôchébed is Amram's aunt, and their children are Aaron and Moses. And Aaron is three years older than Moses (vii. 7). But the wording of the present passage (*v.* 1, 2) clearly implies that Moses was the first child born after the marriage; and yet, in the narrative which follows, he has a sister old enough to take care of him. The probability suggests itself that she was a child of Amram by a former marriage. See also Ex. xv. 20 (E). It is scarcely possible that the name Yôchébed could have fallen out *accidentally* from the present passage. If, in E's tradition, Yôchébed was the mother of Aaron and Miriam, and if another name originally stood here as that of Moses' mother, it was very likely that a harmonist would strike it out.

2. that he was goodly, i.e. a fine, healthy child. LXX ἀστειός (so Heb. xi. 23, Acts vii. 20) is even used of Eglon, Jud. iii. 17. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. ix. 6) declares that Moses was so tall and beautiful as an infant, that passers-by left their occupations to stand and gaze at him. Heb. xi. 23 follows LXX in assigning the actions in *v.* 2*b* to both the parents.

3. *an ark*. The word (*tôbhâh*) is the same as that used for

¹ It is not impossible that the difficulty should be avoided by reading אחת מבנות ('one of the daughters of') for בת אלה ('the daughter of'); the former is supported by the LXX τῶν θυγατέρων.

hide him, she took for him an ark of ¹bulrushes, and daubed it *E* with ²slime and with pitch; and she put the child therein, and laid it in the flags by the river's brink. 4 And his sister stood afar off, to know what would be done to him. 5 And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river; and her

¹ That is, *papyrus*.

² That is, *bitumen*.

Noah's ark (Gen. vi.—ix.)¹, and is possibly of Egyptian or Assyrian origin. The ark in the tabernacle is 'arōn.

bulrushes. Heb. *gōme*, a water-plant (perhaps derived from a root denoting 'to swallow' or 'imbibe,' but it is possibly an Eg. loan-word); the Nile rush or papyrus, which was common in Lower Egypt, but is not found there at the present day (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 433). It was used for writing material, mats, sails, cloth, baskets and light boats or canoes. 'Vessels of *gōme*' are mentioned in Is. xviii. 2; and the word occurs as a general term for 'sedge' in Is. xxxv. 7, Job viii. 11 f.

slime; bitumen. Heb. *hēmār*. Gen. xi. 3, xiv. 10. It was the ordinary native word, for which *kōpher* (Ass. *kupru*) is used in Gen. vi. 14. See Driver on the latter passage, and art. 'Bitumen' in *Enc. B.*

flags. Heb. *sūph*, LXX ἔλος, a wide term which included several kinds of fresh-water weeds by the Nile (v. 5, Is. xix. 6); it also stands, poetically, for sea weeds (Jon. ii. 5 [6]). For the name *yam suph*, 'sea of reeds,' cf. on xiii. 18. Some explain the word as equivalent to Eg. *ḫwsi*, but it may have been a Semitic word borrowed by the Egyptians. An undoubtedly Eg. word for the same species of plant is *ahu*, Gen. xli. 2, 18.

A similar story is told of the infancy of the ancient Assyrian king Sargon I: 'My lowly mother conceived me, in secret she gave me birth. She placed me in a basket of rushes, with *iddi* (bitumen or naphtha) my door she closed. She gave me to the river which was not over me [overwhelmed me not]. The river carried me; to Akki the irrigator it brought me. Akki the irrigator...took me up; Akki the irrigator as his own son reared me.' (*Cun. Inscr. of West Asia*, vol. iii. plate 4, no. 7.)

4. *his sister*. See on v. 1.

stood; took her stand².

5. *the daughter of Pharaoh*. An inscription on the temple at Abydos says that Ramses II had 60 sons and 59 daughters. Besides many concubines he had four lawful wives, one of whom, Maat-neferu-Ra, a

¹ LXX θίβυς or θηθη here; but in Gen. vi.—ix. κιβωτός, which is also the rendering of 'arōn.

² The anomalous form [𐤀𐤍𐤏] should be read (with Sam.) [𐤀𐤍𐤏].

maidens walked along by the river side; and she saw the ark *E* among the flags, and sent her handmaid to fetch it. 6 And she opened it, and saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children. 7 Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee? 8 And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother. 9 And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it. 10 And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became

Kheta princess, bore him a daughter Meri. Euseb. (*Praep. Ev.* ix. 27) names the princess of the Biblical story *Μέρις*. Joseph. (*Ant.* II. ix. 5) calls her *Θερμουθις*, which may be another form of the same name.

walked; *were walking*. While the princess bathed, her maidens kept walking on the bank, to give warning of any danger or interruption. It was not till the princess was in the water that the ark, carefully concealed from the bank, would become visible to her.

to fetch it. Heb. 'and she fetched it.' But a slight change of vowel points gives the rendering of R.V., which is preferable.

6. *the babe wept*; a weeping boy.

7. *that she may suckle the child*.

8. *the maid*; the damsel; not the handmaid of v. 5, but Miriam.

9. *I will give*. The pronoun is emphatic; 'I myself will be responsible for your wages.'

10. *he became a son to her*. From this grew the Jewish tradition that 'he was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' Acts vii. 22. Josephus also says that 'he was educated with great care.' Heb. xi. 24 says that Moses 'refused to be called a son of a Pharaoh's daughter, i.e. when he went away to Midian. See Westcott, *Hebrews*, on the passage.

Moses. The derivation of the name is still quite uncertain.

(a) The Heb. form *Mōsheh* is a participle from a root *Mashah* = 'draw out.' Cf. 2 S. xxii. 17 = Ps. xviii. 16 (17). This is the explanation adopted by the narrator. But an active participle in the masc. gender could not possibly give the required meaning. And moreover it is highly improbable that an Egyptian princess adopting a child as her son, even though a Hebrew, would give him a Hebrew name.

(b) In LXX, N.T., Josephus and Philo the normal form is *Μωυσης* (Vulg. Moyses). And many modern writers have referred it to two Coptic words, *mo* 'water' and *use* 'saved.' An ancient Eg. name,

her son. And she called his name ¹Moses, and said, Because *E* I ²drew him out of the water.

11 And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown *J* up, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens: and he saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. 12 And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he smote the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand. 13 And he went out the second day, and, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together: and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow? 14 And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? thinkest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, Surely the thing is known. 15 Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. But

¹ Heb. *Moshel*.

² Heb. *mashah*, to draw out.

however, with this meaning would be formed quite differently, *uža-n-mou*. (c) A more plausible explanation connects it with the Eg. *mes* or *mesu*, 'child.' This was frequently combined with names of deities, e.g. Thoth-mes, Aa-mes, Ra-messu. And an official of the reign of Merenptah is named Mes on a stele at Aswan (Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 106). 'Moses' may therefore simply mean 'child,' or it may be an abbreviation of a name from which the name of a deity has fallen out¹. Hebrew prophetic writers might even purposely have omitted the name of a heathen deity. The derivation from *mesu*² is the best yet offered; but it cannot be considered certain.

11. *in those days*. This is *J*'s very indefinite opening to his account of Moses. The word for 'grown up' is the same as in v. 10 ('grew'), but with a somewhat different force.

14. The Hebrew whom Moses had protected had gratefully spread the report of his action among the other Hebrews. Before 'the Egyptian' LXX has 'yesterday'; so Acts vii. 28.

15. *this thing*, i.e. the death of the Egyptian. Joseph. (*Ant.* II. x., xi.) records a tradition that Moses led the Egyptian armies against the Ethiopians, and won Tharbis, the daughter of the Ethiopian king, as his wife. Pharaoh, in jealousy at his success, sought to kill him; and for that reason Moses fled to Midian.

¹ As e.g. Jacob and Joseph are probably abbreviations of Jacob-el and Joseph-el. See art. 'Jacob' in *DB*.

² The objection that the vowel in the Eg. word is short, while that in *Mōshah* is long, and that the Eg. sibilant is different from that in the Heb. word, is not of great weight. Such alterations would easily arise in the popular transformation of the word into a Heb. form. See Driver's note on 'Esau,' Gen. xxv. 25.

Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of *J* Midian: and he sat down by a well. 16 Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and drew water,

This tradition probably arose out of Num. xii. 1, to explain his marriage with 'a Cushite woman.'

Midian. The form Μαδιάμ in LXX and Acts vii. 29 (Vulg. Madian) is probably more correct. Cf. Μαριάμ for Miriam.

From Gen. xxv. 1—6 (*J*) we learn that the Midianites were distant blood relations of the Hebrews (Midian being represented as a son of Abraham by a concubine Keturah), and that they dwelt to the E. of them. Moreover two of the 'sons of Midian' (i.e. M. tribes)—'Ephah', 'Epher—were in late times reckoned as genealogically connected with Judah (1 Ch. ii. 46 f., iv. 17), which implies that they were geographically adjacent to them, and had been, to a certain extent, absorbed by them. In Jud. i. 16 the descendants of Moses' father-in-law (not 'brother-in-law' R.V.) are called Kenites, and are closely associated with the tribe of Judah. And in Num. xxii. 4, xxiv. 20 f., Moab, Amalek and Midian are adjacent. Biblical references, therefore, place them on the S.E. of Judah. And this is borne out by later statements. Ptolemy (vi. vii. 2) mentions *Μοδιάνα* on the Arabian coast, E. of the Gulf of 'Akaba; and travellers in Arabia speak of Madyan, about 75 miles S. of Elath (see Burton, *The gold mines of Midian*, and *The land of Midian revisited*).

The Midianites appear, as is often the case with Bedawin tribes, in various capacities; as merchantmen (Gen. xxxvii. 28 a), as shepherds (here, and cf. Is. lx. 6), and as troublesome and warlike raiders (Jud. vi., vii.). It may have been the latter account which gave rise to the conception of them as Israel's bitterest enemies (Num. xxv. 6—9, xxxi. 1—12). The holy war which P relates in Num. xxxi. finds later counterparts in Jewish and Christian writers who speak of 'the troops of Midian' as symbolical of the spiritual enemy.

and he sat down. This is expressed in Heb. by the same word as the preceding 'and dwelt'. It suggests that *J*'s narrative is composed of more than one previously existing story.

16. *seven daughters.* The duty of tending flocks is to-day, among the Bedawin of the Sinaitic peninsula, largely performed by young unmarried women, even sheikhs' daughters taking part in it.

the troughs. Gen. xxx. 38, 41 f. (R.V. 'gutters'). Receptacles, probably of stone, standing near the well. Wells were often covered with heavy stone slabs, which needed two or three men to move them; so that flocks were usually watered at fixed times in the day (E. Robinson, *BR* i. 490. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3, 8).

¹ Identified by Fr. Delitzsch with the Hayapá of the cuneiform inscriptions, closely connected with Tēma (cf. *KAT*² 58).

² LXX tries to minimise the awkwardness by inserting after Μαδιάμ the words ελθών δὲ εἰς γῆν Μαδιάμ; and Pesh. similarly.

and filled the troughs to water their father's flock. 17 And the *J* shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock. 18 And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How is it that ye are come so soon to-day? 19 And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he drew water for us, and watered the flock. 20 And he said unto his daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread. 21 And Moses was content to dwell with the

17. The shepherds wanted to water their own flocks first.

18. *Reuel*. The mention of Reuel as the father-in-law of Moses (v. 21) creates difficulties. In E he is uniformly called Jethro (iii. 1, iv. 18 [v.^a Jether]. xviii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12). But Num. x. 29 (J) speaks of 'Hobab the son of Reuel the Midianite Moses' father-in-law,' where it is uncertain whether Moses' father-in-law is Hobab or Reuel. The revisers understand it to be Reuel, in agreement with the present passage. But this forces them in Jud. i. 16, iv. 11, to render the same word (*hothen*) 'brother-in-law' as applied to Hobab. It is true that in Aramaic and Arabic the cognate word can be used loosely to describe a wife's male relations; but there is no evidence that it is ever so employed in Hebrew; and it would be strange to find the father and the brother of the same man's wife described by the same term. Moreover the present passage seems to imply that the priest of Midian had no sons. It is probable that the name was originally absent from this passage (it is not mentioned in v. 16¹, where it might have been expected), and that 'Reuel' was a later insertion by one who misunderstood Num. x. 29.

Jethro (E) and Hobab (J) will then be the names of Moses' father-in-law, and Reuel is Hobab's father². The suggestion that the words 'Hobab the son of' have accidentally fallen out before 'Reuel' is extremely improbable.

19. *An Egyptian*. His clothes, and perhaps his accent, would be Egyptian.

he actually drew water for us. The Heb. idiom expresses the surprise which they had felt at the kindness of his action. Moses and Jacob (Gen. xxix. 10) drew water for women, but a slave (Gen. xxiv. 19 f.) allowed a woman to draw for him.

21. *was content to dwell*. LXX 'dwelt³.'

¹ LXX inserts 'Ιοθάρ twice in v. 16, and some mss substitute it for 'Ραγουήλ in this verse.

² Mohammedan tradition identifies Sho'aib (probably a corruption of Hobab), a prophet sent to the Midianites, with Moses' father-in-law (Lane's *Kuran*, p. 47 n.).

³ κατρκισθη. By a misunderstanding of this, Symm. has ὤρκισε δὲ Μωυσην, 'and he made Moses swear [to dwell with the man],' which appears in the Vulg. as 'and Moses sware (juravit) to dwell with him.'

man : and he gave Moses Zipporah his daughter. 22 And she *J* bare a son, and he called his name Gershom : for he said, I have been ¹a sojourner in a strange land.

¹ Heb. *Ger*.

Zippōrah. The name means 'a bird,' probably a little bird, a sparrow. It is the fem. of *Zippōr*, the name of Balak's father (Num. xxii. 2). It may point to a primitive totemistic belief¹. The ancient names would remain in families, long after the beliefs had died out. It is noticeable that the Midianite chiefs in Jud. vii. 25 had animal names, Oreb (raven) and Zeeb (wolf).

22. *Gershom*. The popular explanation given in the narrative is concerned only with the first syllable *ger*, 'a sojourner.' LXX spells it Γηρσαμ, as though it were *ger shām*, 'a sojourner there.' A similar name Girshu or Garshu is found in Sinaitic inscriptions. Jud. xviii. 30 states that a 'son,' or descendant, of Gershom became the first of a line of priests at Dan (see Moore, p. 402)².

The 18th dynasty had been strong and vigorous, a period of military activity and development. The introduction of horses and chariots into Egypt produced new methods of warfare. The magnificence of the royal power was enormously increased by foreign conquests, by the amassing of treasure and the increase of slave labour. The country was again, as in the early dynasties, filled with officials and favourites of the king, who became a new nobility in close alliance with a powerful priesthood. But the strength and security of the country contained within it the seeds of decay, and the rulers of the 19th dynasty proved themselves weak, apathetic and incapable. The name of the Pharaoh under whom Joseph rose to power cannot be determined. But if Ramses II, as is probable, was the Pharaoh of the oppression, Joseph's period of activity may, by a backward reckoning, be placed under one of the later Hyksos (*Hyk-shasu*, 'prince of the Shasu' or spoilers, i.e. desert hordes). The expression in Ex. i. 8, 'a new king which had not known Joseph,' appears to imply the rise of a new dynasty. The first king of the 19th dynasty, Ramses I, reigned only two years. His successor Seti I was one of the best kings of the dynasty. He pacified Nubia, made an expedition into Syria, formed a treaty with the Hittites, and repelled the piratical hordes which began to appear from the Mediterranean coast and islands. His reign, however, on the whole was peaceful, and was marked by the construction of

¹ That is a belief that an individual, or a tribe, or the males or the females of a tribe, are actually descended from some material object, mostly an animal or a vegetable, and therefore stand in a peculiar and vital connexion with every animal or vegetable of the same class. The totem is the whole class; and the man who belongs to a totem may not destroy or injure a single animal or vegetable in the class. A fetich, on the other hand, is a single object, often inanimate. See Frazer, *Totemism*². W. Rob. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*³ 124 ff.

² The mention in xviii. 3 of a second son Eliezer has led to the addition of a gloss here in LXX: 'and the name of the second he called Eliezer; for the God of my fathers (was) my help, and delivered me from the *hand* of Pharaoh.'

colossal monuments at Karnak and Abydos. His date is doubtful; Petrie conjectures *c.* 1326—1300. He was succeeded by a son Ramses (Ramessu) II, who is famous chiefly because his inordinate vanity led him to record his own doings so fully. He became king at about the age of 18, and reigned 76 years (*c.* 1300—1234). After a twenty years' struggle with the Hittites (including the great battle of ḫadesh), in which neither side was strong enough to gain the mastery, he formed an alliance with them. His foreign rule was far from secure, and extended only to the Lebanon. He built a series of forts across the desert for the purpose of controlling Phoenicia and Palestine, and strengthened several towns in the Delta. The remainder of his reign was chiefly devoted to building operations; he erected many temples, and restored many more. In the case of the latter he did not hesitate to erase from the inscriptions the names of the original founders, and to replace them by his own. It is in this connexion that the value of the statement in Ex. i. 11 lies. The site of Raamses has not been identified¹; but since the shortness of the reign of Ramses I allowed little time for extensive building, and since the attaching of his own name to towns or buildings which he had founded, restored or enlarged, is in keeping with the character of Ramses II, and borne out by numerous inscriptions, the probability is great that the Hebrew tradition preserved the record of an actual fact. And it is further supported by M. Naville's discoveries at Pi-Tum (Pithom), where the name of Ramses figures largely (see p. xciii.). The long period of peace had the worst effects upon the country. Egypt remained untroubled for a while, living on the credit [of past wars; but she gradually weakened, while her enemies grew stronger. Ramses II had more than 100 children, of whom the 13th or 14th son Merenptah succeeded him. The decay of the royal power led, in his fifth year, to a serious invasion by the Libyans, allied with hordes from the Mediterranean coasts such as had troubled Egypt in the reign of Seti I. The inscriptions, however, boast of a splendid victory over them. Beyond this very little is known about his reign, which lasted some 20 years (*c.* 1234—1214). There is no evidence of the fact that Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, except the two passages, Ex. ii. 23, iv. 19, which appear to imply that the immediate successor of the Pharaoh of the oppression was on the throne when Moses returned to Egypt; and the expression in the former passage 'in [the course of] those many days' seems to preserve a reference to the long reign of Ramses II. Petrie calculates the chronology as follows: 'As the actual records of the book of Judges, when discriminated into regions (*S.B.A.* xviii. 246), give only about 120 years for that period, we reach back from Saul, 1053—1040 B.C., 120 years to 1173 for the entry into Palestine; this keeps clear of the last campaign of Ramessu III in 1187 B.C., and would bring the Exodus to 1213 B.C., which would thus fall at the end of the reign of Merenptah.' But the chronology of the book of Judges is still an unsolved problem (see Moore, pp. xxvii.—xliii., and König, art. 'Judges' in *DB*), and cannot be used as a basis for calculations. Two further details in Merenptah's reign are worthy of notice. A report of an official on the Syrian frontier in the eighth year of the reign states that a tribe of Bedawin from (?) Edom had

¹ See, however, *Addenda*.

received permission to pass the fortress of Thku towards the 'pools of King Merenptah which are in Thku, that they may obtain food for themselves and for their cattle in the field of the Pharaoh, who is the gracious sun in every land.' This shews that Semitic tribes were being received into Egypt only a few years before the Exodus. Whether the Egyptians were 'welcoming' them, as Petrie puts it (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 115), is perhaps doubtful. The desert hordes may have given so much trouble that it was politic to pacify them by concessions. And the presence of these Semitic Bedawin infesting the frontier may have led to the desire to oppress the Israelites, as represented in the Biblical narrative, in order to lessen the danger of a united rebellion. To the assignment of the Exodus to this reign, some think there is a fatal objection in the words of the Song of Triumph over the Libyans, in which the people of Israel are mentioned, in conjunction with districts of Palestine, as conquered by Merenptah; but see p. cix., where the words are quoted.

Certain scholars have lately hazarded the suggestion that the Israelites as a body were never in Egypt, but that *Mizraim* (the Hebrew name for Egypt) should, throughout the Exodus narratives, be read as *Muzri*, a district in Arabia¹, South of Judah, which is mentioned frequently in Ass. inscriptions. But though the theory may very possibly be correct as regards some narratives (e.g. Gen. xvi. 1, 3, xxi. 9, 21), as applied to the histories of Joseph and Moses it creates more difficulties than it solves. Amongst others it requires us to suppose that all the Egyptian colouring of the narrative, the frequent mention of the Pharaoh, and the explicit references to Raamesa, Succoth, Pithom and other places, are the work of imaginative writers who wished to render the sojourn in Egypt plausible. The difficulty of the supposition is increased when it is remembered that the Egyptian colouring is found independently in both the early narratives J and E. It involves theories as to literary history and methods in Israel which cannot commend themselves until they are supported by much stronger evidence than is at present adduced for them. It has been plausibly suggested by Mr Johns that the use of the name Muzri in the inscriptions is due to the fact that Muzri (Egypt) had previously exercised influence, if not suzerainty, over various localities in N. Arabia, and that they had since retained the name.

CHAPTER II. 23—III.

The call of Moses.

In feeding his father-in-law's sheep by Mt Horeb, Moses was attracted by the sight of a bush which appeared to blaze with a fiery light but was not consumed. On approaching it he received his call to deliver Israel, and was taught to know his God under a new name. He was bidden to teach the name to his kinsmen in Egypt, and to demand from Pharaoh their release. Few passages in the Old Testament stand on a higher plane of thought than this. God's revelation of His own character by means of a name hitherto unknown

¹ The inscriptions contain references to two districts of this name, one in N. Arabia and the other in Cappadocia. See *KAT*², Index, s.v. 'Muzri'; *Enc. B.* art. 'Mizraim,' 'Moses,' §§ 4, 6.

marks an epoch in the history not only of Israel but of mankind. Whatever view may be taken of the historical value to be attached to the incident of the burning bush, the religious value of the narrative is unimpaired. The divine name 'I am that I am,' and what it meant for Israel, is discussed in the note on v. 14, and on p. 21. The passage also teaches that God hears the cry of His people, and Himself takes the initiative in their rescue; by grace are they saved. And when the man chosen as His instrument for their deliverance is diffident of his powers, he receives the answer which everyone who tries to do work for others in God's name may take for himself—'certainly I will be with thee.'

23 And it came to pass in the course of those many days, *J* that the king of Egypt died: | and the children of Israel sighed *P* by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of the bondage. 24 And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. 25 And God saw the children of Israel, and God took knowledge *of them*.

III. 1 Now Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father *E* in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the back of

II. 23. *those many days*. Ramses II reigned 67 years. The statement in vii. 7 (P) scarcely agrees with this. Moses must have been more than 12 or 13 years of age when he slew the Egyptian, fled, and married Zippōrah.

It is probable that 23*a* was originally followed by iv. 19, 20*a*, 24—26; see analysis, p. xiii.

24. *his covenant*. See note at the end of ch. xxiv. *with Abraham &c.* Abraham, Gen. xii. 2 f., xiii. 14—17, xv. 4—21, xvii. 1—14, xxii. 16—18. Isaac, xvii. 19 f., xxvi. 2—5. Jacob, xxviii. 13—15, xxxv. 11 f., xlvi. 3 f.

25. *and God knew*. Cf. iii. 7, Gen. xviii. 21, Jos. xxii. 22, Jer. xxix. 23, Hos. v. 3, Nah. i. 7, Ps. i. 6, xxxvii. 18, lxxiii. 11, and especially Ps. cxxxix.

III. 1. *behind the wilderness*, i.e. to the West of it; cf. Jud. xviii. 12. The East was always 'in front' (Jud. xvi. 3), the North on 'the left' (Ez. xvi. 46), the South on 'the right' (1 S. xxiii. 19). The wilderness was the tract of country W. and S.W. of Midian, reaching to the Eastern shore of the Gulf of Akaba; see p. cv.

At the approach of summer the Bedawin move to higher ground, where the pastures on the mountain slopes remain green and fresh longer (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 789).

the mountain of God. The expression denotes a mountain which was conceived to be God's habitual dwelling place. The 'holy ground' (v. 5) 'does not become holy because God has appeared to Moses. On

the wilderness, and came to the mountain of God, unto Horeb. | *E*
 2 And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a flame of *J*
 fire out of the midst of a bush : and he looked, and, behold, the
 bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. 3 And
 Moses said, I will turn aside now, and see this great sight, why
 the bush is not burnt. 4 And when the LORD saw that he turned
 aside to see, | God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, *E*

the contrary, the theophany takes place there because it is holy ground. In xix. 4, when Yahweh at Sinai says that He has brought the Israelites unto Himself, the meaning is that He has brought them to the Mount of God and long after the establishment of the Hebrews in Canaan, poets and prophets describe Yahweh, when He comes to help His people, as marching from Sinai in thunder-cloud and storm. This point of view, which in the Old Testament appears only as an occasional survival of primitive thought, corresponds to the ordinary ideas of Semitic heathenism' (W. R. Smith, *RS*² 117 f.).

Horeb is a name employed by E in xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6, and nine times by D. Elsewhere it occurs in 1 K. viii. 9, xix. 8, 2 Ch. v. 10, Ps. cvi. 19, Mal. iv. 4 (iii. 22). The word denotes waste desert land, and may have been applied to a considerable tract of wild country. 'Sinai,' on the other hand, which is used by J and P, appears to be a name for quite a different locality. See pp. cii.—cvi.

2. *the angel of Yahweh*. This is Yahweh Himself, but in the form of a particular manifestation of presence and power. Acts vii. 35. Compare xxxii. 34 with xxxiii. 14 ; and see note on xxiii. 20.

*a bush*¹. A thorn bush, perhaps blackberry. See v. 6.

the bush was burning...was not being consumed. It was a frequent conception among the ancients that the divine presence shewed itself by an appearance of fire. Cf. Homer, *Od.* xix. 39 f.

In patristic writers the thought is met with more than once that the revelation of God in the bush was a type of His revelation under conditions of humanity in the Incarnation (Greg. Nyss. *de Vita Moysis* ; Theodoret, *Quaest. in Ex.*). Keble, *Christian Year*, 5th S. in Lent, finds in the burning bush a symbol of the Jewish race, burnt by the divine wrath ; yet 'God will not quench nor stay them quite.' 'A hopeless faith, a homeless race, Yet seeking the most holy place, And owning the true bliss.'

4a. And Yahweh saw...4b. And God called. The two halves of the verse are not syntactically connected, as in R.V. The variation in the divine title suggests that they are derived from different sources.

¹ A very unnecessary suggestion has been made by some writers that in these verses and Dt. xxxiii. 16 'SINAI' (Sinai) should be read for 'BUSH' (bush). v. 4b, where the word occurs, appears to be the work of E, who never elsewhere uses the name Sinai.

and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. | 5 And he *E J* said, Draw not nigh hither : put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. | 6 Moreover *E* he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face ; for he was afraid to look upon God. | 7 And the LORD said, I *J* have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters ; for I know their sorrows ; 8 and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey ; unto the place of the Canaanite, | and the Hittite, and *R^D*

4 b. *the bush*. *E* has not yet mentioned it ; and the Heb. idiom allows of the rendering a *bush*.

5. *put off thy sandals*. Cf. Jos. v. 15. The custom of removing the sandals on approaching a sacred spot probably arose from the desire to protect the place from dirt, and so from pollution. It has long been a wide-spread practice in the East, both in Semitic and other nations (cf. Justin M. *Apol.* i. 62). The Samaritans do it to-day at their sacred spot on Mt Gerizim (Robinson, *BK* iii. 320), and it is compulsory in every Mohammedan mosque.

6. These words are used by our Lord (Mk. xii. 26 = Lk. xx. 37) to prove to the Sadducees, who clung to the letter of the Law, the truth of the resurrection of the dead. The words 'I am the God, &c.' are true for all time. They imply a personal relation between God and man which carries with it the germ of eternal life. He is the God of the living, not of the dead ; therefore Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are living. S. Luke (not S. Mark) represents our Lord as making Moses the author of the passage ; see pp. ix.—xi. In both gospels the words are said to occur ἐπὶ τοῦ (τῆς) βάρου, 'in the passage (or section) which contains the incident or "the bush."'

7. *their taskmasters ; their oppressors* ; v. 6, 10, 13. Not the same expression as in i. 11.

8. *I am come down*. One of the favourite anthropomorphisms of *J* ; cf. xix. 11, 18, 20, Gen. xi. 5, 7.

honey. Probably includes not only the honey of bees, but also syrups made from various fruits, like the modern *dibs* (the same word as the Heb. *dehash*)—chiefly grape juice, a very sweet dark brown syrup 'used in Palestine by all classes wherever vineyards are found, as a condiment to their food' (*DB* ii. 32^b ; *Enc. B.* ii. 2015 ; Thomson, *L. and B.* i. 279).

the Canaanite. A general term (in *J*) for the native inhabitants of Canaan, for which *E* uses 'Amorite.' The remaining names are probably a Dt. expansion ; cf. v. 17. LXX in both passages adds a

the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the *R^D* Jebusite. | 9 And now, behold, the cry of the children of *E* Israel is come unto me : moreover I have seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them. 10 Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt. 11 And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt? 12 And he said, Certainly I will be with thee ; and this shall be the token unto thee, that I have sent thee : when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain. 13 And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you ; and they shall say to me, What is his name ? what shall I say unto them ? 14 And God said unto Moses, 'I AM THAT I AM : and he said, Thus shalt

¹ Or, *I AM, BECAUSE I AM* Or, *I AM WHO AM*
Or, *I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE*

seventh name 'Girgashites.' Cf. xiii. 5, xxiii. 23, 28, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11. See Driver on Dt. vii. 1.

11. Moses' humble diffidence finds a noble parallel in Jeremiah's shrinking from his difficult life-work (i. 6); and cf. Jud. vi. 15, 1 K. iii. 7. In each case God's servant was taught, like S. Paul, that the divine strength could be made perfect in weakness. See on iv. 13.

12. *I will be with thee.* The same encouragement was given to Moses' successor (Jos. i. 5).

the token unto thee. No other sign is given to Moses for his encouragement. His belief in his own divine mission would be justified and strengthened by his return, with the Israelites, to this very same mountain of God.

14. Whatever may have been the primitive origin of the name Yahweh, which was possibly connected with nature-worship, no trace appears in the Bible of any conception other than that which is here suggested by the philological connexion with the verb '*ehyeh*, 'I will be. The writer seems to have striven to express the thought that the Divine name revealed to Moses was a summing up of the entire Divine character and attributes. These could not be fully understood by any one generation of Israelites, and so God would continually manifest all that He would be to His people. The name contains infinite possibilities of adaptation. He shewed Himself a deliverer in Egypt, a protector in the desert; all the acts of providential mercy by which He made it possible for them to enter Canaan and take firm root there, all His guidance of their national development, all His discipline and punishments, were so many fresh revelations of the

thou say unto the children of Israel, ¹I AM hath sent me unto *E* you. | 15 And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou *R^{JE}* say unto the children of Israel, ²The LORD, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations. | 16 Go, and gather *J* the elders of Israel together, and say unto them, The LORD, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, hath appeared unto me, saying, I have surely visited you, and *seen* that which is done to you in Egypt: 17 and I have said, I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanite, | and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and *R^D* the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, | unto a land *J* flowing with milk and honey. 18 And they shall hearken to

¹ Or, *I WILL BE* Heb. *Ehyeh*. ² Heb. *Jehovah*, from the same root as *Ehyeh*.

meaning of His name—occasions on which He ‘caused His name to be remembered’ (xx. 24). And further, the circumstances of their national life gradually widened and deepened their religious ideas. The ethical teachings of the prophets emphasized His moral purity; their Messianic expectations, the fulfilment of which continually receded into the future, became more spiritualised and the functions of the Messiah became more complex, until the supreme manifestation was vouchsafed in Him in whom dwelt all the Fulness of God, which not only surpassed the conceptions of Israel, but even now has to be gradually apprehended, as the Divine Man continues His self-manifestation through the Holy Spirit in His Body the Church. (See Additional Note.)

15. *my memorial*, i.e. that by which I am remembered; nearly equivalent to ‘My name’; cf. Hos. xii. 6. The two words occur in combination in Is. xxvi. 8, Ps. cxxxv. 13.

16. The command is fulfilled in iv. 29—31.

elders, i.e. Sheikhs. When the Israelites reached Palestine, the governing body of each township consisted of ‘elders’; cf. Jos. xx. 4, Jud. viii. 14, Ruth iv. 2. But in JE they are represented as already in existence in Egypt and in the desert (iv. 29, xix. 7, xxiv. 1, 14, Num. xi. 16). The wisdom and experience of old age was originally that which gave men authority in the tribe. Compare the *Γέροντες* of Homer, the *πρεσβεις* at Sparta, the *Patres* and *Senatus* at Rome. (See Driver on Dt. xix. 12.)

paid attention to you and to *that which is done to you*. The Heb. verb denotes a careful and watchful interest, and is applicable both to persons and things. Cf. 1 Sam. xv. 2.

17. *the Canaanite...&c.* See on v. 8.

thy voice : and thou shalt come, thou and the elders of Israel, *J* unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto him, The LORD, the God of the Hebrews, hath met with us : and now let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the LORD our God. | 19 And I know that the *R^{JE}* king of Egypt will not give you leave to go, no, not by a mighty hand. 20 And I will put forth my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst thereof : and after that he will let you go. | 21 And I will give this people favour *E* in the sight of the Egyptians : and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty : 22 but every

18. *the God of the Hebrews.* v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 1, 13, x. 3 (all *J*) ; a phrase expressive not of monotheism but of monolatry. Yahweh was the God of the Hebrews as distinct from the gods of the Egyptians.

hath met with us. God had not met with the elders as He had with Moses ; but Moses represented the whole people. Cf. Heb. iii. 2-5, where he is not only a servant in God's house (i.e. God's people), but also represents the house itself.

that we may sacrifice. As their God had met them in some outward manifestation, they felt bound to shew their recognition of the fact by making Him an offering.

The 'three days' journey' (a favourite expression in *J*) to some Semitic shrine¹ in the desert was evidently only a prelude to further demands. They could not for a moment expect that Pharaoh would allow it. Contrast vi. 11 (*P*), where the demand for the complete release is made at once.

19. *no, not by a mighty hand.* This appears to mean 'not even in consequence of the mighty powers which Yahweh would put forth.' But Pharaoh, though he resisted Yahweh for a time, yielded at length to the last plague, as indeed is foretold in 20 *b*. The deliverance from Egypt by a 'mighty hand' (cf. vi. 1, xiii. 9, xxxii. 11) is a favourite theme in Dt. (iii. 24, iv. 34, vi. 21, vii. 8, 19, ix. 26, xi. 2, xxvi. 8, xxxiv. 12), and is echoed elsewhere (Ps. cxxxvi. 12, Jer. xxxii. 21, Dan. ix. 15) ; but the expression '*not* by a mighty hand' is unique, and probably corrupt. Perhaps read *except by a mighty hand*, with *LXX*².

22. *every woman shall ask.* See on xii. 36.

her that sojourneth. According to *E*, the Israelites lived among

¹ There were probably several such, where wandering tribes would assemble for religious observances. Sinai, whether placed in the North or the South of the peninsula, would be a journey of much more than three days.

² ἐὰν μὴ = נָלֹ דָנ for נָלֹ. Sam. נָלֹה 'will he not [do it] by a mighty hand?' is awkward.

woman shall ask of her neighbour, and of her that sojourn-*E*
eth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and
raiment: and ye shall put them upon your sons, and
upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians.

the Egyptians, not separate in Goshen. The sojourners would be
either Egyptian friends staying as visitors, or possibly female slaves or
hired servants. Cf. Job xix. 15.

jewels; *articles*: a general term including jewels, vessels and
furniture.

iii. 14. *On the Name Yahweh.*

I am that I am. This and the marginal renderings are all grammatically
possible: also '*I am wont to be that which [or He who] I am wont to be.*'
Whatever the exact rendering should be, the expression is intended by the
writer to stand for an explanation of the name of Israel's God Yahweh. In
the parallel passage (vi. 2 f. P) the name is given without explanation.

(a) It is probable that the name Yahweh was not new to Moses or the
Israelites. An entirely new name would have meant to them an entirely new
god. It is extremely unlikely that the name is of Babylonian origin. If the
supposed traces of it in Babylonian literature are genuine, they only point to
the introduction of foreign (i.e. Western Semitic) cults. Some maintain that
the name is found as an element in early N. Syrian proper names, e.g. Iau-bi'di
(also called Ilu-bi'di; cf. the two names Jeho-iakim and El-iakim applied to
the same person), Azr-iau. See *KAT*² 23 ff., *KAT*³ 465—468. Pinches in
PSBA xv. 1, pp. 1—13. But this only implies that the name became known
to Semitic tribes other than the Israelites. On the suggestions that Moses
learnt it from Jethro the Kenite priest, or that it was a name venerated by
certain Israelite tribes who did not undergo serfdom in Egypt, whether the
Rachel tribes or Moses' own tribe of Levi, it is not necessary to dwell here;
see *Intr.* § 7. But it is a plausible supposition that Moses bound the various
Israelite tribes into a closer unity by leading them to accept a deity who had
previously been known in the region of Sinai, and perhaps recognised by only
a small number of tribes or clans.

(b) The ultimate etymology of the name is quite uncertain. The primary
meaning of *hawah* was perhaps 'to fall' (cf. Job xxxvii. 6 *h'wē*, ? 'fall thou'),
which is found also in Arabic. Hence some explain 'Yahweh' as 'He who
causes rain or lightning to fall'; or 'He who causes to fall (overthrows) by
lightning,' i.e. the Destroyer. In this case Yahweh in primitive Semitic times
would be somewhat equivalent to the Ass. Adad or Ramman. The same
meaning is reached with the simple *Ḳal* voice of the verb, 'He who falls,
or crashes down,' or from an Arab. *hawa*, 'He who blows.' It is quite possible
that the name Yahweh may in the far past have had a physical meaning, and
have been a product of nature-worship.

(c) But, as Prof. Driver (*Genesis*, p. 409) says, 'In regard to both *Yahweh*,
and also 'Ēlōhīm, 'Ēl, it must be remembered that what is of real importance
is not the ultimate etymology of the words, but what they *came actually to*
denote.' But though Hebrew writings tell us much as to the character and
attributes of the Being whom they are used in the Old Testament to denote,

yet the exact meaning which the writer of Ex. iii. 14 attached to the name Yahweh is far from clear.

Yahweh may be considered as (a) the Hiphil (causative) imperf., or (b) the ordinary Kal imperf. of *hawah*¹, 'to be.' From the primary meaning 'to fall' might come that of *fall out, happen, be*.

(a) would express 'He who causes to be'—either the Creator, or the Life-giver (Kuenen, Schrader), or 'He who brings to pass' (cf. 1 K. xiii. 32), the Performer of His promises (Ewald, Marti). But an objection to this is that the Hiphil of יהוה is found only in late Syriac.

(b) A word of the form *Yahweh* would resemble such names as Isaac (Yizhak), Jacob (Ya'akobh), Jephthah (Yiphtah). The Hebrew imperfect denotes either *habitual* action or *future* action (Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, §§ 30—36). The name 'He who is' represents to modern thought the conception of an absolute existence—the unchangeable, self-consistent, absolutely existing One. LXX ὁ ὢν. Cf. Apoc. i. 4, 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5. Graec. Ven. ὄντωντός. And this has been adopted by many writers both in ancient and modern times.

But the early Hebrew mind was essentially practical, not metaphysical. A. B. Davidson (*DB* ii. 199²) says that the verb 'does not mean "to be" essentially or ontologically, but phenomenally.' He explains it as follows: 'it seems evident that in the view of the writer *'shyeh* and *yahweh* are the same: that God is *'shyeh*, "I will be," when speaking of Himself, and *yahweh*, "he will be," when spoken of by others. What He will be is left unexpressed—He will be with them, helper, strengthener, deliverer'; the word is explained by the 'I will be with thee' of v. 12.

Driver (*Stud. Bibl.* i. 1 ff.) interprets it to mean 'He will approve Himself—give evidence of being—assert His being.' So, very similarly, Delitzsch.

Of these interpretations Davidson's is the most attractive. The passage receives a simple and beautiful explanation if the expression 'I will be what I will be' is taken as an instance of the *idem per idem* idiom, which a speaker employs when he does not wish to be explicit (cf. Dt. i. 46, xxix. 16, 1 Sam. xxiii. 13, 2 Sam. xv. 20, 2 K. viii. 1 cited by Driver on the first passage). Moses asked for God's name, i.e. for a description of His nature and character (cf. Gen. xxxii. 29, Jud. xiii. 17 f.); and he was taught that it was impossible to learn this all at once. God would be what He would from time to time prove to be; each age would discover fresh attributes of His Being².

¹ *Hawah* is the normal form in Aramaic and Syriac. But in the Heb. Bible it has been preserved only in six passages: Gen. xxvii. 29 (some foreign influence seems to have been at work, the word יהוה being followed by the unique form יהוה which recurs in v. 37 only), Is. xvi. 4 (it may be a Moabite form), Job xxxvii. 6 (perhaps due to Arabic influence), Neh. vi. 6, Eccl. ii. 22, xi. 3 (Aramaisms. But in the latter passage prob. read יהוה with LXX). It is not impossible, as Kennett suggests, that the narrator of the present passage, who belonged to N. Israel where Aramaean influence was strong, regarded the word *Yahweh* as Aramaic; cf. Dt. xxvi. 5, where an ancestor of an Israelite is described as an Aramaean.

² Several other interpretations have been offered: 'I am who I am'—i.e. it matters not to you to know (Le Clerc, Lagarde). '[My Name is] I am, because I am' (Wellhausen). 'I am who I am'—i.e. he who is unnameable and inexplicable (Dillmann).

The pronunciation Yahweh, on which these interpretations are based, is borne out by the abbreviated form *-yāhu*, with which many proper names are composed, and the still shorter form *Yah* (Ex. xv. 2, xvii. 16)¹. In Samaritan poetry יהיה rhymes with words ending in *-eh*; and Theodoret (*Quaest. in Exod.*) states that the Samaritans pronounced it 'Iaβé. Clem. Al. (*Strom.* v. vi. 34) attests the form 'Iaovai or 'Iaové; and the presence of the five vowels led to their use in various combinations in Jewish-Egyptian magic formulae. In Latin mss *Jeve* occurs, attesting an *e* in the second syllable.

The pronunciation Jēhōvāh is an impossible hybrid, first used, so far as is known, by Petrus Galatinus in 1518 A.D. The Jews had long treated the Name as too sacred to be uttered, in consequence of Ex. xx. 7; and to the consonants JHVH were attached the vowels of 'Ādōnai ('Lord'); or where JHVH was immediately followed by 'Adonai, the vowels of 'Elōhīm. The former occurs 6518 times in the Bible, the latter 305.

Instead of the Divine Name the word *Hashshem* ('the Name') was often used (cf. Lv. xxiv. 11).

The following English works contain all that is important to know on the subject: Art. 'Names' (Kautzsch) in *Enc. B.*, 'God' (Davidson) in *DB*, Driver (*Studia Biblica*, Oxf. 1885; and *Genesis*, Excursus I), Spurrell (*Notes on the Heb. text of Genesis*, Excursus), *BDB*, s.v. יהיה, 217—219.

CHAPTER IV.

Signs given to Moses by which to persuade the Israelites; Aaron to help him; their return.

IV. 1 And Moses answered and said, But, behold, they *J* will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The LORD hath not appeared unto thee. 2 And the LORD said unto him, What is that in thine hand? And he said, A rod. 3 And he said, Cast it on the ground. And he cast it on the ground, and it became a ¹serpent; and Moses fled from before it. 4 And the LORD said unto Moses, Put forth

¹ Heb. *nahash*.

IV. 1. Moses takes up Yahweh's words in iii. 18 and ventures to contradict them. The fear of men overrides the fear of God.

2. *A rod; a staff.* The shepherd's staff or crook which Moses carried.

3—5. Only one sign is to be performed with the staff; in v. 17 (E) more than one. In vii. 8—12 (P) the sign is performed, not before the Israelites, but in Pharaoh's court; and the word rendered 'serpent' is different.

4. The insertion of the parentheses here and in v. 7 is somewhat awkward, and may be due to condensation of the original narrative.

¹ In an Aramaic papyrus a pr. name יהיהרר ('Yah my glory') occurs (*PSBA* 1903, p. 208).

thine hand, and take it by the tail : (and he put forth his hand, *J* and laid hold of it, and it became a rod in his hand :) 5 that they may believe that the LORD, the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath appeared unto thee. 6 And the LORD said furthermore unto him, Put now thine hand into thy bosom. And he put his hand into his bosom : and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous, as *white as snow*. 7 And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom again. (And he put his hand into his bosom again ; and when he took it out of his bosom, behold, it was turned again as his *other* flesh.) 8 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign. 9 And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe even these two signs, neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land : and the water which thou takest out of the river shall become blood upon the dry land. 10 And Moses said unto the LORD, Oh Lord, I am not ¹eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant : for I

¹ Heb. *a man of words*.

6. *as snow*. Cf. Num. xii. 10, 2 K. v. 27.

This may have been the origin of the tradition combated by Josephus (*Ant.* III. xi. 4) that Moses was a leper who led out of Egypt a large number of those who suffered from the same malady, Egyptians and Hebrews together (see *c. Ap.* i. 26, 32, 34, where the tradition is cited, in different forms, from Manetho, Chaeremon and Lysimachus).

8. *the voice*. The purport, the lesson conveyed by the sign.

9. In vii. 14—25 (E and P) this sign is not performed before the Israelites, but is the first of the plagues.

10. *Oh Lord ; I pray thee my Lord*. The word is 'Adonai,' not Yahweh. The particle of entreaty¹, always followed by 'my Lord,' is used in addressing both God (*v.* 13, Jos. vii. 8, Jud. vi. 15, xiii. 8) and men (Gen. xliii. 20, Num. xii. 11, 1 K. iii. 17, 26).

heretofore, nor since &c. A free rendering of the Heb. idiom². In spite of the present passage S. Stephen (Acts vii. 22), Josephus and

¹ Strictly a substantive, 'a petition.'

² Lit. 'both yesterday and the third day and from the time of thy speaking.' **IND** usually occurs with a finite verb ; with a substantive, Ps. lxxvi. 8 (7), Ruth ii. 7 ; only here with an infinitive.

am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. 11 And the LORD *J* said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh a man dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? is it not I the LORD? 12 Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt speak. | 13 And he said, Oh Lord, send, I *R^{JE}* pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send. 14 And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Moses, and he said, Is there not Aaron thy brother the Levite? I know that he can

Philo represent Moses as eloquent, according to the later Jewish traditions.

11. Who hath appointed a mouth for man? or who appointeth¹ a man dumb &c. It is difficult to express the exact force of the words. It is not merely that God renders a man dumb &c. when He pleases, but that He 'places' in the world a dumb man or deaf &c., according to a divine predetermination.

Theodoret (*Quaest. in Ex.*) asks, 'When the God of all things used Moses as His minister, why did He form him a man of stammering speech and slow of tongue?' And his answer is, 'Because this displayed all the more His divine power. For just as He chose fishermen and tax-gatherers and cobblers to be preachers of truth and teachers of piety, so by means of a weak voice and slow tongue He put to shame the wise men of Egypt.' See 1 Cor. i. 26—ii. 5.

seeing. Lit. 'open-eyed'; xxiii. 8 †. All the four adjectives, or verbal nouns, are of the same form, one which is frequently found with the connotation of fault or defect (Ges. K. § 84 *b, d*). But it is strange to meet, in this group, with a word denoting a virtue or excellence—the only such word formed in this manner from the Piel (intensive) voice of the verb. It is therefore probable that פָּקַח 'open-eyed' should be read פָּסַח 'lame.' *Lame* and *blind* occur closely connected in several passages: Lev. xxi. 18, Dt. xv. 21, 2 S. v. 6, 8, Jer. xxxi. 8, Mal. i. 8, Job xxix. 15.

13. *Oh Lord.* The expression is the same as in *v.* 10, which contains *J*'s account of Moses' diffidence; iii. 11 is that of *E*, and now in this verse it is again related by a compiler. Having before him the two preceding accounts, he represents *Yahweh* as being angry with Moses for his reiterated resistance to encouragement. But this view of Moses' action was a mistaken one if the accounts are really parallel statements from different sources.

him whom² thou wilt send; i.e. anyone but myself.

14. Moses, like Barak (Jud. iv. 9), is deprived of the glory of being the sole instrument of Israel's deliverance.

Aaron thy brother. See on ii. 1.

¹ פָּקַח for פָּשַׁח is unique in the O.T.

² For the suppression of the pronoun in בִּיד תִּשְׁלַח cf. Ps. lxxxi. 6, cxli. 9.

speak well. And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: *R^B* and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart. 15 And thou shalt speak unto him, and put the words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do. 16 And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and it shall come to pass, that he shall be to thee a mouth, and thou shalt be to him as God. | 17 And thou shalt *E* take in thine hand this rod, wherewith thou shalt do the signs.

18 And Moses went and returned to ¹Jethro his father in law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive. And Jethro said to Moses, Go in peace. | 19 And the *J* LORD said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life. 20 And Moses took his

¹ Heb. *Jether*.

the Levite. To tell Moses to what tribe his own brother (or half-brother) belonged would be quite superfluous. 'Levite' evidently does not mean 'descendant from the tribal ancestor Levi.' The whole history of the Levites tends to shew that—whatever its original derivation—the term came to be used as an official title for one who had received the training of a priest, regardless of the tribe of which he was a member by birth. The present passage appears to be a later insertion, dating from a time when the ancestry of every member of the priestly profession was traced to Levi, but earlier than the time when a 'Levite' had become inferior to a 'priest.' See pp. lxvi.—lxx. and *ZATW* 1906, 201—230.

that he can speak well; that he will certainly speak. He will be quite ready to act as spokesman.

16. *as God.* A human representative of divine power and authority (cf. Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6), or perhaps the human instrument inspired by the divine Agent; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 15—13.

17. *this staff.* In v. 20 it is called 'the staff of God,' i.e. apparently a staff given to Moses by God. This mysterious nature of the staff is not recognised by *J* (v. 2).

18. *Jethro.* Heb. *Jether*, a form of the name not found elsewhere; a similar variety is seen in Geshem and Gashmu (Neh. vi. 1 f., 6).

whether they be yet alive. This seems to bear out *E*'s representation in i. 15—20 a, 21 that the Israelites were few in number when Moses was in Egypt.

19, 20. These verses, to the words 'land of Egypt,' should probably follow ii. 23a; see analysis. Matt. ii. 20 affords an interesting parallel to v. 19, and is perhaps a conscious reminiscence of it.

his sons. Mention has hitherto been made of one son only (ii. 22); and vv. 24—26 certainly seem to imply that Moses was travelling with

wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass, and he returned to *J* the land of Egypt : | and Moses took the rod of God in his hand. | *E*
 21 And the LORD said unto Moses, When thou goest back into *R^{JE}* Egypt, see that thou do before Pharaoh all the wonders which I have put in thine hand : but I will ¹harden his heart, and he will not let the people go. 22 And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD, Israel is my son, my firstborn : 23 and I have said unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me ; and thou hast refused to let him go : behold, I will slay thy son, thy firstborn. | 24 And it came to pass on the way at the lodging *J* place, that the LORD met him, and sought to kill him. 25 Then Zipporah took a flint, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and ²cast it at his feet ; and she said, Surely a bridegroom of blood

¹ Heb. *make strong*.² Heb. *made it touch*.

his only son. The plural 'sons' must be the work of a harmonizer, in consequence of the mention of two sons in xviii. 5 f.

22. *my firstborn*. One for whom God feels the deep love that a father feels for his firstborn. Jer. xxxi. 9 of Ephraim, Ps. lxxxix. 26 f. (27 f.) of the Davidic king ; see also Hos. xi. 1, Wisd. xviii. 13, Col. i. 15, 18, Heb. i. 6. In the days when Yahweh was considered to be the God of Israel alone, His firstborn was also His only son. But when the principle of true monotheism was learnt, the title was realised to mean the firstborn among the nations, all of whom could be permitted to acknowledge the divine Fatherhood ; so that through Israel Yahweh might 'bring many sons unto glory.'

23. The verse probably belongs to the time immediately preceding the last plague (see analysis).

24—26 should probably be placed (together with 19, 20*a*) after ii. 23*a* (see analysis). The incident will then fall soon after Moses left Midian.

The narrative in these three verses appears, from its contents, to be one of the oldest portions of the Bible. Its antiquity is shewn by the use of the flint knife, and by the part which circumcision plays according to the belief of the actors.

24. *sought to kill him*. A primitive anthropomorphic way of saying that Moses fell dangerously ill.

25. *cast it at his feet ; made it touch¹ his feet*. The usual periphrasis for the *pudenda*.

bridegroom. Heb. *hāthān*, a marriage relative, a son-in-law, corresponding to the participial form *hōthān*, a father-in-law. Both words are derived from a root which in Arab. signifies 'to circumcise'—a fact which has a special bearing on the present story. See addit. note. LXX preserves a different form of the latter part of the verse : 'and

¹ Theod. Symm. Vg. 'she touched.'

art thou to me. 26 So he let him alone. Then she said, ¹A *J* bridegroom of blood *art thou*, because of the circumcision.

27 And the LORD said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to *E* meet Moses. And he went, and met him in the mountain of God, and kissed him. 28 And Moses told Aaron all the words of the LORD wherewith he had sent him, and all the signs wherewith he had charged him. | 29 And Moses and Aaron *J* went and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel: 30 and Aaron spake all the words which the LORD had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. 31 And the people believed: and when they heard that the

¹ Or, *A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision*

she fell at [his] feet and said, The blood of my child's circumcision is stayed.'

26. *So he let him alone.* Zipporah's action appeased Yahweh, and He allowed Moses to recover.

Then she said.... The account is so fragmentary that it is difficult to see the force of the word 'then.' The sentence seems to contain the narrator's explanation of Zipporah's words: She said 'a *hāthān* of blood' with reference to the act of circumcision which she had just performed.

27, 28. The continuation of 17, 18.

27. *the mountain of God*, i.e. Horeb, where God had previously appeared to him (see on iii. 1).

29—31. The fulfilment of the commands in iii. 16, iv. 2—9.

29. *And Moses and Aaron went; And Moses went [and Aaron].* There is much evidence to support the view, now held by a large consensus of critics, that Aaron did not originally hold in the *J* narrative the leading position which is assigned to him in *E*, but that a harmonizer has, throughout the story of the deliverance, introduced Aaron into the narrative of *J*, making, in some cases, but not in all, the small grammatical changes that were necessary. Here and in viii. 12 (Heb. 8) 'and Aaron' is added after a *singular* verb which originally belonged to Moses alone. This arrangement of words is, indeed, not without parallel; but there are other indications pointing the same way. In viii. 25 Pharaoh called for 'Moses and Aaron,' but in v. 30 *only Moses* went out from his presence; similarly in x. 3, 6 and 16, 18. It is to be noticed further that with one exception Aaron, in *J*'s narrative, takes absolutely no part either in speaking to Pharaoh or in bringing the plagues: his name is inserted as being in Moses' company, but he remains a mere name. The one exception is the present passage—'and Aaron spake...and did the signs' (v. 30). His introduction into the narrative causes a serious difficulty, for Yahweh never commanded him to do the signs; 'and [he] did the signs' clearly refers to Moses.

LORD had visited the children of Israel, and that he had seen *J* their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped.

31. *and when they heard.* LXX ἐχάρη = ושמחו ('and they rejoiced') for ושמחו, which was perhaps the original reading.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CIRCUMCISION.

The rite of circumcision was by no means confined to the Hebrews. Edom, Ammon and Moab were all circumcised (Jer. ix. 25). The Egyptians practised it at least as early as the period of the Israelite oppression, and indeed in the 4th dynasty (3998—3721 Petrie). See Ebers, *Aeg. und Buch. Moses*, i. 283, Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 32 f., 539; cf. also Josh. v. 9. The ceremony belonged, and still belongs, to widely remote peoples—Arabians and Colchians in Asia, Abyssinians and some other tribes in Africa, certain Polynesian tribes, and some in New South Wales and in North and South America (Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauche u. Sitte der Völker*⁽²⁾, i. 342 f.). The Babylonians and Assyrians were the principal Semitic peoples who did not practise it; and profound contempt was felt in Palestine for the 'uncircumcised Philistine' (1 Sam. xvii. 26, 36, 2 Sam. i. 20). This wide diffusion shews that the custom is of extreme antiquity. Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, 201—206) maintains that its origin was not religious. At any rate it became a religious custom at a very early date. In many primitive nations the members of a tribe had a special mark, e.g. tattooing, cutting off a finger joint, filing or chiselling out of teeth, and other forms of mutilation; and among these must be reckoned circumcision. It either was originally, or came to be, of the nature of a blood-offering. Everyone who bore this mark was a worshipper of a common deity; and those who intermarried with the tribe would adopt the same mark (cf. Gen. xxxiv.). In most cases the ceremony was performed when a youth reached the age of manhood. It brought him into full possession of tribal privileges, and in particular it gave him the right to marry. At this point the story of Moses becomes clearer. Moses had, apparently, not been circumcised previously to his marriage; and his sudden illness is ascribed to Yahweh's anger at the omission. By circumcising the infant instead of Moses, and touching Moses with the blood, Zippōrah symbolically brought her husband into the state which Yahweh was supposed to require¹; he became a 'bridegroom of blood.' (For a somewhat different view of the passage see H. P. Smith in *JBL*, vol. xxv. (1906), Pt 1, where he cites parallels for the sacredness and special virtue attaching to the blood of circumcision.)

It is possible that this story (which is of course far older than Gen. xvii.) was considered as relating the origin of infant circumcision. But W. R. Smith (*Rel. Sem.*² 328) shews that the practice of circumcising infants would, at an early stage, arise naturally. He states generally, what is true in particular of circumcision, that when a rite 'loses its political significance and becomes

¹ It is perhaps fanciful to explain the unique plural מִצְדָּתָא (v. 26) of this double circumcision, actual in the case of the child and symbolical in the case of Moses.

purely religious, it is not necessary that it should be deferred to the age of full manhood; indeed the natural tendency of pious parents will be to dedicate their child as early as possible to the god who is to be his protector through life.' Gen. xvii. 10-14, 24-27 (P) correctly represents an ancient practice, in relating that Abraham sealed a covenant with God by circumcising himself and his sons and servants, Ishmael being 13 years old and Isaac eight days. And on this was based the later Jewish regulation of circumcision on the eighth day. From the religious tribal aspect of the rite, the rule naturally arose that no one who was uncircumcised might partake of the Passover (Ex. xii. 44, 48 P). No mention is made of circumcision in the older Hebrew laws, and the prophets before the exile laid no stress on the ceremony as being any part of true righteousness. It is mentioned in Dt. x. 16, xxx. 6, Jer. iv. 4, ix. 26 (25) only to emphasize the importance of being circumcised *in heart*. This thought seems to have arisen from the idea of ceremonial cleanness which had attached itself to the rite. Compare the expressions 'uncircumcised lips' (Ex. vi. 12, 30), 'hearts' (Lev. xxvi. 41, Ez. xlv. 7), 'ear' (Jer. vi. 10), 'heart and ears' (Acts vii. 51). See also Rom. ii. 29, Col. ii. 11.

The subject may be studied in art. 'Circumcision' in *DB* and *Enc. Bibl.*, Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 343, *ZATW* 1886, 135 ff., *AJSL* 1906, 249 ff., W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*² 328, Herod. ii. 36, 37, Philo, *De Circumc.* ii. 210 (Mangey).

In the early years of the Christian Church it became a burning question whether Gentile converts should be circumcised, and the question was decided in the negative. The passages which deal with the subject are Acts xv. 1-29, xxi. 21, Rom. ii. 25-iv. 12, 1 Cor. vii. 19, Gal. v. 2-12, vi. 12-16, Phil. iii. 3, Col. iii. 11.

CHAPTER V.—VI. 1.

The unsuccessful demand to Pharaoh.

V. 1 And afterward Moses and Aaron came, and said *E* unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness. **2** And Pharaoh said, Who is the LORD, that I should hearken unto his voice to let Israel go? I know not the LORD, and moreover I will not let Israel go. | **3** And they said, *J* The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us go, we pray

V. 1. *a feast*; Heb. *hag*, i.e. a pilgrimage for worship at a shrine, where pilgrims took part in processions, dancing and feasting. The Arab. *haj* is still used of the pilgrimage to Mecca: *hag* is also found in Sabaeen inscriptions. After the arrival in Palestine such pilgrimages were observed at the local sanctuaries three times in the year. See xxiii. 14 ff.

3. *with the sword*, i.e. by sending armies against us. The Israelites in Goshen were liable to attacks from desert tribes.

thee, three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice unto *J* the LORD our God; lest he fall upon us with pestilence, or with the sword. | 4 And the king of Egypt said unto them, Where- *E* fore do ye, Moses and Aaron, loose the people from their works? get you unto your burdens. | 5 And Pharaoh said, Behold, the *J* people of the land are now many, and ye make them rest from their burdens. 6 And the same day Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying, 7 Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore:

4. *get you unto your burdens.* Pharaoh knew nothing of Moses and Aaron, and thought they had left their labours to present their petition. Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 300) shews that Ramses II was frequently waylaid by private persons who had grievances.

5. The taskmasters (or 'oppressors,' *vv.* 10, 13, *iii.* 7) were Egyptians appointed by Pharaoh; the 'officers' were Israelites in subordinate positions of authority over their fellow-countrymen, and appointed (*v.* 14) by the taskmasters.

The word 'officers,' *shōt'rīm*, is from a root which, in Ass. Aram. Arab. Syr., means primarily 'to set, or arrange, in order,' and hence 'to write'; it is here rendered 'scribes' in LXX and Pesh. The *shōt'rīm* were minor officials whose duties of general superintendence probably included that of keeping written accounts of the work done, and of marking the daily attendance of the labourers. When used in a military connexion they would be 'muster officers'; cf. the *sōphēr* of Jud. v. 14. The two words are combined in 2 Chr. xxvi. 11. See a fuller note in Driver, *Deut.* p. 17.

6. The process of brick-making is illustrated in Egyptian wall-pictures, of which the most famous is that at Thebes which represents (as the accompanying inscription states) 'captives brought by the king for work on the temple of Amon.'

The black Nile mud was dug up, and carried in baskets to the moulding ground; sometimes sand was mixed with it, and *tibu* (Heb. *tebhen*), i.e. chopped straw and chaff. The *tibu* bound the mud closely together and prevented it from cracking. This mixture was brought to the required consistency by means of water, and poured into a wooden mould or frame¹. The frame being then lifted up, an oblong heap of mud was left to dry in the sun. The moulding ground would be filled with rows of such heaps. Bricks of sun-dried mud were used in Babylonia and Egypt for every kind of building—even for some of the smaller pyramids. Burnt bricks were rare, and in Egypt are not found till the Roman period.

It is possible that the sympathies of the writer made him exaggerate the hardships to which the Hebrews were subjected. The *tibu*

¹ An illustration of an Egyptian mould of the 18th dynasty is given in art. 'Brick' in *DB*.

let them go and gather straw for themselves. 8 And the tale *J* of the bricks, which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish aught thereof: for they be idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go and sacrifice to our God. 9 Let heavier work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein; and let them not regard lying words. 10 And the taskmasters of the people went out, and their officers, and they spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh, I will not give you straw. 11 Go yourselves, get you straw where ye can find it: for nought of your work shall be diminished. 12 So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble for straw. 13 And the taskmasters were urgent, saying, Fulfil your works, *your* daily tasks, as when there was straw. 14 And the officers of the children of Israel,

was valuable fodder, and if, in any year, it were rather scarce, it would be very expensive to supply it for brick-making. Bricks were often made with waste stubble, or with no vegetable binding at all. The gathering of stubble would increase the work, but it was at least a common occurrence. Apart from the hardships attaching to all slavery, Num. xi. 5 shews that the Hebrews were on the whole well treated.

8. *the tale*; an archaism; *the weight or amount*. xxx. 37 (R.V. 'composition'), Ez. xlv. 11, 2 Chr. xxiv. 13. A shorter form is used in v. 18.

9. *heavier*; heavy. Pharaoh expresses a general principle, that if the Israelites are treated leniently they will grow idle and rebellious.

labour therein: lit. 'do therein'—a doubtful expression. For *וַיֵּצְאוּ* LXX Sam. Pesh. read *וַיֵּצְאוּ*, which occurs in the following clause. Render 'that they may attend to it, and not attend to lying words.' Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, Is. xvii. 7, 8.

10. *went out*. It is improbable that the taskmasters, and still more the subordinate Israelite officials, went into Pharaoh's presence. The command would reach them through the superintendent of the whole building operations. It is likely, therefore, that the LXX is right in reading *וַיֵּצְאוּ* 'and they were urgent,' the verb of which the participle is used in v. 13.

11. *for nought*... In the present position of the sentence the word 'for' does not supply a logical sequence. If the clause is not due to later expansion, it should perhaps be transposed to follow v. 13.

13. *your daily tasks*; a day's quota each day. v. 19, xvi. 4, Lev. xxiii. 37.

14. *your task*; *your prescribed portion*, different from the word in v. 13. It is used for a prescribed portion of food in Gen. xlvii. 22 (J), Prov. xxxi. 15 (R.V. 'task').

which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, *J*¹ and demanded, Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task both yesterday and to-day, in making brick as heretofore? 15 Then the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants? 16 There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people. 17 But he said, Ye are idle, ye are idle: therefore ye say, Let us go and sacrifice to the LORD. 18 Go therefore now, and work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks. 19 And the officers of the children of Israel did see that they² were in evil case, when it was said, Ye shall not minish aught from your bricks, *your* daily tasks. 20 And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh: 21 and they said unto them, The LORD look upon you, and judge; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us. 22 And Moses returned unto the LORD,

¹ Heb. *saying*.² Or, *were set on mischief, when they said*

16. *the fault is in thine own people.* This rendering cannot be legitimately drawn from the Hebrew; nor is it true to fact, for Pharaoh was to blame, not his people. The text as it stands (אָמַרְתָּ אֶל עַמְּךָ) is untranslatable. Read either אָמַרְתָּ לְעַמְּךָ 'and thou shalt sin against thy people' (with LXX Pesh.), or אָמַרְתָּ אֶל עַמְּךָ 'and what is the sin of thy people?' (Dillm.)¹.

19. *when it was said,* lit. in saying, i.e. in being obliged to say. The Israelite officers were compelled to give the stern order to their fellow-countrymen, and felt the position acutely.

20. *who stood in the way;* stationing themselves to meet them. It was the officers who took their stand to waylay Moses and Aaron.

21. *made our savour to be abhorred;* the English idiom would be 'Ye have brought us into bad odour with.' Gen. xxxiv. 30, 1 Sam. xiii. 4, xxvii. 12, 2 Sam. x. 6, xvi. 21.

their hand; probably read his hand, with LXX Sam.

22. *returned;* the expression is beautiful in its simplicity, implying his constant communion with Yahweh.

¹ Symm. read אָמַרְתָּ אֶל עַמְּךָ 'but the fault is with thee.' This has the advantage of altering only the vowel points. But it is unlikely that the enslaved Israelites would say such a thing to Pharaoh.

and said, Lord, wherefore hast thou evil entreated this people? *J* why is it that thou hast sent me? 23 For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath evil entreated this people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all. **VI. 1** And the LORD said unto Moses, Now shalt thou see what I will do to Pharaoh: for by a strong hand shall he let them go, and by a strong hand shall he drive them out of his land.

2 And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am *P* JEHOVAH: 3 and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as ¹God Almighty, but ²by my name JEHOVAH

¹ Heb. *El Shaddai*.

² Or, *as to*

VI. 1. *by a strong hand*, i.e. in consequence of the working of a mighty power. See on iii. 19. The confidence that help will be given at the darkest hour of need is well expressed in the Jewish proverb 'When the tale of bricks is doubled, then comes Moses.'

CHAPTER VI. 2—VII. 7.

The call of Moses; the families of Reuben, Simeon and Levi; Aaron to be Moses' helper.

The narrative travels again over the period covered by ii. 23—vi. 1. The priestly writer, however, makes no mention of Midian, and appears to hold that the Divine revelation to Moses was made in Egypt. Cf. v. 28.

VI. 2. *I am Yahweh*. A formula very frequent in the Holiness legislation (Driver, *LOT*⁶, p. 49). Here, however, it is not a mere formula, but a specific statement, parallel to iii. 14, revealing the Name for the first time.

3. The marginal renderings are all to be preferred. In the last clause, however, LXX reads 'אֲנִי יְהוָה וְשֵׁם יְהוָה לֹא יָדָעוּ, 'and my name Yahweh I did not make known to them'—which is simpler.

God Almighty. Heb. 'El Shaddai. See addit. note.

A signal instance of the gradual way in which God leads his people into a fuller understanding of His word is afforded by the fact that it is only in the last 150 years that the attention of students has been arrested by these verses. How is it that though God here says that up to this point His name Yahweh has not been known, yet in the book of Genesis the patriarchs appear to know it well and use it freely? The question cannot be answered except by the recognition that varying traditions have been incorporated from different sources.

I was not ¹known to them. 4 And I have also established my *P* covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. 5 And moreover I have heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant. 6 Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am Jehovah, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage, and I will redeem you with a stretched out arm, and with great judgements: 7 and I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians. 8 And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning which I lifted up my hand to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an heritage: I am Jehovah. 9 And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for ²anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.

¹ Or, *made known*² Or, *impatience* Heb. *shortness of spirit*.

A useful account of the early stages of Old Testament criticism is given in *The Hexateuch* (ed. by Carpenter and Battersby), vol. i. ch. v.

4. *And I also established.* This was Yahweh's second reason for appearing to the patriarchs, the first being to reveal Himself as El Shaddai. *P* makes the covenant with Abraham the basis of the whole subsequent history.

The expression 'establish a covenant' is peculiar to *P* (except Ez. xvi. 60, 62) who never uses the ordinary כרת 'cut a covenant.' (See note at the end of ch. xxiv.)

sojournings. They had been living as *gêrim*, new comers with no ancestral rights in the land.

6. *I am Yahweh.* Repeat to the people the revelation you have just received.

redeem. The word נאל occurs not infrequently with the meaning 'deliver,' with no thought of a price paid. It is used of the exodus in xv. 13, Ps. lxxiv. 2, lxxvii. 15 (16), lxxviii. 35, cvi. 10; of the second exodus, the return from Babylon, frequently in Is. xli. and onwards; and generally of deliverance from death, oppression, &c. And similarly the synonymous פרה 'ransom.' See Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 295 ff., on λυτρον and its cognates.

8. To lift the hand is a gesture accompanying an oath. xvii. 16, Gen. xiv. 22, Num. xiv. 30, Dt. xxxii. 40. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* xii. 196: 'tenditque ad sidera dextram.'

I am Yahweh. The expression is here a mere formula; see on v. 2.

10 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 11 Go in, speak *P* unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land. 12 And Moses spake before the LORD, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who am of uncircumcised lips? | 13 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto *R^P* Aaron, and gave them a charge unto the children of Israel, and unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.

14 These are the heads of their fathers' houses: the sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoah, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: these are the families of Reuben. 15 And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: these are the families of Simeon. 16 And these are the names of the sons of Levi according to their generations; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari: and the years of the life of Levi were an hundred thirty and seven years. 17 The sons of Gershon; Libni and Shimei, according to their families. 18 And the sons of Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel: and the years of the life of Kohath were an hundred thirty and three years. 19 And the sons of Merari; Mahli and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites according to their generations. 20 And Amram took him Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him Aaron and Moses: and the years of the life

12. *uncircumcised lips*. See note after iv. 31.

14—27. The list of names purports to contain the chiefs of the families whom Moses brought out of Egypt. The writer follows the order of i. 2, Gen. xxxv. 23 as far as Levi, but this tribe usurps all his interest, and he proceeds to give a genealogical tree of Moses and Aaron, who appear as great-grandsons of Levi through Amram and Kohath; he also gives the names of the rest of the Kohathite clan, and of Aaron's sons, and one grandson Phinehas. The selection of names is dominated by Moses and the family of Aaron.

14. *fathers' houses*; a technical expression for 'families' or 'clans'; cf. xii. 3. It occurs 79 times in P and Chr.

15. The Shaul branch of the Simeonites had an admixture of Canaanite blood, as was the case with the family of Judah; see Gen. xxxviii. 2 and Driver's note.

20. *Jochebed*. See note on ii. 1.

of Amram were an hundred and thirty and seven years. 21 And *R* the sons of Izhar; Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri. 22 And the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Sithri. 23 And Aaron took him Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of Nahshon, to wife; and she bare him Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. 24 And the sons of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph; these are the families of the Korahites. 25 And Eleazar Aaron's son took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and she bare him Phinehas. These are the heads of the fathers' *houses* of the Levites according to their families. 26 These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom the LORD said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their hosts. 27 These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron.

28 And it came to pass on the day when the LORD spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt, 29 that the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, I am the LORD: speak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I speak unto thee. 30 And Moses said before the LORD, Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me? | **VII.** 1 And the LORD said *P*

23. *Nahshon*, a descendant in the fifth generation from Judah (1 Chr. ii. 10), and a prince of Judah (Num. i. 7, ii. 3 *al.*), an ancestor of David (1 Chr. ii. 11, Ruth iv. 20) and of Jesus (Mt. i. 4, Lk. iii. 32).

Nadab and Abihu. See note on xxiv. 1 (J). The names of Aaron's four sons occur in xxviii. 1, Lev. x. 1, 6, Num. iii. 4, xxvi. 60 (all P). In the priestly traditions the two former died for offering strange fire, and the two latter, Eleazar and Ithamar, became chiefs of Levitical families, Eleazar succeeding his father as high priest.

25. *Putiel*. Probably formed by adding *El* (God) to an Egyptian word. On the analogy of Potipherah (Petepre) it will mean 'He whom El hath given.' Cf. Pedubaste (which appears in an inscription of Asshur-bani-pal as Putubasti), Petisis, Petosiris.

Phinehas. The name is thought to be of Egyptian origin, 'the child of dark complexion.' See art. 'Phinehas' §2, in *Enc. B.*

26. Aaron precedes Moses, as having been the principal name in the foregoing list; in the following verse the usual order is employed.

28-30. A compiler, after the interposed list of names, resumes the narrative by repeating the substance of *vv.* 2-12.

VII. 1. *a god to Pharaoh*. In iv. 16 (E) Moses is to be as a god to Aaron.

unto Moses, See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh: and *P* Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet. 2 Thou shalt speak all that I command thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land. 3 And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt. 4 But Pharaoh will not hearken unto you, and I will lay my hand upon Egypt, and bring forth my hosts, my people the children of Israel, out of the land of Egypt by great judgements. 5 And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel from among them. 6 And Moses and Aaron did so; as the LORD commanded them, so did they. 7 And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.

2. *Thou shalt speak*, i.e. to Aaron. LXX adds *αὐτῷ*.

6. The form of the sentence, especially the addition 'so did they,' is peculiarly characteristic of P.

7. See note on ii. 1.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Eloah, Elohim, El, Shaddai.

'*Elōah* occurs 51 times as a name of God. It is an ancient form occurring in Dt. xxxii. 15, 17, Ps. xviii. 32; and on the basis of these it is used as an archaism in later poetry (41 times in Job), once in late prose of an elevated character, Neh. ix. 17. It is used of heathen gods six times in late passages¹. It is either the original singular from which the far commoner plural '*Ēlōhīm* was formed, or more probably (Nestle, Baethgen) a singular inferred from the plural form. The corresponding forms in Aram. Syr. and Arab. are '*ilāh*, '*alāhā*, and '*ilāh*²; and it occurs in Sabaeen and other S. Arabian inscriptions (D. H. Müller, Orient. Congress, Leiden, 1883).

'*Ēlōhīm* occurs 2570 times, with or without the article ('*Ēlōah* never has the article). The plural seems to be the plural of majesty or dignity (as

¹ 'In Aram., Arab. and Eth. it occurs only in proper names—often in Aram., rarely in Arab. and Eth.; chiefly in the half-Aramaic, half-Arabic, Nabataean inscriptions of 1 cent. B.C.—3 cent. A.D. In the time of Mohammed '*El* was an unknown word to the Arabs. Comp. the Biblical names from places E. or S.E. of Palestine, the Aramaean Kemu'el, Bethu'el (Gen. xxii. 21, 22), Elyada' (1 K. xi. 23), and Hazael; Ishmael and Adbe'el (Gen. xxv. 13); the Midianite Elda'ah (xxv. 4) and Re'u'el (Ex. ii. 18); and the Edomite Eliphaz, Re'u'el, Mehetab'el and Magdi'el (Gen. xxxvi. 4, 39, 43).' Driver, *Genesis*, p. 403.

² '*Allah* is '*ilāh* with the article, a contraction of *al-'ilāh*.

in 'Ādōnim 'Lord,' 'Master'), and with very few exceptions it is used with a singular verb or adjective. It is, however, frequently a real plural when employed to denote heathen deities. Its derivation is quite uncertain. Lane (*Arab. Lexic.* p. 82) suggests that it is derived from an old Bedawin word 'aliha, 'to go to and fro in fear,' which is followed by the preposition 'to,' with the meaning 'to betake oneself to a person for protection.' Cf. Hos. iii. 5 לַאֲדֹנָי, R.V. 'and shall come with fear unto.' 'Ēlohīm ('Ēloah) might then mean One to whom men flee for help or protection. Less probably 'an object of fear'; cf. Gen. xxxi. 42, 53 'the Fear' of Isaac.' There is a cognate form waliha 'to fear'; Kautzsch, however, suggests that both this and 'aliha are denominatives from 'ilah. Ewald assumes a root אִלַּה ('alah), a by-form of אִלַּה, to which he assigns the meaning 'be strong.' But both root and meaning are purely conjectural. Dillmann and Nestle hold that 'Ēlohīm is a form expanded from 'Ēl, on the analogy of 'āmāhōth (from 'amah) 'maidens,' and the Syr. shēmāhān 'names.' It is an objection to the theory, however, that all these are feminine forms.

'Ēl occurs as a divine appellative 217 times—sometimes with the article. It is also frequent in the composition of proper names—e.g. Israel, Bethel, Elijah, Elisha. It is found chiefly in poetry (most frequently in the Psalms, Job and Isaiah, but occasionally in other prophets and in poetical passages in the historical books), but also, rarely, in prose, and that prose of the more elevated type, and mostly with some epithet attached to it, as 'God most High' (Gen. xiv. 18, 19, 20, 22), 'God everlasting' (xxi. 33). The forms 'Ēl (and 'Elon) in Phoen. and Ilu in Ass. are the ordinary words for 'God' in those languages. In S. Arabian dialects it is very common in proper names, but by itself is not so common as 'ilah.

'Ēl occurs in Exodus (excluding proper names) as follows:

אל שרִי 'God Almighty,' vi. 3.

אֱלִי 'my God,' xv. 3. (The plural of heathen gods occurs in v. 11.)

אל קנא 'a jealous God,' xx. 5, xxxiv. 14 b (in v. a אל אחר 'another god').

אל רחום וחנון 'a merciful and jealous God,' xxxiv. 6.

Passages from other books are cited by Driver, *Genesis*, p. 403.

The derivation of 'Ēl is no less obscure than that of 'Ēlōah ('Ēlohīm). They are not necessarily from the same root, as the first syllable of the latter word might suggest to an English reader. The following are the more noteworthy of the derivations which have been proposed:

(a) It is derived from אול, as ער 'witness' from עור, and סת 'dead' from סות. On the strength of such an expression as יֵשׁ לְאֵל יָדִי 'it is in the power of my hand' (Gen. xxxi. 29, Dt. xxviii. 32 al.), the root is held to signify 'be strong,' and 'Ēl is 'the strong one.' It is rendered ἰσχυρός 19 times in LXX, which is the regular rendering in Aq. and is often found in Symm. Theod. This has for some time been the favourite derivation. The only objection to it is that the word sometimes appears with a short e as in such names as אֱלִימֶלֶךְ 'Ēlimelech, אֱלִיפָנָן 'Elphanan. But it is probable that the long vowel in

¹ A different word, Heb. עָזָה.

'*Ēl* and similar words is only artificial, and is the result of contraction from a form '*awil* or '*ayil* which contained the consonant *l* or '*l*'.

(b) The same philological difficulty besets the derivation from אֱל = 'to be in front,' by which '*Ēl* is given the meaning either of 'Leader' (Nöldeke) or 'Protector—Tutelary deity.' The word occurs in the construct state = 'leader' in Ez. xxxi. 11, and xxxii. 21 (but text doubtful); but the *e* is never shortened. The more usual form is אֱלִי (Ex. xv. 15, Ez. xvii. 13).

(c) Dillmann derives it from אֱלִי, for which he assumes the meaning 'be strong' (see above).

(d) Lagarde, deriving it also from אֱלִי, connects it with the preposition לְאֵל 'to'—i.e. 'He towards whom one strives' or 'to whom one attaches oneself.' But 'such an origin of the name would be no doubt conceivable on the basis of pure and strict monotheism; it is, however, inconceivable if *ilu, el*, originally served to denote any god whatever, and even a demon or local divinity' (Kautzsch, art. 'Names' in *Enc. B.*).

No solution, therefore, is certainly right. 'We must rest content with the knowledge that there were two Semitic words, '*ilāh* and '*il(u)*, both of uncertain etymology, but both undoubtedly denoting 'God,' and both probably existing already side by side before the different Semitic peoples had begun to separate from their common home: in after times, some of the Semitic peoples preferred one of the two synonyms, while others preferred the other; in one or two cases both remained in use, though they were not in practice used quite indiscriminately' (Driver, p. 404).

Shaddai. The word occurs in the compound form '*Ēl Shaddai* in Ex. vi. 3, Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xliii. 14, xlviii. 3, xlix. 25, Ez. x. 5; by itself it is found 40 times¹. Probably the only pre-exilic occurrences are in the poetical passages Gen. xlix. 25², Num. xxiv. 4, 16. (In Gen. xliii. 14 *Shaddai* is probably a late insertion. LXX has *ὁ θεὸς μου*.)

(a) The Rabbinic explanation that *Shaddai* = אֱלִי (for אֱלִי אֱלִי) 'He who is sufficient,' is quite untenable. It appears in [o] *ikavos*, Aq. Sym. Theod., and LXX Job xxi. 15, xxxi. 2, xl. 2, Ruth i. 20 f., and (cod. A) Ez. i. 24.

(b) The only Heb. root from which *Shaddai* could be formed is שָׁדַד (SHADAD) 'destroy,' 'lay waste'; cf. Jud. v. 27, Is. xv. 1, xxxiii. 1. R.V. in these passages renders respectively 'dead' (mg. 'overpowered'), 'laid waste,' and 'spoiled.' And the substantive *shodh* denotes 'destruction,' 'devastation.' Cf. Is. li. 19. *Shaddai* 'destructive' (?) might thus have been, in primitive times, a storm-god (see note on Yahweh, p. 21). If, however, this be the true derivation, the idea conveyed by it was unknown to the Hebrew writers, for

¹ Num. xxiv. 4, 16, Ps. lxxviii. 14 (Heb. 15), xci. 1, Is. xliii. 6 = Joel i. 15, Ez. i. 24, Ruth i. 20, 21, and 31 times in Job (*Yahweh* only in xii. 9, but text doubtful). The writer of Job, laying the scene of his drama in the age of the patriarchs, follows the tradition of P, according to which the name *Yahweh* was unknown before the time of Moses. To these occurrences add the pr. names (all in P) *Zuri-shaddai*, 'S. is my rock' (Num. i. 6), '*Ammi-shaddai*, 'S. is my father's kinsman' (v. 12), and *Shaddai-ur*, 'S. is a flame,' if *Shed'ur* in v. 5 should be so vocalised; cf. Gray, *Heb. Pr. Names*, p. 196 f. (Driver, p. 404, footn. 6.)

² Read אֱלִי אֱלִי for אֱלִי אֱלִי.

in none of the passages in which the word occurs is the thought of a 'Destroyer' suitable, except Ia. xiii. 6 (=Joel i. 15), where the writer was influenced by the desire to produce an assonance—*shodh mishshaddai*. It is probable that the Masoretic punctuation is due to the foregoing Rabbinic explanation, and that the *d* should not be doubled.

(c) W. R. Smith suggests a derivation from the root שָׁדַד (SHADA') 'to pour,' which is found in Aram. *Shaddai* would then be the 'rain-god.'

(d) Another explanation connects it with Asa. *shadû* 'mountain.' The word occurs in inscriptions of Sargon and Asshur-bani-pal as an epithet of the gods Bel and Asshur; and proper names occur such as Bel-shadûa, Marduk-shadûa, 'Bel—Marduk—is my mountain.' If this be the true derivation, the Heb. word may originally have taken one of two forms—either *Shādî* 'my mountain' (on the analogy of 'שֵׂד 'my field'), or *Shāda* 'a mountain' (on the analogy of the archaic 'שֵׂד 'a field,' and perhaps the pr. name Sarai).

(e) There is the further possibility that the termination *ai* may mark an abbreviation from a longer form of the word. (Such abbreviations are common in late Heb., which is coloured by Aramaic influence, but are also found in early Canaanitish names preserved in inscriptions¹.) If this be the case, the original form of *Shaddai* is entirely lost.

8 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, P
9 When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Shew a wonder for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast it down before Pharaoh, that it become a ¹serpent. 10 And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so, as the LORD had commanded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh and before his servants, and it became a serpent.

¹ Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile; and so in vv. 10, 12.

CHAPTER VII. 8—13.

The sign of Aaron's rod.

VII. 9. *thy rod*. In the narratives of P the rod is, throughout, wielded by Aaron at Moses' command; in those of E by Moses himself. This incident has its parallel in that of iv. 2—4, but the differences are very noticeable. The only feature which they have in common is that a rod became a living creature.

serpent; reptile. So in vv. 10, 12. The word is elsewhere rendered 'dragon,' LXX δράκων, Dt. xxxii. 33, Ps. xci. 13. Contrast v. 15, iv. 3, *nāḥāsh*, the ordinary word for 'serpent.'

¹ M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, Band ii. Heft i. pp. 13—17.

11 Then Pharaoh also called for the wise men and the sorcerers: *P* and they also, the ¹magicians of Egypt, did in like manner with their ²enchantments. 12 For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods. 13 And Pharaoh's heart ³was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken.

¹ See Gen. xli. 8.² Or, *secret arts*³ Heb. *was strong*.

11. *magicians*. Gen. xli. 8, 24 (E), Ex. vii. 22, viii. 18 f., ix. 11 (all P). Used of the magicians of Babylon, Dan. ii. 2. Formed from a root meaning 'cut' or 'engrave'; it would denote engravers or writers of hieroglyphics. But in the Bible it always has the derived sense of one possessing occult knowledge. Jewish tradition recorded the names of two of the magicians—Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. iii. 8, Eus. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 8). See Thackeray, *Relation of St Paul to contemporary Jewish thought*, pp. 215—222.

The sign performed with the rod is the converse of a magical trick mentioned by Herodotus, Lucan, Pliny and others, which consisted of rendering snakes rigid like rods. It was performed by the African *Psyllae*, and has been seen by modern travellers. Dr A. Macalister (art. 'Plagues of Egypt' in *DB*) says that he has 'seen both a snake and a crocodile thrown by hypnotism into the condition of rigidity in which they could be held up as rods by the tip of the tail.'

CHAPTER VII. 14—XI. 10.

The first nine plagues, and the preparation for departure.

The plagues are different in character from the signs previously recorded. The latter had for their object to convince the Israelites and Pharaoh that Moses' mission was endowed with divine authority; but the plagues were of the nature of judgements or punishments for Pharaoh's stubborn refusal to allow them to depart; and further they were signal exhibitions of Yahweh's power—'that thou mayest know—that the Egyptians may know—that I am Yahweh.' The latter aspect of them is dwelt upon in Rom. ix. 14—24, to shew, by His treatment of Pharaoh, God's absolute right to do what He will with the creatures of His own handiwork. The former is taken as the basis of the imagery in the visions of the trumpets and the bowls in the Apoc.: Water turned into blood, viii. 8 f., xvi. 3 f. Frogs, xvi. 13. Boils, xvi. 2. Hail and fire, lightnings and thunders, viii. 7, xvi. 17 f. Locusts, ix. 1—11. Darkness, viii. 12, xvi. 10. The plagues are referred to in Wisd. xvii.—xix., and epitomized in Ps. lxxviii. 44—51 (nos. 1, 3, 2, 8, 7, 5, 10) and cv. 28—36 (nos. 9, 1, 2, 4, 3, 7, 8, 10). In the former Psalm the district which suffered is named

¹ A subst. from the same root is used for a 'graving tool' (xxxii. 4), and a 'stylus' for scratching on a tablet (Is. viii. 1).

'the field of Zoan,' i.e. Tanis. But this is not to be taken as an exact statement of the locality. The name is employed—as being that of one of the great cities—in poetical parallelism with 'the land of Egypt.' Cf. Is. xix. 11, 13, where the 'princes of Zoan' are mentioned in parallelism with the 'counsellors of Pharaoh,' and with the 'princes of Noph' (Memphis), xxx. 4.

The stories of the plagues demand study from three points of view: 1. Their literary history. 2. The relation of the several plagues to natural phenomena¹. 3. Their religious significance.

1. This has been dealt with in the analysis, pp. xv.—xvii. The facts there noted render it probable that the original account of JE contained eight, and not ten, plagues. The third and fourth are insect pests, and must probably be considered duplicates from P and J respectively; and the same must be said of the fifth and sixth—murrain (J) and boils (P). Additional evidence for this is supplied by the consideration of their natural features (see below). Of the eight plagues in JE, elements from J are found in all, and from E in the first, and in the last four.

2. Few of the recent forms of development in religious thought are more significant than that by which an approach has been made towards a truer perception of the relation in which 'religion' stands to 'science.' Time was when thinkers of the highest intellect and education allocated one portion of human thought to 'religion' as its exclusive domain, and another to 'science.' They were as rivals in adjacent kingdoms, neither of which might transgress each other's boundaries. And this mutual opposition was helped by the tendency to make 'religion' equivalent at all points to 'faith in the impossible,' while 'science' was 'knowledge of ascertained facts.' On each side were exponents who gloried in these respective definitions. The results produced upon the study of the Bible were disastrous. The plagues of Egypt, for example, were either miracles, portents, superhuman acts of God which faith must accept without reasoning—or they were purely natural phenomena. Religious people held the conclusion to which the Egyptian magicians came, that they were the working of the 'Finger of God'; scientific people held that such a conclusion was as primitive as the magicians themselves. But this hostility is now rapidly passing away, as it is being more clearly recognised that religion embraces science as the greater includes the less; that nothing can lie outside the activity of the Infinite God; and therefore that to point out a connexion between some of the miracles of Scripture and natural phenomena, does not eliminate from them the divine element; it rather transfigures an unreasoning 'faith in the impossible' into a faith which recognises the Finger of God in everything, the providence of God in every event of national and individual life. Thus the following study of the plagues may claim to be entirely constructive. It seeks to destroy nothing, but aims at shewing that the divine power of God worked in Egypt by means of a wonderful series of natural phenomena; and the religious instinct of the Hebrew narrators unerringly seized upon these as signs of God's favour to the Israelites and of punishment to their oppressors. This religious conviction led, as time went on, to accretions and amplifications, and the stories, in the

¹ On this subject reference should be made to art. 'Plagues of Egypt' in *DB*, by Macalister.

course of frequent and triumphant repetitions, acquired more and more of what is popularly called 'miracle.' The earliest stage at which they emerge into writing is in J. In the small remains of E's narrative the wonders have increased, while in P they are greatly multiplied.

1st Plague. If the analysis on p. xvi. is correct, the 1st plague consisted in the smiting of the river by *Yahweh*, and the consequent death of the fish (vii. 17 a, 18, 21 a, 24, 25); this necessitated the obtaining of water by digging in the neighbourhood of the river. It seems probable that in J's narrative nothing was said of blood; but that is introduced in the next stage of the developing tradition preserved in E (vv. 15, 17 b, 20 b). In this narrative the marvel is performed not directly by *Yahweh* in the ordinary course of nature, but through Moses' wonder-working staff, and the river is turned to blood. Two suggestions have been made as to the natural phenomena which might give rise to the story. When the Nile rises in the third week in June, its waters become discoloured from fragments of vegetable matter; it is at first green, and, as the river rises to its height in August, gradually changes to a dull ochreous red. This is confirmed by many travellers, and some also speak of the offensive exhalations emitted at the later stage. Other writers refer to the not uncommon phenomenon of the reddening of water by enormous quantities of minute organisms. Whatever may have been the exact natural cause or causes, the divine providence arranged that the waters should be discoloured and should emit a foetid odour which killed the fish—in Hebrew language, *Yahweh* smote the river; and the belief grew up that the river was turned to blood. The ease with which such a belief could arise is illustrated in 2 K. iii. 23¹. The final stage in the amplification of the story is found in P (vii. 19, 20 to 'commanded,' 21 b, 22), in which all the waters of Egypt in rivers, streams and pools, in vessels of wood and of stone, are turned to blood.

2nd Plague. From whatever cause the river became foetid and discoloured, in the mass of organic matter which would be collected animal life would also be present in great quantities. And this would be the condition eminently suited to the rapid multiplication of frogs. In J, *Yahweh* foretells that He will *Himself* smite Egypt with frogs; and He will do so in the ordinary course of nature—'the river shall swarm with frogs.' In P, Aaron (as usual) is bidden by Moses to bring the plague by stretching out the staff. A further poetical amplification occurs in Pa. lxxviii. 45, where the frogs are said to have 'destroyed' the Egyptians. Plagues of frogs were far from unknown in ancient times, and are reported by Pliny, Orosius, Aelian, Diodorus and Appian; the latter describes the pestilential effects of the decomposing bodies, which drove the people of Antareia from their homes (*de rebus Illyricis*, 4). Haggard (*Under Crescent and Star*, p. 279) tells of a plague of frogs in the upper Nile valley in modern times. September is the month in which frogs are most plentiful in Egypt.

3rd and 4th Plagues. The mass of frogs collected in heaps (viii. 14) would inevitably lead to the breeding of innumerable flies and other insects. In J (vv. 20—32) *Yahweh Himself* sends swarms of flies (*'ārōbbh*, a word perhaps denoting a mixed multitude of insects). In P (vv. 16—19) Aaron, at Moses'

¹ Perhaps, however, the Moabites took the colour of the water to be rather an omen of blood.

bidding, stretched out the staff, and 'all the dust of the earth became *kinnim*,' stinging gnats or mosquitoes. These are specially common in Egypt about October. The larvae live in the pools caused by the Nile inundation, and when the waters recede and the pools dry up, the insects come to maturity. The plague is thus seen to follow the normal course of nature. But there is no evidence that the *kinnim* and the mixed mass of insects could, from natural causes, appear *in succession*. P particularises the earlier account. In Pa. cv. 31 the 'ārōbh and the *kinnim* are coupled together, the latter being placed last; and Ps. lxxviii. 45 omits the *kinnim* altogether.

5th and 6th Plagues. The pestilential effect of the decomposing bodies of the frogs has been already mentioned; and bacteriological research shows that some insects, especially mosquitoes, are a great factor in the spread of disease. Thus the cattle-disease (ix. 1—7 J) is amply accounted for. In the narrative of the preceding plague, J relates that Goshen enjoyed a complete immunity from the insects. We may suppose that the direction of the wind, or other natural causes, prevented the insects from entering the Israelites' territory. But if the insects spread the disease, the statement that the murrain did not touch the cattle in Goshen is also explained. P, on the other hand, departs from natural causes (ix. 8—12). Moses and Aaron were bidden to fling into the air handfuls of fine ashes or soot, and it should become boils on man and beast. Writers on Egypt speak of cattle plagues which last for months, and are very fatal; such a plague in 1842 A.D. lasted nine months, and killed 40,000 oxen.

7th Plague. Thus far the plagues have followed one another in a natural sequence, the series resulting, in all probability, from an unusually large mass of decaying vegetable matter suspended in the waters of the Nile during the time of its inundation. But at this point a new series begins with a destructive thunderstorm, accompanied by hail (ix. 13—35). Such storms are rare in Egypt, but are not without example. Those which have been reported in modern times have occurred about January. Now the plague occurred at a point of time which is defined in vv. 31 f.: 'the barley was in the ear, and the flax was in bud, but the wheat and the vetch...were not grown up'; and all the available evidence as to the ripening of crops in Egypt tends to shew that this state of things would normally occur about the middle of January. Thus the cattle plague had lasted about two months and a half (Nov. to the middle of Jan.), and the first five plagues (reckoning 3, 4 and 5, 6 as duplicates) occupied a period of about five months.

8th Plague. The atmospheric conditions which resulted in the storm also led to other plagues. A strong East wind arose, and brought a dense mass of locusts (x. 3 b—11, 13 b, 14 b, 15 a J). In E (vv. 12, 13 a, 14 a) Moses brings the plague, as usual, by lifting up the staff. Plagues of locusts are uncommon in Egypt, but have frequently been reported in Syria; and in both ancient and modern times the swarms have been observed to come from the East. The lightness and fragility of the locusts render them helpless before a wind (cf. Ps. cix. 23). And when the wind shifted to the West, they were completely swept away into the Red Sea (vv. 15 c—19 J).

9th Plague. Only a fragment of J's narrative has here been preserved (x. 24—26, 28 f.), which relates the effect of the plague upon Pharaoh. E, as

before, says that it followed the lifting of the staff by Moses (v. 21—23, 27). But it is not improbable that it was a further consequence of the West wind. Dr A. Macalister writes: 'The condition of darkness referred to is strikingly like that brought about by the severer form of the electrical wind *hamsin*. This is a S. or S.W. wind that is so named because it is liable to blow during the 25 days before and the 25 days after the vernal equinox (*hamsin* = 50). It is often not so much a storm or violent wind as an oppressive hot blast charged with so much sand and fine dust that the air is darkened. It causes a blackness equal to the worst of London fogs, while the air is so hot and full of dust that respiration is impeded.... Denon says that it sometimes travels as a narrow stream, so that one part of the land is light while the rest is dark (*Voyage dans l'Égypte*, Paris, 1802, p. 286).' And he adds that three days is not an uncommon duration for the *hamsin*.

10th Plague. Malignant epidemics have at all times been the scourge of Bible lands; and it is worthy of note that many authorities state that pestilence is often worst at the time of the *hamsin* wind. But in the Hebrew narratives, in which only the firstborn are smitten, all thought of a 'natural' occurrence has passed away. The plague was a just retribution for Pharaoh's attempt to destroy the firstborn of the Israelites (i. 22).

3. The religious teaching which underlies the stories of the plagues is manifold. The lifting of Moses' staff to bring the plagues, and his successive entreaties for their removal, teach the efficacy of prayer. If St. James (v. 16 f.) could remind his readers that Elijah 'prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not,' and could deduce from this that 'the supplication of a righteous man availeth much in its working,' we can similarly learn from the action of Moses that prayer is not out of place or unavailing in cases where natural laws can be co-ordinated and guided by God to bring about the wished-for result. And from whatever point of view the plagues are regarded, the same great facts shine through the narratives:—Yahweh is supreme in power over the world which He made, the truth which led Job to abhor himself and repent in dust and ashes; He has an absolute right, if He so wills, to punish Pharaoh in order to shew forth in him His power; and He does so because Pharaoh is impenitent, and consequently 'fitted for destruction' (cf. Rom. ix. 17, 22), for Yahweh is a God that hates sin; and if a man hardens his heart, the result will be as inevitable as results in the natural world—so inevitable that it may truly be said that Yahweh hardens His heart (Ex. ix. 12, x. 1, 20, 27, xi. 10); moreover the sin of Pharaoh, and so of any other man, may entail sufferings upon many innocent human beings and animals; and, finally, 'Yahweh is mindful of His own,' and delivers them from 'the noisome pestilence,' 'the pestilence that walketh in darkness' and 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday,' so that 'no plague can come nigh their dwelling' (Ps. xci.).

14 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart is *J*
stubborn, he refuseth to let the people go. | 15 Get thee unto *E*

¹ Heb. *heavy*.

Pharaoh in the morning ; lo, he goeth out unto the water ; and *E* thou shalt stand by the river's brink to meet him ; and the rod which was turned to a ¹serpent shalt thou take in thine hand. | 16 And thou shalt say unto him, The LORD, the God of *J* the Hebrews, hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness : and, behold, hitherto thou hast not hearkened. 17 Thus saith the LORD, In this thou shalt know that I am the LORD : | behold, I will smite with the *E* rod that is in mine hand upon the waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood. | 18 And the fish that is in *J* the river shall die, and the river shall stink ; and the Egyptians shall loathe to drink water from the river. | 19 And the LORD *P* said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their ²streams, and over their pools, and over all their ponds of water, that they may become blood ; and there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone. 20 And Moses and Aaron did so, as the

¹ See ch. iv. 3.² Or, *canals*

15. Pharaoh's object in going to the river is not stated. It may have been to offer worship to the river-god. See Maspero, *Hymne au Nile*¹.

17. *I will smite* &c. These are the words of Moses, in continuation of v. 15 (E), the previous half verse being from J. The interweaving of the narratives makes it appear as though Yahweh spoke of Himself as wielding the staff.

18. *shall loathe ; shall weary themselves*, i.e. in their efforts to get drinkable water. Cf. v. 24. The word occurs in Gen. xix. 11, Jer. ix. 5 *al*.

19. *rivers*, the natural arms of the Nile ; *streams*, the artificial canals dug for purposes of irrigation ; *pools*, formed by the inundation of the river. Cf. viii. 5 [Heb. 1], Is. xiv. 23, xli. 18.

all their ponds of water, lit. 'every gathering of their waters' (Gen. i. 10, Lev. xi. 36, Is. xxii. 11)—a general expression for all cisterns, reservoirs, &c., in which the Nile water was collected throughout the country.

wood...stone. Earthenware vessels are not mentioned ; and several writers note that it is only in earthenware that the discoloured Nile waters can be made and kept clear. But it is improbable that this

¹ Paris, 1868. The text and a French translation are given on pp. 18—21. The hymn praises the river as the sustainer of life, and prays that its inundation may duly take place.

LORD commanded; and he lifted up the rod, and smote the *P* waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; | and all the waters that were in the *E* river were turned to blood. | 21 And the fish that was in the *J* river died; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river; | and the blood was throughout all *P* the land of Egypt. 22 And the magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart ¹was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken. | 23 And Pharaoh turned and went into his house, *E* neither did he ²lay even this to heart. | 24 And all the Egyptians *J* digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river. 25 And seven days were fulfilled, after that the LORD had smitten the river.

VIII. 1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, Go in unto ^{[Ch. 26} Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let my people in go, that they may serve me. 2 And if thou refuse to let them ^{Heb.]} go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs: 3 and the

¹ Heb. *was strong*.

² Heb. *set his heart even to this*.

intentional accuracy is to be ascribed to P, who clearly wished to relate that every drop of water in Egypt became actual blood, which could not be rectified by any process of filtering.

22. If all the water in Egypt was turned to blood by the action of Aaron, what was left for the magicians to do? The same difficulty is felt in viii. 7, 18. The opposition of the magicians appears to be repeated mechanically from v. 11 as a formula. This is a marked characteristic of the style of P. It has been suggested that the plague lasted only a short time, and that, when it ceased, the magicians produced it again. But the wording of the narrative does not suggest this; and it is scarcely conceivable that any Egyptian would prolong the discomfort and thirst from which the whole country would be suffering. Theodoret (*Quaest. in Ex.*) is reduced to the explanation that they fetched water from the sea, in order to shew that they could perform the miracle.

25. In no other instance is the interval between the plagues mentioned; it is probable that the frogs appeared about a month later; see note above. Perhaps, therefore, some verses have been lost which related the removal of the plague at Moses' intercession, after it had lasted a week.

VIII. 1—15. *The plague of frogs.*

3 (Heb. vii. 28). *ovens (tannūr)*; a portable earthenware stove, consisting of a jar about 3 ft. in height, narrowing towards the top

river shall swarm with frogs, which shall go up and come *J* into thine house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine ovens, and into thy kneadingtroughs: 4 and the frogs shall come up both upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy servants. | 5 And the LORD said unto Moses, *P* Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over ^{[Ch. ii. 1} the rivers, over the ⁱⁿ streams, and over the pools, and cause ^{Heb.]} frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt. 6 And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt. 7 And the magicians did in like manner with their enchantments, and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt. | 8 Then Pharaoh called for *J* Moses and Aaron, and said, Intreat the LORD, that he take away the frogs from me, and from my people; and I will let the people go, that they may sacrifice unto the LORD. 9 And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Have thou this glory over me: against what time shall I intreat for thee, and for thy servants, and for thy people, that the frogs be destroyed from thee and thy houses, and remain in the river only? 10 And he said, Against tomorrow. And he said, Be it according to thy word: that thou

¹ Or, *canals*

like a truncated cone. According to the present practice the bread is inserted within the stove, the blackened sides of which are previously wiped clean. But Egyptian monuments represent cakes as being applied to the outside of the stove. See illustrations in Benzinger's *Arch.* 86 f.

kneadingtroughs (*mish'éreth*); a shallow wooden bowl, in which flour or barley meal was mixed with water and kneaded into dough. See art. 'Bread' in *Enc. B.* and *DB.*

7 (Heb. 3). It is difficult to attach a definite meaning to this statement. How could it be made clear that the magicians produced frogs other than those which swarmed out of the river in consequence of Aaron's action? See vii. 22.

9 (Heb. 5). *Have thou this glory over me.* This might mean—Ask something which you think is too wonderful for me to accomplish, i.e. to fix the time at which the frogs are to be removed (Tg-Onk. Rashi). But it seems rather to be a polite form of address to the king—Do thyself the honour (*sc.* of saying) for what time *I shall intreat* &c. LXX *τάξαι πρὸς με* 'command me' (so Vg. Pesh.) gives the general sense. The word, however, usually means 'to boast' (Jud. vii. 2), and the text is perhaps corrupt.

mayest know that there is none like unto the LORD our God. *J*

11 And the frogs shall depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from thy servants, and from thy people; they shall remain in the river only. 12 And Moses and Aaron went out from Pharaoh: and Moses cried unto the LORD concerning the frogs ¹which he had brought upon Pharaoh. 13 And the LORD did according to the word of Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the courts, and out of the fields. 14 And they gathered them together in heaps: and the land stank. 15 But when Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he ²hardened his heart, | and hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken. *P*

16 And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the earth, that it may become ³lice throughout all the land of Egypt. 17 And they did so; and Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and there were lice upon man, and upon beast; all the dust of the earth became lice throughout all the land of Egypt. 18 And the magicians did so with their

¹ Or, as he had appointed unto Pharaoh

² Heb. made heavy.

³ Or, sand flies Or, fleas

12 (Heb. 8). And Moses went out, and Aaron. The verb being in the singular, the later addition 'and Aaron' is easily recognised. See on iv. 29.

brought upon Pharaoh; appointed for Pharaoh, as a sign or punishment. Cf. Gen. iv. 15. R.V. mg. 'as he had appointed' refers to Moses as the subject of the verb—'as he had promised or agreed in his words to Pharaoh' in vv. 10 f.¹

14 (Heb. 10). *in heaps*. Heb. 'heaps, heaps,' expressing either a large number, or distribution. Cf. Jud. xv. 16, Gen. xiv. 10, Mk. vi. 40.

16-19. *The plague of mosquitoes*.

16 (Heb. 12). *lice*. Heb. *kinnim*². Ps. cv. 31, and probably Is. li. 6†. The word is used in later Heb. for 'maggots' and especially 'lice.' But that the *kinnim* 'were not lice in the ordinary sense of the word is shewn by their attacking beasts as well as men, for none of these specimens of human pediculi will live and multiply freely on animals' (Macalister); moreover lice are not naturally generated in dust. The word probably denotes 'gnats' or mosquitoes. LXX σκνίφες.

18 (Heb. 14). See notes on v. 7 (3), vii. 22.

¹ LXX περί τοῦ ὀρισμοῦ τῶν βατράχων, ὡς ἐτάξατο [τῷ] Φαραώ—'as Ph. had appointed.'

² Erman suggests that it is a Hebraized form of an Egyptian word (ZDMG xlv. p. 116, cf. l. p. 627).

enchancements to bring forth lice, but they could not : and there *P* were lice upon man, and upon beast. 19 Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God : and Pharaoh's heart ¹was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them ; as the LORD had spoken.

20 And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in the *J* morning, and stand before Pharaoh ; lo, he cometh forth to the water ; and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let my people go, that they may serve me. 21 Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send swarms of flies upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses : and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of flies, and also the ground whereon they are. 22 And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there ; to the end thou mayest know that I am the LORD in the midst of the earth. 23 And I will ²put a division between my people and thy people : by to-morrow shall this sign be. 24 And the LORD did so ; and

¹ Heb. *was strong*.

² Or, *set a sign of deliverance* Heb. *set redemption*.

19 (Heb. 15). *the finger of God*. xxxi. 18, Dt. ix. 10, Ps. viii. 3 (4), Lk. xi. 19. They recognised superhuman action, but they did not acknowledge Yahweh.

20—32. *The plague of flies*.

20 (Heb. 16). See note on vii. 15.

21 (Heb. 17). *I will send¹ swarms of flies*. 'ārōbh, a collective singular, from a root which appears to mean 'to mix.' It expresses the idea either of incessant involved motion in a dense swarm, or more probably of a large number of varieties of insects. Vg. *omne muscarum genus*. Aq. (Ps. lxxviii. 45) *πάμμικτος*.

22 (Heb. 18). *sever²*. ix. 4, xi. 7.

23 (Heb. 19). *a division*. This is the rendering of LXX διαστολή, so Pesh. Vg. But the present Heb. text has אָרָב 'a redemption.' It should perhaps be read אָרָב 'a severance' or 'separation,' a subst. connected with the verb used in v. 22 (18).

24 (Heb. 20). *and into all the land of Egypt*. This should be connected with the preceding clauses³.

¹ The Hiphil (causative voice) is used only of God sending famine, trouble &c. as a punishment ; Lev. xxvi. 22, 2 K. xv. 37, Am. viii. 11, Ez. xiv. 13 †.

² LXX παραδοξασω, 'I will make wonderful,' confuses it with another root אָרָב, with which, however, it is sometimes interchanged.

³ LXX, Pesh., Sam. supply 'and' at the beginning of the foll. clause.

there came grievous swarms of flies into the house of Pharaoh, *J* and into his servants' houses : and in all the land of Egypt the land was ¹corrupted by reason of the swarms of flies. 25 And Pharaoh called for Moses and for Aaron, and said, Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land. 26 And Moses said, It is not meet so to do ; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the LORD our God : lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us ? 27 We will go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the LORD our God, as he shall command us. 28 And Pharaoh said, I will let you go, that ye may sacrifice to the LORD your God in the wilderness ; only ye shall not go very far away : intreat for me. 29 And Moses said, Behold, I go out from thee, and I will intreat the LORD that the swarms of flies may depart from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people, to-morrow : only let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more in not letting the people go to sacrifice to the LORD. 30 And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the LORD. 31 And the LORD did according to the word of Moses ; and he removed the swarms of flies from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people ; there remained not one. 32 And Pharaoh ²hardened his heart this time also, and he did not let the people go.

¹ Or, *destroyed*

² Heb. *made heavy*.

corrupted ; ruined : a vague expression describing the terrible nature of the plague. Wisd. xvi. 9 understands it of the death of the Egyptians by the bites of the flies.

26 (Heb. 22). *the abomination*. The word is frequently employed to describe heathen practices which are displeasing to God ; elsewhere Gen. xliii. 32, xlvi. 34, in both cases of people or practices displeasing to the Egyptians. In a Phoenician inscription 'the abomination of Ashtöretu' occurs with reference to the violation of a tomb ; see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxvi. The Egyptians religiously abstained from sacrificing certain animals which the Israelites sacrificed freely—as the cow, which was sacred to Isis, the bull to Apis (unless the priest pronounced it 'pure,' i.e. free from sacred marks, and with no black hairs), the sheep at Thebes, and goats at Mendes (Herod. ii. 38, 41 f., 46 ; see Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, 180—183, 187 f.). The 'abomination' here refers to the act of sacrificing, though it is used by metathesis for the victims.

27 (Heb. 23). The Israelites were about to become, for the first time, united in the worship of the one God Yahweh ; and the correct methods of sacrifice to Him had not yet been laid down ; cf. x. 26.

IX. 1 Then the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, *J* and tell him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me. **2** For if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still, **3** behold, the hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the herds, and upon the flocks: *there shall be* a very grievous murrain. **4** And the LORD shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt: and there shall nothing die of all that belongeth to the children of Israel. **5** And the LORD appointed a set time, saying, Tomorrow the LORD shall do this thing in the land. **6** And the LORD did that thing on the morrow, and all the cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one. **7** And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not so much as one of the cattle of the Israelites dead. But the heart of Pharaoh was ¹stubborn, and he did not let the people go.

8 And the LORD said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to *P* you handfuls of ²ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh. **9** And it shall become small dust over all the land of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt. **10** And they took ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled it up toward heaven; and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast. **11** And the magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils; for the boils were upon the magicians, and

¹ Heb. *heavy*.

² Or, *soot*

IX. 1-12. *The cattle plague and the boils.*

8. *ashes.* The word, which occurs only in this narrative, seems to be derived from a root denoting 'breathe,' 'exhale.' This would imply something lighter than ashes, such as soot which could be wafted about, or exhaled from a kiln.

of the furnace; of a kiln for lime or pottery; v. 10, xix. 18, Gen. xix. 28 †.

9. *a boil.* A general term for ulcers and sores—the 'botch of Egypt' (Dt. xxviii. 27, 35), the malady of Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 7 = Is. xxxviii. 21), and of Job (ii. 7). In the present case it developed in the form of blisters or pustules. LXX ἐλκη φλυκτίδες ἀναζέουσαι suggests small-pox. See art. 'Medicine' in *DB* iii.

upon all the Egyptians. 12 And the LORD ¹hardened the heart *P* of Pharaoh, and he hearkened not unto them ; as the LORD had spoken unto Moses.

13 And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in the *J* morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me. 14 For I will this time send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people ; that thou mayest know that there is none like me in all the earth. 15 For now I had put forth my hand, and smitten thee and thy people with pestilence, and thou hadst been cut off from the earth : 16 but in very deed for this cause have I made thee to stand, for to shew thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth. 17 As yet exaltest thou

¹ Heb. *made strong*.

13—35. *The hail and thunder storm.*

14. *upon thine heart.* The expression is strange in parallelism with 'servants' and 'people,' and the text may be corrupt. Baentsch suggests הָרַגְתִּי לְךָ for הָרַגְתִּי לָם —'all *these* my plagues *upon thee*' ; cf. x. 1.

16. *made thee to stand*, i.e. allowed thee to remain alive¹, instead of destroying thee at once by means of the last plague. This was for two purposes, 'to make thee see my power,' and that by a continued succession of marvels men may 'relate my name [i.e. my fame and greatness] in all the earth.' In Rom. ix. 17 S. Paul gives, in two respects, a different force to the words : 1st, 'For this very purpose I *raised thee up*' ($\epsilon\xi\eta\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ ² instead of LXX $\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$) expresses the thought that God called Pharaoh up as an actor on the stage of history (cf. LXX Hab. i. 6, Zech. xi. 16, Jer. xxvii. 41) ; 2nd, 'that I might shew *in thee* my power' agrees with the LXX in Exod. 'S. Paul by slightly changing the language generalizes the statement and applies the words to the whole appearance of Pharaoh in the field of history. Just as the career of Moses exhibits the Divine mercy, so the career of Pharaoh exhibits the Divine severity, and in both cases the absolute sovereignty of God is vindicated' (Sanday and Headlam, p. 255 ; see the whole note).

17. *exaltest thou thyself.* The verb signifies 'to heap up' a

¹ For this use of the Hiphil of the word cf. 1 K. xv. 4 (R.V. 'establish') and for the intransitive (קָל) Ps. ciii. 26 (R.V. 'endure'), Is. lxvi. 22 (R.V. 'remain'), Jer. xxxii. 14 (R.V. 'continue').

² Perhaps, however, this is only S. Paul's equivalent for the Aram. תַּדְּבִיר which occurs in the Targum in the present passage ; in which case $\epsilon\xi\eta\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$ has the same force as the Heb. This is suggested to me by Prof. Kennett.

thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go? *J*
 18 Behold, to-morrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the day it was founded even until now. | 19 Now therefore send, hasten in *R^{VB}* thy cattle and all that thou hast in the field; *for* every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die.
 20 He that feared the word of the LORD among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses:
 21 and he that regarded not the word of the LORD left his servants and his cattle in the field.

22 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch forth thine hand *E* toward heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every herb of the field, throughout the land of Egypt. 23 And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and the LORD sent thunder and hail, and fire ran down unto the earth; | and the LORD rained hail upon *J* the land of Egypt. | 24 So there was hail, and fire ¹mingled with *E* the hail, | very grievous, such as had not been in all the land *J* of Egypt since it became a nation. | 25 And the hail smote *E* throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast; | and the hail smote every herb of the field, and *J* brake every tree of the field. 26 Only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail. 27 And

¹ Or, *flashing continually amidst*

highway or mound. It occurs with a moral force in Prov. iv. 8. The reflexive form used here is found only in Ecclus. xxxix. 24, xl. 28.

22. *thine hand*, sc. with the rod; see foll. verse.

24. *mingled*. Ez. i. 4 †. R.V. marg. expresses substantially the force of the word, but its exact meaning is doubtful. It is a reflexive (Hithpael) participle from a root signifying 'to take,' 'fetch' or 'carry off.' The following explanations have been offered: (1) 'appearing incessantly,' each flash as it were taking hold of the last one (Dillm.); (2) 'infolding itself' (Ges. and Ez. i. 4 A.V., R.V.), i.e. a conglomerate mass of fire; (3) forked or zigzag lightning (A. B. Davidson). Perhaps the nearest equivalent is *darting in the midst of the hail*—each flash 'taking itself off,' vanishing as quickly as it appeared¹.

¹ The Greek translators were quite uncertain: LXX φλόγισον (so Tg-Onk. Pesh.). Aq. συναλαμβανόμενον. Symm. ἐειλούμενον.

Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto *J* them, I have sinned this time: the LORD is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. 28 Intreat the LORD; for there hath been enough of *these* ¹mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer. 29 And Moses said unto him, As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will spread abroad my hands unto the LORD; the thunders shall cease, neither shall there be any more hail; that thou mayest know that the earth is the LORD'S. 30 But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear the LORD God. 31 And the flax and the barley were smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax ²was bolled. 32 But the wheat and the spelt were not smitten: for they were not grown up. 33 And Moses went out of the city from Pharaoh, and spread abroad his hands unto the LORD: and the thunders and hail ceased, and the rain was not poured upon

¹ Heb. *voices* (or *thunderings*) of God.

² Or, *was in bloom*

27. Pharaoh is in no sense penitent; he only feels that he has gone one step too far in defying the power of a foreign deity, and he must propitiate him by declaring himself and his people beaten. **Yahweh is the righteous one**—i.e. He has vindicated His power, *and I and my people are the wicked ones*—i.e. we have been proved to be the weakest.

30. *Yahweh God*. An uncommon expression; in the Hexateuch it occurs only in Gen. ii. 4 *b*—iii. 24. LXX omits *Yahweh*.

31, 32. These *vv.* assign the plague to a point of time about the middle of January; see p. 45.

flax. Only here used of the growing plant. Flax in Egypt flowers in February or early in March.

barley took the place occupied by oats in Europe and America; it was employed to make a coarse bread eaten by the poor (Jud. vii. 13, 2 K. iv. 42, Jn. vi. 9), and the chopped stalks formed provender for beasts (1 K. iv. 28). Barley harvest in Egypt began early in March or at the end of February. In Palestine it was later.

was in the ear. Lit. 'was ear' (*ābīb*), Lev. ii. 14. See on xiii. 4.

was bolled; *was in bud*. Lit. 'was bud' (*gibh'ōl*). See W. R. Smith, *Journal of Phil.* xii. 299 f. 'The English word *boll* (originally something *swollen*) is a seed vessel, a pod; hence 'was bolled' (= 'was in seed') expresses a further stage of growth than the Heb. warrants' (Hastings, *DB* i. 310).

spelt. Is. xxviii. 25, Ez. iv. 9 †. A.V. 'rye'; but rye is not sown in Bible lands. The *kussōmeth* was a plant somewhat similar to the lentil. Jerome *vicia*, i.e. vetch, which is probably the best rendering.

were not grown up. Heb. 'were concealed,' i.e. beneath the soil.

the earth. 34 And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the *J* hail and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and ¹hardened his heart, he and his servants. | 35 And the heart of *E* Pharaoh ²was hardened, and he did not let the children of Israel go; as the LORD had spoken by Moses.

X. 1 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh: | *J* for I have ¹hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, *R^D* that I might shew these my signs in the midst of them: 2 and that thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy son's son, ³what things I have wrought upon Egypt, and my signs which I have done among them; that ye may know that I am the LORD. | 3 And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and said unto *J* him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of the Hebrews, How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? let my people go, that they may serve me. 4 Else, if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, to-morrow will I bring locusts into thy border: 5 and they shall cover the face of the earth, that one shall not be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field: 6 and thy houses shall be filled, and the houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyptians; as neither thy fathers nor thy fathers' fathers have seen, since the day that they were upon the earth unto this day. And he turned, and

¹ Heb. *made heavy*.

² Heb. *was strong*.

³ Or, *how I have mocked the Egyptians*

X. 1—20. *The plague of locusts.*

2. *that thou mayest tell.* The singular refers not to Moses but to all Israel, in the style of Deuteronomy, where 'thou' and 'ye' are (as here) used interchangeably.

what things I have wrought upon; how I have made a toy of. The word denotes 'to occupy or divert oneself by wanton or ruthless treatment of another.' It is an anthropomorphism which is not consonant with the higher Christian conceptions of God. Num. xxii. 29, Jud. xix. 25, 1 S. vi. 6, xxxi. 4 = 1 Chr. x. 4, Jer. xxxviii. 19 †.

4. *locusts.* Heb. *'arbeh*; the commonest of the nine words employed in the O.T. to denote various species of the locust type; it is derived from a root signifying 'to multiply.' See Driver, *Joel and Amos*, Excursus on locusts, pp. 82 ff.

went out from Pharaoh. 7 And Pharaoh's servants said unto J him, How long shall this man be a snare unto us? let the men go, that they may serve the LORD their God: knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed? 8 And Moses and Aaron were brought again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto them, Go, serve the LORD your God: but who are they that shall go? 9 And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go; for we must hold a feast unto the LORD. 10 And he said unto them, So be the LORD with you, as I will let you go, and your little ones: look to it; for evil is ¹before you. 11 Not so: go now ye that are men, and serve the LORD; for that is what ye desire. And they were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.

12 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand E over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Egypt, and eat every herb of the land, even all

¹ Or, *what ye purpose* Heb. *before your face*.

7. *a snare*. An instrument of destruction. The Egyptians felt themselves as helpless as birds in Moses' hands.

let the men go. The expression is perhaps contemptuous; or it is merely equivalent to the pronoun 'them'; it can hardly mean 'men' as distinct from women and children, for a different word (*g'bhārīm*) is employed for that, in v. 11.

8. *who are they*. The Heb. 'who and who' is expressive, implying that he expected an answer naming certain selected individuals.

10. *so be Yahweh...&c*. It is a sarcastic exclamation, wishing for Yahweh's blessing upon them in proportion to the probability of his letting them go.

and your little ones. Apparently an expression which included the wives and other women in their families. Cf. Gen. xliii. 8.

evil is before you, i.e. ye have an evil purpose in view, in making this demand.

11. Pharaoh supposed that for offering a sacrifice, only men could be required; and since that which they desired was to 'serve (perform a service to) Yahweh,' they might do so. The retention of their wives, children and animals would of course ensure their return to Egypt.

12. *for the locusts*. Heb. 'with the locust' is difficult. Perhaps read *וְהָבִי אִתְּךָ אֶת־הַלְּחָם*, 'and bring *the locust*'¹.

¹ LXX καὶ ἀναβήτω ἀπὸς, as though *וְהָבִי אִתְּךָ אֶת־הַלְּחָם*, which is also possible.

that the hail hath left. 13 And Moses stretched forth his rod *E* over the land of Egypt, | and the LORD brought an east wind *J* upon the land all that day, and all the night; and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts. | 14 And the locusts *E* went up over all the land of Egypt, | and rested in all the borders *J* of Egypt; very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such. 15 For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; | and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the *E* fruit of the trees which the hail had left: | and there remained *J* not any green thing, either tree or herb of the field, through all the land of Egypt. 16 Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron in haste; and he said, I have sinned against the LORD your God, and against you. 17 Now therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once, and intreat the LORD your God, that he may take away from me this death only. 18 And he went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the LORD. 19 And the LORD turned an exceeding strong west wind, which took up the locusts, and drove them into the Red Sea; there remained not one locust in all the border of Egypt. | 20 But the LORD ¹hardened Pharaoh's *E* heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go.

21 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, ²even darkness which may be felt. 22 And Moses

¹ Heb. *made strong*.

² Or, *so that men shall grope in darkness*

13. A wind is mentioned as Yahweh's instrument in xiv. 21, Num. xi. 31 (both J).

had brought *the locusts*. When they awoke in the morning, they found the land already covered with them.

19. Swarms of locusts driven into the sea have frequently been noticed; cf. Pliny xi. 35, 'gregatim sublatae vento in maria aut stagna decidunt'; and see Joel ii. 20 with Driver's note.

Red Sea. See on xiii. 18.

21-29. *The darkness*.

21. *even darkness which may be felt*. Lit. 'so that one may feel darkness.' The English word 'feel' can be applied to any kind of sensation, but the Heb. word denotes 'to feel with groping hands' (cf. Gen. xxvii. 12, xxxi. 34, 37, Dt. xxviii. 29). The text and the margin both contain part of the idea, which is well expressed by the LXX *ψηλαφητον σκοτος*. Cf. Milton, *Par. Lost*, i. 63, 'No light, but rather darkness visible.'

stretched forth his hand toward heaven ; and there was a thick *E* darkness in all the land of Egypt three days ; 23 they saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days : but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings. | 24 And *J* Pharaoh called unto Moses, and said, Go ye, serve the LORD ; only let your flocks and your herds be stayed : let your little ones also go with you. 25 And Moses said, Thou must also give into our hand sacrifices and burnt offerings, that we may sacrifice unto the LORD our God. 26 Our cattle also shall go with us ; there shall not an hoof be left behind ; for thereof must we take to serve the LORD our God ; and we know not with what we must serve the LORD, until we come thither. | 27 But the LORD *E* ¹hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he would not let them go. | 28 And Pharaoh said unto him, Get thee from me, take heed *J* to thyself, see my face no more ; for in the day thou seest my face thou shalt die. 29 And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well ; I will see thy face again no more.

XI. 1 And the LORD said unto Moses, Yet one plague more *E*

¹ Heb. *made strong*.

On the account of this plague is based the remarkable description in *Wisd.* xvii.

22. *thick darkness.* LXX σκότος γνόφος θύελλα, which accords well with the suggestion that the darkness was due to the *hamsin* wind ; see p. 46.

25. It is nowhere stated that Pharaoh gave them animals, but his words 'bless me also' (xii. 32) may imply that he did something to propitiate Moses' God.

sacrifices and burnt offerings. See on xx. 24.

that we may sacrifice. Heb. 'do' or 'make.' The word originally denoted 'to prepare' or 'provide' the victim (1 K. xviii. 23, 25 f.), and then 'to make' an offering. It also acquired the meaning 'to observe' or 'celebrate' a festival—xxx. 16 (Sabbath), xxxiv. 22, Dt. xvi. 10 (F. of Weeks), 13 (F. of Booths). The Greek equivalent, ποιειν, appears with the latter meaning in Matt. xxvi. 18.

29. The scene is continued in xi. 4—8, in which Moses gives his final warning before leaving Pharaoh's presence for the last time ; see p. xvii.

CHAPTER XI.

Preparations for departure. The warning of the last plague.

XI. 1. *when he shall let you go &c.* The punctuation adopted in the margin is preferable¹.

¹ The text, however, is doubtful, the adverbial use of the subst. הָלַךְ is difficult (occurring only in Gen. xviii. 21, where the text is similarly questionable). Perhaps

will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt ; afterwards he will *E* let you go hence : ¹when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether. 2 Speak now in the ears of the people, and let them ask every man of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold. 3 And the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.

4 And Moses said, Thus saith the LORD, About midnight *J* will I go out into the midst of Egypt : 5 and all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maidservant that is behind the mill ; and all the firstborn of cattle. 6 And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there hath been none like it, nor shall be like it any more. 7 But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog ²move his tongue, against man or beast : that ye may know how that the LORD doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel. 8 And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee : and after that I will go out. And he went out from Pharaoh in hot anger.

9 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh will not hearken *R^{VB}* unto you : that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt. 10 And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh : and the LORD ³hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go out of his land.

¹ Or, when he shall let you go altogether, he shall utterly thrust you out hence

² Heb. whet.

³ Heb. made strong.

3. *the man Moses.* Cf. Num. xii. 3 (E).

7. *move.* Heb. 'sharpen,' 'whet' (as marg.). Jos. x. 21.

read פְּלֵאָה with the same meaning, or כָּלְכָלְכֶם, 'all of you,' as suggested by Pesh. (LXX οὐκ παύσει).

CHAPTER XII.¹—XIII. 16.*The Passover; the Festival of Unleavened Cakes;
the last plague and the Exodus.*

This section is of importance as illustrating the manner in which not a few of the traditions of the Hebrews reached their present form. It is noticeable that there is no trace of E's handiwork in the regulations which it contains. It can with confidence be assigned—apart from Deuteronomic additions—to J and P. E has preserved no record of the Passover. With regard to the F. of Unleavened Cakes (*Mazzoth*), and the dedication of firstborn and firstlings, E has regulations in xxii. 29 f. [xxiii. 18 f.], but gives no hint that either observance was connected with the Exodus; they simply form a part of the legislation at Horeb. It is probable that the Passover was a primitive celebration, dating from a period earlier than Moses (see below), as did also the custom of dedicating firstborn and firstlings; and, on the other hand, that the F. of *Mazzoth* and the dedication of firstfruits belong to the time after the Israelites had entered Canaan. If E had been preserved alone, there would be nothing to conflict with this view. But the religious teachers whose work is represented in J struck out a new line of thought. As they meditated on the great story of the Exodus, and recalled each detail with pious thankfulness, there seemed to offer themselves certain points of comparison between the religious customs of their day and the events which formed the wonderful crisis in the history of their nation. The primitive ceremony by which their early ancestors used to propitiate God was coupled in their minds with the chiefest of all occasions on which Yahweh shewed His mercy, in sparing the firstborn of their race when He poured His wrath upon the firstborn and firstlings of the Egyptians. The custom of dedicating firstborn and firstlings recalled, in a striking manner, the same event. (Note that the offering of firstfruits, which in xxii. 29 f., xxiii. 18 f. is closely coupled with the offering of firstborn and firstlings, offered no parallelism with the Exodus, and does not appear in chs. xii., xiii.) And once more: in meditating on the meaning and possible origin of the F. of *Mazzoth*, they remembered that at the same great historical crisis their forefathers were obliged to depart from Egypt in such haste that they could not leaven their dough. From these imaginative parallels it was but a step, as years went on, to connect the three religious customs explicitly with the narrative of the Exodus: and when men's sons asked them from time to time What mean ye by this service? the answers were gradually formed which now appear in the chapters before us.

The Passover.

The history and meaning of the Passover must be studied under two quite distinct aspects—(1) its significance to Israel during the period covered by our written records, (2) its probable origin and primitive significance.

¹ In an interesting article in the *JQR* (vol. v. 420—468) Dr Büchler deals with the triennial arrangement of the ancient Jewish lectionary. Ex. xii. was read at the beginning of the second year's course.

1. It is dealt with in the following passages of the O.T. : Ex. xii. 21—27 (J for the most part), xxxiv. 25 (J), Dt. xvi. 1—8, Lev. xxiii. 5 (H), Hx. xii. 1—13, 43—49, Num. ix. 1—14, xxviii. 16, Jos. v. 10 (all P), Ez. xlv. 21—25, 2 K. xxiii. 21—23, 2 Chr. xxx., xxxv. 1—9, Ezr. vi. 19 f.

E, as has been said above, has no reference to it ; Ex. xxiii. 18 probably refers not to the Passover but to animal sacrifices in general.

In Ex. xxxiv. 25 the Passover is called a *ḥag*, or pilgrimage—the word being otherwise confined with few exceptions¹ to the three annual pilgrimages, F. of *Mazzoth*, F. of Weeks and F. of Ingathering. This has led many writers to think that ‘the Passover’ is a later insertion, applying specifically to the great and unique festival the general injunction of xxiii. 18, and dating from a time when the Passover and the F. of *Mazzoth* had become blended into one festival, as is the case in Dt. This supposition is very probably correct, although the designation of the Passover as a *ḥag* seems to date from very primitive days (see below). The passage, as it stands, lays down that in the Passover, as in other animal sacrifices, every care must be taken to avoid putrefaction, either in the flesh, or (in the form of leaven) in the bread which was eaten at the sacrificial meal.

In xii. 21 f. the victims are animals from the flock (*z’ōn*), which would include goats as well as sheep ; and nothing is said as to age or sex. The pouring out of the animal’s blood is taken for granted. A bunch of hyssop is to be dipped in the blood which is in the bason, and smeared on the door-posts and lintel, in order that the destroyer may not enter the house, but that when Yahweh passes through (*‘ābhar*) to destroy the firstborn of Egypt, He may pass by (*pāsah ‘al*) the houses marked with blood. The eating of the flesh is taken for granted, the whole emphasis being laid on the blood ceremony. The hour of the ceremony is not stated, but 22*b* implies that it is in the evening.

In Dt. (xvi. 1—8) a great change has come over the festival. It is to be observed in the month Abib as a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt. It appears to be blended with the F. of *Mazzoth*, forming a seven days’ festival. The flesh is to be ‘boiled²’ (a word which, however, may merely mean ‘cooked’ as opposed to raw ; see Driver), and eaten with unleavened cakes, ‘even the bread of affliction,’ as a memorial of the ‘trepidation’ with which the Israelites left Egypt. Above all, the celebration loses its domestic character ; nothing is said of the door-post ceremony, and the animals are to be killed only at the one central sanctuary, in the evening, the time of the departure from Egypt.

In Ez. xlv. 21—25 the Passover is blended, as in Dt., with the F. of *Mazzoth*, forming a seven days’ festival. There is no statement as to the kind of animal that is to be offered, and no mention of any private celebration. It is part of the prophet’s ideal scheme for the restored nation, a sacrifice offered by ‘the prince’ for himself and the community.

In the ‘Law of Holiness’ (Lev. xxiii. 5), which has close affinities with

¹ Ex. xxxii. 5, Jud. xxi. 19 (if this was not the F. of Ingathering), 1 K. xii. 32 f.

² Boiling appears to have been the usual method of cooking sacrificial flesh down to the exile (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 13 f., Ez. xlvi. 19—24).

Ezekiel (see *LOT*^o 147 ff.), the Passover is merely enumerated with the other feasts, and is stated to be the opening feast of the year, held in the evening of the 14th day of the first month.

In P (Ex. xii. 1—13, 43—49) is reached the final stage in the elaboration of the festival, where it again becomes a home celebration. The ordinances of J, with the exception of the hyssop and the bason, are incorporated, but with numerous additions; and the whole reads like an attempt to produce an ideal scheme, based upon ancient material. The new details are as follows: the animal (sheep or goat) is to be a year old, and perfect; it is to be selected on the 10th day of the first month and guarded; more than one family may unite to make a sufficient number to consume the animal at one meal; it may not be eaten raw or boiled¹, but it must be roasted, and kept entire—head, legs and inwards; it is to be eaten with bitter herbs (as in Dt.); all remnants must be burnt the same night; the people must eat it with staves in their hands and girded and shod as though ready for a journey². The command, in 43—49, that only the circumcised may eat it, emphasizes the idea of a covenant between God and His people. In Num. ix. 1—14 an additional law is laid down, that those who are ceremonially unclean, or who are absent on a journey, may eat it one month later, i.e. on the 14th day of the second month; and a threat is added (which is absent from Ex. xii.) that anyone who is neither unclean nor on a journey, and who fails to observe the festival, 'shall be cut off from his people.' (On this expression see Gray, *in loc.*)

The passages cited above from Jos., 2 K., 2 Chr., Ezra relate instances of the celebration of the Passover. In the prophets, except Ezekiel, there are no certain references to the festival; possible allusions occur in Ho. xii. 9 (10), Is. xxx. 29, but both are doubtful.

The later details of the Passover, such as obtained in actual practice in N.T. times, varied considerably from those found in the O.T. In one important particular they conformed more closely to Dt. than to P, the sacrificial character of the rite at the one sanctuary again coming into prominence. The chief authorities for this period are Mishna, *Pesahim*, Jubilees ch. xlix. See Edersheim, *The Temple, its Ministry and Services*, and articles in *DB*, *Enc. Bibl.* and *Enc. Brit.*

2. The religious historians of the Hebrews connected the Passover with the Exodus. But there are indications that its *origin* lay behind the Exodus in a far-off past. And though we here enter upon a region of inference and deduction, a truer and larger view will be gained of God's methods in dealing with His people when it is seen that the Passover was a primitive institution, engrained in the earlier life of Israel, and that their religious genius, by Divine inspiration, took it up and transformed it into something greater and deeper.

It is noticeable that in xii. 21 'the Passover' is abruptly introduced as something already well known; and that the Israelites had repeatedly asked

¹ See preceding footnote.

² This need not imply that they were to eat it standing. There is no command to that effect in the O.T., and in our Lord's time those who partook of the feast reclined as at an ordinary meal.

permission from Pharaoh to separate themselves three days' journey, for the purpose of holding a pilgrimage and of offering sacrifice (iii. 18, v. 1, vii. 16, viii. 27, x. 9). It would seem, therefore, that they made an annual festival, which had come down to them from their fathers, the reason—or the ostensible reason—for leaving Egypt. Moreover Pharaoh does not appear to have seen anything strange in the request; he merely refused to grant it. If, then, the Passover was a very early nomad institution, the original meaning of it must be sought partly from the ritual details, and partly from the customs of Arabian nomads of the present day, who are very tenacious of ancient traditions and habits.

The *name* is unfortunately of little help. Its Heb. form is *pesah*. In xii. 13, 23, 27 a verb (*pāsah*) is employed, apparently with the meaning 'to pass,' followed by the preposition 'al, 'over' or 'by.' This verb is found elsewhere only in Is. xxxi. 5—'as flying birds so will Yahweh of Hosts shield Jerusalem, shielding and delivering, passing (פָּסַח) and rescuing.' In these passages the rendering 'to spare' would be appropriate. But that that would be a secondary, and not the primary, significance is probably shewn by the pr. name Tiphseh (1 K. iv. 24 [v. 4]), the Greek Thapsacus,—if the town, which stood upon the Euphrates, was so named because it stood by a ford¹ where the river could be passed over.

On the other hand a root formed of the same letters frequently connotes 'lameness' or 'limping.' The adjective *pisseah* (פִּסְעָה) 'lame' is fairly common, and the verb is found three times in the O.T. : 2 S. iv. 4 (R.V. 'became lame'), 1 K. xviii. 21 ('halt'), and v. 26 ('leaped,' better 'limped' mg.). The latter passage describes the limping movement of the priests as they danced round the altar. It is possible, but somewhat unlikely, that the meaning 'pass over' was derived through the thought of 'leaping' from that of 'limping.' It is safer to treat the two roots as distinct.

It is, however, far from improbable that the name *pesah* is a corruption of an earlier word from a different root. It might, for instance, have been originally connected with the Ass. *paśāhu*, 'to propitiate' or, perhaps better, 'to be propitiated' or 'soothed.' If this Ass. root were preserved in Heb. only in the primitive name of the festival, the original meaning might easily be lost, and the word become assimilated in sound to the well-known *pasah*, 'to limp,' which was used for a sacred dance. The substantive having taken the form *pesah*, the corresponding verb in Ex. xii. could be coined to represent the current ideas of the festival, and thence be used in Is. xxxi. 5. But this is of course conjectural, and no safe conclusions as to the meaning of *pesah* can be drawn from its derivation.

In early Semitic religion the thought which dominated all acts of worship was the desire to remain on good terms with the tribal deity (see W. R. Smith, *RS*² 254—265); and it may safely be assumed that if the Passover was a primitive custom, this must have been its *raison d'être*. Again, all the evidence tends to shew that it was celebrated in the spring. And this finds

¹ Lagarde, however, doubts this (*Bild. d. Nom.* 131), and it cannot be regarded as certain.

parallels in many other nations. Wellhausen (*Proleg.* 94 f.) and W. R. Smith (*RS²* 227 f., 465) compare it with the annual Arabian sacrifices ('*atāir*) in the month Rajab. The '*atāir*' would form a still closer parallel to the Passover if it were certain that they were identical with the *fara*' (firstlings), but this is doubtful. Moore (*Enc. B.* 4186) refers to spring sacrifices among the Syrians at Hierapolis and Harran, and to the sacredness of the month Nisan as evidenced by Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions. Thus the object of the rite appears to have been that the worshippers might ensure the friendliness and favour of the tribal deity at the important period when nature was reviving, animals were being born, and man looked forward to a fresh year full of unknown possibilities of success or misfortune.

But as to the *method* by which the rite obtained the favour of the deity, and the results which were expected to be gained by it, there is a wide divergence of opinion. Each line of treatment starts from some feature in the celebration as recorded in the O.T. The following are the principal suggestions :

1. The Passover was the sacrifice of the firstborn. The dedication of the firstborn is closely connected with it in Ex. xiii. 11 ff., Dt. xv. 19, xvi. 1—8. This alone, it is said, explains the last plague; because Pharaoh prevented the Israelites from offering their firstlings, Yahweh took from the Egyptians their firstborn. And for this explanation, which is adopted by a large number of modern writers, there is much to be said. It is true that the offering of firstlings was in no sense considered as a compulsory tribute due to Yahweh; among the Arabian nomads no tribute is ever paid by a tribe either to its own chief or to its God (see *RS²* 458—462). The sacrifice of an animal was never a mere gift to the deity; it always carried with it a sacred meal, in which the deity partook of certain portions of the animal—the blood and the intestinal fat—and the worshippers the remainder. In ancient days animals were never slaughtered except for sacrifice, and conversely no animal sacrifice was offered except for the purpose of a meal in which the deity and the worshippers shared. When the Hebrews settled down to agricultural life in Canaan, the custom arose (perhaps learnt from the Canaanites) of offering the firstfruits of the crop; and this offering hardened into a regular impost or tribute which was handed over to the deity or his priests, and in which the worshipper had no share¹. The reason for the choice of firstlings, in preference to other animals, as the spring offering, is explained by W. R. Smith (*RS²* 463 ff.) to be due to the peculiar holiness attaching to the firstborn of men or animals. 'Neither in the case of children, nor in that of cattle, did the congenital holiness of the firstborn originally imply that they must be sacrificed or given to the deity on the altar, but only that if sacrifice was to be made they were the best and fittest, because the holiest, victims.'

2. But the slaughter of firstlings at the vernal equinox for a sacred feast with the deity does not exhaust the significance of the Passover rite, because it takes no account of the unique ceremony of smearing the door-posts and lintel with blood. It has been suggested that this was for the purpose of

¹ The suggestion is quite improbable that the offering of firstlings was a later extension of the practice of offering firstfruits (Benzinger, *Enc. B.* 3594).

bringing the worshippers into such close relations with the deity by a blood covenant, that no plague or pestilence might attack their dwellings; see v. 3 b, and Jubil. xlix. 15: 'and no plague shall come upon them in this year to kill and destroy them, if they observe the Passover at its season according to its ordinance.' Thus, that which in primitive days was intended as a precaution against all plagues becomes in the Exodus narrative (xii. 23 b) a precaution against the particular plague directed against the firstborn. This is adopted by Kayser-Marti, *AT. Theol.*² 37 f., and in *Enc. B.* by Benzinger. The idea embodied in the door-post ceremony is thus similar to that underlying the sacrificial feast—the desire to gain the favour of the deity; but the object is more definite—to keep away plague from the houses or tents. See also the third note in the *Addenda*.

3. Others see a piacular or atoning value in the blood ceremony, involving the thought of purification from past offences against the deity. Ewald and Dillmann point to the fact that hyssop is employed elsewhere in connexion with ceremonies of purification (Lev. xiv. 6, 49 ff., Num. xix. 6; cf. Ps. li. 7 (9)). But it is open to question whether this does not imply too advanced a stage of religious thought to allow of its being regarded as the *original* idea of the ceremony.

It is perhaps impossible to decide which features in the rite were absolutely the earliest. The feast in which deity and worshippers partake, and the marking of the door-posts or tent-poles with blood as a precaution against plague, are both entirely in accord with primitive Semitic custom. All that can be said is that by the time the Israelites were in Egypt, the Passover ceremonies had come to include both; and perhaps also they had by that time been invested with a piacular value.

An ingenious explanation of a different kind is offered by Trumbull (*The Threshold Covenant*, 203 ff.). He collects instances which shew that among many peoples an animal is sacrificed, and its blood shed upon the threshold and smeared upon the door-posts, as a welcome to a specially honoured guest, or to a bride and bridegroom in marriage. This he claims to be the only explanation which takes account of the word *pesah* and the verb *pāśah*. He also points out that *saph* can denote not only a basin, but also a threshold (cf. 2 K. xii. 9 (10) and freq.), whether as hollowed out by the tread of feet, or (as he thinks) purposely, to form a receptacle for blood. According to this view, Yahweh did not 'pass over' the houses marked with blood, but as an honoured Guest 'crossed over' the threshold. Trumbull presses the idea in somewhat fanciful detail, suggesting that Yahweh crossed the threshold as the Bridegroom, and was thus married to His people. But if the thought could be retained of the Guest entering the house in order to partake of the covenant feast, and thereby preventing the entrance of the destroyer, it would be an illuminating explanation of the ceremony. This attractive theory, however, cannot be regarded as established. Trumbull gives no instances of the performance of the threshold ceremony for an *invisible*, divine Guest. And in any case his view is entirely dependent upon a narrowly defined meaning of the doubtful verb *pāśah*.

No study of the Passover would be complete which did not take account of S. Paul's words in 1 Cor. v. 7, 'our paschal Victim also hath been slain, even

Christ.' This is not the place to work out the thought in detail. But it is one of the fundamental factors in the growth of Christianity out of the Hebrew germ that in the highest act of Christian worship all the main features in the Passover are taken up and receive their full and eternal significance. The Firstborn, the chosen 'Lamb of God,' without blemish, slain once for all, is continually offered; the feast is continually spread through which the faithful partaker enters anew into vital union with God; and the atoning virtue of 'the Blood of the Lamb' is continually effectual for the salvation of every heart upon which it is sprinkled.

XII. 1 And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in the *P* land of Egypt, saying, 2 This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you. 3 Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, In the tenth *day* of this month they shall take to them every man a ¹lamb, according to their fathers' houses, a lamb for an household: 4 and if the household be too little for a lamb,

¹ Or, *kid*

XII. 1-13. *The Passover.*

2. *This month.* The word *hōdesh* denotes primarily the 'new moon,' by which the months were reckoned: and in other Semitic languages this meaning is retained. It was an innovation of the Hebrews to use it as equivalent to *yerah*, 'month.'

the beginning of months. The Hebrews had two methods of reckoning the year. According to one method the year began in the autumn, at the close of the harvest. The harvest festival is placed 'at the going out of the year' (xxiii. 16 E), and 'at the revolution of the year' (xxxiv. 22 J). But the stages in the harvest being the dominant interest to an agricultural people, the year was felt to enter upon a fresh beginning when the first ripe ears of corn appeared. And thus the first day of the month of the fresh ears (*'ābīb*) was in some sense a New Year's day. That this practice was in existence before the exile is implied by the use of the expression 'the return of the year' (2 S. xi. 1, 1 K. xx. 22, 26) for the time when royal campaigns could be resumed—i.e. the spring. After the exile the autumn era, owing to Babylonian influence, was abandoned, and the change to the spring era was complete. Thus throughout P, the month Abib (March—April) is 'the beginning of months.' The Babylonian name Nisan was adopted in post-exilic times, as being practically equivalent to Abib. Neh. ii. 1, Est. iii. 7. See further on xiii. 4.

3. *a lamb.* The actual word here used (*seh*) is the general term for a sheep or goat (not 'kid' mg.), though v. 5 shews that a young animal is meant. The distinctive term for 'lamb' (*kebhes*) occurs in v. 5b (R.V. 'sheep'), xxix. 38 ff.

4. According to later custom, ten persons was the required minimum (Jos. *BJ* vi. ix. 3).

then shall he and his neighbour next unto his house take one *P* according to the number of the souls; according to every man's eating ye shall make your count for the lamb. 5 Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it from the sheep, or from the goats: 6 and ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it ¹at even. 7 And they shall take of the blood, and put it on the two side posts and on the lintel, upon the houses wherein they shall eat it. 8 And they shall eat the flesh in

¹ Heb. *between the two evenings.*

every man's eating. Women and children, for example, would require less than grown men; cf. xvi. 18.

5. *without blemish*; perfect. See the general sacrificial regulations in Lev. xxii. 17-25.

a male. As in the case of a burnt-offering, Lev. i. 3, 10. For a sin- or thank-offering either sex might be used.

of the first year; a year old, i.e. an animal that had been born the previous spring. Contrast the regulation for the offering of the firstborn (xxii. 30 (29) E) and the late specific regulation for offerings by fire (Lev. xxii. 27).

6. *ye shall keep it up*; it shall be kept (or guarded) by you.

at even. The Heb. word is dual in form, which gives rise to the marg. rendering; and the writer seems to shew that he so understood it by his use of the preposition 'between.' The expression is explained by Dillmann and others to mean within the space of time from an hour before sunset to an hour after it. But it is probable that the form '*arbāyim* (like *y'rushālayim* (Jerusalem), *zoh^orayim* (mid-day), and others) is only an extended form of a sing. '*arbām*. In Lev. xxiii. 5 LXX has ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν¹, but elsewhere πρὸς ἑσπέραν (here, xvi. 12, Num. ix. 3, 11, xxviii. 4, 8), or το δειλιον (Ex. xxix. 39, 41). The meaning is, therefore, 'within the period from sunset to dark,' as it was understood by the Samaritans, Karaites and Sadducees. On the other hand the Pharisees and the Talmudists held it to denote from the hour of the sun's decline until its setting (cf. Jos *BJ*. vi. ix. 3, *Pesah*. v. 1, Jubil. xlix.).

7. The door represented the whole house (cf. xxi. 6), as a gate represented the whole city (1 K. viii. 37).

8. *unleavened cakes.* Heb. *mazzoth*; flat circular cakes about an inch thick and a span in diameter. Leaven was a symbol of corruption (see Mat. xvi. 6, Mk. viii. 15, Lk. xii. 1, 1 Cor. v. 6 ff.). This idea is also found in classical writers; cf. the use of *fermentum*,

¹ The bald literalness of the rendering suggests that Aquila's rendering has found its way into the LXX. In Num. ix. 5, where LXX does not contain the expression, this rendering is supplied in one ms. See Field, *Hexapla*.

that night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread; with bitter *P* herbs they shall eat it. 9 Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast with fire; its head with its legs and with the inwards thereof. 10 And ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning; but that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire. 11 And thus shall ye eat

Persius i. 24. The prohibition of leaven was probably derived from very early ritual custom.

Mazzōth were also required with the ritual of the 'peace-offering' (Lev. ii. 4 f., vii. 12), with the 'peace-offering' of a Nazirite (Num. vi. 15, 17, 19), and at the consecration of priests (Ex. xxix. 2, 23, Lev. viii. 2, 26). In Lev. ii. 11 it is laid down that no meal-offering may be made by burning leaven or honey.

bitter herbs. LXX *πικρῖδες*. Pliny (xix. 38) describes the *picris* as a very bitter kind of lettuce; Vg. *lactuca agrestis*. Others take it to be the wild endive (cichorium). Both plants are indigenous in Egypt and Syria, appearing in March—April. *Pesahim* ii. 6 allows the use of five different herbs, of which these are two.

9. *raw.* The object of the prohibition was to prevent the eating of the blood (Gen. ix. 4, Lev. vii. 26 f., xvii. 11 f.). The blood being regarded as the seat of the vital principle or the soul (*nephesh*), it was too sacred and mysterious to be used as human food; it must be offered to God before the flesh could be eaten. In early times when all slaughter was for the purpose of sacrifice this dedication of the blood was a matter of course; see 1 S. xiv. 32, 34. But when the Dt. legislation confined all worship to the central sanctuary, and slaughter was necessarily authorised for domestic purposes, it was still expressly enacted that the blood of the animal should be allowed to flow away. See Dt. xii. 15 f., and Driver's note; W. R. Smith, *RS*² 234 f., *OTJC*² 249 f.

sodden, i.e. boiled. The reason for the command to roast, and not to boil, has been variously explained, and perhaps more than one idea contributed to it: (1) to bring the flesh into contact with a foreign substance such as water, might be considered a defilement; (2) it would be difficult to boil a whole lamb in any ordinary utensil, without cutting it into parts, or breaking its bones (cf. v. 46); (3) it was prohibited, in the case of animals offered by fire, to eat the intestinal fat (xxix. 13, 22, Lev. iii. 3—5, iv. 8 ff., vii. 22—25; see *RS*² 379 f.); so in the present case the inwards are to be roasted, in order that the intestinal fat may drip down and be burnt in the fire. The flesh is evidently to be roasted on a spit and not in an oven.

10. In a hot climate the meat would very quickly become corrupt; cf. Lev. vii. 15—17.

11. There is nothing to shew that the writer intended these regulations to apply only to the Egyptian Passover; and by the Samaritans they are to this day observed as binding. But among

it ; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your *P* staff in your hand : and ye shall eat it in haste : it is the LORD'S passover. 12 For I will go through the land of Egypt in that night, and will smite all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, both man and beast ; and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgements : I am the LORD. 13 And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are : and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and there shall no plague be upon you ¹to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt. 14 And this day shall be unto you for a memorial, and ye shall keep it a feast to the LORD : throughout your generations ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever. 15 Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread ; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses : for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel. 16 And in the first day there shall be to you an holy convocation, and in the seventh day an holy convocation ; no manner of work shall be done in them, save that which every man must eat, that only may be done of you. 17 And ye shall observe the *feast of*

¹ Or, *for a destroyer*

the Jews 'the Passover of Egypt' or 'the first Passover' was distinguished from 'the Passover of [all] generations' or 'the second' or 'the little Passover,' and many of the details here laid down were omitted, while others were added.

in haste ; in trepidation. The word denotes hurrying in fear or panic. Dt. xvi. 3, Is. lii. 12 †.

12. *in that night ; this night.*

13. *I will pass over you.* By the coinage of the word Passover in the English Bible, the play on the verb *pāsaḥ* and the subst. *pesaḥ* is reproduced. See introd. note.

14—20. *The Festival of Unleavened Cakes (Mazzoth).*

14. *this day*, i.e. the first of the seven days' festival (see foll. *v.*), as representing the whole week. The festival was quite distinct from the Passover, on which *mazzoth* were eaten, though it immediately followed it. This is clearly shewn in Lev. xxiii. 5, 6.

15. *unleavened cakes.* Leaven was forbidden in all sacrifices (xxiii. 18 E, xxxiv. 25 J, Lev. ii. 11, vi. 17 (10) P) with the exception of a peace-offering (Lev. vii. 13 P) and the wave-loaves at Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 17 H), but in neither of these was it offered on the altar. Am. iv. 5 shews that leaven was used more widely in the N. kingdom, but the prophet appears to disapprove of its use.

unleavened bread; for in this selfsame day have I brought *P* your hosts out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day throughout your generations by an ordinance for ever. 18 In the first *month*, on the fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even. 19 Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses: for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a sojourner, or one that is born in the land. 20 Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.

21 Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said *J* unto them, ¹Draw out, and take you ²lambs according to your families, and kill the passover. 22 And ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the bason, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the blood that is in the bason; and none of you shall go out of the door of

¹ Or, *Go forth*

² Or, *kids*

19. *a sojourner.* Heb. *gér.* 'A man of another tribe or district, who, coming to sojourn in a place where he was not strengthened by the presence of his own kin, put himself under the protection of a clan or of a powerful chief.' (W. R. Smith, *RS*² 75 ff.)

one that is born in the land, i.e. a true-blooded Israelite. The word 'ezrah, 'a native,' is confined to H and P except in Jos. viii. 33 (D), and always in contrast to *gér* except in Lev. xxiii. 42.

21-28. *The Passover.*

21. *Draw out.* This probably refers to the usual action of a shepherd or shearer, who catches the leg of the sheep with his crook and draws it out from the flock. The rendering in the marg. 'go forth' (LXX Vg. Targ-Onk.) can be illustrated by Jud. iv. 6, v. 14 (probably), xx. 37, Job xxi. 33 †, where it denotes 'march forth in line,' 'deploy.' But that meaning is scarcely suitable here.

the passover. The word is introduced abruptly, with the article, as an institution already well known (see introd. note).

22. *hyssop.* One of the many species of marjoram which grow wild; it is found in clefts of rocks and chinks of walls (1 K. iv. 33), and has several straight leafy stalks growing from one head, which would form a convenient brush for sprinkling. It was employed in the purification of a recovered leper (Lev. xiv. 4, 6, 49, 51 f.), and of a man defiled by contact with a dead body (Num. xix. 6, 18).

the blood that is in the bason. Since the ceremony was already well known, these and perhaps other unrecorded details were taken for

his house until the morning. 23 For the LORD will pass *J* through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side posts, the LORD will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you. | 24 And ye shall observe this thing *P* for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever. | 25 And *R^D* it shall come to pass, when ye be come to the land which the LORD will give you, according as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this service. 26 And it shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? 27 that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the LORD's passover, ¹who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. | And *J* the people bowed the head and worshipped. | 28 And the *P* children of Israel went and did so; as the LORD had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

29 And it came to pass at midnight, that the LORD smote *J* all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the firstborn of cattle. 30 And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house where there was not one dead. 31 And he called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said, Rise up, get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve the LORD, as ye have said. 32 Take both your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and

¹ Or, *for that he passed*

granted. LXX *παρὰ τὴν θύραν* understands *saph* (bason) in the sense of 'threshold.' See introd. note.

23. *pass over*. See introd. note.

the destroyer. Cf. 2 S. xxiv. 16. He is a personal manifestation of Yahweh's power, but in no sense distinct from Yahweh Himself (v. 27, xi. 4).

29-42. *The death of the firstborn and the departure from Egypt*.

29. *the captive*. In the Hebrew this is a masculine word which is not found elsewhere in the O.T. LXX has the feminine, which would form a more complete parallel with xi. 5.

32. *and bless me also*. Pharaoh's words seem to shew that he expected the Israelites to return after the sacrifice. They are to go

be gone; and bless me also. 33 And the Egyptians were *J* urgent upon the people, to send them out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead men. 34 And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneadingtroughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders. | 35 And the *E* children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: 36 and the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they let them have what they asked. And they spoiled the Egyptians.

37 And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to *J*

and do service to their God in order to gain His favour; and he hopes that they will have no lasting feelings of hostility against him, but will obtain favour for him also at the same time. See note on x. 25.

35, 36. The Israelites acted in obedience to the command in iii. 21 f. (E). The verses as rendered in the R.V. imply that they had some time in which they could ask for ornaments and clothing from their Egyptian neighbours, whereas in *vv.* 33, 34 they were hurried out of the country in extreme haste. It is possible to obviate the difficulty by rendering 'the children of Israel *had done* according to the word of Moses...and Yahweh *had given* &c.'; but this does not remove the necessity of assigning 33 f. and 35 f. to different sources.

A good example of patristic allegorical exegesis is afforded by Augustine (*de doct. Christ.* ch. xl.), who follows the thought of Origen's *Ep. to Gregory*. The following is an abstract of his remarks: The Egyptians had not only idols and heavy burdens, but also silver and gold of which they did not make good use. And God commanded the Israelites to take their silver and their gold from them in order to use it for a good purpose. In the same way, the heathen have not only false superstitions and heavy burdens of unnecessary toil, which Christians, when they go out from fellowship with them under Christ's leadership, ought to abhor; but they also have liberal instruction and excellent precepts of morality, and even some truths with regard to the only God. They did not create these truths, but 'dug them out of the mines of God's providence which are scattered everywhere'; and since they are 'prostituting them to the worship of devils,' the Christian ought to take them from them. Augustine, however, recognises that such allegorizing represents only his private opinion, for he adds, 'And this I say without prejudice to any other interpretation which may be as good or better.'

Keble adopts the thought in the *Christian Year*, 3rd Sunday in Lent.

37. *Rameses to Succoth*. Both towns have been identified with some certainty; see pp. xciii. f., and *Addenda*.

Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, *J* beside children. 38 And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle. 39 And they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought forth out of Egypt, for it was not leavened; because they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual | 40 Now the sojourning *R^p* of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years. 41 And it came to pass at the

about six hundred thousand. Cf. Num. xi. 21. This included all the males who could march. The 'children,' among whom the women seem to be included (cf. x. 10), would ride on beasts. But the number is surprisingly large; and it is a round number, for which the exact figures are supplied by P in xxxviii. 26, Num. i. 46, as 603,550, exclusive of Levites who are reckoned as 8,580 (Num. iv. 48). At the end of the journeyings, the numbers, after the plague at Baal-Peor, were 601,730, and the Levites 23,000 (Num. xxvi. 51, 62). Including women and children the numbers at the Exodus thus amount to between one and two millions. Not only is it impossible to suppose that they could have been so multiplied from 70 persons in 430 years (or, according to another reckoning, four generations), but the territory of Goshen could not have contained them. Flinders Petrie (*Expositor*, Aug. 1905, and more fully in *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 207—17) explains the 'thousands' as 'families' and the 'hundreds' as the actual number of the people. He understands a 'family' as the *occupants of a tent*, including all children of any age, 'besides herdsmen and hangers-on of the "mixed multitude."' But, welcome as an explanation of the difficulty would be, it is doubtful if Prof. Petrie supplies it. In taking the 'thousands' to stand for occupants of tents, he disregards the fact that both in the present passage and in Num. the census was concerned only with the fighting men 'from twenty years old and upward' (Num. i. 3, 18). And a study of such passages as Jud. vi. 15, 1 S. x. 19, 21, Mic. v. 2, seems to shew that '*elep*h,' 'thousand,' when not used as a numeral, denoted a larger unit than a single household. It was a clan, or at least comprised several branches or kinsmen within a clan.

38. *a great mixed company.* Cf. Neh. xiii. 3. They must have been non-Israelites, and would comprise, 1st, *Egyptians*, with whom the Israelites may to a small extent have intermarried (Lev. xxiv. 10), 2nd, *Semites* of various tribes from the desert frontiers, and, 3rd, *other foreigners* who, as prisoners, had been united with the Israelites in building labour (see on i. 9). They are mentioned in Num. xi. 4, and alluded to in Dt. xxix. 11, Jos. viii. 35.

40. *four hundred and thirty years.* This is in substantial agreement with the 400 of Gen. xv. 13. In Gen. xv. 16 the 400 years is

end of four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it *R^p* came to pass, that all the hosts of the LORD went out from the land of Egypt. 42 It is ¹a night to be much observed unto the LORD for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: ²this is that night of the LORD, to be much observed of all the children of Israel throughout their generations.

¹ Or, *a night of watching unto the LORD*

² Or, *this same night is a night of watching unto the LORD for all &c.*

equivalent to four generations, which is also the calculation of Ex. vi. 14—27. According to P the period of the patriarchs' sojourn in Canaan amounted to 215 years, giving 645 years from Abraham to the Exodus. Driver (*Genesis*, xxviii. ff.) shews that if Hammurabi is the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. 1, and if, further, the *role* assigned to Abraham in that chapter is, at least substantially, historical, Abraham's date is fixed at c. 2250 B.C. The Israelites will then, according to P, have gone into Egypt c. 2035, and the Exodus occurred c. 1605. But according to Ussher's date for Solomon, 1014—975 (it ought probably to be 40 or 50 years later), the Biblical date for the Exodus, calculated from 1 K. vi. 1, is 1491 B.C. It is impossible, therefore, to uphold both the Biblical chronology and the identity of Amraphel and Hammurabi. Many scholars, however, doubt this identity. But although there are no exact data by which to fix the time when Abraham came to Canaan, P's chronology is discredited partly by the great length of life which he ascribes to the patriarchs, and partly by the fact that his dates appear to be arrived at by an artificial system of computation. (This tendency is seen also in the later history. See Moore, *Judges*, xxxvii.—xliii.) On the other hand, if Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus, the Biblical date is earlier than that obtained from contemporary inscriptions; and Prof. Sayce places the Exodus in c. 1213 B.C. Moreover the traditions as to the chronology are rendered still more uncertain by the statement in the LXX in the present passage that 'the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan', was 430 [some MSS 435] years'; i.e. the period of the sojourning in Egypt is exactly half the length assigned to it in the Heb. text. This tradition (which was probably an attempt to lessen the difficulty of the 'four generations') is followed in Gal. iii. 17 and Jos. *Ant.* II. xv. 2.

41. *the selfsame day*. A peculiar idiom; lit. the 'bone,' i.e. the substance, of the day—the day itself. It is confined to P in the Hex. and to Ezek. (ii. 3, xxiv. 2). Cf. 'the heaven itself' (Ex. xxiv. 10), 'his full strength' (Job xxi. 23).

42. *a night to be much observed*: so Vg. 'nox observabilis.' But the LXX προσφυλακή suggests the better rendering 'a night of vigil,' i.e. a night on which men should keep vigil.

¹ Similarly the Sam. 'the sojourning of the children of Israel and their fathers, which they sojourned in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt....'

43 And the LORD said unto Moses and Aaron, This is the *P* ordinance of the passover: there shall no alien eat thereof: 44 but every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof. 45 A sojourner and an hired servant shall not eat thereof. 46 In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth aught of the flesh abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof. 47 All the congregation of Israel shall ¹keep it. 48 And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the LORD, let all his males be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one that is born

¹ Heb. *do it*.

43—51. *The Passover.*

44. *bought for money.* Gen. xvii. 12 f., 23, 27 †.

45. *sojourner* (*tôshābh*), only in H and P; a non-Israelite temporarily staying in the country and dependent upon his host for kindness and protection. He, and the hired servant whose connexion with an Israelite would likewise be temporary, were excluded from Israelite privileges. But the privileges might, on the other hand, be extended to the *gēr* (v. 48 'stranger'), whose residence, if temporary, was of longer duration. See on v. 19.

46. Though the next-door neighbour might share in the lamb, no portion of the flesh might be carried out to his house. The thought of unity is thus emphasized in the partaking of the undivided lamb (cf. 1 Cor. x. 17). The neighbour, however, is not (in the P legislation) forbidden to return to his house the same night; contrast v. 22 (J).

and a bone ye shall not break in it. This is generally regarded as the source of the quotation in Jn. xix. 36: *οστρον ου συντριβήσεται αυτού*. But the verb is there passive¹, which is found also in Ps. xxxiv. 20 [xxxiii. 21]. S. John's quotation may have been shaped by a reminiscence of both passages, and both have their spiritual application in connexion with Christ, who was at once the paschal Lamb and the 'righteous man.'

47. *shall keep it; shall offer it.* See next v.

48. *will keep a passover; or, better, will offer a passover* [victim]. Cf. v. 21, Dt. xvi. 2, 5 f. See on x. 25.

let him come near. The priestly writer here betrays himself. The expression must mean that the worshipper is to come near to the Temple at Jerusalem, where the lambs were killed and offered, and their blood sprinkled at the base of the altar. The verb is frequently

¹ LXX^A has *συντριβεται*, which might possibly be due to a Christian scribe who had S. John's passage in his mind; but it is simpler to suppose it to be an itacism for *συντριβετε*.

in the land: but no uncircumcised person shall eat thereof. *P*
 49 One law shall be to him that is homeborn, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you. 50 Thus did all the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they. | 51 And it came to pass the selfsame day, that *R^P* the LORD did bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by their hosts.

XIII. 1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 2 Sanctify *P* unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast: it is mine.

3 And Moses said unto the people, | Remember this day, in *JR^D* which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of ¹bondage; for by strength of hand the LORD brought you out from this place: there shall no leavened bread be eaten. | 4 This day *J* ye go forth in the month Abib. | 5 And it shall be when the *R^D* LORD shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this service in this

¹ Heb. *bondmen*

used in connexion with the altar and the tabernacle; xl. 32, Lev. ix. 5, 7, 8, xxi. 17 f., Num. xvi. 40 [xvii. 5]. Cf. Ez. xl. 46, xlv. 4.

XIII. 1, 2. *Dedication of firstborn and firstlings.* *P* treats the subject more fully in Num. iii. 11—13, 40—45, xviii. 15—18. See pp. xli. f.

3—10. *Festival of Mazzôth.* See on xxiii. 15 and pp. xliii. f.

4. *ye are going forth.* The Exodus is about to take place, whereas the tenses in *v.* 3 represent it as already past. See analysis, p. xviii.

Abib, the month of the ripening ears (subsequently the 1st month; see on xii. 2). Three others of the old Canaanite names of months have been preserved: *Ziv*, the month of flowers, 1 K. vi. 1 (the 2nd month); *'Êthänm*, the month of continually flowing streams, 1 K. viii. 2 (the 7th month); *Bûl*, the meaning of which is unknown, 1 K. vi. 38 (the 8th month). The two latter are also found in Phœnician inscriptions. During the exile the months were distinguished merely by numerals, as in parts of Jer. Ez. and Kings, and in Hag. Zech. From the time of the exile the new Babylonian names begin to find a place in the Jewish calendar: Nisan (March—April), Sivan (May—June), Elul (Aug.—Sept.), Kislev (Nov.—Dec.), Tebeth (Dec.—Jan.), Shebat (Jan.—Feb.), and Adar (Feb.—March) appear in the Old Testament. See art. 'Time' in *DB* iv. 765.

month. | 6 Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in *R^DJ* the seventh day shall be a feast to the LORD. 7 Unleavened bread shall be eaten throughout the seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee, in all thy borders. | 8 And thou shalt *R^D* tell thy son in that day, saying, It is because of that which the LORD did for me when I came forth out of Egypt. 9 And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the law of the LORD may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the LORD brought thee out of Egypt. | 10 Thou shalt therefore keep this *J* ordinance in its season from year to year.

11 And it shall be when the LORD shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanite, as he sware unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee, 12 that thou shalt ¹set apart unto the LORD all that openeth the womb, and every firstling which thou hast that cometh of a beast; the males shall be the LORD'S. 13 And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a ²lamb; and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck: and all the firstborn of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem. | 14 And it shall be when thy son asketh thee in *R^D* time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt say unto him, By strength of hand the LORD brought us out from Egypt, from the house of ³bondage: 15 and it came to pass, when

¹ Heb. *cause to pass over*.² Or, *kid*³ Heb. *bondmen*.

8. *thou shalt tell*. LXX ἀναγγελεῖς. There is perhaps a conscious analogy of thought in the καταγγέλλετε of 1 Cor. xi. 26.

9. See note on v. 16.

11-16. *Firstlings*.

13. *break its neck*. xxxiv. 20, Dt. xxi. 4, 6, Is. lxvi. 3†. It has been suggested that the ass is mentioned only as a typical instance of an unclean animal. But there is evidence to shew that among some branches of Semites the ass had a peculiar sacredness attaching to it, somewhat in the form of a taboo (W. R. Smith, *RS²* 463, 468). LXX represents a milder regulation; in the present passage it has λυτρώση, and in xxxiv. 20 τιμὴν δώσεις¹. But in Dt. *l.c.* it renders νευροκοπεῖν, and in Is. *l.c.* ἀποκτένων.

¹ Possibly reading וְכַבֵּדְוּ for וְכַבְּדוּ.

Pharaoh ¹would hardly let us go, that the LORD slew all the *R^D* firstborn in the land of Egypt, both the firstborn of man, and the firstborn of beast: therefore I sacrifice to the LORD all that openeth the womb, being males; but all the firstborn of my sons I redeem. 16 And it shall be for a sign upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the LORD brought us forth out of Egypt.

17 And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people *E* go, that God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they

¹ Or, *hardened himself against letting us go*

15. *would hardly let us go.* More literally 'made a difficulty about letting us go.' The marg. rendering is very improbable.

16. *frontlets.* Dt. vi. 8, xi. 18 †. The later Jews understood the words literally, and wore 'phylacteries' (safety-amulets) or *tephillin* ('prayers') on the forehead and on the arm. These are still worn daily at morning prayer, except on Sabbaths and festivals. See art. 'Phylacteries' in *DB* iii. Verse 9 and the present passage are parallel injunctions of a Deuteronomic character referring respectively to *Mazzōth* and the dedication of firstlings; and 'frontlet' is, therefore, evidently intended to be figurative, and equivalent to 'memorial.' Compare similar figurative expressions in Prov. i. 9, iii. 3, vi. 21, vii. 3. It is doubtful whether the injunctions in Dt. are to be considered figurative or not. The parallelism with Ex. strongly favours the view that they are. See, however, Driver on Dt. vi. 8.

CHAPTER XIII. 17—22.

The first stage in the journey.

XIII. 17. *the land of the Philistines.* This description appears to be proleptic, describing the tract afterwards occupied by the Philistines. The mention of them in Gen. xxi. 32, 34, xxvi. 1, 8, 14f., 18 is almost certainly an anachronism. They are described as immigrants from Caphtor (probably Crete), Am. ix. 7, Jer. xlvii. 4. They are probably to be identified (M. Müller, Maspero, Sayce) with the Purasati or Pulsata, one of a group of piratical tribes from the coasts of Asia Minor or the Aegean islands, who raided Egypt in the time of Ramses III, *after* the Exodus (see Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 46).

because that was near. God led them not by that route, as might have been expected because of its nearness. The verse expresses, with a grand simplicity, the writer's belief in the guiding providence of God.

return to Egypt : 18 but God led the people about, by the way *E* of the wilderness by the Red Sea : and the children of Israel went up armed out of the land of Egypt. 19 And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him : for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you ; and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you. | 20 And they *P* took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness. | 21 And the LORD went before *J* them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way ; and

18. *the wilderness*, the uncultivated tract of country on the East of Egypt, but West of the Red Sea.

the Red Sea. Heb. *Yam Sūph*, 'Sea of reeds.' The word *Sūph* (apart from this geographical name) nowhere denotes 'sea-weed' except in the poetical passage, Jon. ii. 5 [6]. See note on ii. 3. And the name *Yam Sūph* appears originally to have belonged to the fresh-water lake lying immediately to the N. of the sea, and thence was extended to the whole of the Red Sea. See p. xcvi.

The English name is obscure. It goes back, through the Vulg., to the LXX *η ἐρυθρα θάλασσα*. It was known to classical writers, but Berosus and Herodotus applied it to the whole Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. The name has been explained by the corals within its waters, by the colour of the Edomite and Arabian Mountains bordering its coasts, or by the glow of the sky reflected in it. But it remains as uncertain to us as it was to the Greeks.

armed ; in army array. The word *hamushim* (which is perhaps connected with the numeral *hāmēsh*, 'five') appears to describe not the bearing of weapons but the order and arrangement of a body of troops as though divided into five parts. Num. xxxii. 17 (prob.), Jos. i. 14, iv. 12, Jud. vii. 11 †.

20. *Etham* ; perhaps a Hebraized form of the Egyptian *hetem*, 'fortress.' See pp. xciv. f.

21. It is interesting to notice the varying conceptions, in the Pentateuch, of the cloud as an indication of the Divine Presence.

In J, Yahweh led the people continuously by moving in front of them in a column of cloud by day and fire by night. This 'departed not' (v. 22), presumably, until Canaan was reached. See xiv. 19, 24, Num. xiv. 14¹. A cloud also accompanied the theophany at Sinai, and Yahweh descended in it and talked with Moses, xxxiv. 5.

In E, the fiery appearance of the cloud is not mentioned, and the cloud was not a guide, going in front of the people. It came down from time to time, and stood at the door of the 'tent of meeting,' which was pitched outside the camp : xxxiii. 7-11 (where the tenses are frequentative), Num. xi. 25, xii. 5, 10, Dt. xxxi. 15.

¹ The clause 'and thy cloud standeth over them,' and x. 34, appear to be due to a redactor.

by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light ; that they might *J* go by day and by night : 22 ¹the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, departed not from before the people.

XIV. 1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 2 Speak *P* unto the children of Israel, that they turn back and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-

¹ Or, *he took not away the pillar of cloud by day, nor the &c.*

A cloud also, as in *J*, appeared on the mountain, xix. 9, 16.

Dt. i. 33 refers to the narrative of *J* ; and iv. 11, v. 22 (19), to the cloud on the mountain.

In *P*, the conception starts from the appearance of a cloud enveloping the glorious Presence of Yahweh on Mt Sinai, Ex. xxiv. 16—18. It did not appear in the camp until the completion of the Dwelling, when it covered the building, while the glory of Yahweh filled it. At night it had a fiery appearance. Its presence, covering the Dwelling, was permanent till the journeys were over (xl. 34—38, Num. ix. 15 f.). It gave the signal for moving the camp by rising above the Dwelling (Num. ix. 17—23, x. 11 f.). Thus *P* agrees with *E* in relating its appearance only after the erection of the tent, and with *J* in describing its fiery appearance by night. But in other respects it differs from both. See also Ex. xvi. 10 (which belongs to a period after the completion of the tent), Num. xvi. 42.

It is not impossible that the traditions of a guiding cloud may have had a natural basis. The custom is frequently noted in early times of carrying braziers containing burning wood at the head of an army or caravan, and the fire indicated, by night, the line of march. Curtius relates it of Alexander's march through Babylonia (v. ii. 7), and of the Persians generally (iii. iii. 9)¹. In modern times travellers speak of it in Arabian caravans, and in Palestine. See Harmer, *Observations*, ii. 278 ; Frazer, *Golden Bough*⁽²⁾, i. 305. But, as so often, a natural custom or phenomenon rises, in the Hebrew tradition, to a beautiful and spiritual conception, of which all thought of the origin is lost.

Later references are found in Ps. lxxviii. 14, cv. 39, Wisd. x. 17 ; and further spiritual application is made of it in Is. iv. 5, 1 Cor. x. 1 f. Possibly, also, it suggested our Lord's words in Jn. viii. 12 : 'I am the Light of the world ; he that *followeth* me shall not *walk* in darkness.'

CHAPTER XIV.

The crossing of the water.

XIV. 2. Although the situation of the spot is described with such exactness, the names afford little help towards its identification. But the crossing was probably effected not at the northern point of the sea but at the southern point of a lake which lay immediately to the N. of it. See pp. xcv. f.

¹ See, for other references, Dillmann's note on the present passage.

zephon : over against it shall ye encamp by the sea. 3 And *P* Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in. 4 And I will ¹harden Pharaoh's heart, and he shall follow after them ; and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host ; and the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD. And they did so. | 5 And it was told the king of Egypt that the people *J* were fled : and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was changed towards the people, and they said, What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go from serving us ? 6 And he made ready his ²chariot, and took his people with him : | 7 and he took six hundred chosen chariots, | and all the *E J* chariots of Egypt, | and captains over all of them. | 8 And the *E P*

¹ Heb. *make strong*.² Or, *chariots*

3. *They are entangled ; they are perplexed.* Joel i. 18 (of cattle), Est. iii. 15 (of a city) †.

4. *get me honour upon Pharaoh ;* cf. v. 17. The expression is not, of itself, equivalent to a statement that Pharaoh was drowned. In *vv.* 6—8 it is said that he followed after the Israelites with his hosts : but neither in this chapter, nor in the song which follows, is his death actually spoken of. The only definite statement in the O.T. is in a very late psalm (cxxxvi. 15). At the same time it cannot be denied that the narrative of Exodus seems to imply that Pharaoh went into the water with his army and perished. This finds no trace of support in Egyptian monuments ; and it is difficult to escape from the impression that the Heb. narrative was heightened and idealized in the course of centuries of oral repetition, representing that a righteous retribution fell on the persecuting king. This impression is strengthened, if the Pharaoh was Merenptah, by the fact that his mummy was discovered by Loret in 1898 in a side-chamber of the tomb of Amenhotep II¹. Still it is not impossible that his body was afterwards found, and buried with funeral honours, and it is more than probable that all reference to the catastrophe would be suppressed in the monuments. The question must remain doubtful, unless further excavations bring to light a definite record as to the place or manner of his death.

7. *captains.* Heb. *shālīshīm*. The word seems to be connected with the numeral 'three' ; *LXX* *τριστατης*. Among the Assyrians (at least in the case of the king and high officials), the Kheta and the Hebrews

¹ It was at first thought to be the body of Khu-en-aten (Amenophis IV). But the priests of Amen would be very unlikely to preserve the body of their great religious enemy, who had tried to substitute the worship of Aten for that of Amen. And when the rough scrawl of a scribe found upon it was better understood, it was proved to be the body of Merenptah (W. Groff in *Recueil de Travaux Egypt. et Assyri.* xx. 224, xxii. 136, xxiii. 32—38).

LORD ¹hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he *P* pursued after the children of Israel: for the children of Israel went out with an high hand. 9 And the Egyptians pursued after them, | all the horses *and* chariots of Pharaoh, and *R* his horsemen, and his army, | and overtook them encamping *P* by the sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon. | 10 And *J*. when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians marched after them; and they were sore afraid: | and the children of Israel cried *N* out unto the LORD. | 11 And they said unto Moses, Because *J* there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to bring us forth out of Egypt? 12 Is not this the word that we spake unto thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it were better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness. 13 And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the LORD, which he will work for

¹ Heb. *made strong*.

(cf. Benzinger, *Arch.* 359) it was customary for each chariot to be manned by three men; one held the reins, another a large shield, and the third fought. But an Egyptian war-chariot carried only two, the fighter wielding his own shield (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 547 f.). If, therefore, the word *shālīsh* is connected with *shālōsh* ('three'), as applied to an Egyptian it is strictly an archaeological error. But even among the Hebrews it came to be used loosely for an officer in close attendance on a king (2 K. vii. 2, 17, 19, ix. 25, x. 25, xv. 25). In the royal court during the Ramesside dynasty chariot-officers held a very high place, and were for the most part men of scholarly education. various grades are mentioned, 'chief charioteers of his Majesty,' 'superintendent of the horses,' and 'chiefs of the stables' (Erman, *l.c.*).

8. *with an high hand*. Num. xv. 30, xxxiii. 3 (both P). Contrast 5 a (J).

9. *all the horses...his army*. In the Heb. this clause is inserted very awkwardly after 'by the sea.' It seems to be a later expansion.

10, 11. Origen (*in Ev. Joan.* vi. 44) remarks, in reference to 1 Cor. x. 1 f., that the baptism of the Israelites into Moses in the sea had 'something bitter and salty in it, while they were still afraid of the enemy and were crying to the Lord and to Moses.' But baptism into Jesus 'in the sweet and drinkable river' has many properties more extraordinary than the other baptism.

you to-day: ¹for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye *J* shall see them again no more for ever. 14 The LORD shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.

15 And the LORD said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou *E* unto me? | speak unto the children of Israel, that they go *P* forward. | 16 And lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine *E* hand over the sea, and divide it: | and the children of Israel *P* shall go into the midst of the sea on dry ground. 17 And I, behold, I will ²harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall go in after them: and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen. 18 And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen. | 19 And the angel of God, which went *E* before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; | and the pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood *J* behind them: | 20 and it came between the camp of Egypt and *JE* the camp of Israel; and there was the cloud and the darkness, yet gave it light by night: and the one came not near the other

¹ Or, for whereas ye have seen the Egyptians to-day ² Heb. make strong.

15. Moses' appeal to Yahweh has perhaps been lost; but it may be implied in 10*b*.

19*b*. *E* does not state that the Angel of God moved in a cloud. See on xiii. 21. On the 'Angel' see note on xxiii. 20.

20. *yet gave it light by night*; and it lit up the night. The subject of the verb cannot be the cloud of the preceding clause; the intervening words 'and the darkness' forbid this. The subject must be 'the pillar of cloud' in 19*b*¹. Thus the narrative of *J* runs, '*and the pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood behind them, and lit up the night.*' The Egyptians would not dare to approach the Israelites with such a strange and awful phenomenon barring the way.

But great difficulty is caused by the intervening clause, 'and there was the cloud and the darkness,' which is probably corrupt. An explanation which follows the lines of Targ-Onk. and Pesh. has coloured the R.V., and is adopted boldly in the A.V., that the pillar of cloud was dark on the Egyptian side, but shining on that of the Israelites. But such an haggadic explanation is not warranted by the Heb. text, and fails to explain the article '*the* darkness.' A possible solution is suggested by Jos. xxiv. 7 (E). Joshua there says, 'And when they²

¹ LXX curiously has *καὶ διεῖλεν ἡ νύξ*, which is probably a gloss.

² i.e. your fathers; perh. read 'ye cried.'

all the night. | 21 And Moses stretched out his hand over the *JEP* sea; | and the LORD caused the sea to go *back* by a strong east *J* wind all the night, and made the sea dry land, | and the waters *P* were divided. 22 And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. 23 And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen. | 24 And it came to pass in the morning watch, that the LORD *J* looked forth upon the host of the Egyptians through the pillar

cried unto Yahweh, He put thick darkness (לְחֹשֶׁךְ, γνόφος) between you and the Egyptians.' Independently, then, of the present clause, we know that E originally recorded a darkness between the two camps. And the passage before us may well be the statement to which Joshua refers. LXX here runs *καὶ ἐγένετο σκοτος καὶ γνόφος*, 'and there was darkness and thick darkness,' which was perhaps the original form of the sentence¹; cf. x. 22 (E), *καὶ ἐγένετο σκότος γνόφος*.

and the one came not near the other. This has generally been understood to refer to the two hostile armies. But comparison with x. 22 f. suggests that the expression is analogous to 'they saw not one another' in that passage. Thus J relates that the shining cloud stood between the camps, while E (who does not speak of a cloud) says that the Angel of God caused a darkness so thick that one man could not approach another.

Other proposed emendations are given by Dillmann on the passage; pp. 164 f.

21. *east wind.* Cf. x. 13. By the driving back of the water, a broad strip of ground was left bare. The wind was probably from the *south-east*, Heb. having no terms to describe the intermediate points of the compass. See p. xcvi.

22. *the waters were a wall.* P adopts the haggadic interpretation of the incident, involving a portent, or 'miracle' in the popular acceptance of the term. God is represented as working in a manner *opposed* to the normal course of nature². This diverges from the earlier account, which records an event more consonant with God's usual method of action.

24. *the morning watch.* The Hebrews divided the night into three watches of four hours each. The morning watch was 2—6 a.m. Cf. 1 S. xi. 11, Jud. vii. 19, Mat. xiv. 25, Lk. xii. 38.

Yahweh looked forth. One of the vivid anthropomorphisms which

¹ On the analogy of x. 22 this would represent וַיִּהְיֶה חֹשֶׁךְ וַיִּהְיֶה גֹּפֶרֶת.

² Lange feels the difficulty so much that he is forced to speak of the double wall of water as a *symbolic* description.

of fire and of cloud, and discomfited the host of the Egyptians. **J**
 25 And he ¹took off their chariot wheels, ²that they drave them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel; for the LORD fighteth for them against the Egyptians.

26 And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand **P** over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and ⁴upon their horsemen.
 27 And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, | and **J** the sea returned to its ³strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the LORD ⁴overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea. | 28 And the waters **P** returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, even all the host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea; | there remained not so much as one of them. | 29 But the **JRP** children of Israel walked upon dry land in the midst of the sea; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. | 30 Thus the LORD saved Israel that day out **J**

¹ Some ancient versions read, *bound*.

³ Or, *wanted flow*

² Or, *and made them to drive*

⁴ Heb. *shook off*.

abound in J; Yahweh is enveloped in the cloud. His looking forth is possibly to be explained of fiery flashes proceeding from the cloud.

discomfited; threw into confusion, or panic, at the sight of Him.

25. *he took off*. But if the wheels were broken off, the Egyptians could not drive them at all. The marg. gives the reading of Sam. (רֹבֵץ) and LXX (καὶ συνεδησεν), *he bound*, which is preferable. The wheels began to stick fast in the loose wet ground.

that they drave them; and he made them to move, the object of the verb being the Egyptian army. The same verb is used in x. 13 ('brought'), Gen. xxxi. 26 ('carried away'), Dt. iv. 27, xxviii. 37 ('lead away').

Let us flee &c. Some think (e.g. Wellhausen) that the passage implies a *battle* between the Israelites and the Egyptians.

27. *to its strength*; *to its steady flow*. The water reached again its ordinary level: the expression does not imply a great volume of water.

fled against it. The water, having been driven back by a south-east wind, returned from the north-west, so that the Egyptians, in trying to escape in the direction from which they had come, met at an angle the full force of the returning flow. xv. 10 assumes that it was a wind which caused the water to return.

overthrew; *shook off*, as in the margin. A vivid touch, which is quoted in Ps. cxxxvi. 15. Cf. Neh. v. 13.

of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians *J* dead upon the sea shore. | 31 And Israel saw the great ¹work *R^D* which the LORD did upon the Egyptians, and the people feared the LORD: and they believed in the LORD, and in his servant Moses.

¹ Heb. *hand*.

31. *and in his servant Moses.* They heartily accepted his leadership from that moment, with all that it might involve for them. Cf. the striking expression in 1 Cor. x. 2: they 'were all *baptised into Moses* in the cloud and in the sea,'—an expression framed on the analogy of 'baptised into Christ' (cf. Rom. vi. 3).

CHAPTER XV. 1—21.

The Song of Praise.

In beauty of style, forceful and nervous language, and poetic skill, this song is unsurpassed. It stands as one of the finest specimens of Hebrew lyric poetry. It is often known as the 'Song of Moses,' but it is clear that it was not, as a whole, a work of the Mosaic age, for *vv.* 13—17 picture the journey of the Israelites to Canaan, the terror of the surrounding nations, and the establishment of the sanctuary at Zion, as past history. These verses, therefore, cannot be earlier than Solomon. Some writers (Ewald, Delitzsch, Dillmann) find a Mosaic kernel in 1 *b*—3: others (Strack, Driver) in 1 *b*—11, 18. But with the exception of 1 *b*, the song conveys the impression of being a unity. This, however, is an impression depending upon individual feeling, and is too subjective to warrant a decision. The question suggests itself whether the song is dependent upon the narrative in ch. xiv. or *vice versa*; and examination shews that the former is the case. In *v.* 8 are combined both the wind from the narrative of *J*, and the wall of water from that of *P*; in *v.* 4 'his chosen captains' seems to be a fusion of the two expressions of *J* in xiv. 7, 'chosen chariots' and 'captains over all of them'; and the words ascribed to the enemy in *v.* 9 read like a poetical amplification, rather than the original source, of the language of xiv. 3, 4 *a*.

Moreover if *v.* 1 is rightly assigned to *J*, and 20, 21 to *E*, it is strange that the latter writer should have preserved the opening stanza of the song in a form verbally identical with *J*'s version (with the exception of the first word), but not a single word of the remainder.

A further reason for assigning *vv.* 2—18 to a late date is supplied by the style and vocabulary. (*a*) The *style* is the reverse of archaic. Not only do the lines run with a smooth sweep of sound, but signs are evident of elaborate and careful composition. Hebrew poetry, as is well known, is not produced by a strict combination of syllables of a given number and length, as in Greek and Latin; it depends on the rise and fall of the voice—on stress and beat. In *vv.* 2—5 the lines contain three beats, varied by cadences of two beats: but throughout the rest of the poem, a rhythmic system of four beats is

consistently maintained¹. Further, there are several instances of what is known as 'synthetic parallelism,' which marks the most elevated style of poetry (see Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, vol. i. ch. vi.), e.g. 2 b, 4, 6, 11, 13, 16 b; and the whole song is composed of carefully balanced clauses. There is none of the rugged obscurity which marks early poems, such as those in Gen. xlix., Dt. xxxiii., Jud. v. (b) The *vocabulary* points to a late date. The song contains numerous words and expressions which are found in Jeremiah, Ezekiel and some of the later Psalms, but which are almost or entirely absent from earlier writings. The following are the more noticeable: v. 2 *Yāh*; 'song' (*zimirāth*); 'I will exalt him' (*anwehu*); v. 5 'depths' (*m'zolith*); v. 8 'floods' (participle *nōz'tim*); 'were condensed'; 'the heart of the sea'; v. 9 'I will draw (*ārīk*) my sword'; v. 10 'as lead'; v. 17 'the established place' (*mākon*, R.V. 'the place').

The exact date of the song cannot, of course, be fixed. Some writers² place it as late as 450 B.C., and find in it grammatical forms due to Aramaic influence; but the presence of anything distinctively Aramaic is doubtful. The expression 'Thou shalt bring them in' (v. 17), which follows the retrospect in 13—16, seems to refer to an event still future. The exodus from Egypt was felt by the Jews to be an event only paralleled in kind and in importance by the return from Babylon. And the contents, style and language of the song are best explained by supposing that a writer of the exile draws encouragement from the ancient deliverance of his people, and looks forward with certainty to seeing the people of Yahweh once again brought in to the mountain of His inheritance and to the sanctuary which His hands had established. The picture of the march, and of the terror of the surrounding nations finds a remarkable parallel in Ps. lxxviii. See also Is. xliii. 16, 17, xlvi. 21, li. 9—11, lii. 4, 5, lxiii. 11—14, in each of which passages the events of the Exodus are made a ground of hope for deliverance from Babylon.

A fine English rendering of the scene, and partly of the song itself, will be found in Milman's dramatic poem *The Fall of Jerusalem*, pp. 62—65.

XV. 1 Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this *J* song unto the LORD, and spake, saying,

I will sing unto the LORD, for he ¹hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

¹ Or, *is highly exalted*

XV. 1. *he hath highly exalted himself.* The verb is rare. v. 21, Ez. xlvi. 5 (of rising waters). Job viii. 11 (of growing plants), x. 16 (of the proud lifting of a man's head) †.

*the horse and his rider; the horse and his charioteer*². It is very

¹ Harper (*American Journ. of Sem. Lang.* xx. 150—158) notes various suggestions which have been made as to the rhythm and the division into stanzas, and suggests a scheme of his own, accompanied by critical notes.

² e.g. Bender, *ZATW*, 1903, pp. 1—48.

³ Perhaps the pronoun should be omitted (with LXX S-Hex. Hier.), and the words should be rendered 'horse and charioteer,' or, with a change of vowel points, 'horse and chariot.'

- 2 ¹The LORD is my strength and song,
 And he is become my salvation :
 This is my God, and I will praise him ;
 My father's God, and I will exalt him.
- 3 The LORD is a man of war :
 The LORD is his name.
- 4 Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea :
 And his chosen captains are sunk in the Red Sea.
- 5 The deeps cover them :
 They went down into the depths like a stone.
- 6 Thy right hand, O LORD, is glorious in power,
 Thy right hand, O LORD, dasheth in pieces the enemy.

¹ Heb. *Jah*.

doubtful if the ancient Egyptians rode on horses ; they are uniformly depicted as driving in chariots.

2. *The Lord*. *Yah*, a poetical abbreviation of *Yahweh* (see on iii. 14). Besides the citations of this passage in Is. xii. 2, Ps. cxviii. 14, the form occurs in xvii. 16, Is. xxvi. 4, xxxviii. 11, Cant. viii. 6 (probably), and frequently in late Psalms, especially in the exclamation *Hallelu-Yäh*.

and song. The Heb. *zimirāth*¹ must be rendered 'a song.' But probably *zimirāthi*, *my song*, should be read.

he is become to me a salvation, i.e. a source of safety, or deliverance from defeat ; hence a source of 'victory.' In the early stages of Israelitish thought, the word never rises beyond deliverance from temporal defeat or calamity. Later Messianic expectations projected the thought of deliverance and victory to a glorious future, but they were still of the nature of material blessings. From the time of the exile, with the deepened sense of the sinfulness of sin in the individual, the conception of salvation gradually became more spiritual. And finally in the N.T. it was seen to involve an inward deliverance from sin, which, though it will be consummated in the future, can be experienced also in the present life. See art. 'Salvation,' *DB* iv.

I will praise him ; lit. I will beautify, or adorn, him. The word is unique in *Bibl. Heb.*²

3. *Yahweh is a man of war*. Cf. Ps. xxiv. 8.

5. *covered them*. The verb is in the imperfect tense, and graphically describes the sinking of one chariot after another, as the water gradually overwhelmed them.

¹ Cf. *תָּהָה*, Ps. xvi. 6, *תָּהָה*, Ps. cxxxii. 4, and other instances given in *Ges.-K.* § 80 g.

² Harper suggests *יְהַלְלֵהוּ* (from a root *הָלַל* 'to swell'), 'I will exalt, or magnify, him.'

- 7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou overthrowest PSALM
 them that rise up against thee :
 Thou sendest forth thy wrath, it consumeth them as stubble.
- 8 And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were piled up,
 The floods stood upright as an heap ;
 The deeps were congealed in the heart of the sea.
- 9 The enemy said,
 I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil :
 My lust shall be satisfied upon them ;
 I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.
- 10 Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them :
 They sank as lead in the mighty waters.
- 11 Who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods ?
 Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,
 Fearful in praises, doing wonders ?
- 12 Thou stretchedst out thy right hand,
 The earth swallowed them.
- 13 Thou in thy mercy hast led the people which thou hast
 redeemed :
 Thou hast guided them in thy strength to thy holy habita-
 tion.
- 14 The peoples have heard, they tremble :
 Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.
- 15 Then were the dukes of Edom amazed ;

7. *excellency*; exaltation. From the same root as the verb in *v.* 1.

8. *congealed*, i.e. solidified. The word does not necessarily imply freezing; it denotes the thickening of undisturbed wine (*Zeph.* i. 12), and the curdling of cheese (*Job* x. 10).

9. *my lust*; *my desire*. Lit. 'soul.'

11. *in praises*, i.e. in praiseworthy acts. Cf. *Ps.* lxxviii. 4, *Is.* lx. 6, lxxiii. 7.

12. *the earth swallowed them*. This has no literary connexion with the narrative either of J or P in ch. xiv.; it is a poetical description of an overwhelming destruction.

14. *Philistia* (*Pelésheth*). The name occurs only in late poetry. *Joel* iii. (iv.) 4, *Is.* xiv. 29, 31, *Ps.* lx. 8 (10) = cviii. 9 (10), lxxxiii. 7 (8), lxxxvii. 4 ṽ.

15. *dukes* ('*allūph*'); chiefs of a family or clan. See Driver on *Gen.* xxxvi. 15 (P).

The ¹mighty men of Moab, trembling taketh hold upon PSALM
them :

All the inhabitants of Canaan are melted away.

16 Terror and dread falleth upon them ;

By the greatness of thine arm they are as still as a stone ;

Till thy people pass over, O LORD,

Till the people pass over which thou hast ²purchased.

17 Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain
of thine inheritance,

The place, O LORD, which thou hast made for thee to
dwell in,

The sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.

18 The LORD shall reign for ever and ever.

¹ Heb. *rams*.

² Heb. *gotten*.

the mighty men ; the leaders. Heb. 'rams,' a metaphor for strong leaders. Ez. xvii. 13, xxxi. 11, xxxii. 21 [2 K. xxiv. 15 *kers*] †. Similar metaphors are found in Is. xiv. 9, Zech. x. 3, Ps. lxxviii. 30. It is possible that 'ram' (*'ayil*) was a recognised title, or name of office, in Moab, as *'allūph* appears to have been in Edom. 2 K. iii. 4 perhaps lends colour to this.

16. *pass over ; pass by.* A general term covering the movements of the Israelites till the end of the wanderings. It cannot refer to the crossing of the Red Sea, or (Targ-Onk.) to the crossing of the Jordan.

purchased. Acquired as a possession, generally, but not always, by purchase. In the application of the term to God's deliverance of His people (as in Is. xi. 11, Ps. lxxiv. 2), all thought of a price paid is lost. The word is even used of God creating the world (Gen. xiv. 19, 22) and Israel (Dt. xxxii. 6). The same is true of the word 'redeem' (cf. vi. 6). See Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 295 ff., and Hort on 1 Pet. i. 19. And the converse thought is expressed by the word 'sell'; see Dt. xxxii. 30, Jud. ii. 14, 1 Sam. xii. 9, and especially Ps. xlv. 12 (13).

17. *the mountain of thine inheritance,* i.e. the hilly country (of Palestine) which is thine inheritance. The idea of the *land* as Yahweh's inheritance is specially characteristic of Jeremiah, ii. 7, xii. 8, 9, xvi. 18, l. 11 ; cf. Ps. lxxix. 1.

the place...&c. Render, 'the established place for thee to dwell in which thou hast made, O Yahweh.' In the writer's thoughts the whole of Palestine is concentrated in the city of Jerusalem. 'The established place' is virtually, though not strictly, in apposition to the foregoing phrase ; it describes something smaller and more defined than the whole country.

the sanctuary...&c. Again in virtual apposition to 'the established place.' The country and the city are concentrated, and find their

19 For the horses of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and *R*^r with his horsemen into the sea, and the LORD brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel walked on dry land in the midst of the sea. | 20 And Miriam *E* the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. 21 And Miriam answered them,

Sing ye to the LORD, for he ¹hath triumphed gloriously;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

22 And Moses led Israel onward from the Red Sea, and *J* they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went

¹ Or, *is highly exalted*

truest meaning in the Temple. The writer thus reaches the spiritual conception of Ps. xcii. 13—of God's people as trees planted in the house of Yahweh, and flourishing in the courts of their God.

19. A redactor explains the significance of the song. His expression 'the waters of the sea' does not occur in the narrative of ch. xiv.

20. *the prophetess*, i.e. one endowed with the gift of song, as Deborah, Jud. iv. 4. (In later times it denoted one who gave oracular answers from God, as Huldah, 2 K. xxii. 14.) The description would lose its force if Miriam merely repeated a song composed by Moses. It is *E*'s account of the song which *J* in v. 1 ascribes to Moses.

the sister of Aaron. See on ii. 1.

21. *answered them; sang to them*¹, while they danced.

CHAPTER XV. 22—27.

Marah and Elim.

The Israelites appear to have followed the ordinary *kaj* route, Eastward across the desert to the Northern point of the Gulf of Akaba. See pp. xcvi. f. These verses are the only record we possess of their route between the crossing of the water and the arrival at the neighbourhood of Sinai.

XV. 22. *Shur*; called Etham in Num. xxxiii. 8 (P). See pp. xciv. f. *Shur* is mentioned in Gen. xvi. 7, xx. 1, xxv. 18 (where it is said to be 'in front of—i.e. East of—Egypt'; cf. 1 S. xv. 7), 1 S. xxvii. 8.

¹ The pronoun is masc. as frequently with fem. plurals. Ges.-K. § 185 o.

three days in the wilderness, and found no water. 23 And *J* when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore the name of it was called ¹Marah. 24 And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? 25 And he cried unto the LORD; and the LORD shewed him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters were made sweet. | There he made for them a *E* statute and an ordinance, and there he proved them; | 26 and *R^D* he said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the LORD thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians: for I am the LORD that healeth thee.

27 And they came to Elim, where were twelve springs of *J* water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they encamped there by the waters.

¹ That is, *Bitterness*.

23. *Marah*. The writer probably thought of the word as the fem. of the adjective 'bitter'; the subst. (see marg.) occurs only in Prov. xiv. 10.

24. *the people murmured*. The records of the constant murmurings of the people afford strong evidence for the historic truthfulness of the narratives of the wanderings. A purely ideal picture of the chosen people would have omitted them. They also serve to display the wonderful personality of Moses, who could control, pacify and lead such a collection of rude nomad tribes. The murmurings and rebellions are related in Ex. xiv. 11, 12, xv. 24, xvi. 2, 3, xvii. 3, xxxii. 1-4, 25, Num. xi. 4-6, xii. 1, 2, xiv. 2, 3, xvi., xx. 2-5, xxi. 4, 5. They are referred to in Dt. i. 27, Ps. lxxviii. 17-20, 40-42, xcvi. 8-11, cvi. 25, 1 Cor. x. 10, Heb. iii.

25. *There he made for him*, i.e. God made for the people, who must have been previously mentioned as a collective unity in some words now lost.

he proved them; xvi. 4, xx. 20. See analysis, p. xxi.

26. *diseases*. A reference to the plagues. xxiii. 25 (R), 1 K. viii. 37 = 2 Chr. vi. 28 †.

healeth; cf. Ps. ciii. 3, cvii. 20. The present verse was used in Rabbinic times as a charm for the healing of wounds.

27. *Elim*, i.e. 'terebinths'; but the name may imply the presence of other prominent and lofty trees. '*Elim*' and '*Elōth*' are both plurals of '*Elāh*', and all the three names were probably employed for the same place, at the North of the Gulf of Akaba. See pp. xcix. f.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Manna and the Quails.

The literary phenomena of the chapter are discussed in the analysis, and the conclusion is reached that JE recorded the gift of manna at this point. In Num. xi. J relates that the people had by that time grown weary of the manna, and murmured for flesh, whereupon quails were sent. P probably had there a parallel story of quails; but a compiler put it back to stand in the position which it occupies in the present chapter, combining it with P's story of the manna. This chapter was thus made similar to Num. xi., in that each contains mention of quails and manna in juxtaposition.

XVI. 1 And they took their journey from Elim, and all the *P* congregation of the children of Israel came unto the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt. 2 And the whole congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron in the wilderness: 3 and the children of Israel said unto them, Would that we had died by the hand of the LORD in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh pots, when we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger. | 4 Then said the LORD unto *E* Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather a day's portion every day, that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law, or no. | 5 And it shall come to pass on the sixth day, that they shall *P* prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily. 6 And Moses and Aaron said unto all the

XVI. 1. *wilderness of Sin*; see p. xcix. Num. xxxiii. 10 records, between Elim and the arrival at Sinai, an encampment 'by *yam sūph*,' i.e. on the Gulf of Akaba.

3. The words imply that their condition in Egypt had been tolerably comfortable.

4. And Yahweh said. There is no connexion with the preceding verse.

a day's portion every day. The thought, if not the language, of this passage probably underlies the petition in the Lord's Prayer—'Give us this day our daily bread.' See Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, ed. 2, pp. 178—186. On the assignment of the verse to E see p. xxi.

prove them; see xv. 25.

6. Moses tells the people God's words before he has himself

children of Israel, At even, then ye shall know that the LORD **P** hath brought you out from the land of Egypt: 7 and in the morning, then ye shall see the glory of the LORD; for that he heareth your murmurings against the LORD: and what are we, that ye murmur against us? | 8 And Moses said, *This shall be*, **R^P** when the LORD shall give you in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning bread to the full; for that the LORD heareth your murmurings which ye murmur against him: and what are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against the LORD. | 9 And Moses said unto Aaron, Say unto all the congregation **P** of the children of Israel, Come near before the LORD: for he hath heard your murmurings. 10 And it came to pass, as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel, that they looked toward the wilderness, and, behold, the glory of the LORD appeared in the cloud. 11 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 12 I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, ¹At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God. 13 And it

¹ Heb. *Between the two evenings.*

received them from God in v. 12. vv. 9-12 must originally have preceded vv. 6-8.

7. *for that he heareth.* The glory of Yahweh would be shewn by the fact that He hears and grants their murmuring wish.

8. *This shall be.* R.V. supplies these words to produce a complete sentence. But the verse, as added by the compiler (see anal. p. xxii.), is incomplete; he resumes the construction of the second clause of the preceding verse: '*And Moses said, For that Yahweh giveth you... &c.,*' and concludes with what is practically a duplicate of 7 b, c.

9. *Come near before Yahweh*, i.e. to the door of the Tent. This verse, together with 10, 33 f., shews that the narrative belongs to the period after the Tent was erected at Sinai.

10. *toward the wilderness.* This is not in accordance with P's conception of the cloud, which appeared over the Tent in the midst of the camp. Moreover the Israelites were in the wilderness at the time. It was probably an intentional correction, either by the compiler, or (Dillm.) by the later scribes; the words should be read *toward the Dwelling* (הַמִּשְׁכָּן for הַמִּדְבָּר); cf. Num. xvi. 42 (Heb. xvii. 7). The corrector was content to leave untouched the *allusions* to the existence of the Tent, but the actual mention of it could not be admitted before its erection at Sinai. The correction was earlier than the LXX, which has τῆς ἱερῆμον.

12. *At even*; see on xii. 6.

13. It is remarkable that nothing is said of the Israelites using,

came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered *P* the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the camp. 14 And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small ¹round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground. | 15 And when the children of *E* Israel saw it, they said one to another, ²What is it? for they wist not what it was. And Moses said unto them, It is the

¹ Or, *flake*² Or, *It is manna* Heb. *Man hu*.

or taking any notice of, the quails. And the article, '*the* quails,' shews that in the original form of the story quails had previously been mentioned. Only a fragment of the narrative has survived, owing to its amalgamation with the manna story (see analysis, p. xxii.).

Quails are frequently met with in the Sinaitic peninsula. They move northwards in spring in immense numbers, flying close to the ground. When wearied with flight they drop, and are easily netted. They were salted and stored as food by the ancient Egyptians (Herod. ii. 77). There is no need to suppose that the birds of the narrative were cranes (Stanley).

J's narrative in Num. xi. is much fuller, and describes the scene in the camp when the birds were brought by an east wind, and the plague which followed. The plague was probably caused by the fact that their numbers were so great that they were not properly cured; the bodies would quickly putrefy under a hot sun. See Gray on Num. xi., and art. 'Quails' in *Enc. B.* The gift of the quails is mentioned in Ps. cv. 40, Wisd. xvi. 2, xix. 12. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 27.

14. The manna is pictured as having fallen in the night with the dew, and when the dew evaporated, the flakes of manna were left on the ground.

a small round thing; a fine scale-like thing: lit. 'a fine thing, scaled off.' Cognate words in Aram. denote 'potsherd,' 'scurf' and 'scale' (of fish). The adj. 'fine' describes something reduced to small particles by grinding or pulverisation; cf. xxx. 36, xxxii. 20.

15. *What is it? Man hu*. LXX τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο; This rendering has been generally accepted; but it is strange to find the Israelites using the Aramaic form of the pronoun (*mān*), and not the Hebrew (*māh*). It is possible that *mān* may be a Hebrew corruption of an Egyptian word *mennu* (Ebers, Brugsch), denoting some natural exudation from trees. If so, the words will mean 'they said one to another, It is mān', for they wist not what it was²'; i.e. they called it by the name of a well-known substance, because they did not know its real nature—that it was something new and miraculous. The Engl. form 'manna' in vv. 31, 33, 35 is due to the LXX *μαννα* in Num. xi.

¹ In cod. F a corrector has superscribed the words *μὴν αὐτό* (Field, *Hex. in loc.*).² The words 'for they wist not what it was' may possibly be a gloss by someone who sought an etymology for *man* in the Aramaic pronoun.

bread which the LORD hath given you to eat. | 16 This is the *E P* thing which the LORD hath commanded, Gather ye of it every man according to his eating; an omer a head, according to the number of your persons, shall ye take it, every man for them which are in his tent. 17 And the children of Israel did so, and gathered some more, some less. 18 And when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack; they gathered every man according to his eating. 19 And Moses

Various suggestions for the identification of the substance will be found in art. 'Manna' in *DB* and *Enc. B.*, e.g. an exudation from the tamarisk or *tārfā* tree; or from the Camel's Thorn; a species of oak honey; or an edible lichen of a dry and insipid taste. The latter would perhaps correspond best to the description of it. Currelly (in Petrie's *Researches in Sinai*, 230 f.) suggests that it was snow. But whether the phenomenon had a natural origin or not, the Biblical writers treat it as entirely miraculous. It did not appear on the Sabbath, but a double quantity fell on Friday. It remained fresh if kept through Friday night, but putrefied if kept through any other night in the week. Although it could be ground, beaten, boiled or baked (Num. xi. 8), yet it volatilised, if left, in the heat of the sun. And finally, the daily provision for the Israelites, at an omer per head, must have exceeded 300 tons.

18. *And when they did mete it; and they measured it*, i.e. at the time that they collected it, taking care not to gather more or less than an omer per head. R.V. seems to imply that they measured it afterwards, and found that however much or little they had gathered, the manna had diminished or increased miraculously to the required amount for each.

he that gathered much; i.e. he that had a large household, and therefore gathered many omers.

had nothing over...had no lack; caused no surplus...caused no lack [to himself]; he did not gather more, or less, than he ought.

according to his eating. With the above explanation, this expression is not at variance with the command to gather an omer per head. See the use of the same expression in xii. 4.

In 2 Cor. viii. 15 S. Paul adopts words from this verse in begging the Corinthians to be liberal in their almsgiving for the poor Christians in Jerusalem. He tells his readers that he has no wish that they should have distress in order that others should have relief; he desires an equal balance, that they should, at the present time, supply out of their abundance the needs of their poorer brethren; but that, if occasion should arise, the Judæan Christians should contribute to the needs of the Corinthians—'as it is written, "He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack."'

said unto them, Let no man leave of it till the morning. *P*
 20 Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto Moses ; but some
 of them left of it until the morning, and it bred worms, and
 stank : and Moses was wroth with them. 21 And they gathered
 it morning by morning, every man according to his eating : and
 when the sun waxed hot, it melted. | 22 And it came to pass, *R^r*
 that on the sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two
 omers for each one : and all the rulers of the congregation came
 and told Moses. 23 And he said unto them, This is that which
 the LORD hath spoken, To-morrow is a solemn rest, a holy sab-
 bath unto the LORD : bake that which ye will bake, and seethe
 that which ye will seethe ; and all that remaineth over lay up
 for you to be kept until the morning. 24 And they laid it up
 till the morning, as Moses bade : and it did not stink, neither
 was there any worm therein. 25 And Moses said, Eat that
 to-day ; for to-day is a sabbath unto the LORD : to-day ye shall
 not find it in the field. 26 Six days ye shall gather it ; but on
 the seventh day is the sabbath, in it there shall be none.
 27 And it came to pass on the seventh day, that there went out
 some of the people for to gather, and they found none. 28 And
 the LORD said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my
 commandments and my laws ? 29 See, for that the LORD hath
 given you the sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth day
 the bread of two days ; abide ye every man in his place, let no
 man go out of his place on the seventh day. 30 So the people
 rested on the seventh day. | 31 And the house of Israel called *P*

22—30. The manna is not to be gathered on the Sabbath.

22. *twice as much bread, two omers* ; twice the [prescribed] omer. This section on the Sabbath seems to be due to a later writer, who understood *v.* 18 as describing a miracle. On Friday a further miracle occurred ; each man, after gathering his prescribed amount, found that his portion had mysteriously doubled itself. And the princes of the congregation naturally went to inform Moses, and to seek an explanation of the portent.

23. *a solemn rest ; a complete rest ; shabbāthon*, a late strengthened form of 'sabbath.' xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2, Lev. xvi. 31, xxiii. 3, 24, 32, 39, xxv. 4, 5 †.

26. *the sabbath* ; a sabbath-rest. See on xx. 10.

29. *every man where he is* (cf. x. 23). In the following clause, 'his place' is a different word.

the name thereof ¹Manna: and it was like coriander seed, *P* white; and the taste of it was like wafers *made* with honey. 32 And Moses said, This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded, Let an omerful of it be kept for your generations; that they may see the bread wherewith I fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt. 33 And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omerful of manna therein, and lay it up before the LORD, to be kept for your generations. 34 As the LORD commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony, to be kept. 35 And the children of Israel did eat the manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat the manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan. 36 Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah.

XVII. 1 And all the congregation of the children of Israel

¹ Heb. *Man*.

31—36. The continuation of the narrative in 13 *b*—21.

31. The description seems to be that of the coriander *fruit*, which is about the size of a peppercorn.

white. In Num. xi. 7 it is said to be of the colour of bdellium, i.e. pale yellow. Jos. (*Ant.* III. i. 6), though retaining the comparison with bdellium, says that the people would have mistaken the manna for snow, had not Moses told them it was food—a statement evidently based on the 'hoar frost' of *v.* 14.

wafers made with honey. Num. xi. 8 'a dainty prepared with oil.'

34. *before the Testimony* (or Witness), i.e. in front of the ark which held the Testimony. The same abbreviated expression occurs in xxvii. 21, xxx. 6, 36, Lev. xvi. 13, xxiv. 3, Num. xvii. 4 (19), 10 (25). 'The Testimony' is the solemn divine charge comprised in the Ten Words, xxv. 16, 21, xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29, xl. 20. The words shew that the narrative belongs to the period after the stay at Sinai. See *vv.* 9, 10.

36. An *'ēphāh* was a dry measure, equivalent to *bath* a liquid measure. (Ezek. xlv. 11, 14.) The *bath-'ēphāh* measured, in O.T. times, 65 imperial pints. But when it became advisable to coordinate the Hebrew measurements with the Greek, it was made equivalent to the Attic *μετρητής* (Jn. ii. 6, E.V. 'firkin'), i.e. 71·28 pints. The *'ōmer* contained a little more than a bushel, and an *'ēphāh* about 11 bushels.

CHAPTER XVII. 1—7.

Meribah-Massah.

XVII. 1. *Rephidim*. The locality has not been identified. See *p.* civ.

journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, by their ¹journeys, *P* according to the commandment of the LORD, and pitched in Rephidim: | and there was no water for the people to drink. *E*
 2 Wherefore the people strove with Moses, and said, Give us water that we may drink. And Moses said unto them, Why strive ye with me? | wherefore do ye tempt the LORD? 3 And *J* the people thirsted there for water; and the people murmured against Moses, and said, Wherefore hast thou brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst? | 4 And Moses cried unto the LORD, saying, What shall *E* I do unto this people? they be almost ready to stone me. 5 And the LORD said unto Moses, Pass on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. 6 Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel. | 7 And he called the name of the place ²Massah, | *J* and ³Meribah, because of the striving of the children of Israel, | *E*

¹ Or, *stages*² That is, *Tempting, or, Proving.*³ That is, *Chiding, or, Strife.*

2. The double question 'Why strive ye...?' 'Why tempt ye...?' is due to the amalgamation of two narratives, and corresponds to the double name Meribah-Massah (*v.* 7). See analysis, p. xxiii. The striving and tempting are referred to in Ps. xcv. 8, 9, which is quoted in Heb. iii. 8, 9.

4. *to stone me.* Cf. 1 S. xxx. 6.

5. *and go.* The name of the place to which he was to go has fallen out (cf. Gen. xxxi. 25 *a*), since 'there' in *v.* 6 has nothing to refer to.

6. In Num. xx. is found another narrative of the striking of the rock, placed at Kadesh, near the borders of Canaan; and the name *Meribāh* is explained (*v.* 13), as here, by the incident. (See pp. cii. f.) The Targ. of Onkelos on Num. xxi. 17 ff. contains a legend according to which the well, mentioned in that passage, followed the Israelites on their journeys. S. Paul (1 Cor. x. 4) refers to the legend, at the same time alluding to the rock which produced water, the rock being typical of Christ. See Thackeray, *The Rel. of St Paul to contemp. Jewish thought*, pp. 205—11.

7. *Meribah.* It is unfortunate that the Revisers have admitted 'chiding' into the margin. The subst. is formed from the same root as the word 'striving' in the following clause, and the verb 'strove' and 'strive' in *v.* 2.

and because they tempted the LORD, saying, Is the LORD *J* among us, or not?

8 Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephidim. *E*
9 And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek: to-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand. 10 So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, and fought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill. 11 And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he

vv. 8—16.

The Battle with the Amalekites.

8. '*Amalek*. A predatory tribe, resembling the modern Bedawin. The difficulty of supposing them to have appeared as far South as the traditional locality of Sinai is discussed on p. civ. From Num. xiii. 29, xiv. 25, 43, 45, we learn that they were closely associated with Palestinian tribes, and lived on the S. and S.W. of Judah near Kadesh, in the desert now known as et-Tih. This is supported by 1 S. xv. 6 f., xxx.; and Gen. xiv. 7 expressly locates them at En-mishpat or Kadesh, and couples them with the Amorites; see also Gen. xxxvi. 12 (with Driver's note).

9. *Joshua*. He is mentioned as a well-known person, without explanation, and as a full-grown warrior; whereas in xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11 he is *introduced* to the reader as a young man, Moses' private servant. Moses is too old and feeble to lead the army in person. The narrative evidently belongs to a period—not at the beginning, but—towards the end of the Israelites' journeyings.

the hill. One of the heights near Kadesh. Cf. Num. xiv. 40, 44 f.

10. *Hur*. He is elsewhere mentioned only in xxiv. 14 (E); he was apparently a chief, and perhaps a kinsman of Moses. Jos. (*Ant.* III. ii. 4) speaks of him as the husband of Miriam, and identifies him with the grandfather of Bezaleel (xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, 1 Ch. ii. 19 f., 50, 2 Ch. i. 5). Hur was the name of a Midianite chief (Num. xxxi. 8, Jos. xiii. 21 (P)), and of a Jew after the exile (Neh. iii. 9). The name חור occurs in Nabataean and Sinaitic inscriptions. Some have connected it with the name of the Egyptian sun-god Horus; but there is no evidence for this, though some of the Israelite names are probably of Egyptian etymology; e.g. Moses (ii. 10), Putiel and Phinehas (vi. 25).

11. Moses raised his hand with the divinely given staff (9*b*), and also stretched out the other hand (12). The scene has often been regarded as typical of the power of prayer; cf. Cowper's hymn ('What various hindrances we meet'),

'When Moses stood with arms spread wide,
Success was found on Israel's side:
But when through weariness they fail'd,
That moment Amalek prevail'd.'

let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. 12 But Moses' hands were *E* heavy; and they took a stone, and put it under him, and he sat thereon; and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and his hands were steady until the going down of the sun. 13 And Joshua ¹discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword. 14 And the LORD said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: ²that I will utterly blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven. 15 And Moses built an altar, and called the name

¹ Heb. *prostrated*.² Or, *for*

13. *discomfited*; weakened¹. Job xiv. 10, Is. xiv. 12†. The subst. 'weakness' occurs in xxxii. 18, and the adj. in Joel iii. (iv.) 10.

14. *Write this*. Moses probably learnt some form of writing when he was brought up in Egypt. Cf. xxiv. 4, xxxiv. 27, Num. xxxiii. 2, Dt. xxxi. 9, 22, 24. The beginnings of Hebrew writing cannot be traced. Some think that the Heb. alphabet was derived from the ancient Egyptian hieratic script; others assign to it an Assyrian origin; at any rate it dates from a period long before the Exodus. But the earliest known specimens of Heb. writing are inscriptions on two bowls of bronze, apparently carried to Cyprus as part of the spoils from a temple on Mt Lebanon. The earlier of these probably belongs to the beginning of the 10th cent. B.C., i.e. a little later than the reign of Solomon; and the later one is nearly contemporaneous with the inscription of Mesha on the 'Moabite Stone,' belonging to the middle of the 9th cent. The script is also found in the (?) 8th cent. in the 'Siloam inscription.' See art. 'Alphabet,' *DB* i. 72 f.

rehearse it. Lit. 'place it.' Joshua must learn the words of the record, in order to hand it on to the next generation, when Moses was dead.

for *I will utterly wipe out*.... Moses was to record, not the words 'I will utterly...&c.,' but the splendid victory vouchsafed by Yahweh.

15. The erection of the altar is in accordance with the principle expressed in xx. 24. Yahweh had 'caused His Name to be remembered' by the victory. Until the Deuteronomic legislation confined all sacrifice to the central sanctuary, the erection of altars was a frequent act of piety, and is related in the case of Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, Saul, David, Solomon, and others.

Yahweh-nissī, 'Yahweh is my banner.' The name Yahweh is the sacred emblem under which we rally and fight. *Hoc Signo vincemus*. Cf. Ps. xx. 5, 7.

¹ In the *Ḳal* voice the verb signifies 'to be weak.' Probably the Hiphil *שָׁחַת* should be read.

of it ¹Jehovah-nissi: 16 and he said, ²The LORD hath sworn: *E* the LORD will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.

XVIII. 1 Now Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father in law, heard of all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, | how that the LORD had brought Israel out of Egypt. *R^{VB}*
2 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent her away, 3 and her two sons; of which the name of the one was Gershom; for he said, I have been ³a

¹ That is, *The LORD is my banner.* ² Or, *Because there is a hand against the throne of the LORD* Heb. *A hand is lifted up upon the throne of Jah.* ³ Heb. *Ger.* See ch. ii. 22.

16. *The Lord hath sworn.* A very terse form of oath (introduced by *kī*, the particle of asseveration), which may have been frequently employed in ancient days—*yādh 'al kēs Yāh*. The alliteration formed by the first and the last word is characteristic of popular sayings and proverbs. The four words denote *a hand on the throne of Yah*. The expression 'lift up the hand' as a form of oath is found in vi. 8, Gen. xiv. 22, Num. xiv. 30, Ps. cvi. 26 *al*. The words may therefore be rendered, not as in R.V. but, I [or We] lift up a hand to the throne of Yah. And the oath is one of unceasing hostility to Amalek—'Yahweh [in the person of His people] will have war...&c.'

The terseness of the oath causes an abbreviation of ^{כסס} (*kissē*), the usual word for 'throne,' into ^{כס} (*kēs*)¹. This is supported, though entirely misread, by the LXX *εν χειρι κρυφαια* = ^{י'קס} ^{קס} ^{קס}

CHAPTER XVIII.

Jethro visits Moses at the mountain.

XVIII. 1. *Jethro.* See on ii. 18.

2. *after he had sent her away; after her dismissal.* This can only mean 'after Moses had sent her back to Midian when he returned to Egypt,'—unless the words refer to some tradition about Zippōrah which is now lost. Verses 2—4 seem to be a later addition, with the object of reconciling ii. 22, iv. 20, 25 (J) with E's statement in v. 5. See analysis, pp. xxiii. f.

On the names Zippōrah and Gērshom see ii. 21 f.

¹ The emendation *nēs* ('banner'), adopted by several writers, is unnecessary, and gives a poor sense. Moreover if *nēs* had been the original reading, the connexion with Yahweh-nissi would have been so obvious, that a scribe would have been most unlikely to alter it to the unique *kēs*. On the other hand the possibility cannot be denied that the whole phrase is a corruption of quite a different sentence, in which *nēs* may originally have stood; perhaps it was an explanation of *nissi*.

sojourner in a strange land : 4 and the name of the other was *R^E*
¹Eliezer ; for *he said*, The God of my father was my help, and
delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh : | 5 and Jethro, Moses' *E*
father in law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into
the wilderness where he was encamped, at the mount of God :
6 and he said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto
thee, and thy wife, and her two sons with her. | 7 And Moses *JE*
went out to meet his father in law, and did obeisance, and
kissed him ; and they asked each other of their welfare ; and
they came into the tent. 8 And Moses told his father in law
all that the LORD had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians
for Israel's sake, all the travail that had come upon them by the
way, and how the LORD delivered them. 9 And Jethro rejoiced
for all the goodness which the LORD had done to Israel, in that he
had delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians. 10 And
Jethro said, Blessed be the LORD, who hath delivered you out
of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh ; |
who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the *R*
Egyptians. | 11 Now I know that the LORD is greater than all *JE*

¹ Heb. *El*, God, and *ezer*, help.

4. '*Elā'ezer*. 'My God is a help¹.' He is mentioned elsewhere
only in a chronicler's list of names, where he has an only son Rehabiah
(1 Chr. xxiii. 15, 17, xxvi. 25). It is noteworthy that the very similar
names 'El'azar ('God hath helped') and Gērshōn are given in P
(vi. 23, 16f.) to Aaron's third son and to Levi's eldest son respectively.
Priestly descent was traced from Levi, sometimes through Moses and
sometimes through Aaron. See Introd. pp. lxvii. f.

the sword of Pharaoh. The expression is not found elsewhere.
LXX ἐκ χειρὸς Φ.

5. *where he was encamped*. The encampment at the mountain
does not take place till xix. 2 ; the present position of the narrative is,
therefore, premature. See also v. 16.

6. *I...am come*. The true text (with LXX Sam. Pesh.) is probably
'Behold *thy father-in-law is come*' (הִנֵּה הַיָּתֵר לְמֹשֶׁה); and the opening
'and he said' must be either understood impersonally, 'and it was
said,' or altered to 'and they said' (וַיֹּאמְרוּ); cf. Gen. xlviii. 1.

10 b. *who hath delivered...&c.* A doublet of the preceding half
verse ; the clause is omitted in LXX.

¹ In the explanation which follows ('was my help') the construction בְּעִזְרִי,
' in the capacity of my help,' may be compared with וְעִזְרִי לְךָ, vi. 8 (Ges.-K.
§ 119 :).

gods: yea, in the thing wherein they dealt proudly against them. | *JE*
 12 And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a burnt offering *E*
 and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of
 Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father in law before God.
 13 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge
 the people: and the people stood about Moses from the
 morning unto the evening. 14 And when Moses' father in law
 saw all that he did to the people, he said, What is this thing
 that thou doest to the people? why sittest thou thyself alone,
 and all the people stand about thee from morning unto even?
 15 And Moses said unto his father in law, Because the people
 come unto me to inquire of God: 16 when they have a matter,
 they come unto me; and I judge between a man and his neigh-
 bour, and I make them know the statutes of God, and his laws.

11. *yea, in the thing; for in the thing...* The end of the sentence has been accidentally lost (cf. xix. 25, Gen. iv. 8); 'He saved them,' or something similar, must be supplied. God made use of their very pride and defiance to bring about the salvation of Israel; cf. Ps. lxxvi. 10a. This was signally true at the Red Sea, but also at the Exodus.

*they dealt proudly*¹. The subject might grammatically be 'the gods,' whom Jethro would think of as having a real existence, and as defying the power of Israel's God; but the words 'against them,' i.e. against the Israelites ('the people,' v. 10), shew that the subject must be the Egyptians.

12. *Aaron came, and all the elders.* Aaron appears to be himself an elder, not a priest; cf. xxiv. 14.

to eat bread. It was a solemn sacrificial meal. 'Bread' is equivalent to a 'meal,' and sacrificial victims would form part of the food.

before God, i.e. at the sanctuary. See v. 16.

13. The modern Bedawin sheikh combines the offices of leader in war, and arbitrator in disputes, and is the general head in all tribal concerns.

Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, i. 87) says that each tribe has three sheikhs, an appeal being possible from the chief sheikh to the other two. Aaron and Hur may have stood in that relation to Moses.

16. *statutes* (*hukkim*) were definite rules, stereotyped and permanent; *laws* (*toroth*) were 'directions' or 'pronouncements' delivered as special circumstances required them (see p. 183). The present passage must belong to the period after Moses received the divine

¹ Lit. 'boiled up.' The *Qal* is found only in Jer. l. 29; the *Hiphil* in Ex. xxi. 14 *al.*

17 And Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou *E* doest is not good. 18 Thou wilt surely wear away, both thou, and this people that is with thee : for the thing is too heavy for thee ; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone. 19 Harken now unto my voice, I will give thee counsel, and God be with thee : be thou for the people to God-ward, and bring thou the causes unto God : 20 and thou shalt teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt shew them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do. 21 Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain ; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens : 22 and let them judge the people at all seasons : and it shall be, that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they shall judge themselves : so shall it be easier for thyself, and they shall bear *the burden* with thee. 23 If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be able to endure, and all this

statutes on the mountain. And this is apparently the position in which J placed Hobab's visit (Num. x. 29-32). The expression 'before God' (v. 12) points to the same conclusion.

19. *and God be with thee.* This perhaps means 'provided that God sanctions what I advise.' Cf. v. 23. But the words should probably be rendered that *God may be with thee.*

to God-ward. Lit. 'in front of God,' representing Him to the people, and the people to Him. Cf. xxviii. 12, Gal. iii. 19. Social injustice was a crying evil in Israel throughout its history ; and the high status and responsibilities of a judge, as the divine representative, are declared in Ps. lxxxii.

20. *the work ; the action.* What they must do in any particular case which they brought before him.

21. *able men.* Lit. men of might or valour. It generally denotes soldiers, but the word is here extended to include mental and moral efficiency ; cf. Gen. xlvii. 6, 1 K. i. 42, 52 ; and of women Prov. xii. 4, xxxi. 10, Ruth iii. 11.

The elaborate organization suggested by Jethro is an ideal never reached in any nation. In Num. xi. 16 f., 24 f. Moses chose 70 elders to assist him, whereas if Israel numbered 600,000 (see on xii. 37) the required number of rulers would be 78,600.

22. *so shall it be easier ; and make it lighter.*

23. *shall go to their place.* They would be able to obtain decisions at their own homes.

people also shall go to their place in peace. 24 So Moses *E* hearkened to the voice of his father in law, and did all that he had said. 25 And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. 26 And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves. 27 And Moses let his father in law depart; and he went his way into his own land.

24. Origen (*Hom. in Ex.*) calls attention to the fact that Christians can sometimes learn from the heathen, as Moses learnt from a non-Israelite. And similarly Augustine (*de doct. Christ.* prolog. § 7), who makes the fine remark, 'For Moses knew that a wise plan, in whatever mind it might originate, was to be ascribed not to the man who devised it, but to Him who is the Truth, the unchangeable God.' The wise plan devised by Jethro has never become antiquated. The statesman-like principle of decentralization—the delegation of responsibility—is as important to-day as in the time of Moses.

27. In Num. x. 29—32 after Hobab's refusal to accompany them, Moses again pressed him. The narrative is incomplete, Hobab's final decision not being related; but from Jud. i. 16 it may be inferred that he consented to go with them.

PART II.

LAWS GIVEN AT THE SACRED MOUNTAIN, AND NARRATIVES CONNECTED WITH THEIR DELIVERY.

CHAPTERS XIX.—XL.

CHAPTER XIX.

The arrival at the Sacred Mountain, and the Theophany.

The arrival at Sinai-Horeb marks the greatest of all turning points in Israel's history. We reach what was the kernel and core of the nation's life—the covenant by which all the tribes were united in allegiance to one God, and the laws—ritual, social and moral—upon which the covenant was based. It was a very small nation, a mere collection of nomad clans. And when they reached Canaan, they occupied, in their most prosperous days, a territory which was never larger than 100 × 150 miles, roughly equivalent in area to the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire. But their supreme importance, greater than that of the great nations of the earth, lay not in their history, or the extent of their territory, but in the fact that they contained a germ out of which grew the kingdom of God. And the germ was planted at the mountain of God.

XIX. 1 In the third month after the children of Israel were *P* gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai. 2 And when they were departed from Rephidim, and were come to the wilderness of Sinai, they pitched in the wilderness; | and there Israel camped before *E*

XIX. 1. *In the third month.* The date was probably the result of the late tradition which connected the F. of Pentecost with the giving of the Law. This feast was fifty days after the fifteenth day of the first month (Lev. xxiii. 15); thus the arrival at the mountain would be on the fifth day of the third month. But the statement of the day has fallen out, leaving 'the same day' in the second clause unexplained.

2. *and there Israel camped.* If this half of the verse is rightly assigned to E, his statement of the arrival at Horeb, which might have

the mount. 3 And Moses went up unto God, | and the LORD ^E_{R^d} called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; 4 Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. 5 Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me ¹from among all peoples: for all the earth is mine: 6 and ye shall be unto me

¹ Or, *above*

been a valuable help towards fixing the locality of the mountain, has been displaced by the words from P's itinerary.

3. *unto God.* It is interesting to note the attempt of the LXX to lessen the anthropomorphic tendency of the words. They have 'unto the mountain of God,' and in the following clause, 'the Lord called unto him out of heaven.'

Thus shalt thou say. The parallelism formed by this and the next clause is a sign of poetical art which does not belong to the prose narratives of the earlier sources; and 'Jacob' as a name for the Israelite nation occurs, in the Hex., only in the poetical passages, Num. xxiii. 7, 10, 21, 23, xxiv. 5, 17, 19, Dt. xxxiii. 4, 10, 28, in every case except one in parallelism with 'Israel.'

3b-6 are a very beautiful expression of God's relations with His people, written by a religious thinker of the Deuteronomic school. It is, as Dillmann says, 'the classical passage of the O.T. on the nature and aim of the theocratic covenant.' Its religious significance is pointed out on pp. cxxii. f.

4. *on eagles' wings.* Cf. Dt. xxxii. 11. The poetry of the prophets contains other striking instances of the bold employment of metaphors from animal life in describing the action of God; see Hos. v. 12, 14, xi. 10, xiii. 7 f., Am. i. 2, Is. xxxi. 4, 5.

brought you unto myself. God is represented as having His abiding place on the mountain to which He had brought the people; cf. iii. 12.

5. *keep my covenant.* An *ex post facto* remark, for the covenant has not yet been made or mentioned.

peculiar treasure (segullāh). The word denotes 'valuable property' in 1 Ch. xxix. 3, Eccl. ii. 8. As a metaphor of Israel's relation to God it occurs in Dt. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18, Mal. iii. 17, Ps. cxxxv. 4. In Dt. it is in each case 'a people of peculiar treasure,' which should probably be read here, with LXX λαος περιουσιος. The expression is quoted in Tit. ii. 14. (1 Pet. ii. 9 has λαος εις περιποιησιν, and Eph. i. 14 περιποιησις, apparently owing to LXX of Is. xliii. 21.)

all the earth is mine. An expression of absolute monotheism which cannot be shewn to have been the belief of Israel till it was taught by the prophets of the eighth century. During the period

a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. These are the words *R^D* which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. | 7 And *E*, Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and set before them all these words which the LORD commanded him. 8 And all the people answered together, and said, All that the LORD hath spoken we will do. And Moses reported the words of the people unto the LORD. | 9 And the LORD said unto Moses, *E* Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and may also believe thee for ever. | And Moses told the words of the people unto the LORD. | *R^E* 10 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go unto the people, and *E* sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their garments, 11 and be ready against the third day: | for the *J* third day the LORD will come down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai. 12 And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying, Take heed to yourselves, that

of the judges and the monarchy Yahweh alone was Israel's God, but it was generally held that the gods of other nations, Chemosh, Milcom, and so on, had a real existence, and authority in their respective lands. See Jud. xi. 24, 1 S. xxvi. 19.

6. *a kingdom of priests.* A kingdom whose citizens are all priests (cf. Is. lxi. 6) to bring other nations to the worship of God, and to teach them His will. *LXX βασιλειον ιερατευμα* apparently renders the expression by two substantives, 'a royalty—a priesthood,' i.e. a royal body which is at the same time a priestly body. See Hort on 1 Pet. ii. 9; and cf. Rev. i. 6.

an holy nation. The exact phrase is not found elsewhere. 'An holy people' occurs in Dt. vii. 6, xiv. 2, 21, xxvi. 19, xxviii. 9; cf. Is. lxii. 12. 'Holy' does not primarily denote moral excellence, but separation, exclusiveness (cf. xxii. 31). The thought of moral excellence, however, which ideally attached to a people set apart for God, gradually came to the front. See e.g. Num. xv. 40 (P). This ethical character of God's people is described in Ps. xv., xxiv. 3 ff.

This and the preceding expression are both transferred by S. Peter to the Christian Church, the true Israel of God.

7, 8. These verses appear to be connected with the Decalogue, and to be in imitation of xxiv. 3. See analysis, p. xxv.

10. *sanctify them.* Distinct from the washing of clothes and abstinence from sexual intercourse. It would consist at least in bathing the body; see Gen. xxxv. 2, and W. R. Smith, *RS²* 446—54.

12. *set bounds unto the people,* i.e. keep the people within bounds. But it is an improbable meaning of the verb. Read, with Sam., *set bounds unto the mountain* (cf. v. 23), i.e. by placing stakes or stones

ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: who- *J*
 soever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death: 13 no
 hand shall touch ¹him, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot
 through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live: when
 the ²trumpet soundeth long, they shall come up to the mount. |
 14 And Moses went down from the mount unto the people, and *E*
 sanctified the people; and they washed their garments. 15 And
 he said unto the people, Be ready against the third day: come
 not near a woman. 16 And it came to pass on the third day,
 when it was morning, that there were thunders and lightnings,
 and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet
 exceeding loud; and all the people that were in the camp
 trembled. 17 And Moses brought forth the people out of the
 camp to meet God; and they stood at the nether part of the
 mount. | 18 And mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because *J*

¹ Or, it² Or, ram's horn

in a line. The mountain thus became 'sanctified,' separated off as a sacred enclosure.

13. *no hand shall touch him.* Because to do so others also would be obliged to transgress the barrier.

stoned. In Heb. xii. 20 the passage (mentioning only 'a beast') is referred to as shewing the terrible sternness of the old covenant as contrasted with the new covenant mediated by Jesus, but at the same time to emphasize the solemn truth that the responsibility of those under the new covenant is greater.

the trumpet; the ram's horn (yôbhâl). In early days the instrument would be actually made of horn, but later probably of metal. When the fiftieth year was made sacred, it was ushered in by trumpets, and was called 'the year of the yôbhâl' (Lev. xxv. 13, xxvii. 17), or more shortly 'the yôbhâl' (Lev. xxv. 11, xxvii. 18, Num. xxxvi. 4); hence the English form 'Jubile.' See Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 276.

they shall come up. 'They' is made emphatic by the use of the pronoun. It must refer not to the people who have been forbidden to come up, but to the priests (v. 22). See analysis, p. xxvi.

16. *a trumpet (shôphâr).* A mysterious trumpet which formed part of the signs of the Theophany: different from the yôbhâl of v. 13. 'The trump that angels quake to hear thrilled from the deep dark cloud.' It is foretold that a heavenly trumpet will announce the second Advent, Mat. xxiv. 31, 1 Thes. iv. 16, 1 Cor. xv. 52.

17. *they stood; they took their stand.* A different word from that in xx. 21. See note there.

18. For smoke as an accompaniment of a Theophany see Gen. xv. 17, Is. vi. 4, Joel ii. 30 [Heb. iii. 3].

the LORD descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof *J* ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole ¹mount quaked greatly. | 19 And when the voice of the trumpet waxed *E* louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. | 20 And the LORD came down upon mount Sinai, to the *J* top of the mount: and the LORD called Moses to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. 21 And the LORD said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they break through unto the LORD to gaze, and many of them perish. 22 And let the priests also, which come near to the LORD, sanctify themselves, lest the LORD break forth upon them. | 23 And *R^{VE}* Moses said unto the LORD, The people cannot come up to mount Sinai: for thou didst charge us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it. | 24 And the LORD said *J* unto him, Go, get thee down; and thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee: but let not the priests and the people break through to come up unto the LORD, lest he break forth

¹ Some ancient authorities have, *people*.

the whole mount quaked. The reading 'people,' found in LXX and some Heb. mss, is perhaps correct. In that case the statement is *J*'s equivalent to that of *E* in *v.* 16. The verb is the same.

19. *Moses spake.* This and the following verb are, in the Heb., frequentative, implying a colloquy between Moses and God, which reached the ears of the people only as an inarticulate sound. Cf. Jn. xii. 28f. The continuation of *E*'s narrative is to be found in xx. 18—21 (see analysis).

22. *which come near to Yahweh.* See p. lxx. 'Come near' of priestly service is an expression found in P (xxviii. 43, xxx. 20 *al.*), and elsewhere only in Jer. xxx. 21, Ez. xliv. 13. The words may be a late addition. The mention of priests here and in *v.* 24 appears to be an anachronism; see p. lxvi.

23. It is strange that Moses should speak of 'Mount Sinai' while he was on the mountain itself. The verse—which seems to convey the impression of capriciousness on the part of God, and of reasonable arguing on that of Moses—is one of the most remarkable instances of redactional work to be met with in the O.T. See analysis, p. xxvi.

24. *but let not the priests...&c.* This injunction, as it stands, makes the words 'they shall come up' in *v.* 13 quite inexplicable. The order of the Heb. words, translated literally, is as follows: '...and Aaron with thee; and the priests and the people let them not break through.' And according to Kuenen's very probable suggestion, the semicolon must be moved so as to follow 'the priests.'

upon them. 25 So Moses went down unto the people, and *J* told them.

25. *and told them; and said unto them.* The Heb. ^{וַיֹּאמֶר} can be rendered in no other way. Moses' words have fallen out, but they must have consisted in a repetition to the people of the divine commands. See analysis on this *v.* and on xxiv. 1 (pp. xxi., xxxii.).

CHAPTER XX. 1—17.

The Ten Words.

The critical questions connected with the 'Ten Words' and its history and origin are dealt with on pp. lvi.—lxiv. It is there shewn that various lines of argument converge to the conclusion that the Decalogue, as we have it, was the result of a long growth, extending into post-exilic times. The original form of it, as a distinct code, seems to have been a product of the generation which had listened to Hosea and Amos; and the principal expansions in it, of the period of reform which is generally known as Deuteronomic. The literary phenomena of chs. xix.—xxiv., xxxii.—xxxiv. render it probable that the code, together with the portions of narrative which are connected with it, must have been inserted in Exodus later than the greater portion of the laws.

It can hardly be necessary to insist that this complicated literary history in no way detracts from its value. In every department of life, physical, social or literary, a product which has been slowly evolved is not less the work of God than one which has appeared complete and ready-made; and it must be judged not by the earliest but by the latest stage in its growth. And the value of the Decalogue is not diminished if it received enlargements from many hands, and if other, and different, forms of it have been preserved. As it stands now in the Hebrew Bible it is a monument of priceless worth, and is the basis of all subsequent Christian teaching on our duty towards God and our neighbour. 'Whoever ordered his tastes and life in accordance with them [the O.T. writers], ordered his tastes and life not in accordance with men but in accordance with God who spake through them. If sacrilege was there forbidden, it was God that forbade it. If it was said, "Honour thy father and mother," it was God that commanded it. If it was said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," and so forth, it was not human lips that uttered these, but divine oracles.' (Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 41.)

In the following notes when a command is quoted from Dt. v., the italicised words mark the variations from the form in Exodus.

XX. 1 And God spake all these words, saying, *E.*

XX. 1. *all these words.* They are not called 'Ten' till Dt. iv. 13, x. 4, unless the expression in xxxiv. 28 is a redactional addition referring to them.

2 I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the *land* of Egypt, out of the house of ¹bondage.

3 Thou shalt have none other gods ²before me.

4 Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor *the likeness of any form* that is in heaven above, or that is in the

¹ Heb. *bondmen*.

² Or, *beside me*

2. The verse finds a close parallel in Hos. xiii. 4, Ps. lxxxii. 10. A possible rendering is, 'I, Yahweh, am thy God,' forming a direct statement of Israel's henotheism which anticipates v. 3. If, according to the Jewish arrangement, vv. 1, 2 are reckoned together as the first Word, we might render—'As for Me, Yahweh thy God, which brought..., thou shalt have none other gods beside Me.' But there is no reason for departing from the usual rendering—'I am Yahweh thy God.' This is not a statement of Israel's henotheism, but a formal opening to a document, such as is found, e.g., in Mesha's inscription—'I am Mesha, son of Chemosh-[melek], king of Moab.'

house of slaves. As in xiii. 3, 14, Jos. xxiv. 17, and frequently in Dt.

3. Ist Word. Heb., literally, 'there shall not be to thee.' This need not necessarily be understood to mean, 'There shall not exist in thy thoughts any other gods.' It must be left an open question whether the prohibition implies that, whatever other nations did, Israel must acknowledge and worship only one deity (henotheism or monolatry), or that Israel must realise that no other deities existed (monotheism). If the prohibition had been known for a long time before it was written in its codified shape, the former alternative must be adopted; but if it was quite new at the time of the prophets, the latter is possible. Perhaps the earlier henotheistic form is preserved in xxxiv. 14 (J)—'thou shalt not worship another god.' The present passage is so rendered in the Targums. Origen, *Hom. in Exod.*, draws a sharp distinction between 'there shall not be to thee' and 'there are not.' But he fancifully explains the 'other gods' as angels, who are called gods 'not by nature but by grace' because God has apportioned to them divine offices.

before me. Lit. 'over against my face.' This is the meaning of the R.V.: not 'in preference to me,' but side by side with me so that I can see them. In Dt. v. 7 the form of the Ist Word is identical with that in Exodus.

4-6. IInd Word. No visible representation of Yahweh may be made. This is one of the surest signs that the Decalogue, as we have it, was much later than Moses. Images were widely used in Yahweh-worship till the time of the prophets. See pp. lix. ff.

4. *the likeness of any form.* The word 'form' (*temūnāh*) denotes 'that wherein an object made resembles its model; in making a *pesel* [graven image], a *temūnāh* is at the same time produced. This "form"

earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth : 5 thou *E*, shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them : for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the

is then, by an inexactness of language, identified with the corresponding form ("that is in heaven &c.") upon which it was modelled (R. V. eases the sentence by inserting "the likeness of").' Driver, *Deut.* p. 84.

in heaven above, i.e. the heavenly bodies (and birds, Dt. iv. 17). The worship of the heavenly bodies is not heard of in Israel till the reign of Manasseh, whose paganism prompted the Deuteronomic reforms. It is the prominent feature in the nature-worship of most early races.

the water under the earth. This expresses the early belief that the earth was a flat object, resting upon the surface of subterranean deeps ; cf. Gen. vii. 11, xlix. 25. Fish were worshipped in many countries, Egypt, Syria, Assyria, Philistia, Caria. See Xen. *Anab.* i. iv. 9, Plut. *de Isid.* 18, Lucian, *dea Syr.* 45 ; also Thomson, *Land and Book*, 547, W. R. Smith, *RS*² 173 ff., 292 f.

5. *serve them*. The Masor. pointing ׀׀׀׀׀׀ seems to mean 'be forced to serve them.' But the ordinary active form ׀׀׀׀׀׀ should probably be read.

I Yahweh thy God am &c. 'I am Y. thy God' (LXX) is also possible, as in v. 2.

a jealous God. Hosea was the first to teach that Israel was God's Bride. From his time the thought was common. And the divine 'jealousy' is that which makes Him claim an exclusive right over His people. In Ex. xxxiv. 14 the jealousy is connected with the first command. See Dt. iv. 24, v. 9, vi. 15, Jos. xxiv. 19, Nah. i. 2, and Jas. iv. 5 (R.V. marg.).

visiting the iniquity &c. The difficulty that this caused in olden times is illustrated by the necessity that Origen¹ felt of explaining 'the children' to mean 'the sinful,' and 'the fathers' to mean 'the devil' ; for he is the father of the sinful (Jn. viii. 44), as God is of the good (1 Jn. iii. 9) : and Theodoret dismisses the matter by the remark that 'threats with the Lord God are greater than punishments.' The study of natural science is daily making it clearer that God works by and in natural laws, so that causes produce results. And the suffering of children by reason of their fathers' sins is a daily spectacle. It must be remembered, however, that to the Hebrew writer the words had reference only to the external consequences of sin, and not to any feeling of anger on God's part against innocent sufferers. But, in the last resort, nothing can lessen the difficulty but a strong belief that God has an end in view great enough to make all suffering worth while. At the time of the exile Jeremiah (xxx. 29 f.) and Ezekiel

¹ Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xii. col. 289 f.

fourth generation of them that hate me ; 6 and shewing mercy *E*, unto ¹thousands, of them that love me and keep my commandments.

7 Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God ²in vain ; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name ²in vain.

¹ Or, a thousand generations See Deut. vii. 9.

² Or, for vanity or falsehood

(xviii. 2) taught the complementary truth that every man must suffer for his own sins.

The wording of the present passage is largely borrowed from xxxiv. 7.

6. *unto thousands, of them &c.* This can hardly mean unto a thousand generations in direct descent, but unto an indefinitely large number of those who, by family or other ties, belong to, are connected with (↳), them that love me. Dt. vii. 9, referred to in the marg., gives a rhetorical amplification of the original words.

them that love me. As the Bride loves her Husband. The extent to which prophetic teaching influenced subsequent thought may be realised from the fact that the verb 'love' to describe man's attitude to God is, with one exception¹, not found earlier than Deuteronomy.

Dt. v. 8-10: 'Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, [*om.* 'nor'] any form² that is in heaven above.....upon the children, both upon the third and &c.'

7. IIIrd Word. More than one interpretation has been offered of this command. A literal rendering is '*Thou shalt not take up the name of Yahweh thy God for vanity,*' or 'for a sinful purpose,' i.e. take up upon thy lips—utter; cf. xxiii. 1. The ordinary rendering 'take in vain' implies the employment of the sacred name lightly or irreverently. But the word *shāv'*, 'vanity,' denotes something stronger than that. Some would understand it of using the divine name in the swearing of a false oath. But this anticipates the IXth Word, in which a 'witness of falsehood' (Dt. v. 17 'a witness of vanity') is condemned. It was a common practice, however, in ordinary conversation, to support a statement by an oath (e.g. 1 K. xvii. 12); and the present command is perhaps aimed against general untruthfulness, while the IXth forbids perjury in a law court. A less probable explanation is, 'Thou shalt not take up the name in worship *emptily,*' i.e. with empty hands, the meaning being that of xxiii. 15—'none shall appear before me empty (*rākām*).' The sin referred to is probably witchcraft, which is strongly denounced in Deuteronomy. It must be remembered that a 'name' meant more in early days than it does to us. It is 'a something parallel to the man, relatively

¹ Jud. v. 31, where 'them that love Him' seems to mean no more than 'His friends,' those that take His side, as opposed to His enemies (see Moore).

² 'Graven image' and 'form' are here in apposition, a construction peculiarly frequent in Dt.

8 Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. 9 Six days *E*, shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: 10 but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the LORD thy God: *in it* thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger

independent of the bearer, but of great importance to his weal or woe, a something which at once describes and influences its bearer.... But what is true of a human name is true also, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Divine name. To know it is of vital importance, for this is the condition of being able to use it in invocation; and invocation has, according to primitive notions, a real efficacy, giving to the invoking party a kind of power over the name invoked, so that he can compel its aid' (Kautzsch, *DB*, extra vol. 640 *b*).

In Dt. v. 11 the IIIrd Word is identical.

8-11. IVth Word.

8. *Remember*. This does not mean 'remember that the Sabbath was instituted at the Creation'; nor does it refer to the past at all. The most natural meaning is 'take note of—keep in mind' for the future¹.

to keep it holy; to sanctify it, i.e. to set it apart for God. It belongs, as v. 10 says, 'to Yahweh thy God.' Just as firstfruits and tithes were offered to God as a recognition that the whole produce of the earth really belongs to Him who gave it, so the dedication of one day in seven is an expression of the fact that every minute of a man's life really belongs to Him who gave him his life.

10. *the seventh day is a sabbath*, i.e. is a sabbath-rest, a 'cessation.' It is possible also to treat 'the seventh day' as what may be called an accusative of duration of time, like 'six days' in the preceding clause; the rendering would then be 'during six days shalt thou labour..., but during the seventh day—a sabbath unto Yahweh thy God—thou shalt not do any business.' This avoids the necessity of supplying 'in it,' as is done in the R.V. (cf. the construction in xxiii. 10 *f*.). But a reading '*on the seventh day*' is found in a few Heb. mss, including the recently discovered Nash papyrus², in LXX of Ex. and Dt., the Vulg. of Ex., and the Old Lat. of Dt.; and it is justified by xvi. 26, xxiii. 12, xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2, &c.

unto Yahweh thy God, i.e. a sabbath appointed by, and sacred to, Him. It has no reference to God's rest after the Creation. Cf. 'the release unto Yahweh,' Dt. xv. 2.

in it thou shalt not do any business. Though 'in it' is not in the Mas. text, its insertion is supported by LXX, O.L., Vulg., Sam., and the Nash papyrus.

¹ Dt. v. 12 has 'observe.' It has been suggested, however, that the original reading in Dt. was 'remember,' and that 'observe' was an alteration effected after v. 15 ('and thou shalt remember &c.') was added, in order to avoid tautology.

² A complete account of this interesting fragment is given by S. A. Cook in *PSBA* Jan. 1903, with a photograph of a facsimile by Prof. Burkitt.

that is within thy gates: 11 for in six days the LORD made *E*, heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.

12 Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

11. The reason attached to the command is the work of a priestly writer in reference to Gen. ii. 1-3. But P's story of the Creation, with the six days followed by the sacred seventh, is not the *cause* of the Sabbath but the *result* of the fact that the week ending with the Sabbath was an existing institution. P adjusts the work of creation to it.

blessed the sabbath day. LXX (not Vulg.), Pesh. and the Nash papyrus have 'the seventh day': and the reading appears in the PBV.

The Sabbath is more fully discussed in the addit. note after v. 17.

Dt. v. 12-15: '*Observe the sabbath day to sanctify it, as Yahweh thy God commanded thee...thou and thy son and thy daughter and thy slave and thy maidservant and thine ox and thine ass and all thy cattle and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that thy slave and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh thy God brought thee out thence with a strong hand and with a stretched-out arm. Therefore Yahweh thy God commanded thee to keep (lit. 'do' or 'celebrate') the sabbath day.*'

12-17. It is interesting to note the varieties of order in which the remaining commands are found.

(a)	{	Ex. and Dt. (MT), Ex. (LXX ^{AV}), Dt. (LXX ^{AV}), Josephus, Didache:	5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th.
		Mat. xix. 18 f. = Mk. x. 19 f. ¹ :	6th, 7th, 8th, 10th.
(b)	{	Ex. (LXX ^B):	5th, 7th, 8th, 6th, 9th, 10th.
(c)	{	Ex. and Dt. (some Heb. mss), Dt. (LXX ^{AV}), Nash pap., Philo:	5th, 7th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th.
		Rom. xiii. 9:	7th, 6th, 8th, 10th.
		(Jas. ii. 11:	7th, 6th.
(d)	{	Lk. xviii. 20:	7th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 5th.

12. Vth Word. *that thy days may be long.* Cf. Dt. vi. 2, xxv. 15, iv. 26, 40, v. 33 (30), xi. 9, xvii. 20, xxii. 7, xxx. 18, xxxii. 47.

Dt. v. 16: '*Honour thy father and thy mother as Yahweh thy God commanded thee, that thy days may be long, and that it may be well with thee, upon the land &c.*' See Eph. vi. 2, 3.

¹ 1 Tim. i. 9 f. appears to follow the order 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th.

13 Thou shalt do no murder.

14 Thou shalt not commit adultery.

15 Thou shalt not steal.

16 Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

17 Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

13. VIth Word. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, i. 20) argues that this prohibition includes suicide.

14. VIIth Word. Apart from the Decalogue the sin is mentioned first by Hosea (iv. 2, 13, 14, vii. 4), and not again till Jeremiah.

15. VIIIth Word. Underhand dealing was the besetting sin of the Hebrew. It is exemplified in the earliest days in the character of the national ancestor Jacob; it is the constant cry in the social teaching of the prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah; and Zechariah's vision (v. 1-4) shews that it was, together with false swearing, a prevailing sin among the Jews after the exile.

Dt. v. 17-19: 'Thou shalt do no murder. *And* thou shalt not commit adultery. *And* thou shalt not steal.'

16. IXth Word. *Thou shalt not testify* (lit. 'answer') *against thy neighbour as a false witness* (lit. 'a witness of falsehood'). Dt. and Nash pap. have 'witness of vanity' (*shāv'*, cf. v. 7). Addis thinks that this, being the more difficult reading, is the older, and that 'falsehood' was 'substituted in Ex. xx. 16 to remove all doubt about the sense.' Against this, however, LXX has *ψευδη* both in Ex. and Dt., while in the IIIrd Word it has *ἐπι ματαιω* in both.

Dt. v. 20: '*And* thou shalt not testify against thy neighbour as a witness of *vanity*.'

17. Xth Word. It is not improbable that this command originally ended at 'house,' all the remainder being an enlargement detailing the contents of the house. Dt., in a more humane spirit, places the wife first, separated from the slaves and cattle, and governed by a different verb.

Dt. v. 21: '*And* thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, *and* thou shalt not *desire* thy neighbour's house, *his field* and his slave and his maidservant, [*om.* 'and'] his ox and his ass and anything that is thy neighbour's.'

The Xth Word is referred to in Rom. vii. 7, where S. Paul says that he would not be in a position to know sin as sin if it were not for the law which said *οὐκ ἐπιθυμῆσαι*. He here asserts the true inwardness of the command as it affects *thought*. But it is quite open to question whether our understanding of the command in the O.T. is

¹ But LXX, Pesh. and several Heb. mss retain it.

not coloured by S. Paul's deeper Christian ethics. Even in Dt., where the two different verbs are used, they may be, as Prof. Driver says, merely a rhetorical variation. But certainly in Ex. where the wife is coupled with slaves, cattle and other property, there is no reference to lustful thought. The prohibition is aimed against that greedy desire for another's goods which led to the oppressions and cheating which were so rife among the wealthier classes, and which are denounced by the prophets of the 8th century. See also Mk. x. 19, where $\mu\eta\ \alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ represents the Xth Word.

The Sabbath. The Sabbath law, as it appears in the O.T., has been dealt with on p. xliii. But some further remarks may be made here. The Biblical meaning of the word *shabbāth* connects it with the verb *shābhath*, 'to desist, cease' (see Is. xiv. 4, xxiv. 8). It was a day when work was intermitted (Am. viii. 5). But it was not a mere holiday; being sacred to Yahweh it was a day of religious observance (Is. i. 13); and both aspects of it are clearly defined in Jer. xvii. 19—27, Is. lviii. 13. In P a further application of the root-meaning is given to the word by connecting it with the divine 'desisting' or 'ceasing' from the work of creation. But it has recently been suggested that the primitive meaning was different, and that the connexion of *shabbāth* with *shābhath* is only apparent, and was adopted by the Hebrews when the knowledge of the true derivation was lost. In a Babylonian lexicographical tablet (II. Rawlinson 32, l. 16) the word *šabattum* is equated with *ūm nūh libbi*—'day of rest of the heart,' i.e. (as it is now generally understood) a day when the gods rested from anger, a day for the pacification of the deity. A record (IV. Rawl. 32, 33; V. Rawl. 48, 49; translated in Jastrow, *Religion of Bab. and Assyr.* p. 367) is preserved of two of the months, the second (or intercalary) Elul, and Marcheswan, which shews that, in these months at least, the Babylonians marked certain days as those which might be either 'favourable days' or 'evil days' according as the rightful precautions and observances were practised or not, while all the others were 'favourable days.' These special days were the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th, and also the 19th. The first four were reckoned from the appearance of the new moon, while the latter seems to be the $7 \times 7 = 49$ th day from the new moon of the preceding month—the lunar month being roughly reckoned as containing 30 days. On these five days certain actions are superstitiously forbidden as displeasing to the deity. The 'shepherd' of the people, i.e. the king, may not eat food prepared by fire, wear royal clothing, offer sacrifice, ride in his chariot, hold court, enquire of an oracle; the physician may not be brought to his sick room; nor may he invoke curses on his enemies. It is only at the close of the day that he may bring his gift and offer sacrifices. The word *šabattum* has at present been found (in the genitive *šabattim*) in two (perhaps three) other passages. In one the reading is doubtful; in another it is equivalent to the ideogram UD = 'day,' 'sun,' 'light'; but in the third it is equated with the ideogram TIL, which perhaps means 'to pacify.' Again, the verb *šabātu* is equated with *gamāru*, which usually denotes 'to complete,' but in two syllabaries it has been thought to mean 'to pacify'; this however is doubtful. Two further pieces of evidence are available. It has been ascertained by the examination

of the dates of deeds and documents that the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st and 28th days were undoubtedly marked by abstention from secular business, especially in the Hammurabi period. Some Assyriologists have recently stated that this was only true of the 19th day; but this is due to a failure to notice that the business transacted on the other four days was for the most part not secular but connected with temple matters. Secondly, in a tablet belonging to the library of Asshur-bani-pal, or in a duplicate of it (see Pinches, *PSBA* xxvi. pp. 51—6), the term *šapattu* is applied to the 15th day of the month, that is presumably the day of the full moon, the division of the lunar month; this would be equivalent, at least from time to time, to the 14th day in the Rawlinson tablet.

With this scanty evidence it is unsafe to come to a decisive conclusion. More than one connecting link is absent, which must be supplied by future discoveries before we can pronounce that the Babylonian *šabattum* is certainly the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath. Firstly, it must be shewn that all the five sacred days were called *šabattum*. It is quite possible that they were, but at present there is no evidence of it. And secondly, it must be made clear how the Hebrew custom of reckoning fixed periods of seven days throughout the year, irrespective of the moon, was connected with the Babylonian custom which prevailed in the time of Hammurabi of reckoning the sacred days from the appearance of the new moon.

It is well known, however, that the Hebrew month began with the new moon; and it is exceedingly probable that in early days the only Hebrew reckoning was lunar, that the full moon was a Sabbath, and that the subdivisions of the half month were marked by sacred 'half-moon' days, which were perhaps also Sabbaths. It is noteworthy that 'new moon' and 'sabbath' are mentioned in juxtaposition in four early passages, Am. viii. 5, Hos. ii. 11, Is. i. 13, 2 K. iv. 23, while the *weekly* sabbath is enjoined in the laws of J and E. If it may be conjectured from this that the change from the lunar reckoning to the periodic week was gradually taking place in Israel in the 9th and 8th centuries, it is further possible that it was due to eastern influence. After the dynasty of Hammurabi there was a disturbed period of about 300 years of (?) Semitic rule in Babylonia of which little is known; and this was followed by some 600 years of Kassite supremacy. This long period of foreign rule naturally caused many changes of thought and custom, and among them were alterations in the calendar. (Records of the Kassite rule consist of dated documents published by Peiser and by Clay in *Urkunden aus der Zeit der dritten babylonischen Dynastie*, 1905, and in vols. xiv. xv. of *Cuneiform Texts of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, 1906.) And there is evidence which may be taken to shew that towards the end of this period the regular succession of seven-day weeks came to be observed in Babylonia. When the Assyrians afterwards rose to power and suppressed the Kassites, they opened the way once more for Babylonian influence to reach Palestine and the West through the high roads of Mesopotamia. And it is not unreasonable to suppose, though there is no direct evidence of the fact, that this influence may have acted upon the Hebrew calendar.

If, then, the Babylonians applied the term *šabattum* to the four sacred days which marked the division of the lunar month, and if the seven-day

week was introduced into Babylonia during the Kassite supremacy, and was also adopted by the Hebrews when the influence of Babylonia touched Palestine early in the period of the kings, it is plausible to look to Babylon for the origin both of the Hebrew Sabbath and of the Hebrew division of time into weeks. And if it should prove true that the Sabbath was derived, in the far past, from a Babylonian observance, or that the Hebrew and the Babylonian institution, in a still remoter past, had a common origin, it will only be another of the many instances in which a primitive, non-Hebrew, custom assumed, under God's inspiration, a new character, being purified from superstition, and made more fit for a moral and religious purpose—so fitted that it could become the direct antecedent of the Christian Sunday.

18 And all the people saw the thunderings, and the *E* lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they ¹trembled, and stood afar off. 19 And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die. 20 And Moses said unto the people, Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before you, that ye sin not. 21 And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.

22 And the LORD said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say *R^vB*

¹ Or, *were moved*

XX. 18—21.

The Theophany.

These verses form the continuation of E's narrative, interrupted at *xix.* 19.

18. *saw the thunderings*, i.e. 'perceived' them. Cf. *v.* 22, Jer. *xxxiii.* 24.

and when the people saw it. Perhaps read (with a change of vowel points) 'and the people feared,' as in *LXX*, *Vulg.*

trembled. Heb. 'reeled,' 'swayed.' They fled in panic as though drunk or stupefied with horror; cf. *Am.* iv. 8, *Gen.* iv. 12, 14.

and stood. They stopped after fleeing a certain distance. Contrast *xix.* 17 (*J*).

20. *to prove you.* *xv.* 25 *b*, *xvi.* 4, *Gen.* *xxii.* 1 (all *E*).

XX. 22—26.

Laws on worship.

In these verses and the three following chapters three groups of laws are combined; they are discussed in the analysis (pp. *xxvii.* ff.).

unto the children of Israel, Ye yourselves have seen that I have *R^{VB}* talked with you from heaven. 23 Ye shall not make *other gods* with me; gods of silver, or gods of gold, ye shall not make unto you. | 24 An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and *E* shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in every place where I ¹record

¹ Or, *cause my name to be remembered*

The laws on worship here and in xxii. 29 f., xxiii. 10—19, are in all probability fragmentary remains of a very early collection.

22. The verse is a redactional setting to the commands, as the use of the name Yahweh and of the plural pronouns suggests; and it appears in different forms—LXX: 'And Yahweh said unto Moses, These things shalt thou say unto the house of Jacob and declare unto the children of Israel' (cf. xix. 3). Sam.: 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses saying, Speak unto the children of Israel.'

23. *Ye shall not make* [other gods] *with me*. If this clause is a separate command, some words, such as 'other gods,' must have fallen out of the text. If not, the punctuation must be altered as in the LXX: 'Ye shall not make with me gods of silver; and gods of gold ye shall not make unto you.' The use of the plural pronoun suggests that this command is not from the same source as the following. Cf. xxii. 21.

24. *An altar of earth*. Cf. 2 K. v. 17. See note on altars, below. *burnt-offerings*. The Heb. term *'ôlâh* signifies 'that which goes up'; the victim goes up in the flame and smoke of the altar to God, expressing the ascent of the soul of the offerer in self-dedication and worship. It is sometimes called *'ôlâh kâtil*, 'whole burnt-offering,' emphasizing the fact of the entire consumption of the victim. (Nowack, *Archæol.* ii. 215, understands it merely of the portions of a victim which 'go up,' i.e. are lifted up, upon the altar.) It was not connected with any particular form of transgression; in early days it was offered on special occasions, but afterwards became a regular part of the organized worship of the community, whereby the whole people expressed their reverent awe of God's majesty, and entreated His favour.

peace-offerings (*shelâmîm*). The exact meaning is still uncertain. Some, connecting it with *shâlôm*, 'peace,' explain it as 'the sacrifice offered when friendly relations existed towards God, as distinguished from piacular offerings which presupposed estrangement.' So LXX *θυσία εἰρηνική*. Others derive it from the verb *shillôm*, 'to make whole,' 'make restitution,' and so 'to pay what is due'; hence a thank- or votive-offering. In either case the word denotes a particular aspect of the more general term *zebhaḥ*¹, 'sacrifice,' 'slaughter.' It is

¹ In xviii. 12 *zebhaḥ* is used; and in xxiv. 5 the full title is formed by the apposition of the two words, 'slaughter-offerings, peace-offerings.'

my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. 25 And *E* if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. 26 Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

sharply distinguished from *'ólāh*, as being the offering of which the worshipper (and at a later time the priest also) had a share, which he ate at a sacred meal, while the remainder was given to the deity by being burnt. This kind of sacrifice was, in early days, generally offered on joyful occasions.

I record my name. Lit. 'cause my name to be remembered,' by some visitation or token; cf. 2 S. xviii. 18, Ps. xlv. 17.

25. *thy tool.* Cf. Dt. xxvii. 5, Jos. viii. 31.

26. Contrast the later legislation in xxviii. 42 with the same motive. P's altar, three cubits ($4\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) in height, had a ledge which was apparently intended to be used as a step (xxvii. 1, 5; cf. Lev. ix. 22, 'came down'); and in the case of Ezekiel's altar (xliii. 17), steps are expressly mentioned. The prohibition of steps belongs to a time when any Israelite might sacrifice, and he would do so in his ordinary dress. The later Jews adhered to the letter of the command, and Herod's altar was approached by an incline. See W. R. Smith, *OTJC*' 358.

Altars. The alternatives—earth and stones—allowed in *vv.* 24 f. shew that a plurality of altars is contemplated (see footnote 2, p. lxxxii.); and that the erection of altars was a common practice before Deut., is clear from the numerous instances recorded, in which men built or used them not only on occasion of a Theophany or in obedience to an express command (as Jos. viii. 30 f., Jud. vi. 26, xiii. 16, 19, 2 S. xxiv. 18, 25), but also independently, 1 S. vii. 9 f., 17, ix. 12 ff., x. 8, xi. 15, xiii. 9 f., xiv. 35 (the *first* of the altars which Saul built), xx. 6, 2 S. xv. 7 f., 12, 32 ('where men *used to worship* God'), 1 K. iii. 4 ('the great high place' where Solomon '*used to offer*' 1000 burnt offerings on the altar). In Deut. the binding principle is for the first time formulated that Yahweh was to be publicly worshipped at one place only 'which Yahweh thy God will choose.' The *locus classicus* is Dt. xii. 1-28 (see Driver). The priestly writers after the exile in their description of the Tabernacle and its worship take this principle for granted as having existed since the sojourn at Sinai.

The conception of an 'altar' seems to have been the result of a gradual growth from primitive ideas, in which three stages may be traced.

1. In the earliest days the ancient Semites, in common with other nations, regarded every striking natural feature, rock, tree, stream or well, as the home of a presiding *numen* or deity. And when the worshipper brought his offering, all that he could do in order to place it in immediate contact with the deity would be to lay it on the rock (cf. Jud. vi. 20), or hang it on the tree, or throw it into the stream or well.

2. A step in advance was taken when it was conceived that the deity would vouchsafe to *come*, and take up his abode in an object, such as a stone set up by man, which thus became a 'house of God,' a *bêth-'El*¹ (Gen. xxviii. 18). Of such a character was the *mazzebhāh* (Arab. *nusb*), which was afterwards employed as an adjunct to an altar. An animal having been slaughtered, its blood was poured out at the foot of the stone, or some of it was smeared upon the stone, and was thus offered as the food of the deity. Other kinds of offerings would consist in oil or wine. Examples of such sacred stones are probably to be seen in the megaliths or dolmens of Moab (see *PEF Quart. Statement*, 1882, 75 ff.; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, chs. vii., viii.). A survival of the primitive practice is found not only in the story of Jacob, but even in the life of Saul (1 S. xiv. 33 f.).

3. But as time went on, the portion of the victim given to the deity comprised more than the blood—'the fat that covereth the inwards, the caul that is upon the liver, the two kidneys and the fat that is upon them' (Ex. xxix. 13). The blood had been, and was still, allowed to soak into the ground; but the more solid parts must be consumed by fire. (In extraordinary cases the fire was supplied by Yahweh Himself, Jud. vi. 21, 1 K. xviii. 38.) Hence the simple stone was evolved into an altar. Its primitive origin is still seen in the directions in Ex. xx. 24; and as late as Elijah and Elisha unhewn stones (1 K. xviii. 32) and earth (2 K. v. 17) were employed. It was probably in consequence of foreign influence that Solomon introduced the innovation of a *bronze* altar (mentioned in 1 K. viii. 64, 2 K. xvi. 10—15, though no account of its erection has survived).

Ezekiel's idea of an altar reached an advanced stage of elaboration, consisting of a basement, and three blocks of stones rising in tiers, each being 2 cubits smaller in length and breadth than the one below it (xliii. 13—17). The Tabernacle altar, finally, combines features found in both the two latter. As in the case of Solomon's, bronze was used in its manufacture, and like Ezekiel's it rose in tiers; but that it might be light and portable it was pictured as hollow, made of wood overlaid with bronze; and there were two tiers instead of four (see xxvii. 4—8). It is evident that the earlier prohibition of the use of a tool (xx. 25) is here disregarded.

CHAPTER XXI.—XXII. 17.

Judgements.

This section contains *Mishpāṭim*, decisions or rulings for the use of judges; they deal with hypothetical cases in the social life of the nation. They fall into pentades, or groups of five, an arrangement which is interrupted only in xxi. 17, xxii. 5, 6 and 23. The contents of the code, and its relation to the Babylonian laws of Ḥammurabi, are dealt with on pp. xlvi.—liv.

¹ Through Phœnician influences this passed to the Greeks as *βασιλεύιον*, and to the Romans as *baetulus*.

XXI. 1 Now these are the judgements which thou shalt *E* set before them.

2 If thou buy an Hebrew ¹servant, six years he shall serve : and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. 3 If he come in by himself, he shall go out by himself : if he be married, then his wife shall go out with him. 4 If his master give him a wife, and she bear him sons or daughters ; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. 5 But if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children ; I will not go out free : 6 then his master shall bring him unto ²God, and shall bring him to the door, or unto the door post ; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl ; and he shall serve him for ever.

¹ Or, *bondman*

² Or, *the judges*

XXI. 2-6. *Pentade on male slaves.* *vv.* 2 : 3 *a* : 3 *b* : 4 : 5, 6.

2. *in the seventh*, i.e. of his servitude. Dt. xv. 12, Jer. xxxiv. 14. There is no evidence that slaves were freed in the Sabbatical year.

3. *if he be married*, previously to becoming a slave.

6. *unto God*. The ceremony is public and official ; the slave is taken to the local sanctuary, probably to take an oath that he wishes to remain a slave. This would safeguard him from any attempt on his master's part to keep him in slavery against his will. The words placed in his mouth in *v.* 5 read like a formal utterance which may well have been part of the oath. Some explain 'God' (*hā'-Elohim*) as the religious officials, as the representatives of God upon earth (marg. and A.V. 'the judges'). But nothing is said as to their part in the ceremony ; and the term is a vague one, which it is better to understand as including the sanctuary and all connected with it ; cf. xxii. 8, 9. (The corresponding expression is found frequently in the code of Hammurabi ; see, e.g., § 9, quoted on p. xlvi.) In Dt. xv. 16 f. there is no mention of *hā'-Elohim*, because a journey to the only sanctuary at Jerusalem was impossible. Others suggest that since the door or threshold of a house was, according to primitive ideas, peculiarly sacred, to bring the slave 'unto God' meant to bring him to the threshold. Or again, it is supposed that reference is made to the *terāphim* or household gods, kept and worshipped at the door. But the above explanation is simpler¹.

¹ Some have seen an allusion to this ceremony in Ps. xl. 6 (7), 'ears didst thou dig (or pierce) for me,' as though the speaker said that God had made him His obedient slave. But, if the text is right, it is more probable that the reference is 'to the creative power of God, who dug out the ears and made them organs of hearing, in order that His people might hear and obey Him' (Briggs).

7 And if a man sell his daughter to be a ¹maidservant, she *E* shall not go out as the menservants do. 8 If she please not her master, ²who hath espoused her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange people he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her. 9 And if he espouse her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. 10 If he take him another *wife*; her ³food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish. 11 And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out for nothing, without money.

12 He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall surely be put to death. 13 And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver *him* into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. 14 And if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.

15 And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.

16 And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

17 And he that ⁴curseth his father, or his mother, shall *R'* surely be put to death.

¹ Or, *bondwoman*

² Another reading is, *so that he hath not espoused her.*

³ Heb. *flesh.*

⁴ Or, *revileth*

7—11. *Pentade on female slaves.* *vv.* 7: 8: 9: 10: 11.

8. *who hath espoused her to himself.* The Revisers have adopted the reading (יב) of the Keri and Targ., that of the consonantal text (אב) being given in the margin¹. The latter, however, is impossible, because the master has, as a matter of fact, bought the slave girl to be his wife. Perhaps read 'who hath known her' (יָדָעָהּ אִישׁוֹ), i.e. if he have consummated his union with her.

10. The subject of the verb is still the master who bought her, not the son.

12—16. *Pentade on acts of violence.* *vv.* 12: 13: 14: 15: 16.

12. A general statement which is particularised in *vv.* 13, 14 as (1) unintentional, (2) deliberate, manslaughter.

13. *a place.* *V.* 14 shews that this means the altar at the nearest sanctuary, which was the earliest form of asylum. See p. lii.

17. In the LXX this *v.* follows *v.* 15, which was probably the position in which it first stood. But it disturbs the pentadic

¹ The latter is the reading of Aq. Sym. Theod. and Syr. The mss of the LXX are divided and confused.

18 And if men contend, and one smiteth the other with *E* a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed : 19 if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit : only he shall pay for ¹the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

20 And if a man smite ²his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand ; he shall surely be punished. 21 Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished : for he is his money.

22 And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no mischief follow : he shall be surely fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him ; and he shall pay as the judges determine. 23 But if any

¹ Heb. *his sitting or ceasing*.

² Or, *his bondman, or his bondwoman*

arrangement, and seems to have been a later addition to v. 15, perhaps to be traced to Lev. xx. 9.

18—27. *Pentade on injuries inflicted by men.* vv. 18 f. : 20 f. : 22 : 23 : 26 f.

18. *his fist.* So LXX, Vulg. ; cf. Is. lviii. 4. But the root denotes 'to sweep, or scoop away' (Jud. v. 21), so that the word may mean *his spade*. A labourer in a field might maliciously injure another with a spade or shovel ; but it is less likely that the law would deal with an injury inflicted in a mutual fight with fists. The Targ. renders it 'club.' The doubtful word from the same root in Jo. i. 17 probably means 'shovels' (R.V. 'clods').

20. *he shall surely be avenged*, i.e. the slave. The killing of a slave was not a capital offence. The code is based upon the principle of just requital ; and the death of a free man would be a disproportionate requital for that of a slave, who was only a piece of property.

21. *he shall not be avenged.* If the slave survived a day or two, it was clear that the master only intended to punish him, and his death was an unfortunate accident : and since he was to his master an equivalent for money, the master had already punished himself sufficiently by losing him.

22. Dillm. would transpose vv. 22—25 to follow v. 19. This would have the advantage of bringing together the cases (1) in which men strive together, (2) in which a man injures his slave.

hurt a woman. When she intervenes and tries to stop the quarrel. *mischief.* The woman's death, as v. 23 shews. Gen. xlii. 4, 38, xliv. 29 †.

as the judges determine. Lit. 'by [assessment of] the judges.' But not only is the construction strange, and the word for 'judges' rare and poetical (Dt. xxxii. 31, Job xxxi. 11 †), but if the woman's

mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, 24 eye for eye, *E* tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, 25 burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

26 And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, and destroy it; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. 27 And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

28 And if an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die, the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit. 29 But if the ox were wont to gore in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death. 30 If there be laid on him a ransom, then he shall give for the redemption of his life whatsoever is laid

husband has already fixed the amount of the fine, there is no room for any decision by the judges. With the change of one consonant read 'for the miscarriage' (מִדְּבִיבָה).

24, 25. An abridged summary of the laws of retaliation, which has been added here though it is not relevant to the case in point—the death of the woman. See p. liii.

Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 11) uses this law of retaliation as an argument in favour of eternal punishment. An offence which takes a very short time to commit may be punished by the perpetual loss of an eye or tooth or of life itself. Punishment is not proportioned to the time occupied in the perpetration of a crime, but to its heinousness.

28—32. *Pentate on injuries inflicted by beasts.* vv. 28 : 29 : 30 : 31 : 32.

28. Such a law emphasizes the sanctity of the life of a free Israelite (contrast v. 32). The principle appears also in P (Gen. ix. 5), and in Plato (*de leg.* ix. 873). In Draco's laws even an inanimate object that causes death must be removed (*Dem. adv. Aristocr.* 645).

29. *shall be put to death.* There appears to be a distinction in the code between this expression with a single verb and the formal death sentence in vv. 12, 15—17, xxii. 19 (18). The present case admits of an alternative in the payment of a fine.

30. *a ransom.* Heb. *kōpher*. A money payment which cancels the death penalty. The original meaning of the root is doubtful; it was either 'to cover' or 'to wipe away.' See on xxv. 17.

the redemption of his life. Practically equivalent to *kōpher*, but involving a different metaphor. Ps. xlix. 8 (9) †.

upon him. 31 Whether he have gored a son, or have gored *E* a daughter, according to this judgement shall it be done unto him. 32 If the ox gore a manservant or a maidservant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

33 And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit and not cover it, and an ox or an ass fall therein, 34 the owner of the pit shall make it good; he shall give money unto the owner of them, and the dead *beast* shall be his.

35 And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the price of it; and the dead also they shall divide. 36 Or if it be known that the ox was wont to gore in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox, and the dead *beast* shall be his own.

XXII. 1 If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, [Ch. xxi. 37
in e.] or sell it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. 2 If the thief be found breaking in, and be smitten [C ii. 1
in Heb.] that he die, there shall be no ¹bloodguiltiness for him. 3 If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness for him:

¹ Heb. *blood*.

32. *thirty shekels*. Since the slave is mere property, this is not a 'redemption money' for the life of the guilty party; it is the fixed value of the chattel. Cf. Zech. xi. 13, Mt. xxvi. 15, xxvii. 9 f.

33—XXII. 4. *Pentade on loss of animals by neglect or theft*. vv. 33 f. : 35 : 36 : xxii. 1 : 3 b, 4.

34. *he shall give money*. Presumably the price which the animal would have fetched when alive.

XXII. 1. *four sheep for a sheep*. Cf. 2 S. xii. 6¹.

2, 3 a. The sequel of the law in v. 1 is found in v. 3 b, 'if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft.' The intervening clauses comprise two laws from an independent group. Not only do they interrupt the pentadic arrangement, and separate the closely related commands in vv. 1, 3 b, but their presence at this point causes an absurdity. In 3 b the thief is to be sold for his theft, while in vv. 2, 3 a he is dead! Moreover the whole context is concerned with simple compensation for damages or offences, while these clauses introduce a contingency of an entirely different kind.

3. *If the sun be risen upon him*. In the darkness of the night the householder must simply act in self-defence; but in daylight he can identify the burglar and give information before the judges.

¹ *ἄλλοι ἐπταπλαστοὶ* is probably due to Prov. vi. 31.

he should make restitution ; if he have nothing, then he shall *E* be sold for his theft. 4 If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep ; he shall pay double.

5 If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose, and it feed in another man's field ; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.

6 If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the shocks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed ; he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.

7 If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff

he should make restitution ; he shall surely pay. The subject of the verb cannot be the dead thief, nor can the expression (which is the same as in xxi. 36) mean that the man who killed him (who has not been mentioned) is to be punished¹. Either, then, the clause is a fragment of a lost law, or a gloss to soften the difficulty of the dead thief being sold for his theft.

5, 6. *Two regulations on loss by fire* (perhaps fragments of an original pentade). According to the R.V. v. 5 deals with a beast put to graze in a field or vineyard, which the owner does not keep in check from wandering away and grazing in another man's field². But this is beset with difficulties. (1) The words *beast*, *eat* and *feed* in v. 5, and *kindle* and *fire* in the latter clause of v. 6, are all derived from the same root בָּעַר ; it is unlikely that, in the sober prose of a collection of laws, the word should be used in two different senses in successive verses. (2) A vineyard is an unnatural place into which to turn cattle to graze. (3) Why should the form of neglect described in v. 5 be punished by the payment of *the best* of his field or vineyard, while that in v. 6, which would do much more damage, is less heavily punished? It is probable that both vv. refer to burning. Render v. 5 : *When a man causes a field or vineyard to be burnt and allows his burning to spread, so that it burn in another man's field, of the best, &c.*' In this case a man lights a bonfire, or burns dry grass or brushwood, and (maliciously) allows the flame to spread to the adjoining field. In v. 6, on the other hand, flame or sparks burst forth from the bonfire (e.g. in a high wind) and catch the thorny undergrowth on the adjoining property. The first is intentional, the second accidental.

7-13. *Pentade on trusts.* vv. 7 : 8 f. : 10 f. : 12 : 13.

7. *stuff.* Articles of value ; iii. 22 (R.V. 'jewels').

¹ LXX attempts to give it this meaning by a paraphrase, ἐνοχός ἐστι, ἀνταποδο-
νείται.

² After 'another man's field' Sam. LXX read 'he shall surely pay according to its produce, but if it graze upon the whole field, the best &c.' This is an attempt to explain the severer penalty by assuming that the beast has, by grazing, ruined the whole of the neighbouring property !

to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief *E* be found, he shall pay double. 8 If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall come near unto ¹God, *to see* whether he have not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods. 9 For every matter of trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, *or* for any manner of lost thing, whereof one saith, This is it, the cause of both parties shall come before ¹God; he whom ¹God shall condemn shall pay double unto his neighbour.

10 If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it: 11 the oath of the LORD shall be between them both, whether he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner thereof shall accept it, and

¹ Or, *the judges*

8. *unto God.* To the local sanctuary, as in xxi. 6.

to see whether &c. This was not by enquiring of an oracle but (as v. 11 suggests) by means of an oath. This was a principle that was deeply rooted in primitive life; it is frequently mentioned in the code of Hammurabi. By taking an oath a suspected person involved curses on himself if his words were not true, and the oath was thus of the nature of an ordeal.

9. *This is it.* This is the thing with regard to which a breach of trust has been committed.

he whom God shall condemn. Whenever a case of the kind occurs, if the man who has to undergo the ordeal of the oath is convicted by it, he shall pay double. It does not, of course, mean whichever of the two—plaintiff or defendant—is proved guilty. The verb 'condemn' is in the plural, but 'Elohim' does not on that account mean human judges; the ordeal itself was the only judge. The construction is not infrequent in E, and seems to be a survival of a more primitive polytheistic mode of expression.

11. *the oath of Yahweh.* The oath sworn by the name, and in the presence, of Yahweh. But the introduction of the name is surprising, and 'Elohim' should probably be read, with LXX.

shall accept it. As the text stands this must mean 'shall accept the oath.' But such a statement would be superfluous; the fact that custom required the ordeal by oath would cause it to be accepted as a matter of course. It probably means 'shall accept the dead or injured animal.' He could not, however, accept it if it was 'driven away'; but that word (*nishbāh*), which is rare and late with this meaning (1 Ch. v. 21, 2 Ch. xiv. 15 (14) †), is probably an accidental doubling of the preceding word *nishbār* 'hurt' or 'broken.' The case of the animal carried off is dealt with in the following verse.

he shall not make restitution. 12 But if it be stolen from him, *E* he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof. 13 If it be torn in pieces, let him bring it for witness; he shall not make good that which was torn.

14 And if a man ¹borrow aught of his neighbour, and it be hurt, or die, the owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make restitution. 15 If the owner thereof be with it, he shall not make it good: if it be an hired thing, ²it came for its hire.

16 And if a man entice a virgin that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely pay a dowry for her to be his wife. 17 If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.

¹ Heb. *ask*.

² Or, *it is reckoned in (Heb. cometh into) its hire*

13. *bring it for witness.* The whole carcase, or any portion that he could. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 39, Am. iii. 12. The latter passage shews that this law was a formulation of already existing custom, as was probably the greater part of the code of 'Judgements' (see pp. xlvi. f.).

14-17. *Pentade on loans.* *vv.* 14: 15 *a*: 15 *b*: 16: 17.

15. *it has come into its hire.* 'It' is the injured animal, regarded as an equivalent for money. It has, under the circumstances, become necessary for the owner to reckon the injury or loss into the price which he charges for the hire of the animal.

16, 17. A startling instance of the contrast between primitive and Christian thought. An injured daughter comes under the category of an injured loan, because she is her father's property till her marriage, when she becomes of monetary value to him. In the old-world marriage arrangements the girl had no choice in the matter. The man espoused (*erēsh*) her by paying a purchase-money (*mohār*) to her father. He might then take her to his house and arrange for the wedding ceremony when he chose. The 'dowry,' in the modern sense, which the bride brought to her husband, seems to have arisen later from the custom of the father giving to the daughter the *mohār* that he has received. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 14-16.

In the present case a man has had intercourse with a virgin without a legal espousal by the payment of a *mohār*. The rule in such a case is that he must put matters right with the girl's father by paying the *mohār*. But (*v.* 17) if the father refuse to give him the girl in marriage, the *mohār* must still be paid as compensation for injury of property. From the fact that the value of the *mohār* is not mentioned, it is again evident (see *v.* 13) that these rules are the expression of already established custom. In Dt. xxii. 29 the amount of the *mohār* is put at 50 silver shekels, nearly £7. But the price was not always paid in money. Sometimes it was in kind, or the daughter was given in return

18 Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live.

E

19 Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.

20 He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the LORD only, shall be ¹utterly destroyed. 21 And a stranger shalt thou

¹ Heb. *devoted*. See Lev. xxvii. 29.

for deeds of valour (Jos. xv. 16, Jud. i. 12, 1 S. xviii. 25), or for a term of personal service, as in the case of Jacob. (On early Semitic marriage customs see S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, ch. iv., and W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*.)

XXII. 18—28.

Miscellaneous moral injunctions.

The style and contents of this section are markedly different from those of the 'Judgements.' We are here met not with hypothetical cases to be dealt with by judges, and in which the penalties were fixed by custom, but with direct warnings against various kinds of social and moral evils. They are not, like the 'Judgements,' cast into a uniform shape, nor do they fall into groups. They are fragments culled from a variety of sources, and reflecting the religious spirit of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries who proclaimed to their countrymen the fundamental principles of purity, truth and kindness.

18. The practice of sorcery was denounced by the prophets from Isaiah downwards; it had long been secretly carried on in Israel, though never actually united with the worship of Yahweh. It revived again in the reign of Manasseh and took a strong hold upon the country. See p. liv.

19. Lev. xviii. 24 implies that this sin was practised among the native Canaanites.

20. *utterly destroyed*; *banned*. A city or nation that was hostile to Yahweh was 'devoted,' given over to Him as a form of offering, i.e. it was destroyed so that it belonged completely to Him, and man kept no share for himself either of the captives or the spoil. An individual might similarly be placed under the ban, as in the case of Achan (Jos. vi., vii.). The idea of the ban (*hērem*) is an ancient one, and is found in non-Hebrew Semitic inscriptions.

21—27. Laws for the protection of the poor and helpless against oppression and injustice. With them should be coupled xxiii. 6—9. They accurately reflect the spirit of the prophets. The care of widows, orphans and sojourners is taught with great earnestness in Deut. (xiv. 29, xvi. 11, 14, xxiv. 17, 19, 21, xxvi. 12 f., xxvii. 19); and see Am. iv. 1, v. 11 f., viii. 4—6, Is. i. 17, 23, iii. 16 f., Mic. ii. 1 f., iii. 1—3, Acts vi. 1 ff., Jas. i. 27.

21. *a stranger*. See on xii. 19, and p. liv.

not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him: | for ye were *ER^D* strangers in the land of Egypt. 22 Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child. | 23 If thou afflict them in any wise, *E* and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry; | 24 and *R^D* my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.

25 If thou lend money to any of my people with thee that *E* is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor; neither shall ye lay upon him usury. 26 If thou at all take thy neighbour's

for ye were strangers. A reminder characteristic of Deut.; see v. 15, x. 19, xxiv. 18, 22. The alternation of singular and plural pronouns is noticeable—'thou' (v. 21 a), 'ye' (v. 21 b, 22), 'thou' (v. 23), 'you,' 'your' (v. 24). Vv. 21 b, 22, 24 appear to be a later expansion; see next note.

23. *If thou afflict him...and he cry...hear his cry.* The singular pronoun refers to the 'stranger' in v. 21 a, and has no connexion with the intervening words.

25-27. *Laws for creditors.* Prof. Driver is led, by the hypothetical form in which these laws are cast, to include them (together with xxiii. 4, 5) among the 'Judgements.' But they are not, like the Judgements, a formulation of custom, or as we should now call it 'common law'; they are rather appeals to the moral conscience of the community.

25. *to any of my people with thee that is poor.* The Heb., which runs 'to my people the poor man with thee,' appears to be corrupt¹.

as a creditor. The following clause (with the plural pronoun 'ye') appears to be a later insertion to explain that 'creditor' means one who lends upon usury. There is nothing to warrant the view that the passage only condemns *excessive* usury; the prohibition is expressed in the most general terms. It is assumed, both here and in Dt. xxiii. 19 f., Lev. xxv. 35-37, that the borrower is a *poor* Hebrew. Loans for commercial purposes, by which the borrower enlarges his capital in order to extend his business, are a more modern development. In such cases it is right that the borrower should pay something for the advantage afforded him. But in early days a loan was of the nature of a charity for the relief of immediate necessity, and to exact usury would be to make gain out of another's need. See Driver, *Deut.* on xxiii. 20 f. and p. 178. And on the Hebrew ideas attached to the word 'poor' see his article 'Poor' in *DB* iv.

26. Cf. Dt. xxiv. 12 f. Amos (ii. 8) complains of the practice which is here forbidden.

¹ LXX 'to the poor brother with thee,' perh. represents אֶת־הָעֵמִית for אֶת־עַמִּי אֶת־. The word עֵמִית 'associate,' 'relation' occurs in Lev. vi. 2 [v. 21] and freq., but elsewhere only Zech. xiii. 7.

garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it unto him by that the *E* sun goeth down: 27 for that is his only covering, it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am gracious.

28 Thou shalt not revile ¹God, | nor curse a ruler of thy *R'* people. | 29 Thou shalt not delay to offer of ²the abundance *E* of thy fruits, and of thy liquors. The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. 30 Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, *and* with thy sheep: seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me. | 31 And ye shall be holy *R'*

¹ Or, *the judges*

² Heb. *thy fulness and thy tear.*

28. The command is unconnected with the laws which precede and follow it, and it bears marks of being a late addition. It is found in Lev. xxiv. 15; and 'profaning the name of God' is forbidden in Lev. xviii. 21, xix. 12, xxii. 32, but no such command is to be met with in any of the other codes.

a ruler; a prince (nāsī'). xvi. 22, xxxiv. 31, xxxv. 27. The word is found only in Ez. P and Chr.

XXII. 29, 30.

Laws on Worship.

This is a fragment which must be connected with xx. 24—26 and xxiii. 10—19.

29. *delay to offer &c.* The Heb. is very terse—'thou shalt not delay thy fulness and thy juice'. The following mention of 'the firstborn of thy sons' makes it probable that this unique expression refers to the offering of firstfruits; and the LXX by a paraphrase shews that it was so understood—ἀπαρχας αλωνος και ληνου ('firstfruits of threshing-floor and vat'): so Pesh. Targ^{ac}. In xxiii. 19 the command is repeated by a redactor, in a form which is due to harmonization with xxxiv. 26. If the present passage is rightly referred to firstfruits, it is a general command covering all cereals and all liquids, while xxiii. 16 enjoins the annual festivals at which cereals and fruits shall be respectively offered.

29 *b*, 30. The firstborn of men and animals are to be offered to God. See pp. xli. f.

31. The plural pronoun ('ye') makes it probable that this is a later addition. It is similar to Dt. xiv. 21, but the injunction in the last clause is not found elsewhere.

¹ יָצַק ('juice') and הִשָּׁק ('tear') are from the same root, 'to flow' or 'trickle.'

men unto me : therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn *R* of beasts in the field ; ye shall cast it to the dogs.

XXIII. 1 Thou shalt not take up a false report : put not *E* thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness. 2 Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil ; neither shalt thou ¹ speak in a cause to turn aside after a multitude to wrest *judgement* : 3 neither shalt thou favour a poor man in his cause. 4 If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray,

¹ Or, bear witness

*flesh that is torn*¹. The reason for the prohibition was that the body of an animal which had not met its death at the hand of man would not have been carefully drained of its blood.

XXIII. 1—9.

Miscellaneous moral injunctions.

XXIII. 1. *take up*, i.e. upon thy lips ; cf. xx. 7, Ps. xvi. 4, l. 16. *to be an injurious witness.* A witness whose deposition is made for the purpose of promoting violence or ruthless injury.

2. The text is corrupt. As they stand, the clauses run 'Thou shalt not be after many for evil ; | and thou shalt not answer against a cause | to incline after many | to wrest.' Several emendations have been proposed ; see Dillm.-Ryssel's comm., Budde, *ZATW* xi. 113. The least drastic produces the following—'Thou shalt not turn after many for evil. And thou shalt not afflict him that hath a suit, by wresting judgement².' Read thus, the verse is directed not to the witnesses but to the judge.

3. *a poor man.* A *great man* is probably the true reading. The word *dal*, here used for 'poor,' is found with this meaning in the Hex. only in P—Ex. xxx. 15, Lev. xiv. 21, xix. 15, the last of which passages is an amplification of the present command³.

4, 5. *Assistance to animals.* On the hypothetical form see xxii. 25—27. The two commands are expanded in Dt. xxii. 1—4.

4. *thine enemy's ox.* The command is, as Prof. Driver says, 'an old-world anticipation of the spirit of Matt. v. 44.' Dt. has 'thy

¹ R.V. conceals the difficulty of the Heb., which runs 'flesh, in the field, a torn animal.' The true reading is probably 'the flesh of a torn animal,' om. 'in the field,' i.e. בֶּשָׂר הַמִּתְרַסָּה, the letters בֶּשָׂר being an accidental duplication of בָּשָׂר.

² לֹא תִפְגֹּה וְתִסָּה [or תִּפְגֹּה וְתִסָּה]. This involves the omission of the third clause as a doublet, the addition (with LXX) of 'judgement' at the end, and slight alterations in the consonants of the first two clauses.

³ The Heb. sentence begins with וְדָל, which would easily arise as a corruption of גְּדָל.

thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. 5 If thou see the *E* ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, ¹and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.

6 Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of thy poor in his cause. 7 Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not: for I will not justify the wicked. 8 And thou shalt take no gift: for a gift blindeth them that have sight, and perverteth the ²words of the righteous. 9 And a stranger shalt thou not oppress: | for ye know the heart of *R^D* a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.

10 And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather *E*

¹ Or, *and wouldest forbear to release it for him, thou shalt surely release it with him*

² Or, *cause*

brother's ass'; but 'brother' is intended to include the whole Israelite community, friends or otherwise.

5. *and wouldest forbear* &c. This assumes another reading (רר for רר) in both clauses; but 'help with him' is an awkward expression. The marg. rendering is to be preferred; it is in agreement with the simpler form of the command in Dt. xxii. 4—'thou shalt surely lift it up with him.' Possibly, however, 'help' should be read in the first clause.

6-9. The verses appear to be a later addition; *v.* 6 repeats the thought of *v.* 2, and *v.* 7 *a* of *v.* 1; *v.* 8 is practically identical with Dt. xvi. 19, and *v.* 9 *a* is an abbreviation of xxii. 21 *a* and is followed by a similar Deuteronomic explanation.

8. *them that have sight*; the open-eyed. A unique word¹. Dt. xvi. 19 has 'the eyes of the wise.'

XXIII. 10-19.

Laws on Worship.

There is no connexion of subject-matter between this section and the preceding. The opening 'And' points to some previous laws relating to religion. The verses are to be connected with xx. 24-26, xxii. 29, 30.

10, 11. *The fallow year.* Some think that this command is to be compared with the law of the slave in xxi. 2, and that it does not imply that the seventh year was to be observed simultaneously by everyone. But the contrast 'Six years, when thou sowest thy land, thou shalt gather...but the seventh year thou shalt release it' is obviously parallel to that in *v.* 12—'Six days shalt thou do thy works, but on the seventh day thou shalt keep Sabbath.' It is natural to

¹ See on iv. 11.

in the increase thereof: 11 but the seventh year thou shalt *E*
¹let it rest and lie fallow; that the poor of thy people may eat:
 and what they leave the beast of the field shall eat. In like
 manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, *and* with thy olive-
 yard. 12 Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh
 day thou shalt ²rest: that thine ox and thine ass may have
 rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be
 refreshed. | 13 And in all things that I have said unto you take *R^D*
 ye heed: and make no mention of the name of other gods,
 neither let it be heard out of thy mouth.

14 Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year. *E*

¹ Or, *release it and let it lie fallow* See Deut. xv. 2.

² Or, *keep sabbath*

suppose that the seventh year, like the seventh day, is intended to be observed simultaneously. But it is, of course, probable that in the earlier days, in which the custom prevailed of which this law is an application, the fallow year was not simultaneous. Indeed it is not easy to see how the law of a simultaneous year could be practicably observed; in its present form it is an ideal injunction. The earlier custom probably was not that the land should be left *uncultivated*, but only that its produce was at stated intervals to be used by the community at large instead of by the individual owner. (See works cited by Driver, *Deut.* p. 177 and *Levit.* p. 98.)

11. *let it rest and lie fallow.* Lit. 'let it drop and leave it.' The technical term 'let it drop' (R.V. mg. 'release') is applied nowhere else to land. In Dt. xv. 2, 9, xxxi. 10 it is used of remitting exactions¹.

12. *The weekly Sabbath.* See p. xliii. and note on pp. 121 ff.

may be refreshed. In xxxi. 17 both this word (elsewhere only 2 S. xvi. 14) and 'rest' or 'desist' are applied to God in reference to the Creation, the wording being probably based on the present passage.

13. This is strangely out of place in the midst of laws relating to sacred seasons; and the alternation of the pronouns ('ye'...'they') suggests that it is a later addition.

make no mention. Call not upon them by name in worship. At a later time this prohibition led to the practice of altering proper names compounded with Baal, e.g. *El-yada* for *Baal-yada*, *Ish-bosheth*, *Mephibosheth*, *Jerub-besheth* for *Ish-baal*, *Meri-baal*, *Jerub-baal*.

14—17. *The three Annual Festivals.* In the note preceding ch. xii. it is pointed out that the connexion of certain religious institutions (the Festival of Unleavened Cakes, and the offering of first-born and firstlings) with the events of the Exodus is probably due to later religious reflexion. The offering of firstborn and firstlings must

¹ It occurs with its literal meaning in 2 S. vi. 6=1 Ch. xiii. 9, 2 K. ix. 33, Ps. cxli. 6, Jer. xvii. 4†.

have been an established custom in the earliest days, when the ancestors of the Israelites were nomads, wandering about with their flocks, long before the migration to Egypt. But such roving Bedawin are strangers to agriculture. The cultivation of fields and vineyards is obviously possible only to a settled population possessed of land. The Israelites, so far as we can judge, could know nothing of the care of crops until they learnt it from the Canaanites. This consideration leads us to conclude that the offering of the firstborn of men and animals had, so far as Israel was concerned, quite a different origin from that of the offering of corn, wine and oil, and was derived from a remoter past. A nation with territorial rights thought of their god as the Baal, i.e. 'Lord' or 'Owner,' of the land, and expressed a recognition of the fact by paying him an annual tribute of the produce of the soil. And hence arose the periodical offering of firstfruits¹. The occasions on which these offerings were due were fixed by the natural conditions of the soil, i.e. (1) at the beginning of the harvest when the sickle was first put into the barley (which was the earliest of the crops, ripening in April or the beginning of May); (2) at the conclusion of wheat harvest, which normally took place some seven weeks later; (3) at the final harvest of the fruits—mainly grapes and olives. These three occasions on which firstfruits were offered became festivals of joyous religious import. The names which describe the second and third of them reveal their origin clearly enough—the 'Festival of Harvest' and the 'Festival of Ingathering' (Ex. xxiii. 16). But the origin of the first—the 'Festival of Unleavened Cakes (*Mazzôth*)' is not so clear. That this festival was, as a fact, connected with the beginning of harvest is indicated by its position in the series of three (Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18), and by the injunction in Lev. xxiii. 10 f. that 'a sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest' is to be swung before Yahweh. But the actual origin of the custom of eating unleavened cakes on that day is unknown. It was probably a custom which the Israelites found among the natives of Canaan, and adopted from them. Perhaps it arose from the fact that the field labourers were so busy when the harvest began that they took with them to their work only the simplest and most quickly prepared food.

With regard to the dates of the three festivals it must be remembered that the three stages in the harvest could not fall simultaneously in all parts of the country. In Palestine, by reason of its physical features, were to be found widely different climates and temperatures (see Kent, *A History of the Hebrew People*, i. 24); and crops and fruits would ripen correspondingly at very different times. Each district would thus observe its three festivals independently. Before the exile, the only steps taken towards fixed dates are to be found in the commands (1) to observe the F. of Unleavened Cakes 'in the month Abib,' and (2) to observe the F. of Harvest fifty days after the beginning of the

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 68 f., 373 f., concludes that the offering of firstfruits is a development of a far more primitive circle of ideas, in which by eating the new corn the eater partakes sacramentally in the corn spirit.

15 The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep : | seven days ^E
 thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the ^{R¹}
 time appointed in the month Abib (for in it thou camest out
 from Egypt); and none shall appear before me empty : | 16 and ^E
 the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou
 sowest in the field : and the feast of ingathering, at the end of
 the year, when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field.

reaping. The former date (Ex. xiii. 4, xxxiv. 18 J) was probably due to the connexion which the festival had acquired with the events of the Exodus. The latter is not found till Dt. (xvi. 9). but it is based on the name 'F. of Weeks' in J (Ex. xxxiv. 22). The stereotyping of the dates would be a natural result of the Deuteronomic law of the central sanctuary, which put a stop to all local celebrations. The final stage is seen in H and P, where the dates of the three festivals are given as (1) the 15th day of the 1st month (Lev. xxiii. 6 P) or 'the morrow after the Sabbath' (v. 11 H); (2) seven weeks 'from the morrow after the Sabbath' (v. 15 H; see p. xliv.); (3) the 15th day of the 7th month (v. 34, 39 P).

15. E here gives only the bare command, because the custom of holding the festival was already well established.

seven days &c. This part of the verse seems to have been added by a harmonizer from xxxiv. 18 b, 20 b (see note there on v. 10—28); it breaks the grammatical connexion between the verb 'thou shalt keep' and the accusatives governed by it in v. 16, 'the F. of Harvest' and 'the F. of Ingathering'; and there is nothing in E to which 'as I commanded thee' can refer¹.

appear before me. Heb. 'none shall appear my face' (*sic*). The original reading was probably 'none shall see my face'; but the Masoretes shrank from the implied anthropomorphism, and pointed the verb regardless of grammar. The same has been done in v. 17, xxxiv. 20, 23, 24, Dt. xvi. 16, xxxi. 11, 1 S. i. 22, Ps. xlii. 2 [3], Is. i. 12.

16. *at the exit of the year.* xxxiv. 22 'at the revolution of the year.' For the two methods of reckoning the New Year see on xii. 2.

In Lev. xxiii. 43 the name 'Feast of Booths' is explained by reference to the dwelling in booths after the departure from Egypt. Its actual origin can only be conjectured; but it may have arisen from the fact that all who were engaged in gathering the fruits would sleep in booths or huts in the vineyards (cf. Is. i. 8). Its observance was probably learnt from the Canaanites; compare Jud. ix. 27 with xxi. 19, 21. The booths, made of branches, dry grass &c., were of course quite different from tents.

¹ Schaefer, *Das Passah-Massoth-Fest*, 41—6, in attempting to preserve the words here as original, is driven to explain them of oral Mosaic teaching.

17 Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the *E* Lord God.

18 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my feast remain all night until the morning. | 19 The first of the firstfruits of thy *R^{VE}* ground thou shalt bring into the house of the LORD thy God. | Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. *E*

20 Behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee by the *R^D* way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared.

18. *the blood of my sacrifice.* The prohibition does not refer to the Passover, which *E* never mentions; it is general, and applies to all sacrifices¹.

19 *a.* See on xxxiv. 26. The law of firstfruits has already been given in xxii. 29; the present passage is due to harmonization with ch. xxxiv. 26.

19 *b.* The prohibition is found in xxxiv. 26 *b*, Dt. xiv. 21 *b*. Its origin is unknown. 'In his mother's milk' cannot be a note of time, making the expression mean 'a sucking kid'; not only would there be no point in the special word 'boil' (which may perhaps be used more generally to denote 'to cook'), but sucking lambs (or kids) were commanded to be offered (xxii. 30, Lev. xxii. 27; cf. 1 S. vii. 9). W. R. Smith (*RS²*, p. 221) suggests that 'a sacrificial gift sodden in sour milk would evidently be of the nature of fermented food,' which, like leaven, implies putrefaction. But in this case the mention both of the kid and its mother becomes superfluous; it would be wrong to treat any flesh in the same way. The same writer, however, inclines to the explanation that 'since many primitive peoples regard milk as a kind of equivalent for blood, to eat a kid in his mother's milk might be taken as equivalent to eating with the blood'; and thus it would be forbidden to the Hebrews along with the heathen sacraments of blood. This heathen practice may have been specially connected with the harvest festival. Driver (on Dt. xiv. 21) says, 'the prohibition may have been aimed against the practice of using milk thus prepared as a charm for rendering fields and orchards more productive.' All that can be considered probable is that the command is directed against some heathen practice which is at present obscure. See also note in the *Addenda*.

20—23. *Epilogue.* The preceding laws are to be observed as Israel's part in the covenant. But a prophetic writer of the Deuteronomic school felt that God's part should also be stated.

¹ Perhaps the writer intended מִזְבֵּחַ ('my sacrifice') to be pointed as plural, but the Masoretes made it singular because they thought it referred to the Passover. The same remark applies to the following words 'the fat of my feast.' On xxxiv. 25 ('the sacrifice of the feast of the Passover') see p. 63.

21 Take ye heed of him, and hearken unto his voice ; ¹provoke *R^D* him not : for he will not pardon your transgression ; for my name is in him. 22 But if thou shalt indeed hearken unto his voice, and do all that I speak ; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries. 23 For mine angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Canaanite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite : and I will cut them off. 24 Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works : but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and break in pieces their ²pillars. 25 And ye shall serve

¹ Or, *be not rebellious against him* ² Or, *obelisks* See Lev. xxvi. 1,
2 Kings iii. 2.

The Epilogue consists of divine promises, which are conditional (*v.* 22 *a*) upon Israel's observance of the laws (see note at the end of ch. xxiv.). In Dt. xxviii. and Lev. xxvi. the collections of laws are similarly followed by a hortatory discourse, describing the divine blessing which will be gained by faithfulness to His commands ; and to both of these are added curses for disobedience, which are absent from Exodus. The prophets were not mere antiquarians ; the ancient laws and customs were still, for them, the basis of true religion, and true religion was the one and only condition of divine blessing.

20. *an angel.* The conceptions of God in the primitive ages of Israelite life were, as in all nations, crude and anthropomorphic. But by the time of the writers J and E, a change had begun. This is represented by the word 'Angel.' The 'Angel' is Yahweh Himself in a temporary descent to visibility for a special purpose. See G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 310—19. The principal references for the 'Angel' are Gen. xxi. 17, xxxi. 11, xlvi. 16, Ex. xiv. 19, xxxii. 34, Num. xx. 16, xxii. 22—27, 31 f., 34 f. (E), Gen. xvi. 7, 9 ff., xxii. 11, 15, xxiv. 7, 40, Ex. iii. 2, xxxiii. 2 (J), Jud. ii. 1, 4, v. 23, vi. 11 f., 20 ff., xiii. 3, 6, 9, 13, 15—18, 20 f., Hos. xii. 4 (5), Is. lxiii. 9 (a reference to the present passage and xxxiii. 2), Zech. i. 9 &c., iii. 3, Mal. iii. 1.

21. *my name is in him*, i.e. the fulness of my Being. It was 'in him,' but was not completely revealed to men until they learnt 'the name that is above every name' (Col. i. 19, Phil. ii. 9).

23. *the Amorite* &c. For similar lists from a Deuteronomic hand see *v.* 28, iii. 8, 17, xiii. 5, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11.

24. The command to destroy the objects of Canaanitish worship is a marked characteristic of the Deuteronomic school.

their pillars (mazzēbhōth). These were sacred blocks of stone set up in connexion with altars. They appear to have been a relic of the primitive belief that the world was inhabited by many *numina*, divine

the LORD your God, and he shall bless thy bread, and thy water; *R^D* and I will take sickness away from the midst of thee. 26 There shall none cast her young, nor be barren, in thy land: the number of thy days I will fulfil. 27 I will send my terror before thee, and will discomfit all the people to whom thou shalt come, and I will make all thine enemies turn their backs unto thee. 28 And I will send the hornet before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee. 29 I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. 30 By little and little I will

beings whose presence was attached to stones and other natural objects. Beside the *mazzēbhūh*, which was often chiselled and engraved, there usually stood a wooden stump, called an *asherāh* (see xxxiv. 13). In the early days of Israel's occupation of Canaan, their worship was largely influenced by Canaanite customs, and *mazzebhoth* were freely used. Moses himself set up twelve of them (xxiv. 4); Hosea included them among the religious privileges of which Israel would be deprived in exile as a punishment for her sins (iii. 4, x. 1 f.); and Isaiah speaks of a *mazzēbhāh* as a symbol of Egypt's conversion to Yahweh (xix. 19). Sacred stones were set up at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18 ff.), Gilgal (Jos. iv. 5; cf. Jud. iii. 19, 26 R.V. marg.), Shechem (Jos. xxiv. 26), Mizpah (1 S. vii. 12), Gibeon (2 S. xx. 8), En-rogel (1 K. i. 9). It was not till the Deuteronomic reform that the practice was condemned.

25. *and he shall bless.* Read, with LXX, Vulg. *and I will bless.* A similar alternation of the words of the writer with those of Yahweh is seen in xv. 26.

thy bread, and thy water. A general expression for food.

take sickness away. xv. 26, Dt. xxviii. 59—61.

26. *the number of thy days.* As individuals God's faithful people would reach a ripe old age (cf. Is. lxxv. 20); as a nation they would long possess their land. The same wideness of meaning attaches to xx. 12.

27. *my terror.* A divinely sent panic, greater than ordinary causes would produce; cf. Gen. xxxv. 5 (R.V. marg.).

28. *the hornet.* Dt. vii. 20, Jos. xxiv. 12 †; cf. Wisd. xii. 8—10. There is no reason to suppose that the writer employed the word metaphorically. It is an ideal description of a terrible plague which would assist in the complete destruction of the natives. Plagues of hornets are not unknown; see art. 'Hornet' in *DB* ii.

the Hivite &c. See v. 23. LXX inserts 'the Amorite' before 'the Hivite.'

30. *By little and little.* Dt. vii. 22. This forms a remarkable

drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and *R^D* inherit the land. 31 And I will set thy border from the Red Sea even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness unto ¹the River: for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out before thee. 32 Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods. 33 They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee sin against me: for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a snare unto thee.

XXIV. 1 And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the *J* LORD, thou, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off: 2 and Moses alone

¹ That is, the Euphrates.

contrast to the idealized picture of rapid conquests which is drawn in the greater part of Joshua; it is in accord with the earlier portions of that book and with Jud. i. 19, 21, 27—35.

31. The boundaries mark the ideal extent of Israel's territory. Cf. Gen. xv. 18, Dt. xi. 24, where Lebanon is named as the northern border. The reign of Solomon was the only period in which even an appreciable approach was made to this expansion. The Hebrews never owned a single spot on the Mediterranean coast until Joppa was captured, first by Jonathan Maccabaeus in 148 B.C. (1 Mac. x. 76), and again by his brother Simon in 142 B.C. (*id.* xii. 33 f.; cf. xiv. 5).

CHAPTER XXIV. 1—11.

The ratification of the Covenant.

XXIV. 1. *And* unto Moses he said. The emphasis laid on 'Moses' probably implies that Yahweh had previously been speaking to someone else; but the passage has been mutilated. xix. 25, the last preceding passage from *J*, is also mutilated. See analysis, p. xxxii.

Nadab, and Abihu. In xxviii. 1 (P) they are Aaron's eldest sons, who, with the younger sons Eleazar and Ithamar, were admitted to the priestly office; and in Lev. x. 1—10 (P) they offered 'strange fire' and were destroyed. Here, however, they and Aaron are associated with the *elders*; priests are represented as already existing in the community (xix. 22 f.; and see v. 5 below).

2. The narrative of *J* is continued in v. 9.

shall come near unto the LORD ; but they shall not come near ; *J* neither shall the people go up with him. | 3 And Moses came *E* and told the people all the words of the LORD, and all the judgements : and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which the LORD hath spoken will we do. 4 And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the mount, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. 5 And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen unto the LORD. 6 And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basons ; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the altar. 7 And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people : and they said, All that the LORD hath spoken will we do, and be obedient. 8 And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the

4. *pillars (mazzābhōth)*. See xxiii. 24. LXX, Sam. shrink from the word because these objects were condemned in the later legislation ; they read 'stones.'

5. *the young men*. They were recognised as the proper persons to fulfil sacrificial functions. See p. lxxv.

burnt-offerings...peace-offerings. See on xx. 24.

7. *the book of the covenant*. From this expression is derived the title frequently applied to the whole collection of laws in xx. 23—xxiii. 33. But the original covenant laws were probably the laws on worship (xx. 22—26, xxii. 29, 30, xxiii. 10—19) which correspond to *J*'s group in xxxiv. 14—26. See analysis, pp. xxvii.—xxx.

and be obedient. This, in connexion with the sprinkling of blood, is perhaps referred to in 1 Pet. i. 2—'unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ' ; see Hort's note¹.

8. *the blood of the covenant*². The blood which seals and ratifies the covenant. The incident is referred to in Heb. ix. 20, to shew that where a covenant is made there must of necessity be blood, which symbolizes both ratification and cleansing. The great advance towards the higher conception of a 'new covenant' was made by Jeremiah (xxxi. 31—34). And our Lord taught that He was the mediator of the new covenant by adapting the expression in Exod.—'this is *my* "blood of the covenant"' (Mat. xxvi. 28 = Mk. xiv. 24 ; cf. Lk. xxii. 20, 1 Cor. xi. 25).

¹ And see Lightfoot on Col. ii. 14 (p. 185^a).

² See additional note below.

blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you *E*
¹concerning all these words. | 9 Then went up Moses, and Aaron, *J*
 Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel: 10 and
 they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it
 were ²a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very
 heaven for clearness. 11 And upon the nobles of the children
 of Israel he laid not his hand: and they beheld God, and did
 eat and drink.

¹ Or, upon all these conditions

² Or, work of bright sapphire

concerning all these words. Lit. 'upon [the basis of] all these words.' The marg. expresses the meaning.

10. *they saw the God of Israel*¹. It is not difficult to picture the scene which could give rise to the narrator's anthropomorphic description. They saw a manifestation of His presence (as every man whose spiritual eyes are open may see to-day) in the dazzling light of the sun. The sapphire pavement beneath His feet was the blue sky; and its 'clearness' arose from the complete absence of haze or cloud, so that they seemed to look through it into heaven itself.

a paved work. Lit. 'a brick- or tile-work.' The rendering in the marg. is less probable. It was universally supposed in early days that the sky was a solid canopy. See Driver on Gen. i. 6.

the very heaven. The substance (lit. 'the bone') of the sky = the sky itself. The idiom is frequent in P in the expression 'the selfsame day.' And see Job xxi. 23 ('in his very completeness'; R.V. 'in his full strength').

11. *nobles* ('*azîlîm*). Lit. 'corners,' 'corner-men,' and so the 'supports' of a community. This figurative meaning is not found elsewhere. *Pinnōth* is similarly used in Jud. xx. 2, 1 S. xiv. 38.

he laid not his hand. He did not destroy them or do them any injury, though they had ventured to come into His immediate presence.

and they beheld God. The verb (חזה) is a synonym, almost entirely confined to poetry, of 'they saw' (ראה) in v. 10. The clause has the appearance of being an editorial addition.

and did eat and drink. Not necessarily on the top of the mountain. The sacrificial meal would more naturally be celebrated after their descent.

¹ The LXX translators shrank from the expression, and wrote 'they saw the place where the God of Israel stood.' A similar motive caused the paraphrase in v. 11 'and of the elect of Israel not one uttered a sound (*διεφώνησεν*); and they were seen in the place of God.'

12 And the LORD said unto Moses, Come up to me into the *E*
 mount, and be there : and I will give thee the tables of stone, |
 and the law and the commandment, | which I have written, that *E*
 thou mayest teach them. 13 And Moses rose up, and Joshua *E*
 his minister : and Moses went up into the mount of God.
 14 And he said unto the elders, Tarry ye here for us, until we
 come again unto you : and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with
 you : whosoever hath a cause, let him come near unto them.
 15 And Moses went up into the mount, | and the cloud covered *P*
 the mount. 16 And the glory of the LORD abode upon mount

XXIV. 12-18.

*Moses ascended the mountain to receive the tablets of stone.
 The manifestation of Yahweh's glory.*

12. The latter half of the verse appears to have been expanded by the addition of the clause 'and the law and the commandment.' It cannot refer to the Ten Words on the tablets of stone which are mentioned separately¹. See analysis, p. xxxiv.

16. *the glory of Yahweh.* The visible manifestation of His presence, which subsequently filled the Dwelling (xl. 34 f.). The worship which the Hebrew nation paid to One God led the religious minds among them to revel in the thought of His infinite majesty, in the weighty abundance of His powers and perfections. The word 'glory' (קְבוֹד, derived from כָּבַד, 'to be heavy') expressed this with a wide variety in the conceptions formed by different minds. It expressed the wonders of His power in nature (Ps. xix. 1 (2), xxix. 3, cviii. 5 (6), cxiii. 4, Is. vi. 3), the splendour of His Kingdom (Ps. xxiv. 7-10, cxiv. 5, 12, Is. xi. 10), the marvels of His actions among His people (Num. xiv. 21 f., Is. lxvi. 18 f., Hab. ii. 14), and in general His mighty protecting presence (Ps. lxxxv. 9 (10), Is. xl. 5, lviii. 8, lx. 1 f., Ez. xliii. 2). All this volume of truth was summed up, in the inspired imagination of the priestly writers, in a visible concrete conception of an intensely shining light. In an earlier description of a theophany (Ex. xxxiii. 18, 22 J) the word 'glory' is used, but the content of it is vague and mysterious. But the present passage describes it explicitly as having the appearance of a devouring fire (cf. Zech. ii. 5). It was a feeling after the truth that the plenitude of the Divine majesty is to men's souls all that light is to their bodies, that 'God is Light, and in Him is no darkness at all.'

¹ LXX, Sam. attempt to obviate this by omitting 'and' before 'the law'; but in any case the Ten Words would hardly be described by the double expression 'the law and the commandment.'

Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day *P* he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. 17 And the appearance of the glory of the LORD was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. 18 And Moses entered into the midst of the cloud, and went up into the mount: and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.

abode. The first occurrence of the word *shākan*, which is peculiarly characteristic of *P*. See p. iii.

18. The 'forty days and forty nights' in xxxiv. 28 are not a second period of that length; that passage in *J*'s narrative corresponds to *P*'s statement here. *P* must have found it in *E*, since it was known to the writer of Dt. ix. 9, and the latter writer having both the *J* and *E* accounts before him speaks of two periods of forty days (ix. 18, x. 10).

The Covenant. The word 'covenant' played a great part in the social and spiritual life of Israel; and the covenant at the sacred mountain was a subject of outstanding importance in their religious traditions. It may be useful, therefore, to discuss the term. A right understanding of it is difficult to reach owing to the lack of an English word which adequately represents the original *berith*. The root *bārah* (בריה) from which the word would naturally be derived does not otherwise occur in Hebrew¹. The connexion with the Arabic *barā* 'to cut' has now been largely abandoned, and the word is usually referred to the Assyrian *virtu* and *birītu* 'a fetter².' If this be the true derivation, the nearest English equivalent to *berith* is an 'obligation'—something binding. But an obligation may be imposed either upon another or upon oneself. And these two ideas give rise to the various meanings of the term.

1. *An obligation laid upon another.* (a) A *berith* could denote a command or undertaking or constitution imposed *unconditionally* by one in authority; e.g. by David at Hebron in assuming the kingship over the tribes (2 S. v. 3); by Josiah in making the people promise to obey the commands of Yahweh 'with the whole heart and the whole soul' (2 K. xxiii. 3—not as R.V.); by Zedekiah in making the people promise to release their Hebrew slaves (Jer. xxxiv. 8—10); by Antiochus (Dan. ix. 27, 'and he shall impose heavy obligations,' lit. make strong a *berith*—not as R.V.); by Job who laid an obligation upon his own eyes (Job xxxi. 1). In such cases it is assumed without question that the obligation will be accepted and fulfilled; it is a

¹ In 1 S. xvii. 8 ברו is probably an error for ברוי 'choose ye'; see Driver *in loc.* The root ברה 'to eat' is quite distinct.

² The corresponding verb *barū*, with the meaning 'to bind,' has not yet been found; there is, however, *barū* 'to enclose' which is somewhat cognate in meaning. Zimmern and Winckler suggest *barū* 'to see,' whence *bāru* 'an augur,' one who inspects omens. The subst. might thus mean 'an oracle.' But this is a less likely explanation.

mutual transaction only in the secondary sense that every command is mutual. (A further extension, which does not appear in the O.T., but which, in the Greek form *διαθήκη* passed into N.T. thought, was that by which the word denoted a disposition made by a father before his death, and which was binding upon his sons or other persons concerned. It might consist in an apportionment of blessings or curses (as e.g. in the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs'), or in a disposition of property, i.e. a 'testament' or 'will').—(b) A victor in battle or a superior in rank could impose obligations *as conditions of his help and favour*; e.g. in the case of Joshua and the Gibeonites (Jos. ix. 6 &c.), Nahash and the Jabeshites (1 S. xi. 1 f.), David and Abner (2 S. iii. 12 f., R.V. 'league'), Ahab and the conquered Benhadad (1 K. xx. 34), Nebuchadrezzar and the conquered Jerusalem (Ez. xvii. 13—18). In such cases the mutual element appears more clearly.

2. *An obligation laid upon oneself.* (a) *Unconditionally.* The correspondence with the former meaning of *berith* here fails us. It nowhere denotes a self-imposed obligation without some condition exacted from another party. In other words it is never used for a simple human promise. (b) That which is an imperative condition when laid down by a superior becomes a strictly *mutual agreement* when undertaken between equals. *A* binds himself to a certain course of action on condition that *B* binds himself to another (or the same) course of action. This, in secular matters, is the commonest meaning of *berith*, to which the English rendering 'covenant' most nearly corresponds. It might be formed between individuals—e.g. Abraham with Mamre, Eshcol and Aner (Gen. xiv. 13, R.V. 'confederate,' lit. masters of the *berith*—or as we might say 'parties to the agreement'); Abimelech with Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 28 ff.—each swore not to injure the other); Laban with Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 44 ff.—each swore not to pass beyond the boundary, Gilead, to the other's hurt); Jonathan and David (1 S. xviii. 3, xx. 8—a mutual promise of friendship); they also made another agreement (xxiii. 17 f.). Or it might be an alliance between nations. Such alliances between Israel and the Canaanites are frequently condemned (cf. Ex. xxiii. 32, xxxiv. 12, 15, Dt. vii. 2, Jud. ii. 2); other instances are 1 K. v. 12 [Heb. 26], xv. 19, Hos. xii. 1 [Heb. 2], Am. i. 9. A metaphorical use of the word is that of a compact with the powers of the nether world (Is. xxviii. 15, 18), and of Job's compact with the stones of the field (Job v. 23).

When the word is examined as describing the relations between God and man the same ideas can be traced.

1. God as the Superior Being *imposes obligations.* (a) They may be *unconditional*, in which case they are simply categorical commands which may not be altered or evaded. The word *berith* is used, e.g., for the ordinance of the Sabbath (Ex. xxxi. 16; cf. Is. lvi. 4, 6), of the offering of salt with the meal-offering (Lev. ii. 13), of the 'shewbread' (Lev. xxiv. 8). In earlier literature it is used of Yahweh's command¹ not to take of the 'devoted thing' at Jericho (Jos. vii. 11), nor to serve other gods (xxiii. 16); cf. Jud. ii. 20,

¹ In the five references which follow, *berith* is used in conjunction with the verb *צוה* 'to command.'

1 K. xi. 11, Pa. cxi. 9. And in Dt. xxxiii. 9 the parallelism with 'word,' 'judgements' and 'law' suggests that 'thy *berith*' means 'thy command.' (b) They may be *conditional*; the performance of the obligation is the condition of receiving God's help and favour. This is one aspect of the Sinai-Horeb covenant; see below.

2. (a) *God lays obligations upon Himself*, i.e. He makes unconditional promises. Five such promises are related, all except the last being confined to late writings: to *Noah*, that a flood should not again overwhelm the earth, the rainbow being a sign to remind God of His *berith* (Gen. ix. 9—17 P, Ia. liv. 9 f.; and perhaps Jer. xxxiii. 20, 25, which seems to include Gen. viii. 22 in the promise); to *David*, that his posterity should possess the throne for ever, and should stand in the position of God's son (Pa. lxxxix. 3, 28, 34, 39, Jer. xxxiii. 21); to *Levi*, an everlasting priesthood, a covenant of peace (Jer. xxxiii. 21, Mal. ii. 4, 5, 8); to *Phinehas*, the same promise (Num. xv. 12 f. P); and the most important of all, to *Abram*. It is described by J (Gen. xv.; see v. 18), and by P (xvii. 1—7). In the latter it is extended to *Isaac* (vv. 19, 21), and, without the word *berith*, to *Jacob* (xxxv. 1. f.). The promises thus made to the three patriarchs are described by the term *berith* in Ex. ii. 24, Lev. xxvi. 42, 2 K. xiii. 23, Pa. cv. 8 f. = 1 Ch. xvi. 15 f. See also Ex. vi. 5, Lev. xxvi. 45, Neh. ix. 8, Pa. cvi. 45, Ez. xvi. 60. Circumcision was enjoined upon Abram as 'a sign of a *berith*' (Gen. xvii. 11), i.e., as in the case of the rainbow, to remind God of His promises, and also to be a distinctive privilege of His people. (On the other hand, in vv. 9 f., 13 f. it is 'my *berith*,' i.e. the unalterable command of God; see 1 (a) above.)

(b) *Man lays obligations upon himself*, i.e. he makes a vow with a view to obtaining the divine favour. Josiah 'made a *berith* before Yahweh, to walk after Yahweh and to keep His commandments' (2 K. xxiii. 3), and the people also 'stood to' the same *berith*. Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 10). Ezra and the people (Ez. x. 3). Nehemiah and the people (Neh. ix. 38, x. 1 [Heb. x. 1, 2]).

(c) *God and man undertake self-imposed obligations*, i.e. they enter into a mutual compact. This idea is found in the narrative of the Sinai-Horeb covenant. In entering upon the united worship of Yahweh, the Israelites formed a compact with Him by sharing with Him the life-blood of a sacrificial victim. This was symbolized by the sprinkling of the blood on the altar and on the people (Ex. xxiv. 6, 8 E)¹. The sacrificial feast spoken of in v. 11 (J), though a *berith* is not there mentioned, was for the same purpose; Yahweh was supposed to join in the feast and thus to cement the friendship.

There is no doubt that this last conception is the most primitive of all those which are connected with a divine *berith*. It involves an anthropomorphic idea of God such as must have belonged to a very early stage in Israelite thought (see W. R. Smith, *RS²*, Lect. ix.). It may be taken for granted that if any part of the Sinai-Horeb narrative is historical it is this. But the narratives go further. They represent this blood-ceremony and feast as not merely a sacrament of communion but a ratification of a 'covenant' in the sense of obligations imposed by God, and accepted by the people, as

¹ A different explanation has recently been suggested. See *Addenda*.

conditions of His help and favour. The obligations imposed are laws which Moses inscribed in the 'book of the covenant' (Ex. xxiv. 7). What these laws were has been discussed in the analysis. As they stand they include all the laws in xx. 23—xxiii. 19 (cf. Jer. xxxiv. 13 f.), to which, in order to emphasize the covenant idea, a later writer added xxiii. 20—33, describing the blessings which would accrue in case of obedience, or in other words the obligations which God undertook as His side of the covenant. But the earliest form of them was probably injunctions relating to worship, some of which have come down to us embedded in xx. 23—xxiii. 19 (E) and in xxxiv. 10—26 (J). At a later period than E the obligations consisted of the Decalogue of xx. 1—17 and Dt. v. 6—21, which was written by God on stone tablets, the latter being placed in the ark, which thus became known as 'the ark of the covenant' (Num. x. 33, xiv. 44, Dt. x. 8, xxxi. 9, 25 f., Jos. iii. 3, 6, 8, iv. 7, 9, 18, vi. 6, 8, viii. 33, &c.)¹. Some modern writers think that the whole idea of a covenant at Sinai-Horeb is a reading back into the history of prophetic ideas of God which belong, at the earliest, to the age of Elijah and Elisha. They think that 'the relation of Yahweh to Israel must originally have been similar to that of the gods of the heathen to their particular peoples; the relation existed, but it was never formed; it was natural, and not the result of a conscious act or a historical transaction' (see art. 'Covenant,' *DB* i. 511 f.). But this loses sight of the fact that the conditions of Israel under Moses were not the same as those of other nations. It is true that, like other nations, they thought of their God as being attached to a particular district, and as exclusively their own deity. But, so far as we know, not one of the surrounding nations was drawn together by the influence of one man to unite deliberately in the worship of the same deity. 'A nation like Israel is not a natural unity like a clan, and Jehovah as the national God was, from the time of Moses downward, no mere natural clan god, but the god of a confederation, so that here [Ps. l. 5] the idea of a covenant religion is entirely justified. The worship of Jehovah throughout all the tribes of Israel and Judah is probably older than the genealogical system that derives all Hebrews from one natural parent' (W. R. Smith, *RS*² 319 footn.). If Moses brought about the confederation, it was natural (as has been said on p. cxiv.) that he should teach them at the outset the manner in which their deity must be worshipped. And Moses' teaching was for them divine teaching: when he laid obligations upon them it was Yahweh who laid them, and the natural place at which to do it was the mountain on which they believed Yahweh to dwell. It is probable that very little (perhaps none) of Moses' actual teaching has survived; it may have included some elements of ethical morality; later writers enlarged upon it, and enriched it by the religious ideas which they had reached in their day. But if Moses gave any injunctions at all as to the worship of Yahweh, it is unreasonable to deny that these could constitute a divine *berith* laid upon Israel.

One further consideration remains. The Heb. expression for 'to make a covenant' is usually כרת, lit. 'to cut.' The exact origin of this usage of the

¹ P, who nowhere speaks of the transaction at Sinai as a *berith*, uses the term 'ark of the testimony.' He thought of Yahweh as too supreme and transcendent to enter into a mutual compact with man.

verb is lost; but there are indications which suggest the way in which it might arise. In Gen. xv. 9 f., 17 and Jer. xxxiv. 18 f. a ceremony is recorded by which a promise or oath was made doubly sure. The person or persons—in the one case God, and in the other the people of Jerusalem—who made the promise, passed between the divided carcasses of animals. This would seem to have been equivalent to a solemn curse: If I fail in my promise, may I be slaughtered as I have slaughtered this animal¹. The expression 'God do so to me [or thee] and more also' (1, 2 Sam., 1, 2 Kings, Ruth) is perhaps connected with the same idea. And the action of the Ephraimite Levite (Jud. xix. 29) and of Saul (1 S. xi. 7) may be varieties of the ceremony. If such proceedings were common in the early nomadic life of Israel, the verb 'to cut' might easily become a stereotyped term for 'to make' a promise, and could thus be used in conjunction with the word *berith* drawn from quite a different source. The latter word may not have been incorporated into the language of the Israelites until their arrival at Canaan, although some of the ideas expressed by it had long been familiar. An analogous combination of words may be seen in *ορκια τεμνειν*, and *foedus icere* or *ferire*.

To sum up. The probable facts with regard to the Sinai covenant may be stated thus: Certain tribes had been drawn into a confederacy, and as a body were introduced by Moses to the worship of one God, Yahweh. Moses declared to them the way in which He must be worshipped, delivering commands which they accepted as divinely imposed obligations and expressed their intention of obeying. In order to cement the unity of their confederated body with each other and with Yahweh, and to seal their vow of obedience, they feasted together (and according to their ideas Yahweh joined in the feast), partaking of the blood (in the form of sprinkling) and of the flesh of sacrificial victims. It is possible that Moses included in his commands some elements of ethical morality. But whatever his commands were, they were successively expanded as the ethical character and the omnipotence and uniqueness of God were more fully recognised; until Jeremiah could deliver his teaching on the 'New Covenant' (xxx. 31—34), by which he paved the way for Christianity.

¹ A somewhat similar Assyrian parallel is given in *KAT*³, p. 597: Aššur-nirari, king of Assyria, received the submission of Mati'-ilu prince of Arpad (B.C. 754). In the ceremony which sealed the compact, the head of a ram was cut off, and in the formula of the oath it is stated that the slain ram and its separate limbs represent the separate limbs of him who should break the compact: 'This head is not the head of the ram; it is the head of Mati'-ilu, the head of his sons, of his great men, of the people of his land. If Mati'-ilu breaks this oath, as the head of this ram is cut off...so will the head of Mati'-ilu be cut off.' With this may be compared the old Roman formula when a treaty was made with a foreign state: 'The Roman people shall not be the first to violate those binding conditions (*legibus*): if in their capacity as a state with malicious guile they violate them, do thou in that day, O Juppiter, so smite (*ferito*) the Roman people as I shall smite this pig here to-day, and so much the more do thou smite them in proportion as thou art mighty and powerful' (Livy i. 24). A ceremony exactly similar in form to the dividing of the animals, but with a different meaning, is recorded in Livy xl. 6. The ceremonial purification of the Macedonian army was performed by dividing the body of a dog, and placing the two parts on either side of the road; 'between this divided victim the armed forces are led.'

CHAPTERS XXV.—XXXI.

The Tabernacle and its Ministry.

These chapters, together with xxxv.—xl., contain priestly work throughout. Their introduction into Exodus has, in all probability, ousted a considerable quantity of earlier material from JE dealing with the sacred Tent (see xxxiii. 7), the Ark and other matters connected with worship. From an archaeological point of view this loss is very great. But that is not the point of view from which the Old Testament is mainly to be regarded. The spiritual gain which has resulted from the work of the priestly writers outweighs the archaeological loss.

A general discussion of the Priesthood and the Tabernacle will be found in the Introd. §§ 4, 5. It is there shewn that, *as an historical event*, it is impossible to believe that an elaborate building such as is described in Exodus was erected at Sinai, or that Aaron and his sons occupied the supreme sacerdotal position ascribed to them. The chapters are a gradual growth, the work of a succession of writers after the exile (see pp. xxxvii. f.), whose aim was to depict a religious ideal. In their day the principles of ecclesiasticism were being developed, and supplied the body or framework in which the ideal could express itself. But they also felt that that which was an ideal for their own time must have been an ideal for Israel ever since they were united in the religion of Yahweh. In this they were not mistaken; but they were mistaken in thinking that it must always have expressed itself in the same way. The ideal underlying these chapters is that God, in all His awful and unapproachable holiness, is realised as dwelling in the midst of His people. And in order to express this, the writers carried back into the twelfth century the ecclesiastical atmosphere of the fifth or fourth. Thus the historical interest of the chapters is to be found in the insight which they afford into the religious temper of the priestly period; but their deep and abiding value lies in their insistence on spiritual truths.

It is interesting, further, to notice the possibility that their *literary form* is largely shaped under the influence of a religious idea. The erection of the Tabernacle was a work which seemed to bear an analogy to the divine work of creation. As the Creator made the earth for man to dwell in, so men make a dwelling for the Creator. Some writers have seen in xxxix. 32 an echo of Gen. ii. 1, and in v. 43 of Gen. i. 31 a, and i. 28 a, ii. 3 a. And some, again, have pointed out that as the work of creation occupied seven days, and the building of Solomon's temple seven years (1 K. vi. 38), so the preparation and erection of the Tabernacle, which was a miniature temple, occupied seven months, i.e. the last seven months of the first year since the exodus, which remained after Moses' second sojourn in the mountain (see xix. 1, xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28, xl. 1). This perhaps reads into the text more than the writers really intended. But it is noticeable that the narrative in xxxix. 1—31 proceeds in seven paragraphs, punctuated by the formula 'as Yahweh commanded Moses' (vv. 1, 5, 7, 21, 26, 29, 31); and similarly in xl. 17—32 (vv. 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32), and Lev. viii., ix. (viii. 9, 13, 17, 21, 29, ix. 10, 21). And it is possible to suppose, in these recurring formulas, a deliberate corre-

spondence with the seven stages in the narrative of the creation. Not only so, but in accordance with this seven-fold statement of obedience to the divine commands we find a similar division of the whole series of commands. Each division begins with the formula 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses saying.' The 1st (xxv. 1—xxx. 10) comprises all the necessaries for divine service—the sacred furniture and the Tent to house it, the altar of burnt-offering and the court to enclose it, the ministers and their robes and consecration; the 2nd (xxx. 11—16) the monetary contributions for service; the 3rd (vv. 17—21) the daily purification needful for service; the 4th (vv. 22—38) the ingredients for producing a sweet odour, both for initial consecration and for constant offering; the 5th (xxxi. 1—11) the inspiration of the workmen; the 6th (vv. 12—17) the cosmic reality upon which the whole arrangement is modelled; and the 7th (xl. 1—15) the erection and working out of the whole. It is not impossible that all this shews deliberate arrangement, on the part of an editor, of the whole of the priestly material. But it is also possible that even in the earliest document which he employed (chs. xxv.—xxviii.), he found the same principle already in force. The earliest priestly work (excluding the summary in xxv. 1—9, and ch. xxix. which does not deal with the *materials* for worship) divides itself into the following sections: the ark (xxv. 10—22), the table (vv. 23—30), the lampstand (vv. 31—40), the coverings of the tent (xxvi. 1—14), the wooden framework, with the veil and door-screen (vv. 15—37), the altar (xxvii. 1—8), the court (vv. 9—19), the ephod and *hoshen* (xxviii. 1—25, 29 f.), and the robes (vv. 31—40, 42 f.). Some of these sections are divided into seven parts by the recurrence of the word וַתַּעֲשֶׂה 'and thou shalt make.' The division is quite clear in the second section; in the fourth it can be restored by reading וַתַּעֲשֶׂה at the beginning of xxvi. 1 instead of the present text תַּעֲשֶׂה; and in the sixth, by adopting the LXX addition 'and thou shalt make a moulding for the altar' after xxvii. 2. And Klostermann's suggestion (*Der Pentateuch* (1907), pp. 100 f.) is not improbable that the same heptadic arrangement was originally to be found throughout all the sections.

But though chs. xxv.—xxix. contain the earliest priestly work on the Tabernacle that has reached us in a connected form, there may have been behind it a simpler nucleus from which it grew. If there was such a nucleus it would be likely to contain ideas which were not altogether the product of post-exilic imagination, but which were in some primary and fundamental manner linked with the early ages of the past. There is reason to believe that in the Mosaic age there actually existed an ark and a tent, and that altars were erected for burnt-offerings; and that in still more ancient days bread and wine were offered as the food of the gods, and sacred trees were worshipped. (The two latter are represented in these chapters by the Table and the Lampstand.) And thus the nucleus might consist of the Ark, Table, Lampstand, Tent and Altar. Now on examining the sections dealing with these we find that the first three are concluded in xxv. 40 by a reference to the model shewn to Moses in the mount; and that a similar reference occurs after each of the other two (xxvi. 30, xxvii. 8), and nowhere else except in the summary in xxv. 9. It is therefore a plausible conjecture that upon these five relics of antiquity the priestly meditations were at first fixed, as upon a heavenly vision accorded to Moses.

XXV. 1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 2 Speak *P* unto the children of Israel, that they take for me an ¹offering: of every man whose heart maketh him willing ye shall take my ¹offering. 3 And this is the ¹offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass; 4 and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and ²fine linen, and goats' hair; 5 and rams' skins dyed red, and ³sealskins, and acacia wood; | 6 oil for the light, spices *P*,

¹ Or, *heave offering*

² Or, *cotton*

³ Or, *porpoise-skins*

CHAPTER XXV. 1-9.

Summary of Materials for the Tabernacle.

XXV. 2. *an offering.* Lit. something lifted off, or separated. See on xxix. 27. The *willingness* of the offerers (cf. xxxv. 21, 29, xxxvi. 3) is emphasized also in the case of the first temple (1 Ch. xxix. 5 f., 9, 14, 17) and of the second (Ezr. i. 4, 6, ii. 68, iii. 5, vii. 15 f., viii. 28).

3. *brass; bronze.* An alloy of copper and (probably) tin. Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, was rare.

4. *blue, and purple, and scarlet.* The only colours prescribed, except the red of the rams' skins. *Blue* appears to have been a violet or hyacinth purple (LXX *βακινθος*); *purple* was of a reddish hue; *scarlet* probably a deep crimson. The two former were obtained from a Tyrian shell-fish, and the latter from an insect found attached to a species of oak. There is no scriptural evidence that the colours were intended to bear a symbolical meaning (see p. lxxxix.). Josephus (*Ant.* iii. vii. 7) explains the three colours by reference to the elements; blue signifies the sky, purple the sea because the dye is derived from the blood of a marine shell-fish, scarlet indicates fire, while the plain linen was proper to signify the earth because the flax grows out of the earth. Similarly Philo, *de Vita Mos.* iii. 6.

fine linen. Heb. *shēsh*, probably an Egyptian word. It could be applied either to woven stuffs or to the thread of which they were composed, while the synonym *bādāh* is used only of the finished material; see xxxix. 28. R.V. marg. gives 'cotton' here, and 'silk' in xxviii. 39; but neither is probable. 'Fine twined linen' (xxvi. 1 and elsewhere) denotes a superior stuff, spun from finer flax.

5. *dyed red.* Perhaps tanned skins are meant, such as are used in Syria to-day for shoes and saddles.

sealskins. The meaning of *teḥāshīm* is uncertain. There is no authority for A.V. 'badger skins.' An Arabic word *tūhas* signifies 'dolphin'; and the Heb. word may have been used generally for the porpoise, seal, dugong and other similar marine animals. The skin would be waterproof, and suitable for the outer covering.

6. The verse is a late addition; see analysis, p. xxxvii.

for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; | 7 ¹onyx *P, P* stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breast-plate. 8 And let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among them. 9 According to all that I shew thee, the pattern of the ²tabernacle, and the pattern of all the furniture thereof, even so shall ye make it.

¹ Or, beryl

² Heb. dwelling.

7. *onyx stones.* Heb. 'stones of the *shōham.*' It is curious that no other stones are here named; and similarly in the summaries in xxxv. 9, 27, 1 Ch. xxix. 2. The identification is uncertain. It was a stone of great value (Job xxviii. 16), and adapted for engraving (Ex. xxviii. 9, 12). The LXX renderings are many and various. If *shūhum* is equivalent to the Ass. stone *sāmtu* (which appears to denote 'dark'), a dark sea-green beryl would not be unsuitable.

(On the Ephod and Breastplate see xxviii. 6-30.)

8. The verse expresses the fundamental thought underlying the whole conception of the Tabernacle; see p. lxxxiii.

9. *the pattern.* The word denotes not a ground plan or picture, but a solid structure—a heavenly model of the completely erected building.

the tabernacle. It will be convenient here to collect the various expressions employed to designate the sacred tent. (1) 'Sanctuary,' *mīqdāsh*; v. 8 and frequently. In the Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii. ff.) it is used almost exclusively. (2) 'Dwelling,' *mishkān*. R.V. always 'Tabernacle'; v. 9 and about 100 times in the Hexateuch. But the use of it varies: here, and frequently, it denotes the whole fabric; but in xxvi. 1, 6 f. and elsewhere it is applied to the tapestry curtains which formed the Dwelling in the strict sense. Hence could arise such an expression as 'the Dwelling of the Tent of Meeting' (xxxix. 32, xl. 2 &c.). (3) 'Dwelling of Testimony,' *mishkan 'ēdūth* (xxxviii. 21, Nu. i. 60 &c.), and 'Tent of Testimony,' *'ōhel 'ēdūth* (Nu. ix. 15, &c.), as containing the Tablets of the Testimony. (4) 'Tent,' *'ōhel* (xxvi. 9, 11 &c.; 19 times in P). Cf. 'the Tent of Yahweh' (1 K. ii. 28 ff.); 'the House of the Tent' (1 Ch. ix. 23). (5) In earlier times the common designation was 'Tent of Meeting,' *'ōhel mō'ēd* (see on xxxiii. 7), which is employed also in certain parts of the priestly sections (not in xxv.—xxvii. 19; see Carpenter-Battersby, *Hexateuch*, ii. 120). On the religious significance of the names see pp. lxxxvii. f.

XXV. 10-22.

Directions for making the Ark.

At the head of all the sacred furniture, and before any description of the Tent, is placed that which was the centre and kernel of the whole system—that for which the Dwelling was to be erected. The ark was the object to which Yahweh allowed His people to feel that His presence was attached, as He dwelt in their midst. See addit. note below.

10 And they shall make an ark of acacia wood : two cubits *P* and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. 11 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a ¹crown of gold round about. 12 And thou shalt cast four rings of gold for it, and put them in the four feet thereof ; and two rings shall be on the one ²side of it, and two rings on the other ²side of it. 13 And thou shalt make staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. 14 And thou shalt put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear the ark withal. 15 The staves shall be in the rings of the ark : they shall not be taken from it. 16 And thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee. 17 And thou shalt make a ³mercy-seat of pure gold : two cubits and a half *shall be the*

¹ Or, *rim* Or, *moulding*² Heb. *rib*.³ Or, *covering*

XXV. 10. The dimensions of the ark were roughly $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ feet.

11. *a crown*. Probably *a moulding*, as in marg. 'Crown' is due to the Vulg. *corona* : but LXX *κυμάτια στρεπτά* implies a waved or ogee moulding, or perhaps a cable moulding 'worked in relief in the form of ropes' (pseud. Arist. *Ep. ad Philocr.* in Swete's *Intr. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 530). Perhaps the moulding was thought of as projecting far enough above the level of the lid to keep the 'mercy-seat' steady when carried on the march.

12. *the four feet thereof*. Perhaps read 'corners' (*יְקוּנֵי* or *יְקוּנֵי* for *יְקוּנֵי*). If the poles ran through rings at the feet 'a state of dangerously unstable equilibrium would result.' In v. 26 the ordinary word for foot (*regel*) is used.

14. *staves ; poles*. The structure has been calculated to weigh about 6 cwt., and would require something stronger than staves for its transport. The position of the poles is not stated ; but 1 K. viii. 8 seems to imply that in Solomon's temple they were long enough to reach close to the folding doors which separated the shrine from the rest of the building—and they were therefore placed on the short and not the long sides of the ark. This, indeed, was imperative, if the ark on the march was not to move sideways.

15. In Nu. iv. 6 a contrary tradition is recorded. The poles were put in by Aaron and his sons whenever the march was about to begin.

17. *a mercy-seat*. A solid slab of gold which lay upon the ark, and supported the cherubim ; its surface measurements were the same as those of the ark, but its thickness is not specified. The Heb. term *kapporeth* appears to mean 'a place, or instrument, of propitia-

length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. *P*
 18 And thou shalt make two cherubim of gold; of ¹beaten
 work shalt thou make them, at the two ends of the mercy-seat.

¹ Or, *turned*

tion'; and many writers now adopt the rendering *a propitiatory*.
 LXX *λαστήριον*, Vulg. *propitiatorium*. 'Mercy-seat' was due to
 Tindale, and based on Lutner's *Gnadenstuhl*.

The root כפר has been generally understood as denoting 'to cover.' Some indeed accept this meaning literally, and explain *kapporeth* as a covering placed over the lid of the ark. This is *perhaps* implied in the rendering of the LXX (which is found only in the present passage)—*λαστήριον*¹ *ἐπίθεμα*, 'a propitiatory covering.' But it is more probable that the verb with which *kappōreth* is connected has a metaphorical force. If it means 'to cover' sins, so that God no longer looks at or punishes them, then *kappōreth* means the place or instrument for the covering and atoning of sins. But it is not improbable that a similar meaning is to be reached by another derivation. 'To cover' is an Arabic meaning of the root; but the meaning 'to wipe off' is found in Aramaic and Assyrian (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*² 381; Haupt, *JBL* xix. (1900) 61, 80). The verb *kuppuru* (piel) is a technical priestly word, found in Babylonian ritual texts, for wiping away sin (Zimmern, *Beitr. z. Kenntniss Bab. Religion*, 92). On the Heb. verb *kipper* see further in n. on xxxii. 30.

The golden *kappōreth* was to the Jew the most sacred spot on earth; Yahweh appeared there, attended by adoring cherubim; and there the high priest on the Day of Atonement presented the blood by which the sins of the nation were 'covered up' or 'wiped away.' An infinitely higher thought was yet to be reached—that of a Propitiatory Person (see Sanday and Headlam on Rom. iii. 25), who presented, and still presents, His own life-blood in the presence of God (Heb. ix. 7, 12, 24 &c.).

18. *cherubim*. Their meaning and origin are discussed in the addit. note below. As early as Josephus all knowledge of their appearance had been lost (*Ant.* viii. viii. 3). From a comparison of Ez. x. 14 with i. 10 it may be inferred that, in the prophet's visions, they had the face of an ox. But this, like the number of their wings, may have varied in different representations: there are four wings in Ez. x. 21, six in Is. vi. 2 (if, as is probable, the vision of the seraphim was a result of the prophet's meditation in the temple), and two in 1 K. vi. 24. 'Cherubim of glory overshadowing the Propitiatory' are referred to in Heb. ix. 3. The derivation of the word *kerūbh* is quite uncertain. Some have connected it with *γρύψ* 'griffin'; but this is very improbable. The suggestion that the Assyrian winged bull *sēdu* was also called *kirubu* has not been verified. Other Ass.

¹ *Λαστήριον* is here an adjective. Cf. its use in Ez. xliii. 14, 17, 20, 'a propitiatory [thing]' for the 'ledge' (R.V. 'settle'). See Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 124—185.

19 And make one cherub at the one end, and one cherub at *P* the other end: ¹of one piece with the mercy-seat shall ye make the cherubim on the two ends thereof. 20 And the cherubim shall spread out their wings on high, covering the mercy-seat with their wings, with their faces one to another; toward the mercy-seat shall the faces of the cherubim be. 21 And thou shalt put the mercy-seat above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee. 22 And there I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubim which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel.

¹ Heb. *out of the mercy-seat.*

words may be noted: *karābu* 'bless,' 'be gracious to'; *karūbu* 'great,' 'mighty.' Philo (*Vit. Mos.* ed. Mangey ii. 150) strangely says that it denotes *ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή*, and he is followed by Clem. Al. (*Strom.* v. 240), Jerome (*Comm. in Is.* iii. 6), Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps.* lxxix. 2 [Eng. lxxx. 1]) and Didymus Alex. (*Expos. in Ps.* lxxix.).

of beaten work. Of similar workmanship was the lampstand (*vr.* 31, 36) and the two silver clarions (*Nu.* x. 2).

20. The figures faced each other, but their heads were bent in an adoring attitude. Some have seen an allusion to this in 1 Pet. i. 12; and the connexion of thought is in any case deeply suggestive.

22. *I will meet.* The Heb. denotes a mutual arrangement—'I will keep tryst with thee.' The expression is founded on the early name 'Tent of Meeting' (see on xxxiii. 7). Moses is here represented as penetrating into the Most Holy place to commune with God (cf. *Nu.* vii. 89). And in xxxiv. 34 he does so frequently. He is thus placed in a position far superior to that of Aaron, who could enter only on one day in the year, with elaborate precautions, for purposes of atonement (*Lev.* xvi. 2-15). On the other hand in a redactional passage, xxix. 42 f., Aaron's unique privilege is safeguarded; Moses and the people meet with Yahweh at the door of the Tent.

The Ark. The ark was one of the earliest relics of Israelite religion. Its ancient name was 'the ark of Elohim' (frequent in 1 Sam.) or 'of Yahweh' (frequent in Josh.); and at a later time these were expanded in various ways. In D is found the name 'the ark of the covenant,' which also became expanded; and in P 'the ark of the testimony.' The two latter names express the tradition that it contained the stone tablets of the decalogue.

It cannot be stated with certainty in what relation Yahweh was conceived to stand to the ark. The evidence, however, seems to shew that it was not merely a symbol, but that His presence was objectively attached to it: where the ark moved, Yahweh moved; cf. Num. x. 35 f., 1 S. iv. 3, 7, vi. 20.

The loss of the early narratives of its manufacture makes it impossible to determine any details with regard to its size or appearance. Dt. x. 3 (probably based on JE) speaks of it simply as 'an ark—or box—of acacia wood.' Had cherubim formed part of it, it is scarcely probable that the writer would have omitted all mention of them¹. And when it was placed in the temple 'under the wings of the cherubim' (1 K. viii. 6), it is difficult to think that small cherubim attached to it stood beneath the larger ones. In 1 S. iv. 4, 2 S. vi. 2 occurs, in connexion with the ark, the expression 'Yahweh of hosts that sitteth [upon] the cherubim.' But in each case the words are those of the narrator, if they are not a later insertion, and they do not therefore prove that the ark had cherubim in the days of Samuel and David. They suggest rather that the phrase had become a conventionalised religious expression in the days of the prophetic writer. See also 2 K. xix. 15 = Is. xxxvii. 16, Pa. lxxx. 1 (2), xcix. 1, passages in which the ark is not mentioned. The cherubim were thought of as 'not only attendants of Yahweh, but the bearers and upholders of His throne. The thunderclouds are the dark wings of these ministers of God.' Thus the symbol employed to describe Yahweh's exaltation in nature was borrowed from the outstretched wings of the cherubim in Solomon's temple. From the countries surrounding Palestine—Syria, Assyria, Egypt—many figures of winged creatures, such as griffins, bulls &c., have come down to us. They were apparently attempts to express strength combined with swiftness, and were employed to represent demon spirits as personifications of the elemental forces of nature. These traces of a popular mythology would be learnt by the Israelites after their arrival in Canaan.

It is difficult to decide what objects, if any, the ark originally contained. The remains of JE and the books of Samuel are silent on this point; but Dt. x. 5 states that within the ark were placed the two tablets of stone containing the decalogue; and P (Ex. xxv. 16) repeats the tradition. In late Jewish times the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod that blossomed, which in Ex. xvi. 33 and Num. xvii. 10 were laid up respectively 'before Yahweh' and 'before the testimony,' were held to have been placed *in* the ark. This departure from the O.T. tradition is followed in Heb. ix. 4. The earliest evidence, as has been said, seems to shew that Yahweh's presence was conceived of as objectively attached to the ark. And some think that if this is so, it is improbable that it originally contained the tablets. 'Tablets of the law do not imply the presence of the Lawgiver' (Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 369). But it is difficult to imagine that the most sacred object in Israelite worship would have been a box unless it had been intended to carry something. Hence several modern writers have supposed that the statement of Dt. x. 5 was based upon the fact that the ark did contain stones, or a stone, which dated from a very primitive age when Yahweh was worshipped under the form of

¹ The same is true of the solid gold *kappûreth*, and of the gold plates overlaid upon the ark.

a stone image. It was thus similar in nature and purpose to the heathen coffers of Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks and other nations, which contained images of gods and were carried about in processions. This relic of paganism was transformed in reverent Hebrew thought, by the time of the Deuteronomic writer, into 'a perfect written embodiment of the fundamental demands of Israel's righteous God.'

To render this theory possible it would be necessary to shew that the ark was sacred in pre-Mosaic times, and was brought through Moses' influence into connexion with the worship of Yahweh. Stade indeed conjectures that it contained a stone fetish, perhaps meteoric, which was revered by the Joseph tribes (or, as some prefer, the Rachel tribes). But of all this there is no evidence at all. Kennett suggests that it contained the bronze serpent which was long worshipped at Jerusalem. Another theory is advanced by Meinhold (*Die Lade Jahves*) on the basis of W. Reichel's *Über vorhellenische Götterkulte*. He notes the numerous passages in which Yahweh's connexion with the ark is very close indeed, but he also points out that in others a clear distinction is drawn between the ark and Yahweh Himself. And he maintains that the ark was a throne, upon which Yahweh sat invisible. He originally sat enthroned on the sacred mountain, and when He accompanied His people He needed another throne of stone to be an equivalent for the mountain. He cites Jer. iii. 16 f. in support of this idea: 'In those days, saith Yahweh, they shall no more say, The ark of the covenant of Yahweh...At that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of Yahweh.' The sacred object was thus a solid block which was described by the word '*arōn*,' 'ark,' because of its shape. Budde (*Exp. Times*, June 1898, pp. 396 ff.) objects to this that a solid throne could never have been called an 'ark,' seeing that the common word *kissē*, 'throne,' was available. And he also doubts whether the idea of a king upon his throne could have originated in Israel while they were still in a nomadic state; it could arise only in a period when they were governed by kings¹. The problem is still a matter of discussion, and want of evidence forbids any decisive conclusion.

The history of the ark from the capture of Jericho till the days of Samuel is uncertain. For a time it would probably be kept within the principal encampment at Gilgal, and may have been carried out to accompany important expeditions (as represented in the late passage, Jos. viii. 30—35). Jud. ii. 1 seems to imply that it was moved to Bethel² (see Moore *in loc.*, and cf. the P insertion in xx. 27 f.). It was natural that the principal tribe, Ephraim, of which Joshua was a member, should retain possession of it. But this is not the same as saying that it was the *palladium* of the house of Joseph only. In the days of Samuel's childhood it was found at Shiloh in a temple (1 S. iii. 3). Being taken into battle, in order that Yahweh of Hosts might

¹ This latter argument is not very strong. Meinhold's theory would be the best yet offered if the word '*arōn*,' as used for a solid throne, could be satisfactorily explained.

² Meinhold, however, thinks that the 'angel' is to be expressly distinguished from Yahweh's personal presence upon the ark.

be present to fight for them, it was captured by the Philistines (*id.* iv., v.), who brought it back to Beth-shemesh (*id.* vi.). Thence it was taken to Kirjath-jearim, where it remained for several years (*id.* vii. 1, 2). It was not taken back to Shiloh, perhaps because the town had been captured by the Philistines¹. David at last arranged for its transportation to his new capital, but was deterred by the death of Uzzah (2 S. vi. 1—9). It was placed for three months in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite (*id.* vi. 10 f.), after which it was carried to Jerusalem (*id.* vi. 12—19), and placed in a tent which David had pitched for it. It was still taken out on important expeditions, e.g. against the Ammonites (*id.* xi. 11), though David refused to allow it to accompany him in his flight from Absalom (2 S. xv. 24—29), not wishing to employ Yahweh's help in a civil war against his own son. Finally Solomon removed it from the tent in which David had housed it, and placed it in the shrine of his new temple (1 K. viii. 1—6). How long it remained there is not known. It has been suggested that it was captured by Shishak king of Egypt when he invaded Jerusalem in Rehoboam's reign (1 K. xiv. 26). But apart from the probability that he would not take the trouble to carry off a mere wooden chest, but only objects of monetary value, it is clearly implied in Dt. x. 5 that the ark was in existence at the time of the writer. It is just possible that it was removed by Manasseh to make room for idolatrous objects of worship, and that it was restored by Josiah (2 Ch. xxxv. 3). And Jer. iii. 16 perhaps implies that it still existed in Josiah's reign². The silence of the pre-exilic histories as to the ark during the period of the divided kingdom must have been due to the advancing realisation of the nature of God as taught by the prophets; the nation gradually learnt that 'heaven was His throne and the earth His footstool,' that 'heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him,' much less a wooden coffer. The relic would be preserved but not used. And in the Chaldaean catastrophe it must have been destroyed in the burning of the temple and city (2 K. xxv. 9). There was no ark in the second temple nor in that of Herod.

It is remarkable that in the earlier writings not a word is found which implies that the ark was in any way connected with sacrifice. It was not an idol, nor was it identified with Yahweh closely enough for sacrifice to be offered to it; and it was not an altar (see Ex. xx. 24 f.). It remained the sacred and mysterious medium by which the guiding and protecting presence of Yahweh abode among His people. The only direct reference to the ark in the Psalms is in cxxxii. 8 (inserted in 2 Ch. vi. 41); but Ps. lxxviii. 61 refers to the Philistine victory of 1 S. iv. In the N.T. it is mentioned only in Heb. ix. 4, Rev. xi. 19.

23 And thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits *P* shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and

XXV. 23—30. *The Table.* The description passes from the furniture of the 'Most Holy' shrine to that of the 'Holy' place—

¹ The date of the destruction of Shiloh is unknown. Some think that Jeremiah (vii. 12, 14, xxvi. 6, 9) refers to a recent event.

² 2 Mac. ii. 4 f. relates a legend that Jeremiah hid the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense, in a rock in 'the mountain where Moses went up and beheld the heritage of God.'

a cubit and a half the height thereof. 24 And thou shalt *P* overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a ¹crown of gold round about. 25 And thou shalt make unto it a border of an handbreadth round about, and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about. 26 And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that are on the four feet thereof. 27 Close by the border shall the rings be, for places for the staves to bear the table. 28 And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold, that the table may be borne with them. 29 And thou shalt make the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the flagons thereof, and the bowls thereof, to pour out withal: of pure gold shalt thou make them. 30 And thou shalt set upon the table ²shewbread before me alway.

¹ See ver. 11.² Or, *Presence-bread*

the Table and the Lampstand. The Altar of Incense does not belong to the earliest stratum of P; see xxx. 1-10.

23. The Table was of the same length and height as the ark, but half a cubit less in width.

24. *pure gold*. Hence called 'the pure table' in Lev. xxiv. 6.

25. *a border; a rail*. This connected the four legs, as is still visible in the representation of the table of Herod's temple on the Arch of Titus (see Benzinger's *Bilderatlas*, p. 113). It was a handbreadth in deptn, not in thickness. Josephus (*Ant.* III. vi. 6) states that the legs were square at the top near the table, but that they ended in complete feet 'resembling those which the Dorians put to their bedsteads.' The rail, like the flat top, was ornamented with a moulding (see v. 11).

29. *dishes*. Large salvers for carrying the loaves to and from the table; perhaps also they lay on the table, holding the loaves.

spoons; cups. LXX has τὰς θύϊσκας ('incense cups'), which occurs in connexion with the table in 1 Mac. i. 22 (R.V. 'censers'). The cups contained the frankincense which was placed upon the loaves and burnt (Lev. xxiv. 7).

to pour out withal; with which libation is made. A drink-offering of wine evidently formed part of the ritual, but nothing more is said of it in the O.T. For the absurd Rabbinic explanations of these vessels, and for the ritual of the table in the temple services, see Edersheim, *The Temple*, 154 ff.

30. *shewbread; Presence-bread*, as in marg. (The rendering of the text is found as early as Tindale's N.T., in Heb. ix. 2, apparently formed on the analogy of Luther's *Schaubrot*.) The name denotes 'bread placed in the presence of Yahweh'; see 1 S. xxi. 6 (7), which speaks of the loaves 'which had been removed from the presence of

31 And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold: of P¹ beaten work shall the candlestick be made, even its ²base, and

¹ Or, turned

² Heb. thigh.

Yahweh'; and in the present passage 'before my presence continually' agrees with this. The narrative of David and Ahimelech shews that the rite of the Presence-bread was a survival from early times; it probably went back ultimately to an age when food was actually offered to a god, and the worshippers imagined that he partook of it¹ (see W. R. Smith, *RS*², 228—30). Even Jeremiah's contemporaries kneaded cakes for the queen of heaven (Jer. vii. 18), and a little later Jews spread a table to Fortune (Is. lxxv. 11). The practice was frequent among the Babylonians and Assyrians², and may have been an instance of the influence which Babylon exercised in the west, both in early and late times. And the rite is also illustrated by the *lectisternia*, which the Romans borrowed from the Greeks (Liv. v. xiii. 6 and freq.; and referred to by Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, III. xvii. 2). While, however, the rite originally betrayed a crude materialistic conception of the Deity, in later times a higher spiritual idea attached to it. In the age of the Mishna all the loaves were eaten by the priests, one half by the outgoing and one half by the incoming division (*Sukka* v. 7 f.), which shews that none of them were burnt, i.e. consumed by Yahweh. And the burning of frankincense and the libation of wine transformed the ceremony into a thank-offering, in acknowledgment of the fact that all man's daily bread was a divine gift.

Beside the 'Presence-bread' (פָּנִים בָּרֶזֶק), three other terms are employed in the O.T. In 1 S. xxi. 4 (5), 6 (7) it is spoken of as 'holy bread'; and in Num. iv. 7 (P) as 'continual bread.' And the arrangement in Lev. xxiv. 6 by which the loaves were placed in two piles (R.V. marg.) gave rise to the name 'pile bread' (לֶחֶם הַמִּצְרֶכֶת; 1 Ch. ix. 32, xxiii. 29, Neh. x. 33; so in Mt. xii. 4, Mk. ii. 26, Lk. vi. 4 *απος τῆς προθεσεως*), or with the words transposed 'piling of bread' (לֶחֶם מִצְרֶכֶת, 2 Ch. xiii. 11, 2 Mac. x. 3; so in Heb. ix. 2 ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν ἄρτων), or 'pile' alone (2 Ch. ii. 4).

31—40. *The Lampstand.* The form of the lampstand is familiar from its representation on the Arch of Titus. Six branches bent outwards and upwards from a central stem; it thus had 'the likeness of a trident' (Jos. B. J. vii. v. 5). The *motif* of its ornamentation was taken from the almond tree, and its shape was perhaps intended as a conventional representation of a tree. The question therefore suggests itself whether it was not a late relic of the old-world

¹ Cf. the expression 'bread of his [their, thy, your] God,' which is characteristic of Lev. xxi., xxiii.

² They placed the bread in the form of 12, or sometimes 36, loaves, which were 'sweet,' i.e. unleavened. See Zimmern, *Beitr. z. Kenntnis d. Bab. Rel.* 94 f. An illustration of an Assyrian table is given in Benzinger's *Archäol.* 387.

³ The verb can be used to denote setting out or arranging a table for a meal; hence the N.T. *πρόθεσις*.

its shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers, shall be ¹of one *P* piece with it: 32 and there shall be six branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof: 33 three cups made like almond-blossoms in one branch, a knop and a flower; and three cups made like almond-blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower: so for the six branches going out of the candlestick: 34 and in the candlestick four cups made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: 35 and a knop under two branches ¹of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches ¹of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches ¹of one piece with it, for the six branches going out of the candlestick. 36 Their knops and their branches shall be ¹of one piece with it: the whole of it one ²beaten work of pure

¹ Heb. *out of the same.*² Or, *turned*

reverence for sacred trees. (A similar survival is perhaps to be seen (1 K. vii. 41 f.) in the two bronze pillars which stood before the porch of the temple; see W. R. Smith, *RS*², 487 f.) But the religious conceptions actually attached to it must have been very different, as may be seen from Zech. iv. 1-6 *a*, 10 *b*-14 (see p. xc.).

31. *of pure gold.* Hence it is called 'the pure lampstand,' xxxi. 8, xxxix. 37 (see v. 24). *its base* was that portion of the stem which was below the lowest pair of branches, called 'the lampstand' in v. 34; *its shaft* (A.V. wrongly 'branch') was the upper continuation of this.

its knops, and its flowers. V. 33 shews that these words are in apposition to 'its cups'; each cup consisted of a *calyx* and *petals* of an almond blossom¹. The word *knop*, a variant of *knob*, denotes a spherical object (LXX σφαιρωτήρ, Vulg. *sphaerula*). The Heb. word *kaphtōr* is used in Am. ix. 1, Zeph. ii. 14 to describe the spherical capitals or chapters of the pillars in the temple at Bethel and at Nineveh.

34, 35. The arrangement of these ornamentations on the central stem (R.V. 'the candlestick') is not indicated; but Prof. Kennedy (*DB* iv. 663 f.) is probably right in supposing that there were two cups in the base and two in the shaft (the upper one forming with its petals a tray, as in the six branches), and one knop without petals at each of the points where the three branches joined the central stem.

¹ In the Mishna the word *perah* ('flower') is employed to denote the tray of a lamp.

gold. 37 And thou shalt make the lamps thereof, seven: and *P* they shall 'light the lamps thereof, to give light over against it. 38 And the tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure gold. 39 Of a talent of pure gold shall it be made, with all these vessels. 40 And see that thou make them after their pattern, which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

XXVI. 1 Moreover thou shalt make the ²tabernacle with

¹ Or, *set up*

² See ch. xxv. 9.

37. *they shall light.* This rendering, though possible, is less likely than that of the margin. The priests would reach up and place the lamps on the top of the seven branches.

to give light. As there was no other means of lighting the tent, it would seem to be necessary that the lamps, when once lit, should burn continually. In *Jos. c. Ap. i. 22* the light is *ἀναπόσβεστον*, and in *Diod. xxxiv. 1* it is *ἀθάνατον...καὶ καίμενον ἀδιαλείπτως*. In the Talmud (*Yoma 39 b*) a premonition of the fall of Jerusalem is said to have been given by the sudden extinguishing of the light in the temple; and 4 (2) *Esd. x. 22* the writer laments that 'the light of our candelabrum has been extinguished.' This is in accordance with the wide-spread ancient practice, common also in modern times, of burning a perpetual light in shrines. And even in private houses a lamp was often kept burning night and day. On the other hand *Ex. xxvii. 21, xxx. 8, Lev. xxiv. 3, Nu. viii. 2 f., 2 Ch. xiii. 11*, and Philo, state or imply that the light was lit every evening¹. This uncertainty seems to have led to a compromise; one lamp (*Mishna Tamid iii. 9, vi. 1*) or three (*Jos. Ant. iii. viii. 3*) burnt by day, while all the seven were lighted at night.

39. *a talent* = 3000 shekels (*xxxviii. 25 f.*). There were three systems of weights in vogue in Palestine, the Babylonian, the Syrian or 'Hittite,' and the Phoenician. It is probable that the 'shekel of the sanctuary,' or sacred shekel, employed throughout by *P* is the Phoenician. It consisted of 20 gerahs or obols (*xxx. 13*), i.e. 224·6 grs.

40. See preliminary note above.

CHAPTER XXVI. 1—14.

The Dwelling and the Coverings.

XXVI. 1. *the tabernacle; the dwelling.* In *xxv. 9, xl. 18* and freq., 'the dwelling' denotes the whole structure; but here and in several passages it denotes the tapestry hangings which formed the

¹ It is clear from *1 S. iii. 3* that in early days it did not burn continually. The passage may mean either that the lamp had been burning during the day, and in the late evening had not yet gone out, or that it had been lit in the evening to burn through the night and was still alight in the early morning.

ten curtains ; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and *P* scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman shalt thou make them. 2 The length of each curtain shall be eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits : all the curtains shall have one measure. 3 Five curtains shall be coupled together one to another ; and *the other* five curtains shall be coupled one to another. 4 And thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain ¹from the selvedge in the coupling ; and likewise shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is outmost in the second ²coupling. 5 Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain, and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is in the second coupling ; the loops shall be opposite one to another. 6 And thou shalt make fifty clasps of gold, and couple the curtains one to another with the clasps : and the tabernacle shall be one. 7 And thou shalt make curtains of goats' *hair* for a tent over the tabernacle : eleven curtains shalt thou make them. 8 The length of each curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits : the eleven curtains shall have one measure. 9 And thou shalt couple five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt double over the sixth curtain

¹ Or, *that is outmost in the first set*

² Or, *set*.

'dwelling' in the strict sense ; see *v.* 6 f., xxxv. 11, xxxix. 32, xl. 2, 19, 34 f., Nu. iii. 25, 1 Ch. vi. 32.

with ten curtains. The Heb. has no preposition ; 'ten curtains' is in apposition to 'the dwelling,' shewing that the latter *consisted in* the curtains.

the work of the designer. Heb. the 'thinker' or 'contriver' (xxxvi. 8) ; used also in connexion with the veil (xxvi. 31), the ephod (xxviii. 6) and the 'breastplate' (*id.* 15). His work was more elaborate and skilful than that of the 'variegator' ; see *v.* 36. It is probable that he worked the pattern with a needle upon the woven stuns.

4. *from the selvedge.* The marg. reading is probably the true one.

the coupling. The single piece formed by joining the five pieces together.

7. *a tent over the dwelling.* See *v.* 1. Goats' hair was the material of an ordinary Bedawin tent.

9. *thou shalt double.* Omit 'over.' Two cubits (3 ft.) of doubled curtain hung over the edge and protruded at the sides ; see pp. lxxvii. f.

in the forefront of the tent. 10 And thou shalt make fifty *P* loops on the edge of the one curtain that is outmost in the ¹coupling, and fifty loops upon the edge of the curtain which is *outmost in* the second ²coupling. 11 And thou shalt make fifty clasps of brass, and put the clasps into the loops, and couple the tent together, that it may be one. 12 And the overhanging part that remaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the back of the tabernacle. 13 And the cubit on the one side, and the cubit on the other side, of that which remaineth in the length of the curtains of the tent, shall hang over the sides of the tabernacle on this side and on that side, to cover it. 14 And thou shalt make a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of ³sealskins above.

15 And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle of acacia wood, standing up. 16 Ten cubits shall be the length of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. 17 Two tenons shall there be in each board, ⁴joined one to

¹ Or, first set

² Or, set

³ Or, porpoise-skins

⁴ Or, morticed

12. It is impossible to reconcile this with *v.* 9. See p. lxxvii.

14. The size of the two coverings is not specified, but to be of use they must both, or at least the dugong skin, have reached to the ground.

XXVI. 15—30.

The solid framework.

15. *the boards; the frames.* Light and comparatively thin, consisting of two long sides or arms, connected at the top, middle and bottom by cross rungs. The Heb. term *kerāshim* occurs in Ez. xxvii. 6, where it might mean either panels or planks, but not large solid beams.

17. *two arms to a frame.* A continuation of *v.* 15, after the parenthetical *v.* 16. The 'arms' (Heb. *yādhoth*) are the parallel uprights of which each frame was composed. The word is used of the 'arms' of Solomon's throne (2 Ch. ix. 18), and of the supports under the body or framework of Solomon's laver, and under the stand of the bason at the top of the framework (1 K. vii. 32 f.¹).

¹ According to Stade's reconstruction, *ZATW* 1883, 129 ff., 1901, 145 ff. In the present passage LXX has δύο ἀγκωνίσκοι, but it helps to explain this by ἀμφοτέρα τὰ μέρη in *vv.* 19, 21, 25.

another: thus shalt thou make for all the boards of the tabernacle. 18 And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle, twenty boards for the south side southward. 19 And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for its two tenons, and two sockets under another board for its two tenons: 20 and for the second side of the tabernacle, on the north side, twenty boards: 21 and their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. 22 And for the hinder part of the tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards. 23 And two boards shalt thou make for the corners of the tabernacle in the hinder part. 24 And they shall be double beneath, and in like manner they shall be entire unto the top thereof unto ¹one ring: thus shall it be for them both; they shall be for the two corners. 25 And there shall be eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. 26 And

¹ Or, *the first*

joined; joined by cross rungs (Heb. *meshullābhōth*). A.V. 'set in order,' and xxxvi. 22 'equally distant' (!). In 1 K. vii. 28 f. *shelabbīm* is used for the cross rails (R.V. 'ledges') joining the uprights of the frame of the laver; and in later Heb. *shelībhāh*, *shelabbīm* denote the rungs of a ladder. If, on the other hand, the *yādhōth* were 'tenons' (or, as we might say, 'feet'), whereby the 'beams' were fixed into the bases, it is difficult to see in what sense they could be said to be joined to each other.

The importance of this explanation of the framework is shewn on pp. lxxiv. ff.

18. *towards the Negeb, southwards*. The Negeb is a geographical term denoting the tract of country lying to the south of Judah (Gen. xii. 9, Nu. xiii. 17, 22 and freq.). The expression must be from the pen of one writing in Palestine, and not in the Arabian desert. Cf. v. 22.

19. *sockets*; *bases*. Apparently solid blocks of silver resting on the earth, for the precious metal would not be concealed in the ground.

22. *westward*. Lit. 'towards the sea,' i.e. the Mediterranean; cf. v. 18.

24. This obscure verse is discussed on pp. lxxv. f.; *they shall be entire* should rather be *they shall be double*, or 'twin' (reading דְּבָרִים as at the beginning of the verse, for דְּבָרִים).

unto the one ring. This implies that a similar buttress is to be made reaching to the ring at the other corner, presumably the ring at the top of the frame.

thou shalt make bars of acacia wood ; five for the boards of the *P* one side of the tabernacle, 27 and five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the side of the tabernacle, for the hinder part westward. 28 And the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall pass through from end to end. 29 And thou shalt overlay the boards with gold, and make their rings of gold for places for the bars : and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold. 30 And thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the fashion thereof which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

31 And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and

28. *in the midst of the frames*, i.e. half-way up, not as some have suggested, running through holes pierced in the beams (!).

29. It is probable that this verse is a later addition, and that in the original description there was no gold upon the framework.

For (1) the injunction occurs after the other instructions for the frames have been completed ; contrast the ark (xxv. 11, 13), the table (xxv. 24, 28). (2) In xxxvi. 34 (xxxviii. 18) LXX has a divergent tradition—'he overlaid the pillars [i.e. *kerashim*] with *silver*, and two verses later '*silver* hooks' (not in Heb.) are spoken of. (3) The account of the tabernacle is based upon the temple ; but the passages which speak of the overlaying of the walls of the shrine (1 K. vi. 20), the walls of the rest of the temple (v. 21 f.), the floor (v. 30), the cherubim (v. 28) and the leaves of the door (vv. 32, 35) are also late additions.

30. *according to the method thereof*, i.e. the method by which it was always to be reared in the future. LXX κατὰ τὸ εἶδος 'according to the appearance' perhaps represents the true reading.

XXVI. 31—37.

The Veil ; the position 'of the furniture ; the Screen.

31. *a veil*. Heb. *pārōketh*, 'that which shuts off'¹. In Solomon's and Ezekiel's temples the shrine was shut off by a thick wooden partition ; but in a portable sanctuary a veil was substituted. See pp. lxxxiv. f. The spiritual significance of the veil, as an impediment to the approach to God which is done away in Christ, is drawn out in Heb. ix. 3, 8, x. 19—22. Cf. Mk. xv. 38 = Mat. xxvii. 51, Lk. xxiii. 45².

with cherubim. Their appearance and position are not described. But from a comparison with 1 K. vi. 29—35 and Ez. xli. 18—20, 25,

¹ Cf. the Ass. *parakku*, Syr. *p'rakkā*, a 'shrine' or 'apartment.'

² It is open to question, however, whether it was the inner veil that was rent, or the outer screen.

scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of the P cunning workman shall it be made: 32 and thou shalt hang it upon four pillars of acacia overlaid with gold, their hooks shall be of gold, upon four sockets of silver. 33 And thou shalt hang up the veil under the clasps, and shalt bring in thither within the veil the ark of the testimony: and the veil shall divide unto you between the holy place and the most holy. 34 And thou shalt put the mercy-seat upon the ark of the testimony in the most holy place. 35 And thou shalt set the table without the veil, and the candlestick over against the table on the side of the tabernacle toward the south: and thou shalt put the table on the north side. 36 And thou shalt make a screen for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer. 37 And thou shalt make for the screen five pillars of acacia, and overlay them with gold; their hooks shall be of gold: and thou shalt cast five sockets of brass for them.

XXVII. 1 And thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be four-square: and the height thereof shall be three cubits. 2 And thou it may be supposed that one cherub appeared in each 'panel' of the framework.

34. The placing of the *kapporeth* has already been enjoined in xxv. 21. A transposition of two consonants gives *pārōketh*, which is preferable, and is supported by the LXX.

36. The screen, being further from the shrine than the veil, is of less elaborate workmanship, and has no cherubim upon it.

the embroiderer; the variegator. His work was inferior to that of the 'designer' (v. 1) and probably consisted not of embroidery with a needle, but of weaving with coloured threads to produce a variegated pattern.

XXVII. 1—19.

The Court and its furniture.

As in the case of the Dwelling, the furniture is mentioned first, as being of chief importance; the Tent and the Court were made only to house the sacred objects.

XXVII. 1—8. *The Altar.* See note at the end of ch. xx.

1. *the altar.* The narrator thought of no second altar; see on xxx. 1.

foursquare. An archaism dating from a time when 'square' denoted 'equal-sided,' and it was necessary to express the number

shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof: the *P* horns thereof shall be of one piece with it: and thou shalt overlay it with brass. 3 And thou shalt make its pots to take away its ashes, and its shovels, and its basons, and its flesh-hooks, and its firepans: all the vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass. 4 And thou shalt make for it a grating of network of brass; and upon the net shalt thou make four brasen rings in the four ¹corners thereof. 5 And thou shalt put it under the ledge round the altar beneath, that the net may reach halfway up the altar. 6 And thou shalt make staves for the altar, staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with brass. 7 And the staves thereof shall be put into the rings, and the staves shall be upon the two ²sides of the altar, in bearing it.

¹ Heb. *ends*.² Heb. *ribs*.

of sides. In 1 K. vi. 31 A.V. marg. has 'five-square,' from the Geneva Bible.

2. *the horns*. Projections at the four corners, probably of a conventional shape, a few inches in height; cf. Jos. *B. J.* v. v. 6, *γωνίαι κερατοειδείς*. They are called 'horns' in Ez. xliii. 15, 20, but simply 'corners' in xli. 22. They are found on Assyrian altars (Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, i. 255 f.). Their origin and purpose are uncertain. Many modern writers suppose them to be traceable to bull-worship. Others think that they may be due to the custom of hanging upon the altar the skin and head of the sacrificial victim. Kennedy (*DB* iv. 658) holds that 'their ultimate *raison d'être* is probably to be sought in the same primitive circle of thought as ascribed a special sanctity to the four corners of a robe.' It is probable that the use of horns arose from an ancient superstition, but it cannot, at present, be traced with certainty. It is clear from xx. 25 that the Israelites at one time did not use them. But when once adopted they became the most sacred part of the altar. They served as an asylum (1 K. i. 50 f., ii. 28) in comparatively early days; and they are mentioned in Am. iii. 14, Jer. xvii. 1. In the Priestly legislation they are smeared with sacrificial blood, in the consecration of the priests (Ex. xxix. 12, Lev. viii. 15, ix. 9), in the sin-offering (Lev. iv. 18, 25, 30, 34) and on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 18).

4. *a grating*. Lit. 'twisted work.' It probably supported the ledge (see next verse), and at the same time allowed the blood to be dashed against the base of the altar.

5. *the ledge* (*karkobh*). xxxviii. 4 †. Lit. 'that which encloses'; A.V. 'compass.' Its purpose must have been to enable the priest to officiate at the altar, which would otherwise be too high for him. Cf. Lev. ix. 22, Aaron 'came down' from the altar. See note on xx. 26.

8 Hollow with planks shalt thou make it: as it hath been *P* shewed thee in the mount, so shall they make it.

9 And thou shalt make the court of the tabernacle: for the south side southward there shall be hangings for the court of fine twined linen an hundred cubits long for one side: 10 and the pillars thereof shall be twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets *shall be* of silver. 11 And likewise for the north side in length there shall be hangings an hundred cubits long, and the pillars thereof twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. 12 And for the breadth of the court on the west side shall be hangings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten, and their sockets ten. 13 And the breadth of the court on the east side eastward shall be fifty cubits. 14 The hangings for the one side *of the gate* shall be fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. 15 And for the other side shall be hangings of fifteen cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. 16 And for the gate of the court shall be a screen of twenty cubits, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer: their pillars four, and their sockets four. 17 All the pillars of the court round about shall be filleted with silver; their hooks of silver, and their sockets of brass. 18 The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where,

8. *Hollow with planks.* Wishing to picture a portable altar the narrator disregarded its practical inutility. A hot fire burning within it would soon have destroyed it. To escape this difficulty, and to produce accordance with the ancient regulation in xx. 24, some suppose that it was 'filled with earth or stones, so that it was the latter materials that, properly speaking, constituted the altar.' But for this there is not the slightest justification in the text.

9-19. *The Court.* In the temples of Ezekiel (xl. 17, 19), and Zerubbabel (1 Mac. iv. 38, 48; cf. Jos. Ant. xiv. xvi. 2), the court was divided into two parts, the inner one being reserved for the priests. There is no evidence, on the other hand, that Solomon's temple had more than one court. And in this respect the tabernacle is made to resemble it. The tabernacle court was of the third grade of sanctity, but it was still holy (xxviii. 43, Lev. x. 17 f.) because every Israelite was a member of a 'holy nation,' and enjoyed the right of bringing his offering to the altar and killing his victim before the Tent of Meeting (Lev. i.-iv.). On the pillars of the court see pp. lxxviii. f.

10. *their fillets.* See *Addenda*.

and the height five cubits, of fine twined linen, and their sockets *P* of brass. 19 All the instruments of the tabernacle in all the service thereof, and all the pins thereof, and all the pins of the court, shall be of brass.

20 And thou shalt command the children of Israel, that they *P*, bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, ¹to cause a lamp to burn continually. 21 In the ²tent of meeting, without the veil which is before the testimony, Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the LORD: it shall be a ³statute for ever throughout their generations ⁴on the behalf of the children of Israel.

XXVIII. 1 And bring thou near unto thee Aaron thy *P*

¹ Or, to set up a lamp continually

³ Or, due

² See ch. xxv. 22, xxix. 42, xxx. 36.

⁴ Or, from

19. *all the pegs thereof.* These were not mentioned in xxvi. 7—14, and it is uncertain how they were intended to be used. Mention is made of cords as well as pegs in the later passages, xxxv. 18, xxxix. 40, Num. iii. 26, 37, iv. 26, 32, but in every case they seem to be connected with the court and not with the Dwelling. According to the most probable measurements (see p. lxxvii.) the goats' hair covering just reached the ground, and probably both it and the two outer coverings were thought of as fastened to the *kerāshim* by the pegs.

20, 21. *The Oil for the Light.* Repeated almost verbatim in Lev. xxiv. 2 f.

20. *beaten.* The oil was produced (according to Mishna, *Menahoth* viii. 4 f.) by gently pounding the olives in a mortar. They were afterwards subjected to two other processes (described in *EB* iii. 3467), but it was from the first that oil of the finest quality was obtained. Perhaps this is referred to in so early a passage as Am. vi. 6: 'the first yield of oils' (R.V. 'the chief ointments').

continually, i.e. 'regularly,' as an unfailing daily duty. The following verse shews that this is the meaning; see on xxv. 37.

21. *Aaron and his sons &c.* This implies that they have already been consecrated, and that the dwelling has been erected. In 2 Chr. xiii. 11 the sons of Aaron are responsible for the lamp, but Aaron alone in Ex. xxx. 8, Lev. xxiv. 3, Num. viii. 2 f.

on the behalf of, i.e. 'to be observed on the part of'; an elliptical expression. See Driver on Dt. xviii. 3.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Priestly Vestments.

XXVIII. 1. After dealing with the Dwelling and all its accessories, the narrator turns to the *personnel* of the ecclesiastical

brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of P Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons.

2 And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, for glory and for beauty. 3 And thou shalt speak unto all that are wise hearted, whom I have filled with the spirit of wisdom, that they make Aaron's garments to sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. 4 And these are the garments which they shall make; a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a coat of chequer work, a ¹mitre, and a girdle: and they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. 5 And they shall take ²the gold, and the blue, and the purple, and the scarlet, and the fine linen.

6 And they shall make the ephod of gold, of blue, and purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the cunning workman. 7 It shall have two shoulderpieces joined to the two ends thereof; that it may be joined together. 8 And

¹ Or, *turban*

² See ch. xxv. 3.

organization, Aaron and his four sons. Nadab and Abihu are named with Aaron in xxiv. 1, apparently as elders. Eleazar is mentioned only twice in the earlier writings, Dt. x. 6, Jos. xxiv. 33, the former being probably the first indication in the Hexateuch that Aaron was considered to be the founder of an hereditary priesthood (see p. lxxviii.). Ithamar is not found earlier than P.

3. It is a true conception of great importance that the action of the divine Spirit is not confined to the bestowal of 'spiritual gifts,' but that successful skill in handiwork and in every duty of daily life is due to Him. 'There are diversities of gifts but the same Spirit.' Cf. xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31.

to sanctify him. On the O.T. idea of 'holiness' see xxix. 37.

6-12. *The Ephod.*

6. *the ephod.* It had been a well-known object in the early days of Israel. See note below.

7. The words should run '*It shall have two shoulder-straps joined to it; at its two ends shall it be joined.*' By this alteration of יחבר to וחבר, as suggested by LXX and Sam., a consistent description can be arrived at. The garment appears to have consisted of a piece of fabric long enough to meet when placed round the chest under the arms. It was not joined by means of the shoulder-straps, but sewn together down the front (xxxix. 4), and would be put on over the head after the manner of a chasuble. How far down the body

the cunningly woven band, which is upon it, to gird it on withal, *P* shall be like the work thereof *and* of the same piece; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. 9 And thou shalt take two ¹onyx stones, and grave on them the names of the children of Israel: 10 six of their names on the one stone, and the names of the six that remain on the other stone, according to their birth. 11 With the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones, according to the names of the children of Israel: thou shalt make them to be inclosed in ouches of gold. 12 And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial for the children of Israel: and Aaron shall bear their names before the LORD upon his two shoulders for a memorial.

13 And thou shalt make ouches of gold: 14 and two chains *P*, of pure gold; like cords shalt thou make them, of wreathen work: and thou shalt put the wreathen chains on the ouches. | 15 And thou shalt make a breastplate of judgement, the work *P*

¹ Or, *beryl*

it reached is not stated. The shoulder-straps bore two jewels at their upper end and two rings at their lower end, the purpose of which is stated in the course of the chapter.

8. *And its artistic encasing-band which is upon it.* Lit. 'ephod-band.' R.V. paraphrases a very terse expression which supports the derivation of the word 'ephod' which is adopted in the note below.

11. *in filigree settings¹ of gold.* Their shape may have been that of bosses or rosettes; LXX has ἀσπίδιον in v. 13. Cf. 1 Mac. iv. 57.

12. *stones of memorial.* To remind Yahweh of His people. For the same purpose were the stones of the 'breastplate' (v. 29), the atonement money (xxx. 16), the blowing of trumpets (Num. x. 10), the spoils of war (Num. xxxi. 54), and, in particular, a portion of the meal-offering, known by the technical name 'azkārāh, 'memorial-offering,' Lev. ii. 2, 9, 16, v. 12, vi. 15, xxiv. 7, Num. v. 26. The 'meal-offering of memorial' (Num. v. 15, 18) is to remind Yahweh to punish. Cf. Acts x. 4.

13—29. The *Hōshen*.

15. *a breastplate.* The word *hoshen* (occurring in *P* only) has

¹ 'Ouch,' like 'apron,' 'adder' and other words, has lost an initial *n*. Chaucer, *House of Fame*, has 'They were set as thick as nouchis Fyne' (cited in *DB* iii. 636). The Heb. word is derived from a root denoting 'to twist' or 'wreath.'

of the cunning workman ; like the work of the ephod thou shalt *P* make it ; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, shalt thou make it. 16 Foursquare it shall be *and* double ; a span shall be the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof. 17 And thou shalt set in it settings of stones, four rows of stones : a row of ¹sardius, topaz, and ²carbuncle shall be the first row ; 18 and the second row an ³emerald, a

¹ Or, *ruby*

² Or, *emerald*

³ Or, *carbuncle*

nothing in it to suggest either 'breast' or 'plate.' The derivation is uncertain. Some connect it with a word denoting the 'fold' or 'bosom' of a garment, in which something is carried. This would express, what was certainly the case, that the *hoshen* was a pouch or bag (see next verse). Others, with greater probability, explain it as meaning 'something beautiful,' from a root which is found in Arabic. It would thus be a non-descriptive term applied to it as the most beautiful article in the high priest's dress, or the most beautiful part of the ephod.

of judgement. See *vv.* 29 f. So called because within it were placed the 'Ūrīm and Tummīm by which the priest obtained oracular answers from God on points brought to him for decision. LXX λόγιον τῶν κρίσεων ('oracle of judgements').

16. The piece of stuff was half a cubit in width, and one cubit in length, so that when doubled it formed a square pouch, half a cubit (9 inches) each way.

17—20. It is impossible to identify the stones with any certainty, either in the Hebrew or the Greek ; in some cases the English names, though derived from the Greek, denote different stones. They are discussed in *Enc. B.* 4799—4812 and *DB* iv. 619—21. More interesting than their identification is the fact that two other similar lists occur in the Bible, both of which appear to shew a connexion with the list in Exodus. (1) In *Ez.* xxviii. 13 the prophet says to the king of Tyre, 'every precious stone was thy covering,' and a later hand has added nine out of the twelve stones in Exodus ; the three that are omitted are the 7th, 8th and 9th, i.e. the third row in the *hoshen*, and the order of the others is somewhat different. A plausible explanation is suggested in *Enc. B.*, that these differences were due to a desire to produce a greater variety of colours, i.e. to prevent two red stones, two pale ones &c. from standing side by side. In the LXX, on the other hand, the two lists are identical, with twelve stones¹. (2) In *Rev.*

¹ In Ezekiel after the sixth stone *λαρῖς* it adds *ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον* ('silver and gold'). The former is a corrupt doublet of the following *λιγυριον*, and the latter—which appears also in the M.T. לִיגְרִי— is apparently a gloss on *λιγυριον*, perhaps describing its golden colour. The later name of *λιγύριον* appears, indeed, to have been *χρυσόπρασος*.

sapphire, and a ¹diamond ; 19 and the third row a ²jacinth, an *P* agate, and an amethyst ; 20 and the fourth row a ³beryl, and an ⁴onyx, and a jasper : they shall be inclosed in gold in their settings. 21 And the stones shall be according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names ; like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name, they shall be for the twelve tribes. 22 And thou shalt make upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. 23 And thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. 24 And thou shalt put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. 25 And the *other* two ends of the two wreathen chains thou shalt put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in the forepart thereof. | 26 And thou shalt make two *P*, rings of gold, and thou shalt put them upon the two ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which is toward the side of the ephod inward. 27 And thou shalt make two rings of

¹ Or, *sardonyx*² Or, *amber*³ Or, *chalcedony*⁴ Or, *beryl*

xxi. 19 f. the foundations of the wall of the heavenly city are twelve stones ; the names are based upon the LXX of the Exodus list, eight being identical. The 1st row corresponds to the 2nd in the *hoshen*, and the 2nd row to the 1st in the *hōshen*, but both in the inverse order ; the 3rd row corresponds to the 4th in the *hoshen*, and the 4th to the 3rd in the *hoshen*, both in the direct order. This order is due to the fact that the seer starting at the S.E. corner of the city describes the E. and N. sides, and then starting again at the same point describes the S. and W. sides. The thought intended by the writer of the Apocalypse in enumerating the stones is partly that 'of connecting the New Jerusalem with the symbols of the Twelve Tribes,' but partly also of symbolizing the beauties of the pure and holy spirituality of the saints. See Clem. Al. *Paed.* ii. 12, § 119, quoted by Prof. Swete on Rev. xxi. 20. The whole note should be read ; it ends with the beautiful remark 'The πολυποικίλος σοφία θεου (Eph. iii. 10) reflects itself in the Saints, but not wholly in any one Saint. The High Priest alone wears all the colours on His breast ; of the rest it is said διαρέσεις χαρισμάτων εἰσὶν... διαρέσεις διακονιῶν... διαρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων.'

26—28 appear to give a second account of the two rings and their fastening to the shoulder-straps. The *vv.* are omitted in the LXX.

26. *toward the side of the ephod inwards.* On the inside fold of the pouch, the side which touches the ephod.

27, 28. If the emendation adopted in *v.* 7 be correct, it is

gold, and shalt put them on the two shoulderpieces of the *P*, ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven band of the ephod. 28 And they shall bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it may be upon the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not loosed from the ephod. | 29 And Aaron shall bear the *P* names of the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the LORD continually. 30 And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgement ¹the Urim and the Thummim ; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the LORD : and Aaron shall bear the judgement of the children of Israel upon his heart before the LORD continually.

¹ That is, *the Lights and the Perfections.*

uncertain where the shoulder-straps were fastened to the ephod ; but it was probably immediately behind the two lower corners of the *hōshen*, so that the rings on the ephod and on the *hōshen* coincided, and only needed to be tied together by the blue thread. The thread was thus out of sight, which explains why such a common material was used, as compared with the gold chains which fastened the upper end to the onyx jewels. The *hōshen* was by these means firmly secured, with its lower edge resting upon, i.e. immediately above, the artistic band.

29, 30. These verses describe a two-sided function of the priesthood which dated from primitive times and was of the utmost importance, but was at a later time somewhat thrown into the shade by the growing prominence of the sacrificial functions. Aaron is to represent man to God—to keep men before God's 'memory.' And by means of the '*Urīm* and *Tummim*' he is to represent God to man—to keep men acquainted with God's will ; see Num. xxvii. 21. In Christ, the 'High Priest of the good things to come,' the two-fold representation became a concrete fact. Further, Aaron, as man's representative, wore the symbols 'on his heart' ; in which we may see a token of a ready will to obey. And so with the Son of Man ; 'when He cometh into the world He saith, Lo I am come to do Thy will, O God.'

30. *the 'Urīm and the Thummim* (better *Tummim*). Whatever may be the derivation of the two words, it is extremely probable that they were employed to describe two objects (probably stones), which were cast as lots for the purpose of obtaining a divine decision. See addit. note below.

The Ephod ; and the Urīm and Tummim. The derivation of the word 'ephod' is doubtful. Lagarde connects it with a root *waphad*, which appears

in Arabic as *wafada* 'to come as an envoy' to a ruler or chief; and he explains the ephod as the garment of approach to God. This is ingenious but not convincing. Others point to the Syr. *pedta* which denotes a long robe. The various usages of the word suggest that its root-meaning is 'to enclose' or 'encase.'

(a) Apart from the Aaronic robe, there is no clear evidence that an ephod was a garment. In one passage at least it was composed of metal. Gideon made a golden ephod, weighing 700 shekels, which he set up in his town, and 'all Israel went a whoring after it' (Jud. viii. 26 f.); it seems to have been a large golden figure of the well-known object. Ahimelech's words to David that Goliath's sword was 'wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod' (1 S. xxi. 1) perhaps imply that the ephod was a solid object. Is. xxx. 22 speaks of 'the *aphuddāh* of thy molten images of gold,' where the parallelism of the preceding clause has suggested to some writers that the term denotes the metal casing which surrounded the wooden core of an image; but this is quite uncertain, as is also the supposition that idols were at one time clothed in an ephod, and that this became later a casing of metal.

(b) The ephod was sometimes made of linen. Samuel ministered before Yahweh 'girded with a linen ephod' (1 S. ii. 18), and similarly David, when he danced before Yahweh (2 S. vi. 14). But the word 'girded' (חגור) can be used in the case of a sword or other weapon (e.g. Jud. iii. 16, 1 S. xxv. 13), and need not necessarily imply that the ephod was a garment. David's nakedness, as he danced in a state of religious frenzy, excited Michal's contempt, but there is nothing to shew that the nakedness consisted in his being clothed only with an ephod.

(c) Besides these passages there are some which shew that the ephod was a sacred object, but do not decide its form or material. It was a prerogative of priests in early days to 'carry the ephod'; see 1 S. xiv. 3 (and 18 LXX; cf. R.V. marg.), xxii. 18. The verb נשא in these passages does not mean 'to wear.' Ahimelech fled to David from Nob 'with an ephod in his hand' (1 S. xxiii. 6); and in v. 9 David said, 'Bring hither the ephod.' Further, it is sometimes found in close conjunction with *terāphim*, which were images and were employed in divination¹ (Ez. xxi. 21 (26), Zech. x. 2). Micah's sacred objects included an ephod and teraphim (Jud. xvii. 4 f., xviii. 17). It is not, however, clear from these passages that the ephod was an image.

The evidence is not enough to enable us to form a decision; but if the root-meaning of the word denoted 'to encase' or 'enclose,' the ephod may well have been merely a receptacle—made either of metal or linen—which enclosed the sacred lots employed for obtaining oracular answers from God (see below). (See Driver, art. 'Ephod' in *DB* i.; Moore, in *Enc. B.* 1306—9, and on Jud. xvii. 5; Foote, *JBL* xxi. (1902); Sellin, *Oriental. Studien* ii. 699—717.)

For obtaining an oracle the 'Urīm (אֲרִימִם) and the Tummīm (אֲתֻמִּימִם) were employed. (a) The passages in which they are mentioned are as follows: Dt. xxxiii. 8 ('thy *T.* and thy *U.*'), 1 S. xiv. 41 f. (LXX 'give *U.*...give *T.*'), xxviii. 6 (the *Urīm* alone). In post-exilic writings: Ex. xxviii. 30, Lev. viii. 8 ('the *U.* and the *T.*'), Num. xxvii. 21 (the *Urīm* alone), Ezr. ii. 63

¹ See *Addenda*.

= Neh. vii. 65 ('a priest for *U.* and for *T.*'). It is possible that Ps. xliii. 3 ('thy light and thy truth') refers to them. Some would even read 'thy *U.* and thy *T.*' In the Apocrypha: 1 Es. v. 40 ('wearing the *U.* and the *T.*'), Sir. xxxiii. [LXX & A xxxvi.] 3 (ερωτημα δηλων), xlv. 10 (LXX δηλοισ αληθειας, Heb. 'ephod and girdle').

(b) The derivation of the two words is a matter of conjecture. The Masoretic interpreters considered *'Urim* as a plural word connected with ἴσ (δρ) 'light,' and *Tummim* as the plural of תִּמָּ (tôm) 'perfection,' 'completeness,' 'innocence,' and they probably thought of them as intensive plurals, not, as R.V. marg., 'Lights' and 'Perfections.' But these meanings are quite unsuitable in most of the passages where the words occur. The ancient translators afford no help. LXX has variously: for *'Urim*, δηλωσις 'manifestation,' δῆλοι [sc. λιθοι] 'clear,' 'transparent' [sc. stones], φωτιζω 'to give light' (Ezr.-Neh.); Aq. Sym. Theod. φωτισμοί, διδαχή: for *Tummim*, LXX αλήθεια, οσιότης, τέλεια ('perfect things'); Aq. Sym. Theod. τελειότητες. O.L. and Jer. similarly vary; for *'Urim*, doctrina, demonstratio, ostensio, doctus: for *Tummim*, veritas, perfectio, sanctitas, perfectus, eruditus.

Various derivations have been suggested, of which two are worthy of notice. Moore (*Enc. B.* 5237) derives *Tummim* from the root מַמַּת 'be without fault'; and 'its opposite might well be a derivative of טָא "curse," the one signifying that a proposed action was satisfactory to God, the other that it provoked his wrath.' In this case the words should probably be pronounced *'ōrim* and *tāmim*. Muss-Arnolt (*AJSL*, July 1900, p. 218) connects *'Urim* with an Ass. verb *a'aru* [piel *u'uru*] 'to send forth' (an edict), from which are formed *urtu* and *tertu* 'a [divine] decision'; and *Tummim* with an Ass. verb *tamu* [piel *tummu*], from which is formed *tamitu* 'an oracle.' The two words would thus be practically synonymous in meaning.

(c) Dt. xxxiii. 8 (which probably belongs to a date somewhere between Jeroboam I and II) makes it clear that the possession and use of these sacred objects was the prerogative of the priest. It is also noteworthy that the subst. *torāh* 'direction,' 'instruction,' 'law,' is derived from a root (תָּרָה) which denotes both 'to teach' and 'to cast.' And many writers maintain with much probability that the latter is the original significance (see *JBL* xxv. 1-16). A priest, when asked for a divine *torāh*, would learn it by casting lots. 1 S. xxviii. 6 mentions three ways in which a message from God might normally be received, 'by dreams, by Urim, by prophets.' After the time of David the importance of prophets as the declarers of the divine will became paramount; Israel attained to more spiritual conceptions of God's nature and relation to the world, and the use of the sacred lots appears to have ceased. But the narratives of Saul and David are the principal sources of information with regard to them. It is unfortunate that the *locus classicus*, 1 S. xiv. 41 f., is mutilated in the Hebrew. In the Lucianic recension of the LXX the passage runs: 'And Saul said, O Lord, the God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, give δῆλοισ ['clear stones' = *'Urim*]; and if thou sayest thus, The iniquity is in the people, give οσιότητα [= *Tummim*, M.T. מִיִּתְּ הַיְּהִי, R.V. 'shew the right,' A.V. 'Give a perfect lot']. And the lot fell upon Saul and Jonathan, and the people escaped.' Jerome apparently knew the full text, which he renders 'if in me or in

Jonathan my son is this iniquity, give *ostensionem*; or if this iniquity is in my people give *sanctitatem*' (see Driver *in loc.*). Here we learn '(1) that the Urim and Thummim were the recognised medium for discovering the guilt or innocence of suspected parties, a species of divine ordeal; (2) that as the lots were only two in number, only one question could be put at a time, and that in a way admitting only of two alternative answers; (3) that where these answers, from the nature of the case, could not be given by a mere "yes" or "no," it was necessary to agree beforehand on the way in which the issuing lot was to be interpreted.' (Kennedy.)

Further it is to be noted that while the sacred lots were employed to obtain an answer, the *ephod* also was employed for the same purpose on three occasions. Ahijah the priest—who came to Saul's camp 'carrying the ephod' (1 S. xiv. 3), and who advised him to enquire of God (v. 36)—was bidden by the king to 'bring near the ephod' (v. 18, following LXX, as in R.V. marg.); but as he was about to manipulate it, Saul said, 'Withdraw thy hand' (v. 19). Thus the ephod, which required some manual action, and the sacred lots, were used for the same purpose by the same king and priest in the same campaign; and it may safely be concluded that they were closely connected. Similarly in 1 S. xxiii. 6, 9 ff., xxx. 7 ff. David said to the priest, 'bring near the ephod,' and then enquired of God by submitting direct questions requiring the answer Yes or No. After the exile the '*Urim* and *Tummim* were thought of as old-world mysteries; it was known that they had been a means of enquiring the divine will, but their nature and method of use were evidently little understood (Ezr. ii. 63 = Neh. vii. 65). But the priestly traditions also preserved the memory of the fact that the '*Urim* and *Tummim* were closely connected with the ephod. What the connexion was they probably knew as little as we do; but they interpreted it to mean that they were attached to the ephod, and hence came the description of the *hoshen* in which they were placed¹.

At a later time ideas were influenced by P's description of the *hōshen*. The LXX translators in 1 S. xiv. 41 appear to have identified the '*Urim* and *Tummim* with the jewels, rendering δὸς δῆλους 'give clear [stones]'. And Josephus (*Ant.* III. viii. 9) says that God gave premonitions of victory in battle by the miraculous shining of the stones; and adds that the jewels had ceased to shine two hundred years before he wrote. The Rabbis improved on this, by saying that answers to enquiries were spelt out by the shining of particular letters in the engraved names of the tribes.

What the '*Urim* and *Tummim* actually were can only be conjectured. But since they were employed for casting lots it is natural to suppose that they were stones (not dice), perhaps distinguished from each other by their colour or markings. And this might conceivably have given rise to the jewels on the priestly *hoshen*. That stones were commonly used as lots is clear from the Heb. *gōrāl* 'lot,' the root of which appears in Arabic words denoting 'stone,' 'stony' and the like; cf. Grk. ψῆφος, and Ass. *pūru*.

¹ It is just possible that the placing of the *U.* and *T.* on the breast of the High Priest is an idea derived from Babylonian mythology (Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*), but certainly not their original meaning and use.

² This may also be implied in the reading of LXX and Sam. in Ex. xxviii. 30, Lev. viii. 8, 'thou shalt place upon the *hoshen* of judgement the *U.* and the *T.*'

31 And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue. *P*
 32 And 'it shall have a hole for the head in the midst thereof: it shall have a binding of woven work round about the hole of it, as it were the hole of a coat of mail, that it be not rent.
 33 And upon the skirts of it thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the skirts thereof; and bells of gold between them round about: 34 a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about. 35 And it shall be upon Aaron to minister: and the sound thereof shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the LORD, and when he cometh out, that he die not.

¹ Or, *there shall be a hole in the top of it*

XXVIII. 31-35.

The Violet Robe.

31. *the robe of the ephod*, i.e. always worn with the ephod.
all of violet. In Asia Minor and ancient Rome, and in the Christian Church, purple, the sign of royalty, has always been also the sign of ecclesiastical dignity.

a coat of mail. xxxix. 23 †; cf. λινοθώραξ, 'linen cuirass,' *Il.* ii. 529, 830.

33. *pomegranates.* This fruit, frequently represented in Egyptian and Assyrian sculpture, was a symbol widely connected with religious worship. It may have been a survival of nature-worship derived in early days from the Phoenicians. There were pomegranates on the capitals of the two bronze pillars of Solomon's temple (1 K. vii. 20, 42, 2 K. xxv. 17); see note on xxv. 31 ff.

bells. Their number is not stated; the Rabbinic writers made them 72, and Clem. Al. 365. Various suggestions have been made as to their meaning and purpose. In Sir. xlv. 9 they are 'to make his sound to be heard in the shrine for a memorial for the children of his people,' i.e. they were to call God's attention to Aaron as the representative of his people, as in the case of the tribal names on the jewels (*vv.* 12, 29). Others have thought that they were to let the people know when Aaron arrived in the Holy Place, that they might join in worship. But they could not have been large enough for the sound to carry so far. It is not impossible that they were a survival, like the gargoyles in our churches, of the primitive practice of the employment of charms to frighten away demons and evil spirits. Petrie (*DB* i. 158, 269) suggests that they, with the pomegranates, were merely a developed form of the lotus and bud ornament which was common in Egyptian art.

36 And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave *P* upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLY TO THE LORD.
 37 And thou shalt put it on a lace of blue, and it shall be upon the ¹mitre; upon the forefront of the ¹mitre it shall be.
 38 And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, and Aaron shall bear the iniquity of the holy things, which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the LORD. 39 And

¹ Or, *turban*

36—38.

The Gold Diadem.

36. *plate.* Probably 'shining thing,' i.e. a diadem (cf. xxix. 6, xxxix. 30, Lev. viii. 9). The corresponding verb is applied to a crown in Ps. cxxxii. 18 (R.V. 'flourish'). Like the violet robe it gave to the high priest a regal dignity. It reveals the beginnings of the tendency to exalt the high priest to a civil supremacy which reached its height in the Hasmonean period. See 1 Mac. x. 20.

Holy to Yahweh. Cf. Zech. xiv. 20. Neither 'holy' or 'holiness' (A.V.) exactly expresses the original, which denotes something concrete — 'A sacred object belonging to Yahweh.' It sums up the position which Israel, in the person of their representative, occupied in relation to God. Had the Hasmonean high priests acted up to the spirit of the words, they would not have deteriorated, as they did, into grasping, worldly rulers. For us, it sums up the ideal character of the Christian Church, in union with our great High Priest. The motto upon the Divine seal in 2 Tim. ii. 19 expresses the same truth.

37. *the mitre; the turban.* The word is used of the head-dress of the civil prince (Ez. xxi. 26 [Heb. 31]); and, in a different form, for that of the high priest (Zech. iii. 5), a royal turban (Is. lxii. 3), and those of women (Is. iii. 23). See on v. 40.

38. *bear the iniquity of the holy things.* Since Aaron is marked out, by the golden diadem, as the 'holy one to Yahweh,' summing up all the holy things in his own person, he is also ideally responsible for guarding all the holy things from profanation; and therefore upon him must come the guilt, and the punishment for the guilt, if any of them are profaned. Cf. Num. xviii. 1. It is a splendid foreshadowing of Him who 'bore our sins.' The expression 'bear the iniquity' is also used frequently in P of bearing the consequences of one's own guilt, v. 43, Lev. v. 1, 17, vii. 18, Num. v. 31 &c.; cf. Ez. xiv. 10, xlv. 10, 12.

that they may be accepted. Not the gifts, but the children of Israel.

thou shalt weave the coat in chequer work of ¹fine linen, and *P* thou shalt make a ²mitre of ¹fine linen, and thou shalt make a girdle, the work of the embroiderer. 40 And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and headties shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty. | 41 And thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy *P*, brother, and upon his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and ³consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office. | 42 And thou shalt make them *P* linen breeches to cover the flesh of their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they shall reach: 43 and they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they go in unto the tent of meeting, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place; that they bear not iniquity, and die: it shall be a statute for ever unto him and unto his seed after him.

XXIX. 1 And this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to hallow them, to minister unto me in the priest's office:

¹ Or, *silk*

² Or, *turban*

³ Heb. *fill their hand.*

39—43.

The rest of Aaron's robes, and those of his sons.

39. *the coat; the tunic.* The ordinary private outer garment of the oriental, somewhat like a cassock or dressing-gown in shape.

a girdle; a sash. It was passed several times round the breast, the end hanging down to the feet (*Jos. Ant.* III. vii. 2).

40. *headties.* xxix. 9, xxxix. 28, Lev. viii. 13 †. Distinct from the turban of the high priest. The root signifies 'to swell up,' or 'project,' and is seen in the word *gibh'ah*, 'a hill'; hence some think that the priestly turban was conical, being worked up to an elevated point.

41. The verse is probably a later addition; see on xxix. 7. *consecrate them.* Lit. 'fill their hand'; see on xxxii. 29.

¶ [CHAPTER XXIX.

The Consecration of Aaron and his sons.

The daily Burnt-offering.

The ceremony of consecration consists of (1) washing, (2) clothing, (3) anointing of Aaron, (4) a sin-offering of a bullock, (5) a burnt-offering of a ram, (6) the offering of a 'ram of installation,' followed by the 'wave-offering' and the

take one young bullock and two rams without blemish, 2 and *P* unleavened bread, and cakes unleavened mingled with oil, and wafers unleavened anointed with oil : of fine wheaten flour shalt thou make them. 3 And thou shalt put them into one basket, and bring them in the basket, with the bullock and the two rams. 4 And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tent of meeting, and shalt wash them with water. 5 And thou shalt take the garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod : 6 and thou shalt set the ¹mitre upon his head, and put the holy crown upon the ¹mitre. 7 Then shalt thou take the anointing oil, and pour it upon his head, and anoint him. 8 And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them. 9 And thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his sons, and bind headtires on them : and they shall have the priesthood by a perpetual statute : and thou shalt consecrate Aaron

¹ Or, *turban*

'contribution.' And this ceremony is to be repeated for seven days. The chapter should be studied in connexion with Lev. viii., in which Moses is related to have fulfilled the commands in detail. The ceremony for Levites was different; see Num. viii. 5-12.

XXIX. 4. A comparison with xxx. 19-21 shews that the washing at the initial consecration extended to the whole person. Afterwards the priests needed only to wash their hands and feet when they approached the sanctuary. There is a spiritual counterpart to this in the Christian life, Jn. xiii. 10. And see Heb. x. 22 with Westcott's note.

7. In Ps. cxxxiii. 2 the oil poured upon Aaron is employed as a simile for the joy of brethren dwelling together : all the members participate in the same blessing. See Perowne's note.

and anoint him. There appears to have been a later development in the practice of anointing. In the earlier usage (here, v. 29, Lev. viii. 12) the high priest alone is anointed, and his successors after him (cf. Lev. xvi. 32, xxi. 10); hence the expression 'the anointed priest' (Lev. iv. 3, 5, vi. 22). On the other hand the anointing of Aaron's sons (i.e. the ordinary priests) is enjoined or presupposed in several passages, which must therefore belong to secondary *strata* of *P* (enjoined in Ex. xxviii. 41, xxx. 30, xl. 15, presupposed in Lev. vii. 36, x. 7, Num. iii. 3).

9. *consecrate.* Lit. 'fill the hand of.' See note on xxxii. 29.

and his sons. 10 And thou shalt bring the bullock before the *P* tent of meeting: and Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the bullock. 11 And thou shalt kill the bullock before the LORD, at the door of the tent of meeting. 12 And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it upon the horns of the altar with thy finger; and thou shalt pour out all the blood at the base of the altar. 13 And thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul upon the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and burn them upon the altar. 14 But the flesh of the bullock, and its skin, and its dung, shalt thou burn with fire without the camp: it is a ¹sin offering. 15 Thou shalt also

¹ Heb. *sin*.

10. *lay their hands*. This formed part of the ritual in all kinds of animal sacrifice. It was a formal declaration on the part of the offerer that he was the person concerned in the sacrifice.

12. *the horns*. See on xxvii. 2.

all the blood. See on xii. 9. The pouring at the base of the altar is explained in Lev. viii. 15; it was to consecrate the altar and 'make atonement for it,' i.e. to free it from uncleanness and make it a fitting place to receive the offerings; see v. 36.

13. A more precise description of the fat pieces is given in Lev. iii. 3 f., 14 f., iv. 8 f., vii. 3 f. See Driver-White, *Leviticus*, p. 65; Moore, *Oriental Studien*, ii. 761-9.

14. The flesh of the sin-offering could only be given to the priests when the sacrifice did not concern themselves; cf. Lev. v. 13, vi. 26.

a sin-offering. Before the exile this form of offering is mentioned only in 2 K. xii. 16 (17), where it is a fine levied by the priests at the sanctuary. While the nation were undergoing the discipline of exile they began to realise more fully the sinfulness of sin, according as they gained a truer conception of God's 'holiness.' The sin-offering may be regarded as a propitiatory gift, the efficacy of which consisted in separating the person or thing concerned in the offering from all that was not 'holy.' Thus a prominent aspect of it is its use at the consecration of *places* (Ez. xliiii. 18-27, xlv. 18-20, Ex. xxix. 36, Lev. viii. 14 f.), and of *persons*—priests (here, Lev. iv. 3, viii. 2, 14, ix. 2, 7, 8, 10) and Levites (Num. viii. 8, 12). But its use was also extended to the atoning of inadvertent transgressions (Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, 27, Num. xv. 24, 27), minor offences (Lev. v. 1-9, 11-13¹), and ceremonial uncleanness (Lev. xii. 6, 8, xiv. 19, xv. 15, Num. vi. 11, 14). For capital offences no sacrifice could be provided.

¹ A poor man's offering might consist of two birds, or even of flour.

take the one ram ; and Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands *P* upon the head of the ram. 16 And thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take its blood, and sprinkle it round about upon the altar. 17 And thou shalt cut the ram into its pieces, and wash its inwards, and its legs, and put them ¹with its pieces, and ¹with its head. 18 And thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the altar : it is a burnt offering unto the LORD : it is a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD. 19 And thou shalt take the other ram ; and Aaron and his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram. 20 Then shalt thou kill the ram, and take of its blood, and put it upon the tip of the right ear of Aaron, and upon the tip of the right ear of his sons, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of their right foot, and sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about. | 21 And thou shalt take of the blood that is *P*, upon the altar, and of the anointing oil, and sprinkle it upon Aaron, and upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon the garments of his sons with him : and he shall be hallowed, and his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him. | 22 Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat, and the fat tail, and *P* the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and

¹ Or, upon

15—18. In contradistinction to the bullock of the sin-offering, the ram was offered entire. The *burnt-offering*, unlike the sin-offering, was a relic of antiquity ; see on xx. 24.

18. *a sweet savour : a soothing odour*. The expression had its origin in far-off days when the deity was supposed to be soothed or placated by the actual smell of the sacrificial smoke. In Gen. viii. 21 (J), the only Biblical occurrence of the words earlier than Ezekiel, there is a trace of the primitive conception ; see Driver, *Genesis*, p. 105.

20. 'The priest must have consecrated ears to listen at all times to God's holy voice, consecrated hands continually to do holy works, and consecrated feet always to walk in holy ways' (Dillmann). The three members of the body are symbolical of the whole. The ritual is an elaborated development of the ceremony described in xxiv. 6, 8. It is performed also, both with blood and oil, in the case of the recovered leper (Lev. xiv. 14, 17).

21. The sprinkling with *blood and oil* is not equivalent to the anointing of Aaron's sons ; cf. the case of the leper just cited. The verse seems to be a late addition (see analysis).

the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and the right *P*¹thigh; for it is a ram of consecration: 23 and one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, out of the basket of unleavened bread that is before the LORD: 24 and thou shalt put the whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of his sons; and shalt wave them for a wave offering before the LORD. 25 And thou shalt take them from their hands, and burn them on the altar upon the burnt offering, for a sweet savour before the LORD: it is an offering made by fire unto the LORD. 26 And thou shalt take the breast of Aaron's ram of consecration, and wave it for a wave offering before the LORD: and it shall be thy portion. 27 And thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave offering, and the ¹thigh of the heave

¹ Or, *shoulder*

22. *it is a ram of installation.* Lit. 'of fillings'; *vv.* 26, 31, 34, Lev. vii. 37, viii. 22, 28, 31, 33 †. The expression is connected with 'fill the hand' (*v.* 9).

22—28. The ram of installation was a 'peace-offering' (*v.* 28), of which the distribution of the material was as follows: the fat portions, here combined with a part of the cereal offering (*v.* 23 *a*), were given to Yahweh by being burnt (*v.* 25); the breast and the right shoulder went to the priest¹ (*v.* 27, Lev. vii. 34, x. 12—15); and the remainder went to the worshipper. The participation by the worshipper was an integral part of the ceremony, and was derived from the very ancient custom of the sacrificial meal in which the deity and the worshipper both partook. Moses, and not Aaron, here receives the breast, because Aaron and his sons were not yet priests until the ceremony was complete; Moses himself acts as priest, and Aaron and his sons are in the position of the ordinary worshipper, and eat the remainder of the flesh (*v.* 32), together with the remainder of the cereal offering. On the other hand, Moses does not receive the shoulder; that was to be a priestly due in future, but until the priests were consecrated, it was given to God together with the fat portions (*v.* 22); see Lev. vii. 31 *f.*

24. The verse shews the meaning which the priestly writer attached to the expression 'fill the hand.'

wave them &c. The strict force of the term is here lost, and it denotes simply 'offer them as an offering.' See foll. note.

27. *the breast of the wave-offering.* The portions of the peace-offering which fell to the priest were not appropriated by him till a peculiar ritual had been performed. The breast was waved, or swung,

¹ In earlier times (Dt. xviii. 3) the priest's due consisted of the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw.

offering, which is waved, and which is heaved up, of the ram of *P* consecration, even of that which is for Aaron, and of that which is for his sons: 28 and it shall be for Aaron and his sons as a due for ever from the children of Israel: for it is an heave offering: and it shall be an heave offering from the children of Israel of the sacrifices of their peace offerings, even their heave offering unto the LORD. 29 And the holy garments of Aaron shall be for his sons after him, to be anointed in them, and to be consecrated in them. 30 Seven days shall the son that is priest in his stead put them on, when he cometh into the tent of meeting to minister in the holy place. 31 And thou shalt take the ram of consecration, and seethe its flesh in a holy place. 32 And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram, and the bread that is in the basket, at the door of the tent of meeting. 33 And they shall eat those things wherewith atonement was made, to consecrate *and* to sanctify them: but

i.e. moved towards the altar and back, as a symbol that the priest first gave it to God, and that God then gave it back to him for his own use. It is a striking outward act, expressive of the truth that not only those things which we hand over for the service of God belong to Him, but also that that which we keep for ourselves—our property, our time, our very food—must be first dedicated to Him in order that our use of it may please Him. The term 'wave-offering' is applied (Num. viii. 11, 13, 15, 21) to the dedication of the Levites, whom God gave back for service to the priests. In some passages (*v.* 24, xxxv. 22, Lev. viii. 27, xiv. 12, 24) the term is employed more loosely for an offering which is not given back for the priest's use.

the shoulder of the contribution, i.e. the shoulder which is contributed to the priest. The ordinary rendering implies that it was consecrated by a rite of elevation. But the word, which is derived from a root signifying 'to lift up, or off,' denotes that which is lifted off from a larger mass, and separated for sacred purposes. LXX in the Pent. has αφαιρεμα. It is used of gifts taken from the produce of the earth (Dt. xii. 6, 11, Ez. xx. 40, Mal. iii. 8, Num. xv. 19-21 (P)), money, spoils &c., offered for sacred purposes (xxv. 2, xxxv. 5, Num. xxxi. 29, 41 (P), Ez. xlv. 13, 16), and even of land reserved for the priests and Levites (Ez. xlv. 1, 6 &c.). As applied to animal sacrifices, the term is employed only of the shoulder of the peace-offering. See Driver on Dt. xii. 6, and his article 'Offer,' *DB* iii.

29, 30. These *vv.* are concerned with the consecration of Aaron's successors, and should probably follow *v.* 35. They interrupt the ritual of the ram of installation, which is continued in *vv.* 31-34.

a stranger shall not eat thereof, because they are holy. 34 And *P* if aught of the flesh of the consecration, or of the bread, remain unto the morning, then thou shalt burn the remainder with fire: it shall not be eaten, because it is holy. 35 And thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his sons, according to all that I have commanded thee: seven days shalt thou consecrate them. 36 And every day shalt thou offer the bullock of sin offering for atonement: and thou shalt ¹cleanse the altar, when thou makest atonement for it; and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it. 37 Seven days thou shalt make atonement for the altar, and sanctify it: and the altar shall be most holy; ²whatsoever toucheth the altar shall be holy.

38 Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; *P*,

¹ Or, *purge the altar, by thy making atonement*

² Or, *whosoever*

33. *a stranger.* In H and P this means one who was not a member of the priestly or Levitical families; cf. xxx. 33.

34. *the flesh of installation.* See v. 22.

36. *cleanse the altar; make a sin-offering upon the altar.* Each of the seven days the ritual of v. 12 is to be repeated. The altar had been made by human hands, and needed the ceremonial guilt attaching to it to be taken away, before it could be sanctified by anointing.

37. *shall be holy.* Cf. xxx. 29. In the priestly conception of holiness there is a survival from ancient Semitic heathenism; it is 'a quality transmissible by contact, and constituting, in certain cases, a danger to be scrupulously avoided' (Ez. xliv. 19, xlvi. 20, Lev. vi. 27; cf. Hag. ii. 12 f., Is. lxv. 5). The custom of refraining from the use of, or contact with, certain objects from fear of supernatural penalties, commonly known as *taboo*, was spiritualised in O.T. religion to the extent of distinguishing between 'things whose use is prohibited because they are appropriated to Yahwen, and things that may not be touched because they are hateful to Him. The latter belong to the category of the "unclean," while the term "holy" is, as a rule, reserved for the former'; cf. Lev. x. 10, Ez. xliv. 23. (See Gray, *Numbers*, 209 ff., and article 'Holiness' in *DB* ii.)

38—42.

The daily Burnt-offering.

These verses (interrupting the connexion between vv. 37 and 43) are part of a systematic table of the amounts of the public offerings required on periodical occasions. Such a table is found in Num. xxviii.—xxx.; and the use there of the singular 'thou' shews that these injunctions are similarly addressed to the priests in general, not to Moses. A later writer (in v. 42) reverts to the plural 'your,' 'you,' and employs the singular 'thee' in reference to Moses.

two lambs of the first year day by day continually. 39 The *P*, one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer ¹at even: 40 and with the one lamb a tenth part of an *ephah* of fine flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of beaten oil; and the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink offering. 41 And the other lamb thou shalt offer ¹at even, and shalt do thereto according to the meal offering of the morning, and according to the drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD. | 42 It shall be *P*, a continual burnt offering throughout your generations at the door of the tent of meeting before the LORD: where I will meet with you, to speak there unto thee. | 43 And there I will meet *P* with the children of Israel; and *the Tent* shall be sanctified by my glory. 44 And I will sanctify the tent of meeting, and the altar: Aaron also and his sons will I sanctify, to minister to me in the priest's office. 45 And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God. 46 And they shall know that I am the LORD their God, that brought them forth

¹ Heb. *between the two evenings*.

38. *two lambs*. Before the exile there was a burnt-offering (*'ōlāh*) in the morning and a *minhāh*, or cereal (R.V. 'meal') offering, in the evening¹ (2 K. xvi. 15; cf. 1 K. xviii. 29, 36). Ezekiel requires one *'ōlāh* and one *minhāh*, but both in the morning (xlvi. 13-15). Neh. x. 33 speaks of the continual *minhāh* and *'ōlāh*, but it is not clear whether one or two of each is intended. The present law, however, and Num. xxviii. 3-8, first speak clearly of an *'ōlāh* both in the morning and the evening, and make the *minhāh* a subordinate offering.

39. *at even*. See on xii. 6.

40. The amounts of flour, oil and wine are in accordance with the fixed scale of cereal offerings to accompany different animals in all sacrifices given in Num. xv. 2-16. An earlier scale in Ez. xlvi. 5-7, 11-14 applies only to public offerings.

42. *to speak there unto thee*. See on xxv. 22.

43, 44 are the natural continuation of v. 37. The altar is Yahweh's 'place of tryst' with His people.

and it shall be sanctified. The subject of the verb is 'the altar' in v. 37. Vulg. 'sanctificabitur altare.'

45, 46. A solemn ending to the whole body of directions in xxv.-xxix., in a style formed after that of the Law of Holiness.

¹ 'The time of the *minhāh*' continued till a late date as a term for 'the evening': cf. Ezr. ix. 4 f., Dan. ix. 21. And in the Mishna 'morning prayer' is set over against '*minhāh* [i.e. evening] prayer.'

out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them : I am *P* the LORD their God.

XXX. 1 And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense *P*, upon : of acacia wood shalt thou make it. 2 A cubit shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof ; foursquare shall it be : and two cubits shall be the height thereof : the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it. 3 And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, the ¹top thereof, and the ²sides thereof round about, and the horns thereof ; and thou shalt make unto it a ³crown of gold round about. 4 And two golden rings shalt thou make for it under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it shalt thou make them ; and they shall be for places for staves to bear it withal. 5 And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. 6 And thou shalt put it before the veil that is by

¹ Heb. *roof*.² Heb. *walls*.³ Or, *rim* Or, *moulding*

CHAPTER XXX.

*The Incense Altar. The Poll-tax. The Laver.
The Anointing Oil. The Incense.*

XXX. 1—10. *The Incense Altar.* After the impressive close to the description of the tabernacle &c. in xxix. 45 f., further commands for the making of furniture are unexpected¹. There are indications that the tabernacle, as pictured in the earliest *stratum* of P, did not contain the incense altar. V. 10 refers to the Day of Atonement, but in the directions in Lev. xvi. the incense altar is not mentioned. In Lev. x. and Num. xvi. incense is offered, not on an altar, but on censers or pans. The expression '*the altar*' in xxvii. 1 implies that no second altar was contemplated. And in the recapitulation in ch. xxxvii. the incense altar is absent in the LXX. Moreover neither Solomon's temple (1 K. vi.) nor the ideal temple of Ezekiel (ch. xli.) contained any altar but that for burnt-offerings. The present passage describes the incense altar as it probably was when the second temple was sacked by Antiochus IV. See 1 Mac. i. 21, where it is described as 'the golden altar'; cf. Ex. xxxix. 38, xl. 26, 2 Ch. iv. 19. On the use of incense see vv. 34—38 (below).

3—5. Like the ark and the table it has a moulding, rings and bars ; like the altar of burnt-offering it has horns of one piece with it.
6. *before the veil.* In the Holy Place, with the veil, which cut off

¹ The Sam. consequently transposes vv. 1—10 to follow xxvi. 35.

the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat that is over the *P*, testimony, where I will meet with thee. 7 And Aaron shall burn thereon incense of sweet spices: every morning, when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn it. 8 And when Aaron ¹lighteth the lamps ²at even, he shall burn it, a perpetual incense before the LORD throughout your generations. 9 Ye shall offer no strange incense thereon, nor burnt offering, nor meal offering; and ye shall pour no drink offering thereon. 10 And Aaron shall make atonement ³upon the horns of it once in the year: with the blood of the sin offering of atonement once in the year shall he make atonement ⁴for it throughout your generations: it is most holy unto the LORD.

11 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 12 When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, according to those that

¹ Or, *setteth up* Heb. *causeth to ascend*.

² Heb. *between the two evenings*.

³ Or, *for*

⁴ Or, *upon*

the innermost shrine, hanging behind it. This, the clear meaning of the words, seems to be at variance with the following clause.

before the propitiatory. This appears to imply that the altar was within the veil, in front of the ark; but it may be an explanation of the preceding clause, defining the position of the altar more exactly—in front of the veil, in such a position that it was in front of (in a line with) the propitiatory¹. The ambiguity may have been the cause of the late addition in 1 K. vi. 22, which speaks of ‘the altar that *belonged to the shrine.*’ And this is reproduced in Heb. ix. 4—‘the [part of the] tabernacle which is called Holy of Holies, having a golden incense-altar’; see Westcott *ad loc.*

8. *lighteth the lamps at even.* See on xxv. 37.

9. *strange incense.* Not made according to the sacred prescription. The prescription is supplied in v. 34.

11-16. *The Poll-tax.* It is not clear that the writer here intends the half shekel to be an *annual* due; it is based upon the census in Num. i., which, again, is not represented as undertaken annually. Nevertheless upon the present passage was based the annual temple tax of half a shekel (*c.* 1s. 4½*d.*), which was paid by our Lord and S. Peter (Mat. xvii. 24-27), and was enforced, until the destruction of Jerusalem, from all Jews whether in Palestine or of the Dispersion. In 2 Ch. xxiv. 6 (*cf.* v. 9) it is referred to as ‘the tax of Moses the servant of Yahwen.’ But it was apparently not in force as early as Nehemiah. In Neh. x. 32 [Heb. 33] the Jews determined to pay *one third* of a shekel. This must have been the official Perso-

¹ The absence of the clause from the LXX and Sam. suggests that it was a later gloss.

are numbered of them, then shall they give every man a ransom *P*, for his soul unto the LORD, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them, when thou numberest them. 13 This they shall give, every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary: (the shekel is twenty gerahs:) half a shekel for an offering to the LORD. 14 Every one that passeth over unto them that are numbered, from twenty years old and upward, shall give the offering of the LORD. 15 The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less, than the half shekel, when they give the offering of the LORD, to make atonement for your souls. 16 And thou shalt take the atonement money from the children of Israel, and shalt appoint it for the service of the tent of meeting; that it may be a memorial for the

Babylonian shekel, for the sacred Hebrew shekel (see on xxv. 39) was never divided otherwise than into halves and quarters. The one-third of the official shekel was equivalent to *c.* 8½*d.*, so that the exacting demands of the later priesthood raised the tax to nearly double its original amount. The present passage is later than *P*, which was accepted by the community under Nehemiah. And, since it assumes that the tabernacle is already completed, it should stand after the census in Num. i. See on xxxviii. 21—31.

12. *a ransom.* Heb. *kōpher*; see xxi. 30. The root is the same as that of 'atonement' in *vv.* 15 *f.* The fact of numbering the people made them all sacred to Yahweh, and they must therefore be redeemed, or more strictly the 'holiness' which they have acquired must be removed as though it were a sort of pollution; see xxix. 37. It is this primitive conception of 'holiness' which perhaps underlies the narrative in 2 S. xxiv., to which the present passage, 'that there be no plague among them,' seems to refer¹.

13. *passeth over.* Each man as he is counted is pictured as crossing over to join those already counted; cf. Lev. xxvii. 32, Jer. xxxiii. 13, and perhaps 2 S. ii. 15.

the shekel of the sanctuary; the sacred shekel. V. 24, xxxviii. 24—26, Lev. v. 15, xxvii. 3, 25, Num. iii. 47, 50, vii. 13—86 (14 times), xviii. 16 (all *P*).

15. The value of every human life in the sight of God is the same; it is unaffected by worldly wealth or poverty.

16. *for the service.* This appears to mean for the continual upkeep of the services during all future years. See note above. It is an ideal which the Christian Church at present is far from reaching, that

¹ The superstitious avoidance of numbering persons or cattle from fear of plague is illustrated by Frazer in *Anthropol. Essays*, p. 174.

children of Israel before the LORD, to make atonement for your *P*, souls.

17 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 18 Thou shalt also make a laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, to wash withal: and thou shalt put it between the tent of meeting and the altar, and thou shalt put water therein. 19 And Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat: 20 when they go into the tent of meeting, they shall wash with water, that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn an offering made by fire unto the LORD: 21 so they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not: and it shall be a statute for ever to them, even to him and to his seed throughout their generations.

22 Moreover the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 23 Take every adult member of the Church should contribute with regularity to the expenses of worship.

17—21. *The Laver.* This, like the incense-altar, is not mentioned in the original writing of *P*, otherwise the directions for its manufacture would naturally have been given in ch. xxvii., together with the altar of burnt-offering, the other article of furniture in the court. The laver is not mentioned in the arrangements for the march in Num. iv.

It is doubtful if it was suggested by the laver in Solomon's temple. In the latter there were ten basons raised on high stands and furnished with wheels' (1 K. vii. 27—39, 43), and a 'molten sea' supported on twelve figures of oxen (23—26, 44); but these were raised much too high (the bases alone stood five cubits in height) to be employed for washing, which is apparently the only use for which the laver in the tabernacle was designed. The present passage, however, is so fragmentary (see below) that nothing can be said with certainty.

18. *Thou shalt also make; and thou shalt make.* The passage appears to be only a fragment; and this explains the complete lack of detailed directions as to the size and design of the laver, such as are given for all the other articles of furniture.

19. See note on xxix. 4.

22—33. *The holy Oil.* The section is later than *P*, for v. 28 assumes the existence of the incense-altar and the laver, and v. 30 commands the anointing of Aaron's sons (see on xxix. 7).

¹ Neither wheels nor molten sea appear in Ezekiel's and Zerubbabel's temples. But it is suggested in art. 'Laver' (*DB* iii. 64) that Ezekiel's vision of living creatures and wheels associated with them (*Ez.* i. 16—21) may have had some connexion with the ten lavers; and that the latter symbolically represented rolling storm-clouds, and the molten sea represented the abyss.

thou also unto thee the chief spices, of flowing myrrh five *P*, hundred *shekels*, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty, and of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty, 24 and of ¹cassia five hundred, after the shekel of the sanctuary, and of olive oil an hin: 25 and thou shalt make it an holy anointing oil, a perfume compounded after the art of the perfumer: it shall be an holy anointing oil. 26 And thou shalt anoint therewith the tent of meeting, and the ark of the testimony, 27 and the table and all the vessels thereof, and the candlestick and the vessels thereof, and the altar of incense, 28 and the altar of burnt offering with all the vessels thereof, and the laver and the base thereof. 29 And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be most holy: ²whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy. 30 And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office. 31 And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me throughout your generations. 32 Upon the flesh of man shall it not be poured, neither shall ye make any like it, according to the composition thereof: it is holy, *and* it shall be holy unto you. 33 Whosoever compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a stranger, he shall be cut off from his people.

34 And the LORD said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet

¹ Or, *costus*

² Or, *whosoever*

23, 24. The sweetness and costliness of the oil afford a beautiful simile in Ps. cxxxiii. 2: see note on xxix. 7.

29, 30. In the N.T. the oil is not a simile, but a symbol. The anointing of the priesthood and the sanctuary finds its counterpart in the anointing of our High Priest who is *par excellence* ὁ Χριστός, and of His Church (2 Cor. i. 21, 1 Jn. ii. 20, 27).

shall be holy. See on xxix. 37.

33. *from his people; from his father's kin.* See Driver on Gen. xvii. 14.

34—38. *The Incense.* This section, like the rest of the chapter, is probably later than P; v. 36 connects it with the incense-altar (v. 6, *q.v.*).

It is uncertain at what period the ceremonial use of incense was introduced into Palestine. The root *kātar* signifies 'to exhale a sweet odour.' In Arab. this is applied to the odour of roasted meat (Driver on Am. iv. 5); and the word was employed in Heb. of the

spices, ¹stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; sweet spices with *P*, pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight; 35 and thou shalt make of it incense, a perfume after the art of the perfumer, ²seasoned with salt, pure *and* holy: 36 and thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tent of meeting, where I will meet with thee: it

¹ Or, *opobalsamum*

² Or, *tempered together*

sweet smoke which rose from sacrifices (cf. *κνίσθη*, *II.* i. 317). But at a later time it gained the specific meaning 'incense.' The use of fragrant odours produced by burning barks and gums is ancient and wide-spread. It is found in early times in Egypt and Babylon. In Greece it was a refinement of later luxury. Orientals are fond of perfumes (Ps. xlv. 8 (9), Prov. vii. 17, Cant. iii. 6), and therefore offer them to honoured guests (cf. Mat. ii. 11); and being pleasing to men it was natural that perfumes should be offered to gods. That this thought was present in Hebrew worship is shewn by the expression 'a soothing odour' applied to sacrificial smoke (see xxix. 18)¹. And when foreign commerce introduced rare and costly ingredients which produced sweet scents, these were added to the odours of animal sacrifice. It is not improbable that incense was introduced into Palestine in the reign of Manasseh, who imitated foreign cults. The earlier prophets who condemn ritual without holiness of heart make no mention of it (see e.g. Am. iv. 4 f., v. 21 ff., Mic. vi. 6 f.), nor is it referred to in the older historical books or laws. The references in Dt. xxxiii. 10, Is. i. 13 are doubtful²; many writers maintain that these passages speak only of sacrificial smoke. The earliest certain instance is in Jer. vi. 20, where frankincense and sweet calamus are spoken of as rare foreign products which are not pleasing to Yahweh. When, however, the use of incense was established in priestly worship, it could become a spiritual symbol of prayer (Ps. cxli. 2), a thought which finds beautiful expression in Rev. v. 8, viii. 3, 4.

35. *seasoned with salt.* The original significance of salt in connexion with sacrifices is expressed in Lev. ii. 13. Sacrifice, in one of its aspects, provided a meal for the deity; and that which was a necessary accompaniment of a human meal must not be omitted. Salt is therefore a symbol of a covenant relation with God; cf. Num. xviii. 19, 2 Ch. xiii. 5. 'In the case of every disciple of Christ the salt of the covenant is a Divine Fire which purifies, preserves and consummates sacrifice—the alternative to the Fire which consumes' (Swete on Mk. ix. 49; see the whole note).

36. *before the testimony.* Similar expressions are used of the incense-altar in v. 6, xl. 5, 26 f. A small quantity of the whole store

¹ Tob. vi. 7, viii. 2 f. perhaps reflect a primitive belief in the magical virtue of fumigation for driving away demons.

² 1 S. ii. 28 is certainly late.

shall be unto you most holy. 37 And the incense which thou P, shalt make, according to the composition thereof ye shall not make for yourselves : it shall be unto thee holy for the LORD. 38 Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, he shall be cut off from his people.

XXXI. 1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 2 See, I have called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah : 3 and I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, 4 to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, 5 and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of wood, to work in all manner of workmanship. 6 And I, behold, I have appointed with him Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan ; and in the of incense spices is to be pulverised and kept ready upon the altar for daily use.

37. *the composition.* See on v. 8.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Bezalel and Oholiab. The Sabbath.

XXXI. 1—11. The summary is later than P, since it includes the incense-altar, the laver, the anointing oil and the incense.

2. *Bezalel.* xxxv. 30, xxxvi. 1, xxxvii. 1, xxxviii. 22. His genealogy is traced in 1 Ch. ii. 18—20, 50, where the tradition is recorded that he was of the clan of the Calebites (cf. Jud. i. 11—15, 20), who became absorbed, and in late days were identified, with Judah. The name appears to signify 'In the shadow (i.e. the protection) of Ēl.' Names thus compounded with a preposition are rare, and, among the Hebrews, confined to a late date ; cf. Lā'el (Num. iii. 24), Lemu'ēl (Prov. xxxi. 1), Besodhyāh (Neh. iii. 6). See Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, 206 ff. An Assyrian name *Ina-silli-Bēl*¹ is cited in Gesen. *Lex.* 12, *Sili-Ishtar* in Hommel, *Ancient Heb. Trad.* 302, and *Sil-Bēl* was a king of Gaza in the time of Sennacherib (*COT* Jos. xi. 22).

3. See note on xxviii. 3.

6. '*Ohōli'āb.* xxxv. 34, xxxvi. 1 f., xxxviii. 23. The name, which signifies 'Father's tent,' is foreign ; cf. Oholah (Ez. xxiii. 4 f., 36, 44), Oholibah (Ez. xxiii. 4, 11, 22, 36, 44), Oholibamah (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 5,

¹ An abbreviation of *Ina-silli-Bēl-alak* 'In the protection of Bēl I walk' ; and *Šil-Bēl* is an abbreviation of *Tāb-silli-Bēi* 'Good is the protection of Bēl.'

hearts of all that are wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they *P*, may make all that I have commanded thee: 7 the tent of meeting, and the ark of the testimony, and the mercy-seat that is thereupon, and all the furniture of the Tent; 8 and the table and its vessels, and the pure candlestick with all its vessels, and the altar of incense; 9 and the altar of burnt offering with all its vessels, and the laver and its base; 10 and the ¹finely wrought garments, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office; 11 and the anointing oil, and the incense of sweet spices for the holy place: according to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.

12 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 13 Speak thou *P* also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily ye shall keep my sabbaths: for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am the LORD which sanctify you. 14 Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one that profaneth it shall surely be put to death: for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people. 15 Six days shall work be done; but on the seventh day is a sabbath of solemn rest,

¹ Some ancient versions render, *garments of service*.

14, 18, 25, 41). Similar Phoenician and Sabaean names have been found. See Gray, *op. cit.* 246. Oholiab was of the tribe of Dan. His conjunction with a Calebite perhaps reveals the existence of a very obscure circle of traditions in which the Danites were at one time in contact with Judah and the Calebites and other clans in the S. of Palestine.

10. *finely wrought garments*. Lit. 'garments of sewing'; a doubtful expression. The marg. rendering is that of LXX, Pesh. Targ., perhaps reading *השרד לשרת* for *השרד*.

12-17. *The Sabbath*. These verses may in some sense be regarded as the *locus classicus* on Sabbath observance in the O.T. The references collected on p. xliii. shew that the command in E (xxiii. 12) is humanitarian; in D (Dt. v. 12-15) it is humanitarian and commemorative of the exodus; in H (Lev. xxiii. 2 f.) it merely forms part of a calendar of religious observances; and in scattered fragments of P it is enjoined mainly from the point of view of ritual and of penalties for its non-observance. But the present passage is on a higher plane than any of them. Like the fourth 'Word' it commemorates God's rest from creation, and emphasizes the humanitarian

holy to the LORD: whosoever doeth any work in the sabbath **P** day, he shall surely be put to death. 16 Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. 17 It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed.

18 And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon mount Sinai, the two tables of the testimony, | tables of stone, written with the finger of God. **E,**

principle; as in H it lays stress on the sacredness of the day, and as in Num. xv. 35 f. it sternly threatens death for infringement of the command. But beyond all this it supplies a deep spiritual *raison d'être* (an echo of Ez. xx. 12, 20). The separation of one day in seven is a symbol of the separation of the entire people; it is a sign and a covenant between them and Yahweh who sanctifies them. And the same principle holds good whether the consecrated day be the seventh or the first day of the week.

It seems probable that *vv.* 12—14*a* (to 'holy unto you') have been taken up by the priestly writer from an earlier law, and emphasized by him with the addition of *vv.* 14*b*—17. In *vv.* 12—14*a* there are affinities with H; 'keep my Sabbaths' (Lev. xix. 3, 30, xxvi. 2); 'I am Yahweh which sanctify you' (Lev. xx. 8, xxi. 8, 15, 23, xxii. 9, 16, 32); 'profane,' which is used of the Sabbath only here in the Hexat., is frequent in H in other applications.

18. The transition to the narratives in xxxii.—xxxiv. The continuation of the narrative in **E,** (xxiv. 12—15*a*) must have contained a statement to the effect that Moses received the tablets 'written with the finger of God'; but this is taken up by **P**.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The golden bull. The zeal of the Levites and their consecration. Moses' intercession.

The religious value of this chapter is great and obvious. It pictures grievous sin against God, committed by those who had just received from Him marvellous lovingkindness. When 'they exchanged their glory for the likeness of an ox that eateth grass, they forgot God their Saviour, who had done great things in Egypt' (Ps. cvi. 20 f.). And all men must take it as a warning (as S. Paul did in 1 Cor. x. 7) that those who have been redeemed from slavery to sin may fall deeply if they fail to keep in memory God's love and holiness. Aaron, again, is typical of the weak man who cannot stand up for the right from fear of popular opinion, and who will offer the feeblest excuses for his

wrongdoing; and if he is a leader of men, the results will be terrible. And Moses presents to us the two complementary aspects of a true priestly spirit—a white-hot righteous indignation against sin, and a tender self-abnegating intercession for sinners; ‘a man beloved of God and men’ (Ecclus. xlv. 1).

From an historical point of view the narrative raises considerable difficulties. It is certain that images were widely used in the worship of Yahweh at least till the eighth century (see p. lx.), which renders it improbable that the second of the Ten Words was delivered by Moses, or that the erection of an image would be condemned in his day, as is here related. Moreover the words uttered by Aaron in v. 4 are practically identical with those uttered by Jeroboam I in 1 K. xii. 28. In the latter passage the plural ‘thy gods which brought thee’ refers to the *two* bulls, but in Exodus there is only one image. It is far from improbable that Jeroboam was believed to have been the first to employ images of bulls in Yahweh-worship, and that his words were ascribed to Aaron when there was a desire—on the part either of those priests who traced their ancestry to him or of their opponents in Jerusalem—to claim Aaron as the founder of image-worship (see further on pp. lxviii. f.). By that time the second of the Ten Words had become part of Israelite religious law, and Aaron’s sin was therefore a violation of that law.

It is uncertain whence the Israelites derived their bull-worship. It is improbable that they imitated the worship of Apis in Egypt; the animal itself was not sacred to them as it was to the Egyptians; and until they arrived in Canaan it is doubtful if they possessed cattle (the need for manna and quails implies a lack of flocks and herds; see Gray on Num. xi. 4). It is easier to suppose that the practice was learnt from the Canaanites. The Phoenicians worshipped Astarte under the form of a cow, and Baal under that of a bull, as symbols of strength. Bulls figured in the laver in Solomon’s temple, in which Phoenician workmen were employed; and it is possible that the ‘horns of the altar’ were a relic of the ancient worship of bulls (see on xxvii. 2).

XXXII. 1 And when the people saw that Moses delayed *E*, to come down from the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us ¹gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him. 2 And Aaron said unto them, Break off the golden rings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me. 3 And all the people brake off the golden rings which were in their ears,

¹ Or, a god

XXXII. 1—24. *The golden bull.*

XXXII. 1. *gods.* The narrator uses the plural under the influence of Aaron’s words in v. 4 (see note).

and brought them unto Aaron. 4 And he received it at their *E*, hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, and made it a molten calf: and they said, ¹These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. 5 And when Aaron saw *this*, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, To-morrow shall be a feast to the LORD. 6 And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.

7 And the LORD spake unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for *R^D* thy people, which thou broughtest up out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves: 8 they have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them: they have made

¹ Or, *This is thy god*

4. *graving tool*. The word is used of a pointed *stilus* in Is. viii. 1 †. It is probable that the image was thought of as made of wood, overlaid with gold; for v. 20 seems to imply that the wood was burnt and the metal crushed. Cf. Dt. vii. 25, Is. xxx. 22, xl. 19.

a molten bull. The word 'ēgel (fem. 'eglāh) is not confined to animals as young as a calf; it is used of an animal three years old (Gen. xv. 9), it gives milk (Is. vii. 21), ploughs (Jud. xiv. 18), is broken in for the plough (Jer. xxxi. 18), treads the corn (Hos. x. 11, Jer. l. 11). It is not a calf, but a young animal just arrived at maturity. In Ps. cvi. 20 Aaron's image is called *shōr*, 'an ox.' It is quite improbable that the word was employed here and in 1 K. xii. as a term expressing contempt, or that it implies the diminutive size of the image (Bacon *al.*).

These be thy gods. The marg. rendering treats the word 'elōhīm as a plural of dignity, as it is whenever it is applied to the one God. But the plural verb 'brought,' and more certainly still the plural pronoun 'these,' forbid this explanation. See the preliminary note above.

5. *And when Aaron saw [this]*. The word *this* is absent from the Hebrew, and what Aaron saw is not explained. There is some confusion in the text, perhaps due to later manipulation of the narrative.

a feast to Yahweh. This clearly shews that the worship of the image was not thought of as an act of heathen idolatry; the bull was a symbol of Yahweh.

7-14. Yahweh tells Moses of the action of the people, and declares His intention of consuming them all, but repents at Moses' intercession. The passage is closely similar in thought and style to Dt. ix. 12-14, and appears to be a Deuteronomic expansion (see analysis, p. xxxv.).

them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed *R^D* unto it, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. 9 And the LORD said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people: 10 now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation. 11 And Moses besought the LORD his God, and said, LORD, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand? 12 Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, saying, For evil did he bring them forth, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. 13 Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever. 14 And the LORD repented of the evil which he said he would do unto his people.

15 And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, | with *—^{AB}* the two tables of the testimony in his hand; tables that were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written. | 16 And the tables were the work of God, *E,* and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables. 17 And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp. 18 And he said, It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being

12. *For evil; with evil* (i.e. at grievous cost) *did he bring them forth, slaying them...and consuming them &c.* The Egyptians would not suppose that the God of the Israelites had brought them forth with the intention to do them evil; they would charge Him with failure to protect His people and to keep their worship and obedience.

13. Abraham, Gen. xv. 5, 18. Isaac, xxvi. 3 f. Jacob, xxxv. 12.

15—24. *Moses' anger and Aaron's excuse.*

18. Render: 'It is not the sound of the cry of might, and it is not the sound of the cry of defeat; [it is] the sound of singing [that] I hear.' The Heb. is terse, and makes use of poetical words. The

overcome : but the noise of them that sing do I hear. 19 And *E*, it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp, that he saw the calf and the dancing : and Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount. 20 And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it. 21 And Moses said unto Aaron, What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought a great sin upon them? 22 And Aaron said, Let not the anger of my lord wax hot : thou knowest the people, that they are *set* on evil. 23 For they said unto me, Make us gods, which shall go before us : for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him. 24 And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any gold, let them break it off ; so they gave it me : and I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf. | 25 And *J*

word for 'singing' is the intensive! (piel) voice of the verb 'cry.' In R.V. 'noise' and 'voice,' 'shout' and 'cry' are respectively renderings of the same Heb. words.

20. The wooden core of the image was apparently burnt, and the metal covering ground to powder ; see *v.* 4.

24. No part of the narrative casts more scornful discredit upon Aaron than this 'truly Oriental apology' which the writer ascribes to him. See the fine sermon by Phillips Brooks, *The Fire and the Calf* (Sermons preached in English Churches, pp. 43—64).

25—29. *The zeal of the sons of Levi, and their consecration.*

This passage, when carefully examined, appears to have no connexion with the preceding narrative. The sin of the people is different, and the punishment is different. It is a narrative from *J* which fulfils a double purpose. It describes a sin on the part of the people, for which Moses' intercession is related in parts of the two following chapters ; and at the same time it seems to be an attempt to explain the existence of the Levites as a recognised body, consecrated for divine service.

25. *the people were let loose ; allowed to get out of hand.* Prov. xxix. 18, 2 Ch. xxviii. 19. The nature of the sin is obscure ; it may have been, as Bacon suggests, of the form of a rebellion against authority (cf. Num. xiv. 4), or of internal discord and fighting among themselves. The latter is the more suitable in view of the following words.

a derision. Lit. 'a whispering,' as in marg. This shews that the passage cannot refer to the bull-worship ; the erection of an image would be, to the surrounding tribes, a normal and pious action.

when Moses saw that the people were broken loose ; for Aaron *J* had let them loose for a ¹derision among their enemies : 26 then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Whoso is on the LORD'S side, *let him come* unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him. 27 And he said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Put ye every man his sword upon his thigh, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. 28 And the sons of Levi did according to the word of Moses : and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. 29 And Moses said, -Consecrate yourselves to-day to the LORD, ²yea, every man ³against his son, and ⁴against his brother ; that he

¹ Heb. *whispering*.² Heb. *Fill your hand*.³ Or, *for every man hath been against his son and against his brother* ⁴ Or, *upon*

26. Whoso is for Yahweh, to me! This rousing summons cannot refer to the bull-worship. Not only is there no evidence that the Levites had abstained from it, but the bull itself was made for the worship of Yahweh, so that even if the best of the people had felt it to be an unworthy form of worship every worshipper could have responded to Moses' call.

29. *Consecrate yourselves*. Lit. 'fill your hand,' as in marg. The expression occurs in Jud. xvii. 5, 12, 1 K. xiii. 33, Ez. xliii. 26, and ten times in P. In Assy. it meant simply 'give,' 'appoint,' 'enfeoff,' and it is uncertain whether it originally meant more than this in Hebrew. In the O.T., however, it is employed only in connexion with consecration to priesthood, except in Ez. *l.c.* Wellhausen suggested that it referred to the payment of earnest-money. But it is more probable that it denoted the placing on the hands of the ordinand some sacred object, as a sign that he was now authorised to perform sacerdotal functions. When sacrifice became the special function of the priest, it was perhaps a portion of the sacrificial flesh, as a sign that he was henceforth entitled to offer it on the altar or to take it as his perquisite. In Ez. xliii. 26 the original force of the expression is quite lost, and it is applied to the consecration of the altar. But Ex. xxix. 24 shews the meaning which the priestly writer attached to the words. The ceremony finds a counterpart to this day in the Christian Church, when a bishop places a Bible in the hands of a newly ordained priest, with the words 'Take thou authority to preach the Word of God &c'

yea, every man &c. The clause is obscure. It may be rendered as in the margin, or, treating it as a parenthesis by the narrator, 'because every man was against his son &c.' But it is more probable that the words mean '*yea, every man with his son* &c.,' i.e. they are to

may bestow upon you a blessing this day. | 30 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the LORD; peradventure I shall make atonement for your sin. 31 And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. 32 Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written. 33 And the LORD said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will

fill their hand with son and brother whom they have slaughtered, as with a sacrificial offering. This seems to be suggested in LXX and Pesh., which omit 'yea' (יָ).<sup>J
JR</sup>

30—34. *Moses' intercession.* This seems to be a redactor's account both of the intercession and of the promise gained from Yahweh that He would go with His people. As it stands it anticipates J's account which is given in parts of the two following chapters.

30. *make atonement.* The meaning of the root כָּפַר is discussed in the note on xxv. 17. The earliest usage of the verb *kipper* was 'to conciliate,' 'appease' a person; cf. Gen. xxxii. 20 (21). In the present passage and 2 S. xxi. 3 it is used absolutely, so that it cannot be determined whether God or the sin was the object in the writer's mind. But in later writings the word is never used of appeasing God; its object is always the sin or the sinner, expressed or implied, the subject being either the priest (Lev. xvi. 6, 11, 17, 24, Ez. xliii. 20, 26, xlv. 20 *al.*) or the offering (Ex. xxix. 33, xxx. 15 f., Lev. i. 4, xvii. 11 *al.*). Also in priestly and other writings, but not earlier than Deuteronomy, the subject is God, who *pardons* the sinner (Dt. xxi. 8a, xxxii. 43, Ez. xvi. 63, 2 Ch. xxx. 19) or the sin (Jer. xviii. 23, Ps. lxxv. 3 (4), lxxviii. 38, lxxix. 9, Dan. ix. 24).

32. *if thou wilt forgive their sin—; scil. 'forgive'* (which is added in LXX, Sam. Targ-Jer.). Cf. Gen. xxx. 27 (R.V. adds 'tarry'), xxxviii. 17 'if thou wilt (R.V. wilt thou) give me a pledge—,' Lk. xiii. 9 (R.V. adds 'well').

thy book. It is sometimes thought that Moses here rose to a great spiritual height of self-renunciation, in asking God to erase his name from His book rather than leave His people unforgiven; his words are understood in a sense analogous to Rom. ix. 3. But the higher ideas of the N.T. must not be read into the Old. If God will not grant his request, Moses despairingly asks that he may die; cf. Num. xi. 15. In the O.T. God punishes the wicked with death, while the righteous are allowed to remain among the 'register of the living'; cf. Ps. lxxix. 28, Is. iv. 3, Mal. iii. 16, Dan. xii. 1. The latter passage, with its apocalyptic reference to a resurrection to unending life or unending shame, is a connecting link between the ideas of the O. and N.T. In the N.T. the 'book' is the register of those who have attained to

I blot out of my book. 34 And now go, lead the people unto *R^B* the place of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, mine angel shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them. | 35 And the LORD smote the *E*, people, because they made the calf, which Aaron made.

spiritual life, both before and after the death of the body; cf. Lk. x. 20, Phil. iv. 3, Heb. xii. 23, Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxi. 27. (See Swete on Rev. iii. 5.)

34. *mine angel*, i.e. Yahweh Himself. See note on xxiii. 20.

in the day when I visit. The words are the more ominous from their intentional ambiguity. It is impossible to determine to what event they refer. *Vv.* 30-34 are themselves of uncertain date. If they are rightly assigned (anal. p. xxxv.) to a redactor later than JE, the present passage may be an *ex post facto* reference to the fall of the northern kingdom under Hoshea (B.C. 722), or, indeed, to the fall of the southern kingdom under Jehoiachin (597) or to its final collapse under Zedekiah (587).

35. The verse appears to be the conclusion of the narrative in *vv.* 15-24. The strange expression 'because they made the calf, which Aaron made' indicates that it is composite.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Yahweh's refusal to go with His people. The 'Tent of Meeting.' Moses' intercession.

This and the following chapter have undergone transpositions and interpolations which render them more complicated than perhaps any other portion of the O.T. of equal length. But the rearrangement suggested in the analysis yields an intelligible, and very beautiful, result. The more that Moses obtains from God, the more, like Abraham (Gen. xviii. 22-33), he is emboldened to ask; but, unlike Abraham, he does not cease till he has so wrestled and prevailed as to obtain the highest possible blessing which God could bestow. The passages being read in the following order, xxxiii. 1, 3, Num. xi. 11 f., 14 f., Ex. xxxiii. 17, 12 f., 18-23, xxxiv. 6-9, xxxiii. 14-16, Moses, having been told that Yahweh will not go with His people, asks for help in leading them to Canaan, which is granted; then for a knowledge of him who is to help them, and of Yahweh's ways, and a sight of His glory, which is granted in the form of a partial revelation; lastly for Yahweh's abiding presence with His people, which is granted. As a matter of fact when Yahweh made His first reply (xxxiii. 17) He implicitly gave Moses all that he wanted, but with fine artistic power the narrator represents Moses as not understanding that Yahweh meant that He would go with them Himself. The climax is reached when Moses, having experienced the marvellous glories of His presence, gains the explicit assurance 'My presence shall go' (xxxiii. 14).

XXXIII. 1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, Depart, go *J* up hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land of which I swear unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I give it: | 2 and I will send an angel before thee; and I will *R^D* drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite: | 3 unto a land flowing *J* with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the midst of thee; for thou art a stiffnecked people: lest I consume thee in the way. 4 And when the people heard these evil tidings, they *R^D* mourned: | and no man did put on him his ornaments. | 5 And *R^D* the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiffnecked people: if I go up into the midst of thee for one moment, I shall consume thee: therefore now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee. | 6 And the children of Israel stripped themselves of *E*, their ornaments from mount Horeb onward.

XXXIII. 2. Since the 'angel' is Yahweh Himself' (see on *xxiii.* 20), this verse, which is a Deuteronomic addition, anticipates (like *xxxii.* 34) the whole course of Moses' successful intercession. Without this explanation we should be confronted by two serious difficulties—(1) how Moses could say what he does in *v.* 12, if Yahweh had just told him whom He would send with him, (2) in what sense Yahweh's angel could be said to lead the people to Canaan when Yahweh Himself did not go.

3. *I will not go up.* He would stay at Sinai where He had His abode.

5. This redactional verse had, apparently, not reached a fixed form by the time of the *LXX*, which runs: 'And the Lord said unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiff-necked people; see that I bring not upon you another plague³ and destroy you; now therefore take off your beautiful garments and your adornment, and I will shew thee what I will do to thee.'

7—11. *The Tent of Meeting.*

This is a valuable fragment of the work of *E*, derived from very early traditions. It is so short, and lies embedded in a context whose subject-matter is so different, that to many even earnest readers of the Bible it is

¹ This is clearly shewn by the next words 'and I will drive out &c.' Pesh. and some *LXX* mss read 'and he will drive out'—a correction due to the difficulty of reconciling it with the foll. verse.

² Apparently reading *וַיִּנְעוּ אֶת־הַבְּגָדִים וְאֶת־הַזְּמָרִים* for *וַיִּנְעוּ אֶת־הַבְּגָדִים*.

practically unknown. It is read in the evening lesson for Feb. 22, and *vv.* 9—11 occur, with a beautiful significance, in the morning lesson for the Feast of S. John the Evangelist. Its real meaning is obscured in the A.V., partly by the use of the word 'tabernacle' (see on *v.* 7) and partly by its rendering of the verbs as perfects instead of imperfects. R.V. in *v.* 7 'Moses *used to take*' is accurate, and all the following verbs must be understood similarly as having a frequentative force. The verses describe Moses' usual practice with regard to a certain tent, which possessed a sacredness attaching to no other Israelite tent, because in it Moses performed the priestly office of obtaining answers from God for any inquirer. The verbs imply, as clearly as anything can, that this tent was in use throughout the whole of the wanderings. Whenever an encampment was formed, Moses placed the tent 'outside the camp, far from the camp,' just as the local sanctuaries, after the settlement in Canaan, stood outside each town and important village. It is impossible to reconcile the account of this tent with that of the great priestly tabernacle described in *xxv.—xxxi.*, *xxxv.—xl.*, Num. *i.—iv.* Three points of contrast are to be noticed: (1) E: it is a tent which Moses could carry (perhaps with Joshua's help), and pitch at some distance from the camp. P: a tent *c.* 45 × 15 × 15 feet, surrounded by pillars and hangings which formed a court *c.* 150 × 75 feet, and which, together with its articles of sacred furniture, required several wagons for its transport and a large body of Levites (Num. *iv.*). (2) E: a tent which stood outside the camp. P: a tent of which the entire significance was bound up with the fact that it stood in the *centre* of the camp (Num. *i.* 50—*ii.* 34). This is perhaps based upon earlier tradition; see Num. *xiv.* 44 (J). (3) E: a tent whose sole minister, apart from Moses, was a young man of the tribe of Ephraim. P: a tent whose ministers were all of the tribe of Levi, and which no member of another tribe could enter on pain of death (Num. *iii.* 5—10). Some have tried to harmonize the two by supposing that the small tent was a temporary expedient, in use only until the larger tent was erected¹. But this disregards not only the frequentative force of the verbs in the present passage, but also the fact that the small tent appears in use after the erection of the large tent has been related (Num. *xi.* 16, 24 *b*—26, 30, *xii.* 4 *f.*; cf. Dt. *xxxi.* 14 *f.*). It would appear, however, that the editor who allowed E's fragment to stand, in face of the priestly Tabernacle chapters, must himself have adopted some such explanation for the harmonizing of the two accounts.

7 Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without **E** the camp, afar off from the camp; and he called it, The tent

7. *the tent.* The use of the definite article shews that the passage is fragmentary. The tent is already known, and E must have contained some account of its manufacture. The considerations

¹ The supposition that it was Moses' own private tent is found in the LXX (λαβων Μωϋσῆς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ) and Pesh. Rashi also speaks of it as 'Moses' tent,' and he is followed by many commentators. But this, though not in itself improbable, seems to be negatived by *v.* 11, which says that Moses used to return to the camp, leaving Joshua alone in the tent.

of meeting. And it came to pass, that every one which sought *E* the LORD went out unto the tent of meeting, which was without the camp. 8 And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the Tent, that all the people rose up, and stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the Tent. 9 And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the Tent, the pillar of cloud descended, and stood at the door of the Tent: and *the LORD* spake with Moses. 10 And all the people saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man at his tent door. 11 And the LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into

noticed above forbid the possibility that '*the tent*' refers to the priestly tabernacle, which, indeed, is not erected till ch. xl.

The tent of meeting. Heb. 'ōhel mō'ēd. A.V. 'the Tabernacle of the congregation' is misleading¹; the contents of the whole section shew that the tent was not for congregational gatherings of the people. In xxix. 42 a priestly writer shews the meaning which he attached to the name—'where I will meet with you to speak there unto thee.' The root of the word mō'ēd signifies 'to appoint' or 'fix' a time or place, so that the name was understood to mean 'the tent where Yahweh will meet his people by appointment'—the 'tent of tryst' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*³ 246); and since He meets them to speak with them and declare His will, it becomes an *Offenbarungszelt* (Ewald), a 'tent of revelation' (Driver on Dt. xxxi. 14 f., the only passage in Dt. in which the tent is mentioned). It is probable, however, that in the much earlier days of which E here preserves a record, a more primitive meaning attached to the name. The Heb. word mō'ēd denotes a 'fixed time,' a 'sacred season.' One of the functions of Babylonian priests was to determine the right or auspicious time for an undertaking, which was described by the word *ādānu*, from the same root as mō'ēd. And Zimmern (*Beitr. z. Kenntnis d. bab. Religion*, p. 88, n. 2) suggests that the Hebrew expression may originally have denoted 'the tent where the proper time for an undertaking was determined,' i.e. the 'oracle-tent.' Either derivation expresses the thought that the tent was a place where men could learn the divine will.

9. *and He spake with Moses.* The pillar of cloud being a manifestation of the divine presence, it was unnecessary to express the subject of the verb. On the pillar of cloud see xiii. 21.

11. Joshua is here introduced to the reader as though his name had not been previously mentioned; see note on xvii. 9.

¹ It treats מוֹעֵד as synonymous with the cognate מִדְבָּר.

the camp: but his minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young *E* man, departed not out of the Tent.

12 And Moses said unto the LORD, See, thou sayest unto me, *J* Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me know 'whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight. 13 Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have found grace in thy sight, shew me now thy ways, that I may know thee, to the end that I may find grace in thy sight: and consider that this nation is thy people. 14 And he said, My presence shall go *with thee*, and I will give thee rest. 15 And he said unto him, If thy presence go not *with me*, carry us not up hence. 16 For wherein now shall it be known that I have found grace in thy sight, I and thy people? is it not in that thou goest with us, so that we be separated, I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth?

¹ Or, *him whom*

Nun. The word means 'a fish.' It is perhaps a relic of early totemism, and is probably not a personal name, but the name of a clan; 'son of Nun' will then denote a member of the clan. See Gray, *Hebr. Proper Names*, 96, 102.

12-16. *Moses' intercession.* See the note at the beginning of the chapter.

12. *thou hast said* &c. These words of Yahweh are found in *v.* 17. 'A great king knows not all those who are attached to him; he with whom this is the case has the preference in being more intimately known to his master' (Knobel). This thought appears in the LXX οἶδά σε παρα πάντας (and in *v.* 17). Yahweh 'knew' him as His agent for a particular purpose. See Sanday and Headlam on Rom. viii. 29.

13. Moses' prayer rises in boldness and importunity. He has apparently asked Yahweh to forgive His people; he now asks Him to reveal His *way*, His method of working; he longs for an insight into His Being and Character (cf. Ps. xviii. 30 (31), Job xxi. 31). In *v.* 18 he asks for more; 'shew me thy *glory*,'—the full sight of thy majesty and perfection. This was impossible under the Old Dispensation (*v.* 20), but an accomplished fact under the New (Jn. i. 14).

14. *My presence shall go* [om. 'with thee']. Lit. 'My Face.' This is not a manifestation of His presence, but the very Person Himself; LXX αυτος προπορευσομαι σοι. (Cf. Is. lxiii. 9.) It is the complete and final response, exhibiting full forgiveness and reconciliation.

17 And the LORD said unto Moses, I will do this thing also *J* hat thou hast spoken : for thou hast found grace in my sight, and I know thee by name. 18 And he said, Shew me, I pray thee, thy glory. 19 And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and will proclaim the name of the LORD before thee ; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy. 20 And he said, Thou canst not see my face : for man shall not see me and live. 21 And the LORD said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon the rock : 22 and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand until I have passed by : 23 and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back : but my face shall not be seen.

17. *this thing also.* See analysis, p. xxxvi.

19. *my goodness.* Rather *my goodliness*, my beauty. It is to be a spectacle of outward beauty as a visible sign of His moral perfection. A similar vision was vouchsafed before the people had sinned (xxiv. 10), and its repetition is a sign of forgiveness.

the name of Yahweh. The full description of the character implied in the name ; see on iii. 14. Under the present circumstances the aspect of the name which was of importance to Moses is revealed in the following words, and in xxxiv. 6 f. ; Yahweh is one who can of His own sovereign will be gracious and merciful even to those who have sinned against Him. See S. Paul's use of the passage in Rom. ix. 15.

22. *a cleft of the rock.* The allegorical explanation of the cleft rock, familiar to Englishmen from Toplady's hymn 'Rock of ages,' is frequent in patristic writings, occurring as early as Irenaeus (iv. xx. 9) —'in altitudine petrae, hoc est in eo qui est secundum hominem ejus adventu.' And the thought is finely expressed by Canon Mason (on Greg. Naz. *Theol. Orat.* ii. 3) : 'The Incarnation gives an assured point from which we may observe and study God without being overwhelmed by the greatness of the revelation. The glories of the Divine Nature are tempered for us, as it were, by the Human Life which encompasses us as we look out from it to the Divine. By the Incarnation our field of contemplation is at once restricted and made clear.'

23. *my back.* Lit. 'my hinder parts.' It is impossible to express in English the force of the word without unduly suggesting an anthropomorphic conception. The vision of Yahweh's glory—His full Personality—was impossible for Moses ; but he might catch a glimpse of the 'afterglow'—a partial suggestion of what the

XXXIV. 1 And the LORD said unto Moses, Hew thee *J* two tables of stone | like unto the first : and I will write upon *R^D* the tables the words that were on the first tables, which thou whole radiance must be. Greg. Naz. explains it as 'all the indications of Himself which He has left behind Him.' See Wisd. xiii. 1—9, Rom. i. 20.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

*The tablets of stone. The Theophany and Moses' intercession.
The covenant laws. The shining on Moses' face.*

XXXIV. 1—5, 10—28. The sin of the people has been forgiven, and Yahweh has promised that His presence shall go with them. More than this Israel could not need. We do not expect to find after this a fresh body of laws given to Moses (*vv.* 11—26); and it is still more extraordinary that these laws should be made the basis of a covenant (*vv.* 10, 27). A covenant having been formed, and based upon laws which are given earlier in the book, and then having been broken by sin, all that can conceivably be required is repentance and forgiveness. The original covenant laws must unalterably hold good. If then *vv.* 1, 4*a*, 28*b* are to be natural and intelligible, and the chapter relates, not the laying down of fresh laws as the renewal of the covenant but, merely the re-writing of the original laws upon fresh tablets, the laws in *vv.* 11—26 should be an exact repetition of the Decalogue (*xx.* 1—17). On the other hand, if the original covenant laws were not those of the Decalogue but were certain commands relating to worship, partly preserved and embedded in *xx.* 23—*xxiii.* 19, and largely parallel to those in *xxxiv.* 11—26, then they were not 'the words which were on the first tablets' which Moses broke. The solution which appears best to account for the difficulties is that the laws on worship embedded in *xx.* 23—*xxiii.* 19 are E's recension, and those in *xxxiv.* are J's recension, of the original covenant laws, the latter placed in their present position by the compiler of JE (so that they have the appearance of being a renewal of the broken covenant); and that a subsequent redactor, for whom the Decalogue (*xx.* 1—17) had become the sole basis of the covenant, added two harmonistic glosses in the present chapter, in *vv.* 1 and 4, and perhaps also the expression 'the ten words' in *v.* 28. The whole question is more fully discussed in the analysis, pp. xxviii.—*xxxi.* If this is the true solution, J brings to a close his narrative of the Sinai covenant with the impressive scene related in ch. *xxxiii.*, and ends on a high spiritual note.

1. *like unto the first...which thou brakest.* These words, and 'like unto the first' (*v.* 4) are the two Deuteronomic glosses spoken of in the above note.

I will write. Contrast *v.* 27 'Write thou these words.'

brakest. | 2 And be ready by the morning, and come up in the *R^DJ* morning unto mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the top of the mount. 3 And no man shall come up with thee, neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount; neither let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount. 4 And he hewed two tables of stone | like unto the first; | and Moses *R^DJ* rose up early in the morning, and went up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him, and took in his hand two tables of stone. 5 And the LORD descended in the cloud, ¹and stood with him there, and proclaimed ²the name of the LORD. 6 And the LORD passed by before him, and proclaimed, The LORD, the LORD, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; 7 ³keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means clear *the guilty*; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation. 8 And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped. 9 And he said, If now I have found grace in thy sight,

¹ Or, and he stood with him there, and called upon &c.

² Or, *Jehovah* by name

³ See ch. xx. 5, 6.

5. and proclaimed the name of the Lord; and he [Moses] called with the name of Yahweh. The rendering of the R.V. (and A.V.) was due to the following verse. But *vv.* 6—9 are quite unconnected with the present passage; their insertion at this point was probably due to the recurrence of *וַיִּקְרָא* 'and he called.'

The expression 'called with the name' means employed the name in invocation; R.V. elsewhere 'call on, or upon.' Cf. Gen. iv. 26, xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxi. 33, xxvi. 25 (all J), 2 K. v. 11, Jer. x. 25; see also 1 K. xviii. 24 ff.

6—9. Part of the narrative in the preceding chapter; the verses should probably stand before xxxiii. 14—16. See the note at the beginning of that chapter.

This description of the divine character, with its correlation of mercy and justice, is unsurpassed in literature. It finds echoes in several later passages—2 Ch. xxx. 9, Neh. ix. 17, 31, Ps. lxxxvi. 15, ciii. 8, cxi. 4, cxii. 4, cxlv. 8, Joel ii. 13, Jon. iv. 2, Nah. i. 3; it is explicitly quoted in Num. xiv. 18; and the Deuteronomic writer who expands the second Word in the Decalogue (xx. 5, 6) borrows from it (see note there).

9. *O Lord, let my Lord* &c. The word is Adonai in each case, not Yahweh.

O Lord, let the Lord, I pray thee, go in the midst of us; for *J* it is a stiffnecked people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance. 10 And he said, Behold, I make a covenant: | before all thy people I will do marvels, *R^D* such as have not been ¹wrought in all the earth, nor in any nation: and all the people among which thou art shall see the work of the LORD, for it is a terrible thing that I do with thee. 11 Observe thou that which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. 12 Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee: 13 but ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their ²pillars, and ye shall cut down their ³Asherim: 14 for thou shalt worship no other god: for

¹ Heb. *created*.² Or, *obelisks*³ Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess Asherah.

take us for thine inheritance; possess us, make us thy property. The verb, in this connexion, is found only in Zech. ii. 12 (16), but the thought is very frequent. The ideal of the Hebrew prophets is the ideal of every Christian; he cannot be possessed by two owners, just as he cannot serve two masters.

10—28. *The covenant laws.* These have been expanded since the time of J. The original contents of the code appear to have consisted of *vv.* 17, 18*a* (to 'keep'), 21—23, 25, 26. The additions were derived from two sources—(1) *vv.* 18*b*—20 (except the last clause) were carried over from xiii. 3—16, to which reference is made in the words 'as I commanded thee'; in that passage is noted the connexion which the F. of Mazzoth, and the offering of firstlings and firstborn, had acquired with the events of the Exodus (see note preceding ch. xii.); here the interpolated verses interrupt the series of the three annual festivals summed up in *v.* 23. (The series is further interrupted by the last clause of *v.* 20 and *v.* 21. The former would more naturally follow *v.* 23, the position which it occupies in Dt. xvi. 16. The latter also must originally have stood in another position in the code—of which only fragments have been preserved; it may have been drawn into connexion with the three agrarian festivals owing to its reference to ploughing and harvest.) (2) *vv.* 10 (from 'before all thy people')—16 and *v.* 24 are additions of a characteristically Deuteronomic type. Besides the references given below to previous notes, the whole section should be studied in connexion with pp. xxxix.—xlvi.

13. *pillars.* See xxiii. 24.

'Asherim. There seems to have been a Canaanite goddess of fortune

the LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God : 15 lest thou *R^d* make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice ; 16 and thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods. | 17 Thou shalt make thee no molten gods. *J*

and happiness who was styled 'the Asherah¹, 'the gracious one.' This goddess had an image (1 K. xv. 13, 2 K. xxi. 7), sacred vessels (2 K. xxiii. 4), 'houses' (v. 7) and prophets (1 K. xviii. 19). She is mentioned not infrequently in conjunction with Baal. Many writers, however, doubt the existence of such a goddess, holding that whenever the name appears to denote a goddess it has been confused with the name Ashtoreth or Ashtart² (who was the principal goddess of the Zidonians, and whose name was connected with the Assyrian name Ishtar). Whether, however, there was a goddess of that name or not, the word '*ashērāh*' is employed with great frequency to denote a sacred tree or pole, which stood, together with a *mazzēbhāh* ('pillar'), beside the altar on every Canaanite high place. It could be artificially made (1 K. xiv. 15, xvi. 33, Is. xvii. 8), and might be of image form (1 K. xv. 13). It was not improbably a survival of primitive tree-worship, while the *mazzēbhāh* was a survival of stone-worship. (See Driver on Dt. xvi. 21 f.) The plural is always '*ashērīm*' except in Jud. iii. 7, 2 Ch. xix. 3, xxxiii. 3. The rendering 'grove' in the A. V. is due to the LXX *ἄλσος*, but is in many passages quite inappropriate.

14. *whose name is Jealous.* The name presents another aspect of the divine character (see xxxiii. 19). His ardent zeal shews itself sometimes in the protection of His people against their enemies (Is. xlii. 13, Zech. i. 14 *al.*), sometimes in the protection of His own supreme prerogatives (as here, xx. 5, Dt. iv. 24, v. 9, vi. 15); cf. Jos. xxiv. 19, Nah. i. 2.

15. *go a whoring.* Israel is the bride of Yahweh; see on xx. 5 f. In 2 Cor. xi. 2 the divine jealousy for the bride is reflected in the heart of the Christian apostle.

17. Prophetic feeling seems to have condemned molten images at an earlier date than graven images. The use of the latter had probably been long established among the Israelites, the art of cutting in stone being simple and primitive, while that of the former, involving some advance in civilisation, may have been distinctively Canaanite.

¹ The name *Ašratu* occurs in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets as part of an Ass. proper name. It is said to occur also in two Phoenician inscriptions (see ZDMG xxxv. 424, *Revue Archeol.* 1885, 380).

² In Jud. iii. 7, the plur. '*Ashērōth*' is written by mistake for '*Ashtārōth*' (the plur. of '*Ashtart*').

18 The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. | Seven days ^J_{2J2E} thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt. 19 All that openeth the womb is mine; and all thy cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. 20 And the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a ¹lamb: and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem. | And ^J none shall appear before me empty. 21 Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest: in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest. 22 And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, *even* of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's ²end. 23 Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord GOD, the God of Israel. | 24 For I will cast out nations before thee, and ^{R^D} enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou goest up to appear before the LORD thy God three

¹ Or, *kid*² Heb. *revolution*.

18. *The festival of Mazzōth.* See on xxiii. 14—17 and xiii. 4.

19, 20a. *Firstlings and Firstborn.* See on xxiii. 29 and xiii. 11—16.

19. *even all thy cattle that is male.* The rendering 'that is male' adopts a necessary emendation ^{הִזְכִּיר} for the impossible ^{הִזְכִּיר} of the M.T.

20 b. *And none shall appear, &c.* See on xxiii. 15 b.

21. *The weekly Sabbath.* Even at the busy times when it was important to finish the ploughing and harvesting as quickly as possible, the Sabbath rest must not be violated¹. It is a fine illustration of the principle 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness.' See addit. note following xx. 17.

22. *The festivals of Weeks and of Ingathering.* See on xxiii. 16. *at the year's end; at the revolution of the year,* i.e. at the completion of its circuit. 1 S. i. 20, 2 Ch. xxiv. 23. Of the sun, Ps. xix. 6 (7); of the moon, B. Sira xliii. 7 †.

24. A sublime faith in God's protecting care is shewn in this ideal picture by a Deuteronomic writer. Since the three festivals, according to the Deuteronomic standpoint, could be held only at the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, the whole country would be deprived of all its males, and open to hostile attacks. In the earlier legislation,

¹ God's law enjoins what is a physical necessity for man. See art. 'The Law of Rest' in the *Guardian*, Dec. 24, 1907.

times in the year. | 25 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my *R^DJ* sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning. 26 The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. 27 And the LORD said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. 28 And he was there with the LORD forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, | the ten ¹commandments. *R^D*

29 And it came to pass, when Moses came down from mount *P* Sinai with the two tables of the testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the

¹ Heb. *words*.

when every man could go to the local sanctuary outside his town or village, no such danger is contemplated.

25. *of the passover*. These words are probably a later insertion; see p. 63.

26 *a*. *The first of the firstfruits*. It is unlikely that while *every* firstborn of man and beast was to be offered (*vv.* 19 f., xiii. 12 f.), only a portion of the vegetable firstfruits was to be sacred (contrast xxii. 29) 'The first' (*rē'shuth*) cannot mean either 'the earliest' or 'the best.' If the word is not a later addition it must be understood as in apposition to the following word: 'the first—[namely] the firstfruits of thy ground.' Cf. Dt. xviii. 4, Ez. xlv. 30; and see the careful note in Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 224—9.

26 *b*. See on xxiii. 19.

28. *forty days and forty nights*. See on xxiv. 18.

And he wrote. If the subject of the verb is Yahweh, the whole of this half-verse is a later insertion, and 'the words of the covenant, the ten words' refers to the Decalogue of ch. xx. Otherwise the subject is Moses, in accordance with the command in *v.* 27, and 'the words of the covenant' (with or without 'the ten words') refers to the foregoing laws in *vv.* 11—26¹.

29—35. *The shining on Moses' face*.

29. *shone*. The verb *ḵāran*, a denominative from *ḵeren*, 'a horn,'

¹ Prof. Barnes (*JThS*, July 1900) thinks that the laws in *vv.* 11—26 are J's version, not of the laws in xx. 23 &c., but of the Decalogue (xx. 1—17). He points out that 'words' may include utterances which are not commands, and that 'ten' may be merely a round number. At the same time he adheres to the exact figure. But his arrangement of the present passage, by which *vv.* 11—16, 18—20 and 22—24 must each be considered as one 'word,' does not appear very probable.

skin of his face ¹shone ²by reason of his speaking with him. *P*
 30 And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him. 31 And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned unto him: and Moses spake to them. 32 And afterward all the children of Israel came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that the LORD had spoken with him in mount Sinai. 33 And when Moses had done speaking with them, he put a veil on his face. 34 But when Moses went in before the LORD to speak with him, he took the veil off, until he came out; and he came out, and

¹ Or, sent forth beams (Heb. horns)

² Or, while he talked with him

occurs only in this passage, and, in the causative (hiphil) form, in Ps. lxix. 31 (32). In the latter it is used literally of a bullock displaying or growing horns. In Job iii. 4 'horns' denotes rays of light or lightning flashes. The Vulg. rendering *cornuta* gave rise to the conventional representations of Moses with two horns protruding from his head. A well-known instance is Michael Angelo's statue in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli at Rome.

33. *a veil.* The word (*masweh*) occurs only in these verses.

34. *when Moses went in.* See on xxv. 22.

he used to take the veil off. The verbs in this and the foll. verse are frequentative, describing his usual practice. On the other hand v. 33 describes a single action. When Moses had finished speaking with the people the first time, he put on the veil; afterwards, whenever he went in to the divine presence, he used to take off the veil; and whenever he came out, the people used to catch a glimpse of the light on his face, but he always put on the veil until he returned to speak with Yahweh. No reason is assigned for the wearing of the veil, but the natural supposition is that such a reflexion of Yahweh's 'glory' was too sacred to be gazed at constantly by human eyes. S. Paul, however, in the passage cited below, gives a different interpretation. The depth of spiritual meaning attaching to the narrative is not lessened if we hesitate to accept it as an historical fact. Man is influenced, spiritually no less than intellectually and physically, by his environment. And those who abide incessantly in the presence of the Lord are gradually, but surely, 'transformed into the same image from glory to glory.' A human being of any race or religion can be, in his own person, a revelation of the Divine exactly in proportion as he is in living union with the Divine. For a Christian this possibility has been increased to an infinite degree, because he is in living union with Him who is the perfect revelation of the Divine in Mannood. This is the thought which S. Paul works out in 2 Cor. iii. 7-18, iv. 3-6 (see further on p. cxxx.).

spake unto the children of Israel that which he was commanded; *P* 35 and the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone: and Moses put the veil upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

CHAPTERS XXXV.—XL.

The erection of the Tent.

These chapters are based upon chs. xxv.—xxxi. From a literary and artistic point of view they appear cumbrous and superfluous, since they follow practically *verbatim* the commands given by God to Moses, in order to dwell on their detailed fulfilment. But the priestly school made little pretensions to artistic skill. Their minds were set on the *minutiae* of worship, and the religious truths embodied in them; and their devotion to the holy things was not the less real because the expression of it took a form which does not appeal to our modern literary sense of proportion. It is probable that the original writing of *P* or *P*, contained some statement of the fulfilment of the divine injunctions, perhaps in the form of a short summary similar to that in xxxi. 7—11; and this would be gradually expanded into closer uniformity with the foregoing commands. That the account of the fulfilment of the commands was not composed as a complete whole by one writer is shewn by the relation between the Hebrew text of the original commands and of the fulfilment, and between the Hebrew and *LXX* texts of the latter—a study of which suggests that the account of the fulfilment had not reached its final form by the time that the *LXX* translation was taken in hand. The following phenomena are noticeable: (1) the order of the contents of chs. xxxv.—xl. differs from that of chs. xxv.—xxxi.; (2) the order of the contents in the Hebrew and *LXX* of chs. xxxv.—xl. is different; (3) fresh material in the Hebrew of xxxix. 32 and onwards is partly curtailed in the *LXX*; (4) the *LXX* of the commands differs from that of the fulfilment in the translation of several technical terms, making it probable that the translators of chs. xxxv.—xl. were not the same as those of xxv.—xxxi. These phenomena can be made clear by a tabular statement. Nos. 1 and 2 are exhibited in the first table, which shews that the differences of order do not merely involve occasional details, but that varying traditions existed as to the order of large groups of subjects.

xxv.—xxx. (Heb. and LXX)

A. FURNITURE OF THE TENT.

- xxv. 10-22 Ark
23-30 Table
31-40 Lampstand

B. STRUCTURE OF THE TENT.

- xxvi. 1-14 Curtains
1 30 Frames
3 35 Veil
3 37 Screen

C. FURNITURE AND STRUCTURE OF THE COURT.

- xxvii. 1-8 Altar of burnt-offering
9-19 Hangings, &c.

D. GARMENTS, &c. OF MINISTERS.

- xxviii. 6-8 Ephod
9 12 Onyx stones
13 30 'Breastplate'
31-35 Robe of Ephod
36 38 Gold Fillet
39-43 Linen Vestments

E. CONSECRATION OF PRIESTS.

xxix.

xxxv.—xl. (Heb.)

B. STRUCTURE OF THE TENT.

- xxxvi. 8-19 Curtains
20-34 Frames
35, 36 Veil
37, 38 Screen

A. FURNITURE OF THE TENT.

- xxxvii. 1-9 Ark
10-16 Table
17-24 Lampstand

C. FURNITURE AND STRUCTURE OF THE COURT.

- xxxviii. 1-7 Altar of burnt-offering
9-20 Hangings, &c.

D. GARMENTS, &c. OF MINISTERS.

- xxxix. 2-5 Ephod
6, 7 Onyx stones
8-21 'Breastplate'
22-26 Robe of Ephod
27-29 Linen Vestments
30, 31 Gold Fillet

E. CONSECRATION OF PRIESTS.

Lev. viii.

xxxv.—xl. (LXX)

D. GARMENTS, &c. OF MINISTERS.

- xxxvi. 9-12 Ephod
13, 14 Onyx stones
15-29 'Breastplate'
30-34 Robe of Ephod
35-37 Linen Vestments
38-40 Gold Fillet

B. STRUCTURE OF THE TENT.

- xxxvii. 1, 2 Curtains
Frames omitted
3, 4 Veil
5, 6 Screen

C. STRUCTURE OF THE COURT.

- xxxviii. 7-18 Hangings, &c.

A. FURNITURE OF THE TENT.

- xxxviii. 1-8 Ark
9-12 Table
13-17 Lampstand

C. FURNITURE OF THE COURT.

- xxxviii. 22-24 A table of burnt-offering

E. CONSECRATION OF PRIESTS.

Lev. viii.

F. Of the secondary material, xxx.—xxxii. 11, two items in the Hebrew of the fulfilment are placed among the furniture of the Tent and the Court, one of which is absent from the LXX.

xxxv.—xxxii. (Heb. and LXX)	xxxv.—xl. (Heb.)	xxxv.—xl. (LXX)
xxx. 1-10 Altar of incense	xxxvii. 25-28 Altar of incense	<i>Vacat.</i>
11-16 Half-shekel	xxxviii. 24-31 Materials obtained by the half-shekels	xxxix. 1-12 Materials obtained by the half-shekels
17-21 Laver	xxxviii. 8 Laver	xxxviii. 27 Laver
22-38 Anointing oil and incense	xxxvii. 29 Anointing oil and incense	xxxviii. 25 Anointing oil and incense
xxxii. 1-11 Bezalel and Oholiab	xxxv. 30-xxxvi. 1 Bezalel and Oholiab	xxxv. 30-xxxvi. 1 Bezalel and Oholiab

One item, the Oil for the Lamp (xxvii. 20, 21) finds no place in the fulfilment, except in the summaries in xxxv. 8, 14, 27.

CONTENTS OF xxxix. 32—xl. 38.

Hebrew.	LXX.
xxxix. 32-43 The work finished	xxxix. 11, 14-23
x 1-16 Commands to set up the Tent	xl. 1-13 (omitting Heb. <i>vs.</i> 7, 11)
17-33 The Tent set up	14-27 (omitting Heb. <i>vs.</i> 28, 29 <i>b</i> , 30-32)
34-38 The Cloud	28-32

These phenomena, together with the numerous cases in which the LXX diverges from the Hebrew in details of language, make it difficult to suppose that the LXX translators had before them the present Hebrew text of chs. xxxv.—xl. Prof. Swete (*Intr. to O.T. in Greek*, 235 f.) says, 'the difference of sequence is due to a deliberate rearrangement of the groups. Either the Alexandrian translator has purposely changed their relative order, giving precedence to the ornaments of the priesthood which are subordinated in the M.T. of cc. xxxv.—xl., as well as in both texts of cc. xxv.—xxx.; or he had before him in c. xxxv. ff. another Hebrew text in which the present Greek order was observed. Many O.T. scholars (e.g. Kuenen, Wellhausen, Dillmann) regard cc. xxxv.—xl. as belonging to a "secondary and posterior stratum of P." Thus it is permissible to suppose that the Hebrew text before the original translators of Exodus did not contain this section, and that it was supplied afterwards from a longer Hebrew recension of the book in which the last six chapters had not yet reached their final form.'

The following are some of the technical terms in which the LXX rendering of chs. xxxv.—xl. differs from that of xxv.—xxxi.:

xxv. 12 (11) <i>ἐλάσεις</i> (R.V. 'cast')	xxxviii. 3 <i>ἐχώνευσεν</i>
14 (13), 27 (26) <i>ἀναφορεῖς</i> ('staves')	4, 11 <i>διωστήρες</i>
17 (16) <i>διαστήριον ἐπίθεμα</i> ('mercy-seat')	5 <i>διαστήριον</i>
18 (17) <i>χρυσοτορευτά</i> ('of gold')	6 <i>χρυσούς</i>
19 (18) <i>κλίτος</i> ('end')	7 <i>ακρον</i>
37 <i>λύχνοι</i> ('lamps')	16 <i>λαμπάδια</i>
38 <i>ἐπαρυστήρ</i> ('tongs')	17 <i>λαβίδες</i>
<i>ὑποθέματα</i> ('snuff-dishes')	<i>ἐπαρυστρίδες</i>
xxvii. 4 <i>ἐσχάρα</i> ('grating')	24 <i>παράθεμα</i>
xxviii. 11 <i>γλύμμα</i> ('graving')	xxxvi. 13 <i>εκκολαμμα</i>
15 <i>ἔργον ποικιλτοῦ</i> ('the work of the cunning workman')	15 <i>ἔργον ὑφάντων ποικιλία</i>
17 <i>καθυφανεῖς</i> ('set')	17 <i>συνυφάνθη</i>
22 <i>ἔργον ἀλυσιδωτοῦ</i> ('wreathen work')	22 <i>ἔργον εμπλοκίου</i>
32 <i>ἵνα μὴ ῥαγῇ</i> ('that it be not rent')	31 <i>ἀδιάλυτον</i>
36 <i>ἀγίασμα Κυρίου</i> ('Holy to the Lord')	39 <i>αγίασμα Κυρίου</i>
xxx. 3 <i>πνεῦμα θεῖον</i> ('Spirit of God')	xxxv. 31 <i>πνεῦμα</i>
4 <i>ἐργάζεσθαι</i> ('to work')	32 <i>ποιεῖν</i>

XXXV. 1 And Moses assembled all the congregation of P, the children of Israel, and said unto them, These are the words which the LORD hath commanded, that ye should do them. 2 ¹Six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day there shall be to you an holy day, a sabbath of solemn rest to the LORD: whosoever doeth any work therein shall be put to death.

¹ See ch. xxxi. 15.

3 Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the *P*, sabbath day.

4 And Moses spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the LORD commanded, saying, 5 ¹Take ye from among you an offering unto the LORD : whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it, the LORD'S offering ; gold, and silver, and brass ; 6 and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' *hair* ; 7 and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, and acacia wood ; 8 and oil for the light, and spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense ; 9 and onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate. 10 And let every wise hearted man among you come, and make all that the LORD hath commanded ; 11 the tabernacle, its tent, and its covering, its clasps, and its boards, its bars, its pillars, and its sockets ; 12 the ark, and the staves thereof, the mercy-seat, and the veil of the screen ; 13 the table, and its staves, and all its vessels, and the ²shewbread ; 14 the candlestick also for the light, and its vessels, and its lamps, and the oil for the light ; 15 and the altar of incense, and its staves, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen for the door, at the door of the tabernacle ; 16 the altar of burnt offering, with its grating of brass, its staves, and all its vessels, the laver and its base ; 17 the hangings of the court, the pillars thereof, and their sockets, and the screen for the gate of the court ; 18 the pins of the tabernacle, and the pins of the court, and their cords ; 19 the ³finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place, the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office.

¹ See ch. xxv. 2-7.

² Or, *Presence-bread*

³ See ch. xxxi. 10.

XXXV. 3. This is the most stringent form of Sabbath law in the O.T. ; it shews the beginnings of the temper of mind which prompted the Mishnic regulations of later times. Cf. xvi. 23.

12. *the veil of the screen.* xxxix. 24, xl. 21, Num. iv. 5. It is explained by xl. 3, 21 to mean the veil which acts as a screen for the ark.

18. *their cords.* xxxix. 40, Num. iii. 26, 37, iv. 26, 32. They are not mentioned in the commands for the Tent.

20 And all the congregation of the children of Israel *P*, departed from the presence of Moses. 21 And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, *and* brought the LORD's offering, for the work of the tent of meeting, and for all the service thereof, and for the holy garments. 22 And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing hearted, *and* brought brooches, and ¹earrings, and signet-rings, and ²arm-lets, all jewels of gold; even every man that offered an offering of gold unto the LORD. 23 And every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' *hair*, and rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins, brought them. 24 Every one that did offer an offering of silver and brass brought the LORD's offering: and every man, with whom was found acacia wood for any work of the service, brought it. 25 And all the women that were wise hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, the blue, and the purple, the scarlet, and the fine linen. 26 And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun the goats' *hair*. 27 And the rulers brought the ³onyx stones, and the stones to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate; 28 and the spice, and the oil; for the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense. 29 The children of Israel brought a freewill offering unto the LORD; every man and woman, whose heart made them willing to bring for all the work, which the LORD had commanded to be made by the hand of Moses.

30 ⁴And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, the LORD hath called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah; 31 and he hath filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship; 32 and to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, 33 and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of wood, to work

¹ Or, *nose-rings*² Or, *necklaces*³ Or, *beryl*⁴ See ch. xxxi. 1-6.

21. *offering*; contribution. In the foll. verse 'offering' is lit. 'wave-offering.' On both words see xxix. 27.

in all manner of cunning workmanship. 34 And he hath put in *P.* his heart that he may teach, both he, and Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan. 35 Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to work all manner of workmanship, of the ¹engraver, and of the cunning workman, and of the embroiderer, in blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine linen, and of the weaver, even of them that do any workmanship, and of those that devise cunning works. **XXXVI.** 1 And Bezalel and Oholiab shall work, and every wise hearted man, in whom the LORD hath put wisdom and understanding to know how to work all the work for the service of the sanctuary, according to all that the LORD hath commanded.

2 And Moses called Bezalel and Oholiab, and every wise hearted man, in whose heart the LORD had put wisdom, even every one whose heart stirred him up to come unto the work to do it: 3 and they received of Moses all the offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it withal. And they brought yet unto him freewill offerings every morning. 4 And all the wise men, that wrought all the work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work which they wrought; 5 and they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring much more than enough for the service of the work, which the LORD commanded to make. 6 And Moses gave commandment, and they caused it to be proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither man nor woman make any more work for the offering of the sanctuary. So the people were restrained from bringing. 7 For the stuff they had was sufficient for all the work to make it, and too much.

¹ Or, *craftsman*

34. *that he may teach.* Not stated in the earlier account.

XXXVI. 2. *to come; to draw near.* In the causative (hiphil) the word is used technically in the priestly writings for 'bring near,' i.e. 'offer' (e.g. xxix. 10, Lev. i. 2, 5, 14 f.); hence the subst. *korbān* (cf. Mk. vii. 11). Thus in the present passage the verb implies that every man drew near in order to offer himself to God for the work. Christianity gives to the thought a new depth of meaning. Our spiritual service (*λογικὴ λατρεία*) is to present our bodies as a living sacrifice (Rom. xii. 1).

8 ¹And every wise hearted man among them that wrought *P*, the work made the tabernacle with ten curtains; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman made he them. 9 The length of each curtain was eight and twenty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: all the curtains had one measure. 10 And he coupled five curtains one to another: and *the other* five curtains he coupled one to another. 11 And he made loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain ²from the selvedge in the coupling: likewise he made in the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the second ³coupling. 12 Fifty loops made he in the one curtain, and fifty loops made he in the edge of the curtain that was in the second ³coupling: the loops were opposite one to another. 13 And he made fifty clasps of gold, and coupled the curtains one to another with the clasps: so the tabernacle was one. 14 And he made curtains of goats' *hair* for a tent over the tabernacle: eleven curtains he made them. 15 The length of each curtain was thirty cubits, and four cubits the breadth of each curtain: the eleven curtains had one measure. 16 And he coupled five curtains by themselves, and six curtains by themselves. 17 And he made fifty loops on the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the ⁴coupling, and fifty loops made he upon the edge of the curtain which was *outmost in* the second ³coupling. 18 And he made fifty clasps of brass to couple the tent together, that it might be one. 19 And he made a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of ⁵sealskins above.

20 ⁶And he made the boards for the tabernacle of acacia wood, standing up. 21 Ten cubits was the length of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. 22 Each board had two tenons, ⁷joined one to another: thus did he make for all the boards of the tabernacle. 23 And he made the boards for the tabernacle; twenty boards for the south side southward: 24 and he made forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards; two sockets under one board for its two tenons,

¹ See ch. xxvi. 1-14.

² Or, *that was outmost in the first set*

³ Or, *set*

⁴ Or, *first set*

⁵ Or, *porpoise-skins*

⁶ See ch. xxvi. 15-29.

⁷ Or, *morticed*

and two sockets under another board for its two tenons. 25 And *P*, for the second side of the tabernacle, on the north side, he made twenty boards, 26 and their forty sockets of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets under another board. 27 And for the hinder part of the tabernacle westward he made six boards. 28 And two boards made he for the corners of the tabernacle in the hinder part. 29 And they were double beneath, and in like manner they were entire unto the top thereof unto ¹one ring: thus he did to both of them in the two corners. 30 And there were eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen sockets; under every board two sockets. 31 And he made bars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle, 32 and five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the tabernacle for the hinder part westward. 33 And he made the middle bar to pass through in the midst of the boards from the one end to the other. 34 And he overlaid the boards with gold, and made their rings of gold for places for the bars, and overlaid the bars with gold.

35 ²And he made the veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of the cunning workman made he it. 36 And he made thereunto four pillars of acacia, and overlaid them with gold: their hooks were of gold; and he cast for them four sockets of silver. 37 And he made a screen for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer; 38 and the five pillars of it with their hooks: and he overlaid their chapiters and their fillets with gold: and their five sockets were of brass.

XXXVII. 1 ³And Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood: two cubits and a half was the length of it, and a cubit and a half the breadth of it, and a cubit and a half the height of it: 2 and he overlaid it with pure gold within and without, and

¹ Or, *the first*

² See ch. xxvi. 31—37.

³ See ch. xxv. 10—20.

29. The verbs are in the imperfect tense, either due to scribal error, or (Dillmann) to mechanical repetition from xxvi. 24.

XXXVII. 1. *Bezalel made the ark.* It is instructive to note the contrast of this explicit statement with that in Dt. x. 3. See p. xxxii.

made a ¹crown of gold to it round about. 3 And he cast for it *P*, four rings of gold, in the four feet thereof; even two rings on the one ²side of it, and two rings on the other ²side of it. 4 And he made staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold. 5 And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear the ark. 6 And he made a ³mercy-seat of pure gold: two cubits and a half *was* the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. 7 And he made two cherubim of gold; of ⁴beaten work made he them, at the two ends of the mercy-seat; 8 one cherub at the one end, and one cherub at the other end: of one piece with the mercy-seat made he the cherubim at the two ends thereof. 9 And the cherubim spread out their wings on high, covering the mercy-seat with their wings, with their faces one to another; toward the mercy-seat were the faces of the cherubim.

10 ⁵And he made the table of acacia wood: two cubits *was* the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof: 11 and he overlaid it with pure gold, and made thereto a crown of gold round about. 12 And he made unto it a border of an handbreadth round about, and made a golden crown to the border thereof round about. 13 And he cast for it four rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that were on the four feet thereof. 14 Close by the border were the rings, the places for the staves to bear the table. 15 And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold, to bear the table. 16 And he made the vessels which were upon the table, the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the bowls thereof, and the flagons thereof, to pour out withal, of pure gold.

17 ⁶And he made the candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work made he the candlestick, even its base, and its shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers, were of one piece with it: 18 and there were six branches going out of the sides thereof; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side thereof, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side thereof: 19 three cups made like almond-blossoms in one

¹ Or, *rim* Or, *moulding*

² Heb. *rib*.

³ Or, *covering*

⁴ Or, *turned*

⁵ See ch. xxv. 23-29.

⁶ See ch. xxv. 31-39.

branch, a knop and a flower ; and three cups made like almond-*P*, blossoms in the other branch, a knop and a flower : so for the six branches going out of the candlestick. 20 And in the candlestick were four cups made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: 21 and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches of one piece with it, for the six branches going out of it. 22 Their knops and their branches were of one piece with it : the whole of it was one beaten work of pure gold. 23 And he made the lamps thereof, seven, and the tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, of pure gold. 24 Of a talent of pure gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof.

25 ¹And he made the altar of incense of acacia wood : a cubit was the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, foursquare ; and two cubits was the height thereof ; the horns thereof were of one piece with it. 26 And he overlaid it with pure gold, the top thereof, and the sides thereof round about, and the horns of it : and he made unto it a crown of gold round about. 27 And he made for it two golden rings under the crown thereof, upon the two ribs thereof, upon the two sides of it, for places for staves to bear it withal. 28 And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold. 29 ²And he made the holy anointing oil, and the pure incense of sweet spices, after the art of the perfumer.

XXXVIII. 1 ³And he made the altar of burnt offering of acacia wood : five cubits was the length thereof, and five cubits the breadth thereof, foursquare ; and three cubits the height thereof. 2 And he made the horns thereof upon the four corners of it ; the horns thereof were of one piece with it : and he overlaid it with brass. 3 And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels, and the basons, the

¹ See ch. xxx. 1—5.

² See ch. xxx. 23, 24, 34, 35.

³ See ch. xxvii. 1—8.

XXXVIII. 2. According to Num. xvi. 36—40 (Heb. xvii. 1—5) the bronze covering of the altar was made at a later time. And in the LXX of the present passage there is an attempt to harmonize the accounts by the statement 'He made the bronze altar out of the bronze censers which belonged to the men who rebelled with Kore's company.'

fleshhooks, and the firepans : all the vessels thereof made he of P, brass. 4 And he made for the altar a grating of network of brass, under the ledge round it beneath, reaching halfway up. 5 And he cast four rings for the four ends of the grating of brass, to be places for the staves. 6 And he made the staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with brass. 7 And he put the staves into the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal ; he made it hollow with planks.

8 ¹And he made the laver of brass, and the base thereof of brass, of the mirrors of ²the ³serving women which served at the door of the tent of meeting.

9 ⁴And he made the court : for the south side southward the hangings of the court were of fine twined linen, an hundred cubits : 10 their pillars were twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass ; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets were of silver. 11 And for the north side an hundred cubits, their pillars twenty, and their sockets twenty, of brass ; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. 12 And for the west side were hangings of fifty cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten ; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. 13 And for the east side eastward fifty cubits. 14 The hangings for the one side *of the gate* were fifteen cubits ; their pillars three, and their sockets three ; 15 and so for the other side : on this

¹ See ch. xxx. 18.

² Or, *the women which assembled to minister*

³ See Num. iv. 23, viii. 24 ; 1 Sam. ii. 22.

⁴ See ch. xxvii. 9-19.

8. *the serving women which served.* A very late meaning of the word *zābā'*, which usually means 'to fight' ; 1 S. ii. 22, Num. iv. 23 (see Gray), viii. 24 f. Such women are mentioned also in 1 S. *l.c.*, a late gloss. What sort of service the writer intends to describe is uncertain. Driver (1 S.) thinks that they were engaged in menial offices ; Dillmann and Strack would add dancing and singing. Peritz (*JBL* xvii. 145 f.) believes that they did more than that, and lays stress on the fact that *zābā'* is used (in Num.) of the service of the Levites. He also contends that the service of women must have been an ancient custom, and renders 'which had served &c.'

¹ The versions are very vague as to the meaning of the word. Ex. : LXX τῶν ηἰστεινῶν αἱ ἐνῆστεισαν. Aq. Sym. στρατευσαμένων. Vulg. *quae excubabant*. 1 Sam. : LXX ἅ τὰς παρεστῶσας. Vulg. *quae observabant*. Num. iv. 23 : LXX λειτουργεῖν. Vulg. *ministrant*. viii. 24 : LXX ἐνεργεῖν. Aq. στοατεύεσθαι. Sym. παρίστασθαι. Vulg. *ut ministrant*. Targ. in Ex. has 'who prayed' ; Pesh. 'who came to pray.' Yet other renderings of unknown translators are given in Field, *Hexapla*, on Ex. and Num. iv. 23.

hand and that hand by the gate of the court were hangings *P*, of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three. 16 All the hangings of the court round about were of fine twined linen. 17 And the sockets for the pillars were of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver; and the overlaying of their chapiters of silver; and all the pillars of the court were filleted with silver. 18 And the screen for the gate of the court was the work of the embroiderer, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen: and twenty cubits was the length, and the height in the breadth was five cubits, answerable to the hangings of the court. 19 And their pillars were four, and their sockets four, of brass; their hooks of silver, and the overlaying of their chapiters and their fillets of silver. 20 And all the pins of the tabernacle, and of the court round about, were of brass.

21 This is the sum of *the things for* the tabernacle, even the tabernacle of the testimony, as they were counted, according to the commandment of Moses, for the service of the Levites, by the hand of Ithamar, the son of Aaron the priest. 22 And Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah,

18. *answerable* &c. The clause is absent from xxvii. 16.

21—31. These verses are an amplification which appears to be even later than the surrounding context, for they are inserted in the middle of the account of the making of the sacred articles. *Vv.* 21—23 are not represented in the LXX. At the end of the reckoning the LXX (xxxviii. 12) adds, 'And the rest of the gold of the offering they made into vessels to minister therewith before the Lord'; and xxxix. 1 opens in the LXX (xxxviii. 13) with the words, 'And that which remained of the blue and purple &c.'

The application of the half-shekel to the provision of materials is due to a misunderstanding of xxx. 11—16, where the money is to be devoted to the 'service of the Tent of Meeting,' i.e. to its up-keep (see note there).

21. These are the reckonings of the Dwelling, i.e. the amounts of gold, silver, and bronze employed.

[*for*] *the service of the Levites.* The Heb. has not the preposition; 'the service of the Levites' is loosely in apposition to 'the reckonings'; their service consisted, in this instance, of drawing up the reckoning.

the Levites. This is the only passage in Ex. in which they are mentioned, apart from iv. 14, xxxii. 25—29; it presupposes Num. i. 49 f., where they are appointed for service.

by the hand of Ithamar, i.e. under his superintendence; cf. Num.

made all that the LORD commanded Moses. 23 And with him *P.* was Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, ¹an engraver, and a cunning workman, and an embroiderer in blue, and in purple, and in scarlet, and fine linen.

24 All the gold that was used for the work in all the work of the sanctuary, even the gold of the offering, was twenty and nine talents, and seven hundred and thirty shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary. 25 And the silver of them that were numbered of the congregation was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary: 26 a beka a head, *that is*, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary, for every one that passed over to them that were numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men. 27 And the hundred talents of silver were for casting the sockets of the sanctuary, and the sockets of the veil; an hundred sockets for the hundred talents, a talent for a socket. 28 And of the thousand seven hundred seventy and five *shekels* he made hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapiters, and made fillets for them. 29 And the brass of the offering was seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred shekels. 30 And therewith he made the sockets to the door of the tent of meeting, and the brasen altar, and the brasen grating for it, and all the vessels of the altar, 31 and the sockets of the court round about, and the sockets of the gate of the court, and all the pins of the tabernacle, and all the pins of the court round about.

XXXIX. 1 And of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place,

¹ Or, a craftsman

iv. 28, 33, vii. 8, xxxiii. 1. Ithamar was the youngest of Aaron's four sons (see on vi. 23); he is mentioned only by P and the Chronicler.

25. The gold and the bronze 'of the offering' are mentioned, but not the silver. All the silver was derived from the payment of the half-shekel. The value, in English money, of the metals amounts to incredible sums:—gold, c. £12,068, silver, c. £41,494, and bronze, c. £29,205.

26. On the number of males, 603,550, see xii. 37.

and made the holy garments for Aaron; as the LORD com-*P*,
manded Moses.

2 ¹And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. 3 And they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, the work of the cunning workman. 4 They made shoulderpieces for it, joined together: at the two ends was it joined together. 5 And the cunningly woven band, that was upon it, to gird it on withal, was of the same piece *and* like the work thereof; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen; as the LORD commanded Moses.

6 And they wrought the onyx stones, inclosed in ouches of gold, graven with the engravings of a signet, according to the names of the children of Israel. 7 And he put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial for the children of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses.

8 ²And he made the breastplate, the work of the cunning workman, like the work of the ephod; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. 9 It was foursquare; they made the breastplate double: a span was the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof, being double. 10 And they set in it four rows of stones: a row of sardius, topaz, and carbuncle was the first row. 11 And the second row, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond. 12 And the third row, a jacinth, an agate, and an amethyst. 13 And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper: they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their settings. 14 And the stones were according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; like the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name, for the twelve tribes. 15 And they made upon the breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure gold. 16 And they made two ouches of gold, and two gold rings; and put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. 17 And they put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two

¹ See ch. xxviii. 6-12.

² See ch. xxviii. 15-28.

XXXIX. 1. *as Yahweh commanded Moses.* A seven-fold refrain (*vv.* 1, 5, 7, 21, 26, 29, 31); see note preceding ch. xxv., pp. 155 f.

rings at the ends of the breastplate. 18 And the *other two P*, ends of the two wreathen chains they put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in the forepart thereof. 19 And they made two rings of gold, and put them upon the two ends of the breastplate, upon the edge thereof, which was toward the side of the ephod inward. 20 And they made two rings of gold, and put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven band of the ephod. 21 And they did bind the breastplate by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with a lace of blue, that it might be upon the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and that the breastplate might not be loosed from the ephod ; as the LORD commanded Moses.

22 ¹And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, all of blue ; 23 and the hole of the robe in the midst thereof, as the hole of a coat of mail, with a binding round about the hole of it, that it should not be rent. 24 And they made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue, and purple, and scarlet, *and twined linen*. 25 And they made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the pomegranates upon the skirts of the robe round about, between the pomegranates ; 26 a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the robe round about, to minister in ; as the LORD commanded Moses.

27 ²And they made the coats of fine linen of woven work for Aaron, and for his sons, 28 and the ³mitre of fine linen, and the goodly headdress of fine linen, and the linen breeches of fine twined linen, 29 and the girdle of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, the work of the embroiderer ; as the LORD commanded Moses.

30 ⁴And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing, like the engravings of a

¹ See ch. xxviii. 31—34.

² See ch. xxviii. 39, 40, 42.

³ Or, *turban*

⁴ See ch. xxviii. 36, 37.

19—21. The second account of the gold rings, as in xxviii. 26 ff. That passage is omitted in the LXX, but these verses are included in it (LXX xxxvi. 27—29).

signet, HOLY TO THE LORD. 31 And they tied unto it a lace *P*, of blue, to fasten it upon the ¹mitre above; as the LORD commanded Moses.

32 Thus was finished all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting: and the children of Israel did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they.

33 And they brought the tabernacle unto Moses, the Tent, and all its furniture, its clasps, its boards, its bars, and its pillars, and its sockets; 34 and the covering of rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of ²sealskins, and the veil of the screen; 35 the ark of the testimony, and the staves thereof, and the mercy-seat; 36 the table, all the vessels thereof, and the shew-bread; 37 the pure candlestick, the lamps thereof, even the lamps to be set in order, and all the vessels thereof, and the oil for the light; 38 and the golden altar, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen for the door of the Tent; 39 the brasen altar, and its grating of brass, its staves, and all its vessels, the laver and its base; 40 the hangings of the court, its pillars, and its sockets, and the screen for the gate of the court, the cords thereof, and the pins thereof, and all the instruments of the service of the tabernacle, for the tent of meeting; 41 the finely wrought garments for ministering in the holy place, and the holy garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office. 42 According to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did all the work. 43 And Moses saw all the work, and, behold, they had done it; as the LORD had commanded, even so had they done it: and Moses blessed them.

XL. 1 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 2 On the first day of the first month shalt thou rear up the tabernacle of the tent of meeting. 3 And thou shalt put therein the ark of the testimony, and thou shalt screen the ark with the veil. 4 And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in order the things that are upon it; and thou shalt bring in the candlestick, and ³light the lamps thereof. 5 And thou shalt set the golden altar

¹ Or, *turban*

² Or, *porpoise-skins*

³ Or, *set up*

32, 43. Possibly the writer was influenced by Gen. ii. 1; i. 31 *a*; i. 28 *a*, ii. 3 *a*. See p. 155.

for incense before the ark of the testimony, and put the screen *P*, of the door to the tabernacle. 6 And thou shalt set the altar of burnt offering before the door of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting. 7 And thou shalt set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and shalt put water therein. 8 And thou shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the screen of the gate of the court. 9 And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and anoint the tabernacle, and all that is therein, and shalt hallow it, and all the furniture thereof: and it shall be holy. 10 And thou shalt anoint the altar of burnt offering, and all its vessels, and sanctify the altar: and the altar shall be most holy. 11 And thou shalt anoint the laver and its base, and sanctify it. 12 And thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tent of meeting, and shalt wash them with water. 13 And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments; and thou shalt anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office. 14 And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them: 15 and thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office: and their anointing shall be to them for an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations. 16 Thus did Moses: according to all that the LORD commanded him, so did he.

17 And it came to pass in the first month in the second year, on the first day of the month, that the tabernacle was reared up. 18 And Moses reared up the tabernacle, and laid its sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up its pillars. 19 And he spread the tent over the tabernacle, and put the covering of the tent above upon it; as the LORD commanded Moses. 20 And he took and

XL. 15. *thou shalt anoint them.* See on xxix. 7.

17. *the first month.* One year after the exodus (xii. 1), in the ninth month after the arrival at Sinai (xix. 1), and seven months from the end of Moses' second sojourn on the mountain. See p. 155.

19. *as Yahweh commanded Moses.* A second seven-fold refrain (*vv.* 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32).

20. The priestly writer does not state where Moses had kept the 'tablets of the Testimony' hitherto. Contrast Dt. x. 3, where he makes the ark before ascending the mountain.

put the testimony into the ark, and set the staves on the ark, *P*, and put the mercy-seat above upon the ark : 21 and he brought the ark into the tabernacle, and set up the veil of the screen, and screened the ark of the testimony ; as the LORD commanded Moses. 22 And he put the table in the tent of meeting, upon the side of the tabernacle northward, without the veil. 23 And he set the bread in order upon it before the LORD ; as the LORD commanded Moses. 24 And he put the candlestick in the tent of meeting, over against the table, on the side of the tabernacle southward. 25 And he ¹lighted the lamps before the LORD ; as the LORD commanded Moses. 26 And he put the golden altar in the tent of meeting before the veil : 27 and he burnt thereon incense of sweet spices ; as the LORD commanded Moses. 28 And he put the screen of the door to the tabernacle. 29 And he set the altar of burnt offering at the door of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting, and offered upon it the burnt offering and the meal offering ; as the LORD commanded Moses. 30 And he set the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and put water therein, to wash withal. 31 ²And Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and their feet thereat ; 32 when they went into the tent of meeting, and when they came near unto the altar, they washed : as the LORD commanded Moses. 33 And he reared up the court round about the tabernacle and the altar, and set up the screen of the gate of the court. So Moses finished the work.

34 Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle. 35 And Moses was not

¹ Or, *set up*

² See ch. xxx. 19, 20.

34—38. *The cloud and the Glory.* See on xiii. 21 and xxiv. 16.

34. When the Pentateuch was read in the synagogue services, a lectionary was arranged in a three years' course of Sabbath readings (see footnote on p. 62). And King (*The Psalms in three collections*) has shewn it to be probable that a similar course was afterwards arranged for the Psalter. The second book of the Psalter (ending with Ps. lxxii.), like the second book of the Pentateuch, was finished at the close of the sixth month, Elul. It is interesting, therefore, to notice the striking correspondence of the present verse with Ps. lxxii. 19—'let the whole earth be filled with His glory.'

able to enter into the tent of meeting, because the cloud abode *P*, thereon, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle. 36 And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward, throughout all their journeys : 37 but if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up. 38 For the cloud of the LORD was upon the tabernacle, by day, and there was fire therein by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys.

36, 37 are based upon Num. x. 34 (J). A fuller statement is given in Num. ix. 15—23 (P).

38. *the cloud of the Lord.* The original reading was probably *there was cloud* (יהיה יהיה), making the clause parallel to the following 'there was fire.'

there was fire therein, i.e. in the cloud ; not in the Dwelling, for in that case it would not be visible to the eyes of all.

34—38 describe the fulfilment of the divine promise in xxix. 43, 45. The Tent was sanctified by the indwelling Presence, and the shining cloud was the symbol that Yahweh had come to dwell among His people. With this spiritual note of exultation in God's gracious acknowledgement of all the self-sacrifice and labour involved in the erection of the Tent, the book is brought to a splendid close.

One Exodus was accomplished—a triumph over earthly foes, crowned by the advent of God to dwell among His people. But our minds move forward to a greater triumph, crowned by a more abiding indwelling—*την εξοδον ην εμελλε πληρουν εν Ιερουσαλημ.*

INDEX.

- Aaron: ancestor of priests lxvii f., cxviii, 36; representative of the nation lxxxvi, cxxv; not a priest but a *sheikh* xxxiv, lxviii, cxvii, 106; his part in the narrative of the plagues xvi, cxviii, 28, 41, 50; of the golden bull lxix, 203—7
- Aaron's sons xxxvii, lxix—lxxiii, lxxxvi, cxxv, 36, 176 f., 192, 198
- Abib, the month xliii f., 63, 68, 78, 141, 220
- Abihu cxviii, 37, 146, 177
- adultery lv, 120
- altar: of burnt-offering lxxx, lxxxvi, lxxxix, cxxviii, 156, 173 f., 233; of incense lxxx, lxxxvi, xci, 195 f.
- altars xxviii, xl, lii, lxxxi, cxiv, 103, 124 f., 128
- Amalek, Amalekites xxiii, xcix, civ, cxi, 102
- Amorite civ, cvi, 17, 144 f.
- Amos vi, lix, lxiii f.
- Amram 6, 36
- Angel of Elohim, or of Yahweh viii, xx, cxxi, 16, 85 f., 144, 162 n.², 210 f.
- animals, assistance to lv, 138 f.; injury caused by liii, 130, 138 f.
- anointing xxxvii, lxxi, cxxvii, 188, 198 f.
- anthropomorphisms cxxi, 17, 57, 86, 110, 142, 148, 190, 215
- ark, the xxxii f., lxxx, lxxxv, xci, cxvi, cxxiii, 153, 156, 158 f., 161—4
- ashērāh*, -im, 218 f.
- ass, sacredness of the 79
- asylum, the law of lii f., 128
- Baal, names compounded with 140
- Baalzephon xcv f.
- Babylonian influence on Israel xlvii, 1 f., 121—3, 166
- bells on Aaron's robe 185
- berith*, see covenant
- 'between the two evenings' 69, 96, 194
- Bezalel 201, 231
- 'boards' of Tabernacle, see Tabernacle frames
- boiling kid in milk, *Addend.* xxviii, xlvi, cxv, 143
- boils, see plagues
- book of Yahweh, the cxxii, cxxxii, 209 f.
- Booths, festival of, see Festivals
- breastplate, see *hōshen*
- bull, the golden xxxiv f., lxi, lxix, cxxviii, 203—7
- bull-worship in Israel 174, 204
- burnt-offering lxxii, 124, 147, 190, 193 f.; altar of, see altar
- Canaanites vii, xlvi f., l, lvi, lxxv, lxxxiii, civ, 17, 19, 144, 204
- cattle plague, see plagues
- cherubim lxxx, lxxxiv f., xci, 159—162, 172 f.
- chronology of Exodus 75 f.
- circumcision 27, 29 f.
- cloud, different conceptions of the 81 f., 96; later references to the cxxvi, cxxxi
- colours, significance of lxxxix, 157
- consecrate, see 'fill the hand,' 'fillings,' priests
- contribution ('heave-offering') lxxii, 192, 228
- court of the Tabernacle 156, 175; and see pillars
- covenant cxxvii, cxxxi, 35, 110, 147, 150—4; the laws of the xxviii—xxxii, cxiv, 123—5, 137—140, 153, 216, 218—221; the ceremony of the xxxi, cxxvii f., cxxxi
- covetousness lv, lxix, 120 f.
- curtains, see Tabernacle
- darkness at the Red Sea 85—7; the 9th plague, see plagues
- David lx, lxxv, lxxxii, 164, 166, 182
- decatalogue, the: date lxii f., 114; division into ten words lvi f.; ethical standard

- lviii f.; later expansions lvii f.; order of the commands 119; a product of the northern kingdom lxiii f.; prohibition of images lix ff., 204; relation to other laws lxi f., 216; referred to in the O.T. cxvii; the Apocr. cxviii; the N.T. cxviii f.; text 114—121
- Deuteronomic passages (R^p), characteristics of i, v f.; date xii; religious teaching cxii f.
- diadem of Aaron lxxi, 186
- Dophkah c
- E**, characteristics of i, viii f.; date xii; religious teaching cxx ff.
- Edom xcv, xcix ff., ciii f., cx n.¹
- '*Ēl*, '*Elōah*, '*Elōhīm* 38—40
- elders 19
- Eleazar 37, 105, 146, 177
- Eli lxvii f., lxxxii
- Eliezer, 12 n., 105
- Elim xxi, xcviii f., ci, 94; Elath, Eloth, El-Paran xcviii ff., ciii, 94
- ephah 100
- ephod lx, lxx, 156, 177 f., 181—4
- Ētham xciv f., 81, 93
- Exodus, references to the: in the O.T. cxvii f.; the Apocr. cxvii f.; the N.T. cxviii—cxxxiii
- Ezekiel, temple and ecclesiastical ideals of xli, xlv, lxix, lxxv, lxxxiii—lxxxv, cxxxiii, 125 f., 175, 194 f., 198 n.; teaches individual responsibility 116 f.
- fallow year xviii, xliii, cxv, 139 f.
- false witness lv, 117, 120, 138
- fat of sacrifices xxviii, xlv f., lxxii, cxv, 66, 70, 126, 143 n., 189
- Festivals, the three annual: Unleavened cakes or *Mazzōth* xviii, xxviii, xliii f., 62 f., 71, 78, 140 ff., 218, 220; Harvest, Pentecost or Weeks xxviii, xl, xlv, 109, 141 f., 220; Booths or Ingathering xxviii, xlv f., 63 n.¹, 141 f., 220
- 'fill the hand' lxxii, 188, 191, 208
- 'fillings' 191
- finger of God, the cxxxi, 43, 51, 203
- firstborn, death of the, *see* plagues; Israel Yahweh's firstborn cxxii, cxviii, 27; offering of xviii, xxviii, xli, cxix, 62, 66, 78 f., 137, 140, 218, 220
- firstfruits, offering of xxviii, xl f., cxiv f., 62, 66, 137, 140—3, 221
- firstlings, offering of xxviii, xlii, cxiv f., 62, 66, 78 f., 137, 140, 218, 220
- flies, *see* plagues
- frames (*kerāshīm*), *see* Tabernacle
- frogs, *see* plagues
- frontlets 80
- gēr*, *see* sojourner
- Gershom xxiv, 12, 104
- Gideon lx, lxx
- 'glory' iii, xxii, lxxxiv, cxxiii, cxv, cxviii, cxxx, 149, 214, 222, 241 f.
- Gomer lxiii
- Goshen xcii f., 3
- H**, Law of Holiness xv, xxxviii, xl, xlii—xlv, lii—lvi, 34, 194, 203
- hag*, *haj* xl, cxi, 30, 63
- hail, *see* plagues
- Hammurabi 76.122; the code of xxxix n.¹, xlvii—xlix, li n., 127, 133
- hamsin* wind, the 46, 60
- Harvest, festival of, *see* Festivals
- Hazereth c, civ
- heave-offering, *see* contribution
- Herod's temple lxxxv n.¹, 164 f., 16b, 168, 195
- hetem* xciv f.
- Hobab viii, xxiv, 11, 107 f.
- holiness, Israelite conception of iv, 111, 193, 197, 199; of Yahweh lxxxvii, cxxv, 155
- 'Holiness to Yahweh' lxxi, cxvii, 186
- homicide, the law of lii f.
- Horeb. the use of the name characteristic of E viii, xiii, xxiii, xxxv, 16; the locality of xcix, cii—cvi
- hornet cxviii, 145
- horns of the altar 174, 189
- Hosea vi, lx f., lxviii f., 120, 145
- hōshen* ('breastplate') lxx, cxvii, 156, 178—181, 184
- hōthēn*, *hāthān* 11, 27
- Hur lxix, cxvii f., 102, 106
- images, worship of xxviii, xxxv, xl, lix—lxi, 115, 124, 204, 219
- incense iv, 199 f.; 'spices for xxxvii; altar of, *see* altar
- infinitive forms in E ix
- Ingathering, festival of, *see* Festivals
- inspiration xxix, li, cvi, cxix, 43, 114, 123, 177
- Isaiah vi, lix, lxiii, 120
- Ithamar 37, 146, 177, 235 f.
- J**, characteristics of i, vi—viii; date xii; religious teaching cxx—cxxxii
- jealousy of Yahweh lvii, 116, 129
- Jebel Musa* c—cii, cv
- Jeremiah lxxxii, cxv, cxvii, 92, 116, 147, 154, 164 n.², 166
- Jeroboam I lxi, 204
- Jesus Christ x f., lix, cxix, cxxv, cxxix—cxxxiii, 1, 17, 67 f., 84, 88, 147, 172, 181, 199

- Jethro viii, xxiii, xxxiii, cv, cxi, cxiii f., 11, 26, 104—108
 Jochebed, *see* Yochebed
 Joshua xxxii—xxxv, lxviii, lxxx, cxvi f., 18, 163, 212 f.
 jubile xliii, 112
 judgements (*mishpāṭim*) xxvii f., xlvi—liv, 126—134, 136
 justice enjoined lv, 138
- Ḳadesh xcix, cii—cvi, 13, 101 f.
kappōreth lxxx, lxxxv, xci, 159 f., 162 n., 196
 Kenites cxiii f., 10
kerāshim, *see* Tabernacle
 Kesem (Γέσμη) xcii f.
 kidnapping lv
kinnim ('mosquitoes'), *see* plagues
kipper ('make atonement') 160, 209
Kōdhes̄h leYahweh, *see* 'Holiness to Yahweh'
kōpher ('ransom') 130, 197
- lampstand, the golden lxxx, lxxxv, xc, cxxxiii, 156, 166 f.
 laver, the lxxxvi, lxxxix f., 198
 leaven xxviii, xlv., cxv, 69—71, 143
 Levi lxvii, 6, 26, 36
 Levites consecrated at Sinai xxiv, 207 f.; substitutes for firstborn xli; their cattle substituted for firstlings xlii; formed the priestly caste lxvi, 26; relation to Levi lxvii, 26; relation to Aaron and Moses lxviii, 36 f.; inferior to the priests lxix f., lxxxi, lxxxvi, cxxv, 188, 235
lex talionis, *see* retaliation
 locusts, *see* plagues
- magicians cxxxii, 42 f., 48 f.
 Manasseh, king lxiii, 135, 164, 200
 manna xxi f., cxi, cxxvii f., 95—100
 Marah xxi, xcvi, ci, cxxviii, 94
 marriage 134
 Massah xxi, xxiii, cxxvi, 101
mazzēbhāh, *-ōth* xxxi f., lx, 126, 144 f., 147, 219
mazzōth, *see* Unleavened cakes and Festivals
 meal-offering, *see* *minhāh*
 mercy-seat, *see* *kappōreth*
 Merenptah xciv, cix, 13 f., 83
 Meribah xxiii, xcix, cii f., cxxvi, 101
 Micah the Ephraimite lx, lxvi
 Micah the prophet vi, lix, lxiii, 120
 Midian ci, cv, 10, 15
 Migdol cv f.
minhāh = 'meal-offering' or cereal offering 194
 Miriam cxviii, cxxvi, 93
- mishpāṭim*, *see* judgements
 monolatry xxxix f., lxxxiii, cviii, 110 f., 115
 months, the Hebrew 68, 78, 109
 Moses: his name 8 f.; his call xiii, 14—20, 34 f.; his family 6, 11, 36; converses with Yahweh xxiii, lxv, 33, 161, 213; intercedes for the people xxxvi, cxxviii, 205 f., 209 f., 214; his personality necessary to account for Israelite history cviii; unites the tribes in the worship of Yahweh cxii—cxvi, 153; considered as ancestor of priests lxvii; as Leader cix—cxii, cxxviii; as Lawgiver and Teacher ix, cxvi f.; as author of the Pentateuch ix—xi, cxxix; as the Representative of the Old Covenant cxxix
 mosquitoes, *see* plagues
 murder liii, 120
 Muzri, Muzri 14
- Nadab cxviii, 37, 146, 177
 'name,' significance of a 117 f., 215; of Yahweh 14 f., 18 f., 21—23, 144, 215
 new moon 122
 Nile (*ye'ōr*) 5 f.; turned to blood, *see* plagues
 numbers of the Israelites, the 75, 107, 236
 numbers, significance of, in the Tabernacle lxxxviii f.
- offer ('bring near') iv, 229
 Oholiab 202
 oil for the lamps xxxvii, 176; for anointing xxxvii, 188, 199
'ōlāh, *see* burnt-offering
 ordeals lxy, 133
 orphans, treatment of liv f., 135
- P, characteristics of i—v; date xii; religious teaching cxxiii ff.
 Paran ciii f.
parōkhet̄h, *see* veil of the Tabernacle
 Passover, the xviii, xxxix, xlv, cxv, cxxvii, cxxx, 62—68, 69—73, 77, 143
 peace-offering lxxii, 124 f., 147, 191
 Pentecost, *see* Festivals
pesel, *pesilim* lx, 115
 Pharaoh, the title 3
 Philistines 80; Philistia 91
 Phinehas lxvii, 37, 152
 Pi-hahiroth xcv
 'pile-bread,' *see* presence-bread
 pillar of fire cxxviii, 81 f., 85 f., 96
 pillars of Tabernacle court lxxviii f., lxxxvi
 Pithom *Addend.* xciii f., 4, 13

- plagues: literary history xv ff.; character 42; relation to natural phenomena cx, 43—46; religious teaching 46; referred to in the O.T. cxxvi; the Apocr. cxxvii; the N.T. cxxxii; Nile water 44, 47 f.; frogs 44, 48—50; mosquitoes 44 f., 50 f.; flies 44 f., 51 f.; cattle plague 45, 53; boils 45, 53 f.; hail 45, 54—6; locusts 45, 57—9; darkness 45 f., 59 f.; death of firstborn 46, 61, 73
- pledges, law of lv, 136
- poll-tax 196 f., 235
- pomegranates on Aaron's robe 185
- prayer, the power of 46, 102
- pre-Mosaic religion xxxix, cxv, 64 f., 121—3, 163, 185
- presence-bread xc, 165 f.
- priests: early functions lxiv f.; identical with Levites lxvi; relation to Levi lxvii; relation to Aaron lxviii; vestments lxx f., lxxxvi, cxxv, cxxvii, 156, 176—187; consecration lxxi ff., cxxv, 187—193; *see also* Levites
- prince (*nāsi*) v, xxix, lxxxiii, 137
- 'propitiatory,' the, *see kappōreth*
- prove, *see test*
- Putiel 37
- quails xxi f., cxi, cxxviii, 95, 97
- R, Redactors xii, xxiv f.; *see* Deuteronomic passages
- Raamses *Addend.* xciii f., 4, 13, 74
- Ramses II xciii f., 2 f., 7, 12 f., 15, 31
- ransom, a (*kopher*) 130, 197
- redeem 85, 92
- Red Sea, the crossing of the xix f., xcvi f., cxxvi, cxxviii, 82—88; a type of Baptism cxxxi, 84
- Rephidim xxi, xxiii, xxv, xcix, ciii f., 100
- rēshith* xli, 221
- retaliation, law of xlvi, liii, cxxviii f., 130
- Reuel 11
- robe, the violet, of Aaron 185
- Ruskin lxxxix, cxxiv f.
- Sabbath, the cxxviii f., xliii, lvii f., cxv, 99, 118 f., 121—3, 140, 202 f., 220, 227
- salt in sacrifices 200
- Samuel lx, lxxxii, 163
- Sargon I l, 7
- Sau lx, lxv
- screen of Tabernacle court lxxviii; of the door lxxxv f., 156
- sealskins (dugong) 157, 170
- segullāh* cxxvii, 110
- Serbal, Mt ci
- serving-women at door of Tabernacle 234
- Seti I 12
- Seti II xcvi
- shabbūthōn* v, 99
- Shaddai, 'El Shaddai 40 f.
- shāv'* ('vanity,' 'falseness') lxii f., 117, 120
- 'shekel of the sanctuary,' sacred shekel iv, 168, 197
- shew-bread, *see* presence-bread
- shōṭerim* 31
- Shur xc, 93
- sin-offering lxxi f., 189, 193
- Sin, wilderness of xcix, 95
- Sinai, the use of the name characteristic of J viii, xxvi, xxx, 16; the locality of xcvi—civ
- sirocco or S.E. wind xcvi
- slaves, law of li f., cxxvii, 127 ff., 131
- sojourner (*gér*) liv, 72, 77, 135 f.
- Solomon's temple lxxviii, lxxv, lxxviii f., lxxxii—lxxxiv, xc n.¹, 126, 159, 162, 164, 167, 170, 172, 175, 185, 195, 198, 204
- song of Moses, the xx, cxxvii, cxxxii, 88—93
- sorcery liv, 135
- Succoth (Thku) xciv, cx n.¹, 13, 74
- symbolism, *see* Tabernacle
- Tabernacle: literary form of the description 155 f., 223—6; curtains lxxiii, lxxvii f., 169 f.; frames (*kerashim*) lxxiv ff., lxxix f., lxxxv, 170—2; measurements lxxix; names lxxxvii f., 158; historicity lxxix—lxxxii, 155; place in Israel's religious history lxxxiii f., cxxiv f., 155, 158; relation to temples of Solomon and Ezekiel lxxxiv—lxxxvi; symbolism lxxxvi—xcii; referred to in the O.T. cxxvii; the Apocr. cxxviii; N.T. typology cxxxii f.
- table of presence-bread lxxx, lxxxvi, xc, 156, 164 f.
- Tell-el-Mashkuta xciii f.
- Temple, *see* Tabernacle, Solomon, Ezekiel, Zerubbabel, Herod
- temūnāh* 115
- Tent of Meeting xxxii f., lxxxii f., cxvi, 81, 161, 211—3
- terāphim* lx, 182
- Testimony, the, *see* Witness
- testing, or proving, of man by God ix, xxi, 94, 95, 123
- theft liii, 131 f.
- theophany viii, xxv f., cxxvi, cxxviii, 16, 110—3, 123, 217

- Thku, *see* Succoth
 Timsah Lake xcvi
 tōrah, -ōth lxiii, lrv, 106, 188
 torn flesh (*terēphāh*) xxviii, xlii, 138
 rōshābh ('sojourner') 77
 transpositions in the text xiii, xxii—
 xxviii, xxx f., xxxvi, 192
 Tummim 179, 181—4
 turban ('mitre') lxx, 186

 Unleavened cakes (*mazzōth*), festival of,
 see Festivals; use of 69 f.
 'Urim 179, 181—4
 usury lv, 136

 veil: on Moses' face cxxx, 222; of the
 Tabernacle lxxxvi, 156, 172 f., 196,
 227

 wave-offering lxxii, 191 f., 228
 Weeks, festival of, *see* Festivals
 widows, treatment of liv f., 135
 wind as Yahweh's instrument xvii, 59,
 86 f., 97

 witchcraft 117
 Witness or Testimony (the tablets of
 the decalogue) v, xxii, lxxxvii, 100,
 200

yādhōth (arms of the frames) lxxiv,
 170 f.
 Yah 90, 104
 Yahweh, *see* name of Yahweh, Angel,
 glory, holiness
 Yam Sūph xcvi, xcix f., 7, 81, 95; and
 see Red Sea
yōbhēl xxvi, xxxii, 112
 Yochebed 6, 36
 young men as slayers of victims lrv,
 cxiv, 147
 Ysiraal on the stele of Merenptah eix

 Zadok lxviii f.
 Zerubbabel's temple lxxxiv, lxxxv n.¹,
 xc, 164, 175, 195, 198 n.
 Zin, wilderness of ciii f.
 Zippōrah xxiv, 12, 28, 104

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