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THE CENTURY BIBLE

EXODUS

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The Century Bible

General Editor:
Walter F. Adeney, M.A., D.D.
Principal

Exodus

INTRODUCTION; REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES, GIVING AN ANALYSIS SHOWING FROM WHICH OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS EACH PORTION OF THE TEXT IS TAKEN; INDEX AND MAP

EDITED BY

W. H. BENNETT, D.D. (Aber.)

M.A. (Lond.), Litt.D. (Camb.)
Professor, Hackney and New Colleges, London
Sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge

Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

For the chief works used in the preparation of this edition of *Exodus* see on page 37, and acknowledgements in footnotes. The Editor is specially indebted to Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy's articles on the Tabernacle, &c., &c., in Dr. Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*. He has to thank Prof. Kennedy, Dr. Hastings, and Messrs. T. & T. Clark for permission to use some of the illustrations in the *Dictionary*; and the publishers of the *Oxford Helps to the Study of the Bible* for permission to use an illustration taken from the Arch of Titus. The division of the text between the documents out of which *Exodus* was compiled is indicated by capitals inserted in the text in brackets, and at the head of the pages. These capitals are explained in the Table of Symbols, p. 29.

Explanations of points in chapters xxxv–xl must for the most part be looked for in earlier sections, of which these chapters are largely a word for word repetition.

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THE BOOK OF EXODUS

INTRODUCTION

THE BOOK OF EXODUS

INTRODUCTION

I. Historical and Religious Significance[1].

Our book is of immense importance for Revealed Religion, partly on account of the light it throws on the social and religious history of Israel. Its value largely arises from the way in which it was composed; it is the last of several editions of the history and laws of the Chosen People; and thus it preserves for us traditions from many sources and periods[2]. Briefly, two collections of traditions and customary law were compiled some time before the Fall of Samaria, B. C. 721: these two collections may be called the Primitive Document[3] and the Elohistic Document[4]; they passed through various editions, and were ultimately combined into a single work, and were further combined with other documents, notably the Priestly Document[5], composed some time after the Exile. Other minor additions were made later, until our *Exodus* was completed in its present form.

Thus our book reflects the social and religious life of Israel for many centuries. As the hills, the river-beds and banks, the railway cuttings of a district, may reveal a succession of geological strata, and throw light upon the history of our globe through many thousands of years, so the striking variety of style and ideas in the Pentateuch teaches the humble and devout student of God's Word much concerning the successive stages by which Revelation

[1] For the historical method of the O.T. and its value for religion see the present writer's *Genesis*, pp. 4–7, 47–51, and Dr. Skinner's *Kings*, pp. 3–10.

[2] Cf. further pp. 15 ff.

[3] Cf. further p. 19.

[4] Cf. further p. 22.

[5] Cf. further p. 25.

was imparted to Israel. Or, to use another figure—let us imagine a rambling old manor house: an expert 'conversant with the history and details of architecture' will at once discern that it has been built in different styles at various periods. The main building, perhaps, is Elizabethan, but the hall has been taken over from a Tudor house on the same site; certain features of the stables and the cellars show that portions of Norman and even Saxon work have been preserved. On the other hand, a Georgian squire has added a picture-gallery, his grandson a billiard-room, and his great-great-grandson a motor garage. Such a building is an epitome of the history of England[1]. So with *Exodus*, any one who is conversant with the history of the language, literature, and the political, social, and religious life of Israel at once discerns that its various sections have been composed at various times under different conditions. In the great groups of chapters belonging to the Priestly Documents he discovers an invaluable mass of information concerning the Jews of the Restoration; but embedded between these groups he finds traditions that were current in the time of David and Solomon, and customs that may partly belong to a still more remote antiquity. Indeed there is hardly a generation from David to Ezra, and even later, that has not left some trace of its religious thought and feeling on the Pentateuch. We cannot now indeed assign with certainty a date, a place of origin, and still less an author to every section, or—to recur to our figure—we cannot say with certainty when and by whom every piece of repair in the stonework was executed, or every additional pinnacle, turret, or other ornament was added. But the whole provides a vast store of information for the scholar, and is a perennial source of inspiration for the docile disciple of the Spirit of God. It stands as a

[1] This illustration is adapted from Milner's *Gallery of Nature*, p. 784.

monument of a continuous Revelation and a never-failing response. With the perfect candour from which the Bible never shrinks, it shows us how foolishness, selfishness, and sin interpreted the Divine message amiss, and obscured and distorted the Vision of the Most High. Yet, in spite of this, we see how at all times God was seeking man.

> 'Eager to find if ever, or if any,
> Souls will obey and hearken to His will'—

God was seeking Man and finding him; and Man too was seeking God and finding Him.

The direct spiritual value of such a book is obvious, and the Church has owed much to *Exodus*, perhaps chiefly in the way of type and allegory. The fortunes of Israel were a parable of the believer's escape from the bondage of sin, of his backslidings and chastisements, and of Divine patience, discipline, and deliverance—a *Pilgrim's Progress*, long before Bunyan wrote. The Tabernacle and its ritual have been an inexhaustible mine of types and metaphors of Christ and His work.

II. Moses and the Exodus.

In these days the apostolic admonition to 'prove all things' is very thoroughly observed, and even the most fundamental persons and facts of Israelite history have not escaped a ruthless scrutiny. It has even been doubted whether such a person as Moses[1] ever existed, or whether the Twelve Tribes were ever in bondage in Egypt. Clearly if there were no sojourn in Egypt, there could have been no Exodus. Moses, it has been suggested, was the eponymous ancestor of a Levitical family. Distinguished names can, indeed, be quoted in favour of such views; but we believe that it is still true that the weight of authority supports the historical character of Moses and of the crucial events of the Exodus, i.e. the sojourn of Israelite

[1] Cf. on ii. 10.

tribes in Egypt; the oppression; the flight; the deliverance at the Red Sea; a period of nomad life; the beginning of the national existence of Israel by a federation of tribes; and an advance in Revealed Religion connected with the adoption of Yahweh as the God of Israel. In all this Moses was the leading spirit[1]; and although most of the legislation belongs to a later time, doubtless the Pentateuch includes laws which Moses ordained or adopted.

But when we attempt to go further we are confronted by serious difficulties[2]; *Exodus* itself preserves for us a number of conflicting traditions. The records of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt do not yet afford us any material help in reconstructing the detailed history of Moses and his followers. A few years, however, may make large additions to our knowledge from the inscriptions, so that any theories now held are merely tentative.

We may, however, mention one view which offers an explanation of some of the present evidence. It is suggested that there was more than one invasion of Canaan by the Israelites; that first one group of tribes, and then another, endeavoured, with more or less success, to obtain a footing in Palestine; that only some of the tribes, possibly only Joseph, sojourned in Egypt; and that while some of the Israelites were in Egypt, others were still living a nomad life to the south and east of Palestine, while others, again, were already settled in the Promised Land. After the Exodus, the Israelites from Egypt joined the nomad tribes, and a subsequent invasion of Canaan united them with the earlier settlers, and completed the Twelve Tribes.

III. Aaron and the Tabernacle[3].

The case of Aaron presents special difficulties; it is questioned whether he figured at all in the ancient

[1] Cf. the present writer's article Moses in *DB.*
[2] Cf. pp. 8 ff. [3] Cf. on iv. 14 and Appendix II.

traditions as they were recorded in the earliest editions of either of the Primitive or the Elohistic Document. He is supposed to have been introduced into the story by the authors of the later additions or notes to these works, some time before B. C. 700.

Aaron, the brother of Moses, the ancestor of the Jerusalem priesthood, belongs to the post-exilic Priestly versions of the tradition[1]. In the earlier tradition Joshua is the Priest of the 'Tent of Meeting[2].'

In the sections of the earlier documents as they now stand the name of Aaron has been introduced by the editors[3]—freely, but not systematically; it is absent from whole sections where it would naturally occur. The result is that Aaron is as a rule a mere shadow of Moses. Curiously enough, in the only two sections in which he acts independently, he plays an unworthy part; he manufactures the Golden Calf, and he sets himself up in opposition to Moses[4]. Both of these incidents are ascribed to the Elohistic Document; perhaps the author or one of the editors of that work was acquainted with a tradition in which Aaron figured not as a priest and a brother of Moses, but as a rival leader.

As the consonants of the Hebrew name *Aharon* (Aaron) only differ from *aron*, the word for 'ark,' by the insertion of 'h,' as Abraham differs from Abram, it has been suggested that originally Aaron was a personification of the Ark. The priesthood of the Ark might be called 'sons of the Ark' as a Christian might be called 'a child of the Cross.' Moses was identified with the northern kingdom as the ancestor of the priesthood of Dan[5]. Thus the rivalry of the two priesthoods may have given rise to the tradition of the antagonism of Moses and Aaron.

---

[1] Exodus iv. 14 presents difficulties as regards this view; we have not space to discuss how these might be met.

[2] Exod. xxxiii. 11.

[3] According to the view which we are expounding.

[4] Num. xii. [5] Judges xviii. 30.

The elaborate accounts of the Tabernacle and its furniture, of the priests and their vestments in Exodus xxv–xxxi, xxxv–xl also belong to the late Priestly writings. The chief historical value of these chapters lies in their relation to the Temple. Up to a certain point they reproduce the features of Solomon's Temple, and are based upon the ritual of its services in the closing years of the Jewish Monarchy. On the other hand, these chapters were intended as directions for the worship at Jerusalem after the Return, and largely determined the character of the post-exilic Temples and their services.

At the same time the earlier tradition is acquainted with a 'Tent of Meeting'; and there is nothing improbable in the idea that the Israelites in their nomad life had a sacred tent; but this would be smaller and less elaborate than the Tabernacle described in Exodus. Movable shrines of a comparatively simple character are shown in sculptures of Egyptian camps.

IV. The Date of the Exodus.

It is customary to speak of Rameses II, B. C. 1300–1234[1], as the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son and successor, Merenptah, B. C. 1234–1214,[1] as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, as if this were an established fact. Really it is only one among many theories, though perhaps it is the theory most widely accepted at present, e. g. by Prof. E. L. Curtis[2]. This theory rests on a very narrow and precarious foundation. In i. 11[3] it is stated that the Israelites during the Oppression built Pithom and Rameses, and Egyptian inscriptions show that building operations

[1] These dates are those given by Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie in his *History of Egypt*, iii. 2. There is no absolute agreement as to the chronology; but a comparison of authorities suggests that the above dates may be accepted as approximately correct.

[2] *DB.*, Chronology, with some hesitation as to Merenptah.

[3] Cf. further the notes on this verse.

were carried on at Pithom under Rameses II. The date thus obtained is inconsistent with the Biblical chronology; and it is held by many scholars that this theory is rendered impossible by recent discoveries in Egypt;[1] to this we shall return.

The old-fashioned traditional theories, following the more conspicuous evidence of the Old Testament, placed the Exodus much earlier[2]. Take, for instance, Archbishop Ussher, whose dates, unfortunately, are still printed in the margins of many current editions of the Bible. Ussher dates the Exodus in B.C. 1491. On the other hand, some modern scholars propose the period after the death of Rameses III, *c.* B.C. 1200.

Let us consider first the Biblical data; it will be seen that they are inconsistent.

(i) Exodus i. 11, just referred to, gives *prima facie* strong support to the view that Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression. Nevertheless it is only an isolated, uncorroborated assertion of a relatively late tradition; nor does it seem absolutely impossible that the work of the Israelites at Pithom might be different from the building carried out under the orders of Rameses II.

Moreover, as many scholars have felt, even if Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression it does not follow that Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. It is true that in *Exodus* the one seems to be the successor of the other, but tradition is not careful in such matters.

If, however, this theory is adopted, the Exodus would be dated in B.C. 1214. It is not, indeed, definitely stated that the Pharaoh of the Exodus perished in the Red Sea, but that is the obvious intention of the narrative.

This very precise determination of the date, however, has been set aside by the discovery of the mummy of Merenptah, which shows that he was not drowned in the

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[1] e.g. Guthe, Auszug, in the *Kurzer Bibelwörterbuch.*

[2] Cf. below (ii) and (iii).

Red Sea. Thus we should merely have a date between B. C. 1234–1214.

(ii) In 1 Kings vi. 1 it is stated that Solomon began to build the Temple in the fourth year of his reign, in the 480th year after the Exodus. Solomon's son, Rehoboam, was a contemporary of the Egyptian king Shishak[1], B. C. 952–930[2]. On this and other grounds the accession of Solomon is placed about B. C. 970. This would give us for the date of the Exodus B. C. 1450.

(iii) According to any natural application of the view that our books from *Joshua* to *Kings* are always to be understood as accurate literal history, a series of periods —reigns, judgeships, oppressions, &c.—would be taken to run consecutively; and this would give us an interval of considerably more than 534 years between the Exodus and the Building of the Temple[3]. This would fix the date of the Exodus some time before B. C. 1504.

(iv) According to Exodus xii. 40 f. the Israelites were in Egypt 430 years[4], and according to the figures in *Genesis* there was an interval of 190 years between the birth of Isaac and the settlement of Jacob in Egypt[5]. Now the birth of Isaac took place after the invasion of Amraphel[6]. Amraphel is usually identified with Hammurabi, who may possibly have reigned as late as B. C. 1920[7]. This would fix the Exodus before 1920—620=B. C. 1300.

(v) The genealogies are comparatively useless for such

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[1] 1 Kings xiv. 15. [2] Petrie, iii. 232, cf. p. 8.

[3] The sum of the periods actually given is 534, and no periods are given for the leadership of Joshua, the judgeship of Samuel, or the reign of Saul. Cf. Bennett and Adeney, *Biblical Introduction*, pp. 83 ff.

[4] In Gen. xv. 13, the 'affliction' is to last 400 years: cf. notes on the two passages.

[5] Counting backwards, Jacob was 130 years old when he settled in Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9; Isaac was 60 years old when Jacob was born, Gen. xxv. 26.

[6] Gen. xiv. 1, xv. 1, xxi. 2. Cf. Appendix III.

[7] Page 13. Winckler, however, *Hist. Baby. and Assyr.*, dates Hammurabi, B. C. 2267–2213; others give B. C. 2100.

purposes as this; for many reasons, the most obvious being that it is always possible that links have been omitted for the sake of brevity or by accident. Nevertheless, it is worth while noticing the difference in the genealogies as to the number of generations. It may fairly be regarded as another trace of the existence of conflicting traditions. In view of the very slight value of this evidence, we need not dwell upon it, but a single instance may be given.

Combining Gen. xxxviii. 29 with Ruth iv. 18–22, we get *nine* names between Jacob and David[1]. Again, combining Exod. vi. 16–20 with 1 Chron. vi. 49–53, there are *thirteen* names between Jacob and Zadok the contemporary of David[2].

Speaking generally, it is almost impossible to reconcile the genealogies with any of the earlier dates suggested for the Exodus.

(vi) We may turn next to the Egyptian and other inscriptions. The evidence from these sources is still meagre and ambiguous[3], but a certain amount is slowly accumulating, and it is becoming more and more difficult to reconcile the testimony of the monuments with the Biblical narratives, if the latter are interpreted as a single consecutive story. If, however, we adopt some such division into sources as that of this volume, it may be possible to combine the statements of the older documents with the inscriptions. Possibly, too, we should find it necessary to modify the somewhat doubtful division of the material between the Primitive Document and the Elohistic Document[4].

We may mention two or three of the more important inscriptions which may bear upon our problems[5].

[1] Not counting either Jacob or David.

[2] Not counting either Jacob or Zadok.

[3] Much that is commonly adduced is irrelevant, at any rate as far as the main issues are concerned.

[4] Cf. pp. 27 f.

[5] Cf. Bennett and Adeney, *Biblical Introduction*, pp. 64, 77.

In the celebrated Amarna Tablets, *c.* B. C. 1400, certain *Habiri* are spoken of as invading Palestine, and these are identified by some scholars with the Hebrews. This would place the Exodus about B. C. 1440, which fairly agrees with the date given us by 1 Kings vi. 1[1].

Inscriptions of Rameses II and his predecessor Seti I apparently mention the tribe of Asher in its proper district in Palestine, at a time when, according to the Rameses-Merenptah theory[2], it was undergoing oppression in Egypt together with the other tribes.

Then there is an inscription of Merenptah himself, which at first sight seems fatal to the Rameses-Merenptah theory. The natural interpretation of it seems to be that Merenptah laid waste the lands of Israel in Palestine, whereas if he was the Pharaoh of the Exodus he died before Israel had any lands in Palestine. However, it does not seem absolutely certain that it is correct to read one of the names in this inscription as Israel; and the sentence is sufficiently indefinite to admit of more than one possible explanation.

Turning to more general considerations, the Exodus seems to have taken place when Egypt was weak and had lost its dominion over Sinai and Palestine. Such a state of affairs existed in the period of the Amarna Tablets[3] and after the death of Rameses III, *c.* B. C. 1200. The Syrian dominion was also lost for a time after the death of Merenptah, but was speedily recovered by Rameses III.

At present, therefore, it is impossible to combine the Biblical statements with the evidence of the monuments so as to fix the date of the Exodus with any certainty. On the one hand, Exodus i. 11 might, with sufficient manipulation of the figures, be combined with Exodus xii. 40; Gen. xv. 13, in support of the Rameses-Merenptah theory[4].

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[1] Cf. (ii) above.
[2] Cf. (i) above.
[3] Cf. above.
[4] Cf. above (i), (iv).

And, on the other hand, 1 Kings vi. 1 [1] might be supported by the Amarna Tablets and some of the other archaeological evidence. Perhaps the Israelites preserved traditions of two distinct invasions.

V. The Book of the Covenant and the Code of Hammurabi [2].

For the historian the most valuable part of *Exodus* is chapters xx–xxiii, which include the Ten Commandments and the Book of the Covenant. From the latter we get a vivid picture of social conditions under the Early Monarchy. Israel, it appears, was a purely agricultural people—there is hardly any reference to trade. The extremes of wealth and poverty are rare; as a rule the free Israelite is a farmer cultivating his own land. Slavery exists in a comparatively mild form. There are survivals of primitive barbarism; we meet with the principle of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' and a man is allowed to flog male and female slaves to death provided they do not actually die under his hand. But on the whole the Book of the Covenant is an attempt to secure an advance in justice and humanity. It compares favourably with the English criminal law in the eighteenth century, and with the statutes of the slave states of America in the earlier half of the nineteenth century. One of the most interesting discoveries of modern times, the Code of Hammurabi, shows that the Book of the Covenant largely reproduces the social principles and customs of the ancient Semitic peoples.

Hammurabi, probably the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. 1, was one of the most important personalities in the history of Western Asia, a great conqueror, administrator, and lawgiver. We may possibly put him as late as about B.C.

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[1] Cf. above (iii). [2] Cf. p. 10.

1900[1]. In January 1902 a monument of this king's discovered inscribed with a collection of laws. It ' 'a block of black diorite, nearly eight feet high, fou in pieces, but readily rejoined[2].' The inscription cov two sides of the block, and at the top of one side th is a sculpture representing Hammurabi receiving l laws from Shamash the sun-god, 'the judge of heav and earth.' The inscription may be roughly describe as about half the length of *Exodus*.

The contents show that the empire of Hammurabi w a much more highly organized and civilized state th the Israel of the Book of the Covenant; commer especially played a much more important part in t life of the people.

There were law courts, legal documents, deeds of sal marriage settlements, title-deeds, regulations as to tl tenure, renting, and cultivation of the land; as to damag done to property; as to the relations of a merchant an his agent; as to the management of public-houses, as to betrothals, marriage, divorce, adoption, and inheritance; as to wages, doctors' fees, the hire of oxen, waggons, and boats.

In the detailed notes[3] we point out the close agreement both in substance and in wording between some corresponding laws in the two codes. If we are asked to compare the ethical value of the two sets of laws[4], each has points in which it is superior to the other. Both codes were, on the whole just, enlightened, and humane,

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[1] But C. H. Johns, B. C. 2285–2242. See p. 37 for the title of Mr. Johns' translation of the legal portion of this inscription. This little work, published at eighteenpence or two shillings, places the Code within reach of every one. Cf. p. 10.

[2] Cf. notes on xx–xxiii.

[3] See on xxi. 2, 15 ff., 22, 26–32; xxii. 6–12.

[4] Leaving theology out of the question. The introduction to the Code of Hammurabi brings into prominence the polytheism of the Babylonian King.

judged according to the circumstances of their times, but perhaps the balance would incline somewhat in favour of the Book of the Covenant.

Seeing that the Babylonian laws are centuries older than the Israelite, it might seem at first sight natural to explain the parallels by supposing that the more recent borrowed from the more ancient. And as Hammurabi's code was known and studied in Babylonia and Assyria from the time when it was composed until after the Jewish Exile, Israelite lawgivers might have used it at any period of the history. But, while it is clear that the Babylonian code must have had some general and indirect influence at least upon the Book of the Covenant, it is not certain that there was actual borrowing. The resemblances may be mainly due to two facts—(i) that the Israelites and the Babylonians were dealing with similar problems, in the same spirit; they were alike anxious to draw up a set of just laws; (ii) the two codes were alike based on the traditional law and custom prevailing throughout the ancient East.

VI. How EXODUS was written;[1] its Name.

Exodus was not originally a separate book; it is merely the second volume into which the Pentateuch, or Five-Volumed-Work, the Jewish *Torah* or Law, was divided for the sake of convenience. *Genesis* concludes the story of the Patriarchs with the death and burial of Joseph. *Exodus* begins with the formation of the people of Israel by the rapid multiplication of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt; it tells the story of the Oppression, the birth and early years of Moses, the Ten Plagues, the Exodus or Departure from Egypt, the Deliverance at the Red Sea, the march to Sinai, the giving of the Law, and

[1] Cf. for further details *Century Bible*, 'Genesis,' pp. 9 ff.

the episode of the Golden Calf; and concludes with the account of the Construction and Erection of the Tabernacle.

As *Exodus* was originally part of the Pentateuch, an account of its origin involves a brief sketch of the history of the larger work of which it is a part.

The Pentateuch was a compilation from earlier works; it was the final edition of the Law of Israel, these earlier works being former editions of that law.

The most important of these earlier works will be spoken of in this commentary as the Primitive Document[1], the Elohistic Document[2], Deuteronomy[3], and the Priestly Document[4]. These four were combined by the editors of the Pentateuch into a single continuous work, just as the Four Gospels are often pieced together to make a continuous story or 'Harmony.' In both cases the editors or harmonizers have largely retained the actual words of the older works. But in the case of the Pentateuch, the piecing together of paragraphs and phrases necessitated the additions of many words and sentences by the editors; who also added numerous notes and comments to explain or correct what they took from their sources. After the fashion of ancient literature these notes and comments came to be written as part of the book itself, with nothing to distinguish them from the portions taken from ancient documents.

The history of the compilation is briefly as follows[5].

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[1] Denoted by the symbol J, and usually known as the Jehovistic or Yahwistic Document: cf. p. 19.

[2] Denoted by the symbol E: cf. p. 22.

[3] Denoted by the symbol D; here, however, this symbol is used for editorial notes in the style and spirit of *Deuteronomy*: cf. p. 17.

[4] Denoted by the symbol P, and often referred to as the Priestly Code: cf. p. 25.

[5] For the sake of clearness many details are omitted. An exact account of what has been ascertained as to the process of compilation would be extremely lengthy and complicated.

At some time between the death of Solomon and the Fall of Samaria[1] two collections were made of ancient laws, customs, and traditions: one, the Primitive Document, in Judah; the other, the Elohistic Document, in the Northern Kingdom. These two works passed through various editions.

In the reign of Manasseh or Josiah[2] a new edition of the laws and customs was compiled in Judah, and was accepted as the Law of Judah by a solemn covenant at the time of the reforms of Josiah[3]. This is the Book of the Law found in the Temple[4], and included the central portions of our Deuteronomy. This also passed through various editions.

About the same time an editor combined current editions of the Primitive Document and of the Elohistic Document into a single work, which we may call the Twofold Document[5].

At some time during the Exile the current editions of *Deuteronomy* and the Twofold Document were combined into what we may call the Threefold Document[6].

After the Exile another new edition of the history and laws was compiled at Babylon some time before the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah[7]; this was the Priestly Document.

Soon after, our Pentateuch was formed by the combination of the Priestly Document with the Threefold Document, together with certain editorial changes[8], Finally, the Pentateuch was divided into our Five Books, and *Exodus* arose as a separate work.

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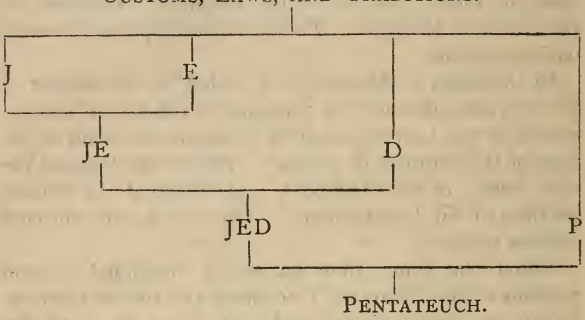
[1] Between about B. C. 960 and B. C. 721.
[2] Between B. C. 700 and B.C. 621.
[3] B. C. 621. [4] 2 Kings xxii f.
[5] Denoted by the symbol JE: cf. on R, p. 30.
[6] Denoted by the symbol JED.
[7] B. C. 444. [8] Cf. *Genesis*, p. 13.

By way of a very rough diagram we may give the following:—



The *Name* EXODUS, 'Departure,' i.e. the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, is derived from the contents of the opening chapters of the book. This name is first found in the manuscripts of the Septuagint[1]; it was adopted by the Vulgate and other Versions, and so became the title of the book in the English Bible. In the Hebrew Bible it is called *We'ēlleh Shemōth*, 'And these are the names,' from the opening words of the first chapter.

VII. SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF EXODUS, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE MAIN SOURCES.

As the Deuteronomic Document, D, was placed, as a whole, almost at the end of the Pentateuch, thus forming the central portion of our *Deuteronomy*, no portion of this document is included in *Exodus*. Hence in this volume we have used the symbol D for various notes, &c., added by editors writing in the spirit or under the influence of the Deuteronomic Document; these are indicated in Table B, and in the notes on the text. Thus our summary

[1] See p. 36.

is only concerned with the Primitive Document, the Elohistic Document, and the Priestly Document; from these we have:—

(*a*) *Contents of the Primitive Document*, J[1]. The portions of this Document which are included in *Exodus* refer to the period from the Oppression and the Birth of Moses to the Giving of the Law. A summary of these is given. Some of the earlier editorial additions which may have been added to this document before it was combined with E are given in italics—which, however, are also used for the headings of the Plagues.

i. 6, 8–12. Death of Joseph. A new Pharaoh oppresses Israel by making them build Pithom and Rameses. Nevertheless they continue to increase.

. . . . . .

ii. 11–23*a*. Moses slays an Egyptian who was ill-treating a Hebrew; and flees to Midian, where he marries the daughter of the Priest of Midian, and has a son, Gershom. Pharaoh dies.

iii (Portions)[2]. Yahweh appears to Moses in the Burning Bush, and bids him return to Egypt and announce to the elders of Israel the approaching deliverance of the people. Then, accompanied by the elders, he is to demand from Pharaoh permission to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh.

iv. 1–12. Moses objects that the Israelites will not believe him.

Yahweh gives him THREE SIGNS to work before them—a rod turned to a serpent; his hand made leprous and healed; water turned to blood.

Moses objects that he is not eloquent. Yahweh replies that He will teach him what to say.

iv. 13–16. *Moses still demurs, and Yahweh promises to give him Aaron the Levite for a spokesman.*

iv. 19–31 (Portions). At the bidding of Yahweh, Moses

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[1] See p. 17. [2] See Table B.

returns to Egypt with his wife and son[1]. On the way Yahweh seeks to kill him, but is appeased by the circumcision of the son.

Moses announces the coming deliverance to the elders of Israel, and does the signs before the people. They believe.

v. 1—vi. 1 (Portions[2]). Moses and the elders appear before Pharaoh and demand permission to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh. Pharaoh refuses, and increases the tasks of the Israelites, who appeal in vain to Him for relief. They reproach Moses. He appeals to Yahweh, who promises deliverance.

vii. 14–25 (Portions[2]). As Pharaoh is stubborn, Yahweh sends on him a succession of *Plagues*[3].

I. *The Fish in the Nile are killed.*

viii. 1–15 (Portions). II. *Frogs.* These are sent through all the land. Pharaoh promises to let the people go to sacrifice; the frogs are taken away; and Pharaoh breaks his promise.

viii. 20–32. III. *Flies.* These are sent through all the land, except the Israelite settlement in Goshen. Pharaoh suggests that they shall sacrifice in Egypt. When this offer is declined, he promises to let them leave Egypt to sacrifice; the flies are taken away, and Pharaoh breaks his promise.

ix. 1–7 (Portions[2]). IV. *Murrain.* A plague is sent on the cattle of the Egyptians.

ix. 13–35. V. *Hail.* A hailstorm is sent which destroys the vegetation; Pharaoh promises to let the people go; the storm ceases; and he recalls his promise.

x. 1–20, 24–6, 28 (Portions[2]). VI. *Locusts.* Pharaoh is threatened with a Plague of locusts: by the advice of his servants, he offers to let the men go alone. Locusts are sent which eat up all the vegetation which the hail had left. Pharaoh promises to let the people go; a wind takes away the locusts. Pharaoh offers to let the people go with their families, but without their flocks and herds. Moses refuses; and Pharaoh bids him go, and come again no more.

[1] See notes. [2] See Table B. [3] See this and following sections.

xi. 4–8, xii. 29–34. VII. *The Death of the Firstborn.* Moses answers that at midnight Yahweh will destroy the firstborn of the Egyptians, but will spare the Israelites. The threat is fulfilled, and Pharaoh bids them go, families, flocks, and herds. The Egyptians hasten their departure, and they depart without waiting for their dough to become leavened.

xii. 37–9 (Portions [1]). Accompanied by a mixed multitude the Israelites march from Rameses to Succoth.

xiii (Portions [1]). The Feast of Unleavened Bread is instituted. Firstlings belong to Yahweh. Pillar of Fire.

xiv (Portions [1]). THE DELIVERANCE AT THE RED SEA. Pharaoh pursues Israel, and overtakes them by the Red Sea. They murmur, and Moses promises deliverance from Yahweh. An east wind drives back the water, and the Israelites cross on dry land. The Egyptians follow, but Yahweh harasses them, and in the morning the waters return, and drown them.

xv. 22–5*a*, 27. They reach Marah, where Moses sweetens bitter waters. They come to Elim and find springs and palm-trees.

xvii. 3–7 (Portions [1]). At Massah Moses gives the people water from the rock.

xix. 11–22 (Portions [1]). Yahweh appears upon Mount Sinai.

xxiv. 1 f., 9–11 (Portions [1]). Moses and the Elders of Israel ascend the Mount and behold the God of Israel.

xxxiv [2] (Portions [1]). Moses is called up into the Mount. Yahweh makes a covenant with Israel, the terms of which are stated in TEN WORDS. These Moses writes on Two Tables of Stone. He remains forty days in the Mount with Yahweh.

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xxxii. 25–9 [2]. . . . The people having rebelled, the Levites massacre 3,000, and receive the priesthood as their reward.

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[1] See Table B. [2] Transposed.

xxxiii. 1-4. Yahweh refuses to go up with them to Canaan.

xxxiii. 12-23, xxxiv. 6-9. *Yahweh promises that His Presence shall go with Moses. He reveals Himself and His Character to Moses.*

(*b*) *Contents of Elohistic Document*, E.[1] The portions of this document included in *Exodus* are summarized below. Probably E included sections corresponding to some sections of J, but these E sections have been omitted by the Editor of JE because of their similarity to J. Words in square brackets are supplied to represent such sections. Italics are used as in the summary of J.

i. 15-22. Pharaoh bids the midwives destroy all the Hebrew male infants; when they disobey him, he charges the people to throw the male infants into the Nile.

ii. 1-10. Moses is born; when three months old he is exposed in an ark of bulrushes on the Nile. He is found by Pharaoh's daughter, who brings him up as her son.

. . . . . .

iii (Portions[2]). As Moses is keeping the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law, on Horeb, God appears to him, promises to deliver Israel, and reveals His name Yahweh. He will smite Egypt with wonders until Pharaoh lets the people go. They are to borrow jewels of the Egyptians.

iv. 17 f., 20*b*. God gives him a rod with which he is to do signs. Having obtained Jethro's permission [he sets out for Egypt].

iv. 27—v. 4 (Portions[2]). Aaron joins Moses, and they come to Pharaoh and ask for permission for Israel to hold a feast in the wilderness. Pharaoh refuses.

THE WONDERS.

vii. 15-23 (Portions[2]). I. *The Nile turned to Blood.* Moses smites the Nile with his rod; it turns to blood; but Pharaoh remains stubborn.

ix. 22-35 (Portions[2]). II. *The Hail.* Moses stretches

[1] See p. 17. [2] See Table B.

his rod towards heaven, and hail smites all the people and cattle that are in the fields. Pharaoh remains stubborn.

x. 12–20 (Portions[1]). III. *The Locusts.* Moses stretches his rod over the land of Egypt, and locusts devour all the vegetation. Pharaoh remains stubborn.

x. 21–3, 27. IV. *The Darkness.* Moses stretches out his hand to heaven, and Egypt is wrapped in darkness for three days, except in the houses occupied by the Israelites.

xi. 1–3, xii. 35 f. V. *The Firstborn.* Yahweh announces one final plague. The Israelites are to borrow jewels of the Egyptians. [The firstborn are slain.] The jewels are borrowed.

xiii. 17–19. God leads Israel out of Egypt by way of the Red Sea. Moses takes the bones of Joseph with him.

xiv. 7–19 (Portions[1]). THE DELIVERANCE AT THE RED SEA. [Pharaoh] with 600 chariots pursues Israel. Moses lifts up his rod, the bed of the sea is left dry, and the Israelites march over, still pursued by the Egyptians[2]. The Angel of God interposes between Israel and the Egyptians[3]; [the latter are drowned by the returning waters].

xv. 1–21. The Israelites praise Yahweh for their deliverance[4].

. . . . . .

xv. 25*b*. Divine commands given to test Israel.

. . . . . .

xvi. 4. Yahweh gives bread from heaven, with a command that a portion is to be gathered daily—to test the people.

xvii (Portions[1]). At Meribah, Moses gives water from

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[1] See Table B.

[2] xiv. 9*a*. [3] xiv. 19*a*.

[4] An ancient lyric is inserted here: see notes on xv.

the rock. Defeat of Amalek. Moses builds an altar to Yahweh-nissi.

xviii (Portions[1]). Jethro brings Moses his wife and two sons; by his advice Moses organizes the administration of justice.

xix (Portions[1]). Israel encamps at the Mount. Moses goes up to God: after certain preparations have been made, a trumpet sounds, Moses speaks, and God answers him.

xx. 18-21[2]. The people are terrified, and withdraw to a distance, while Moses passes into the darkness, into the Divine Presence.

xx. 1. God makes the following revelations [to Moses].

xx. 2-17 (Portion[1]). THE TEN WORDS.

xx. 22—xxiii. 33 (Most[1]). THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT, containing laws as to Images and Altars; Hebrew Slaves; Injuries to the Person; Offences against Property; Various Ritual and Moral Offences; Festivals, &c., with a Concluding Exhortation.

xxiv. 3-8. Moses delivers these revelations to the people, and they enter into a covenant with Yahweh.

xxiv. 12-15*a*, 18*b*, Moses and Joshua go up into the Mount to Yahweh, leaving Aaron and Hur in charge of the people. Moses remains in the Mount forty days.

xxxi. 18*b*—xxxii (Portions[1]), xxxiii. 6. [God gives Moses] tables of stone, with inscriptions written by the finger of God.

In Moses' absence the Israelites induce Aaron to make an image of Yahweh in the form of a calf. They hold a festival in honour of Yahweh. As Moses descends with the tables he discovers what is going on, and in his anger throws down the tables and breaks them. He destroys the image. Yahweh punishes the people by a plague. The people put off their ornaments.

. . . . . .

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[1] See Table B. [2] Transposed.

xxxiii. 7–11. The Tent of Meeting used to be pitched without the camp, and there Moses used to commune with Yahweh. Joshua was the custodian of the Tent.

(*c*) *Contents of the Priestly Document*, P.[1] The sections of this document contained in *Exodus* are summarized below. Some of the *Secondary Sacerdotal* passages, S, are added in italics; italics are also used for the headings of the Plagues.

i. 1–7. List of the sons of Israel. The Israelites multiply rapidly.

i. 13f. The Egyptians oppress the Israelites with forced labour.

ii. 23*b*–25. The Israelites appeal to God. He hears them.

vi. 2–12. God reveals His Name, Yahweh, to Moses, and promises to deliver Israel. Moses tells the people, but they will not believe him. He bids Moses appeal to Pharaoh, but Moses objects that he is 'of uncircumcised lips.'

vi. 13–30. *Genealogy of Reuben, Levi, Aaron, and Moses.*

vii. 1–13. God replies that Aaron shall be Moses' prophet and speak as Moses instructs him. Moses is eighty and Aaron eighty-three.

THE WONDERS.

I. *The Rod turned to a Serpent.* At Yahweh's bidding Moses and Aaron appear before Pharaoh. Aaron's rod becomes a serpent; the magicians do likewise, but Aaron's serpent swallows up theirs. Yet Pharaoh remains stubborn.

II. *All the Waters of Egypt turned to Blood*, vii. 19, 20*a*, 21*b*, 22. Aaron with his rod turns the waters of Egypt to blood; the magicians do likewise. Pharaoh remains stubborn.

III. *The Frogs*, viii. 5–7, 15*b*. Aaron with his rod

[1] See p. 17.

brings up frogs; the magicians do likewise; Pharaoh remains stubborn.

IV. *The Lice*, viii. 16–19. Aaron with his rod turns all the dust of Egypt into lice. The magicians own that this is the finger of God; yet Pharaoh remains stubborn.

V. *The Pestilence*, ix. 8–12. Moses scatters ashes to heaven, and they become boils on man and beast. The magicians, being afflicted with this disease, withdraw; Pharaoh remains stubborn.

VI. *The Firstborn*, xii. 1–20, 24, 28. The Institution of the Passover. The announcement of the coming destruction of the Firstborn. The Israelites observe the first passover as instructed.

xii. 40–2. *The Sojourning in Egypt lasted* 430 *years.*

xii. 43–50. Further instructions about the Passover.

[The Destruction of the Firstborn.]

xii. 51. The Israelites leave Egypt.

xiii. 1, 2. The Firstborn of man and beast to be dedicated to Yahweh.

xiv (Portions[1]). THE DELIVERANCE AT THE RED SEA. Yahweh bids Israel encamp by the Red Sea, and sends Pharaoh in pursuit of them. He overtakes them, Moses stretches out his hand over the sea, and it becomes dry land. The Israelites cross over, and the Egyptians pursue them, Moses again stretches out his hand, and the waters return and drown the Egyptians.

xvi. 1–21 (Portions[1]). Israel comes to the Wilderness of Sin. Provisions run short, and the people murmur. Yahweh sends quails and manna. Moses bids them leave nothing of one day's gathering till the next morning. Yet some is kept, and it breeds worms and stinks.

xvi. 22–30. *But on the sixth day they must gather a double portion, and none on the Sabbath.*

xvi. 31–5. A pot of the manna is kept before the Ark[2].

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[1] See Table . [2] See notes.

xvii. 1, xix. 1, 2*a*. The Israelites journey to Rephidim and to Sinai.

xxiv. 16–18*a*. The Glory of Yahweh rests upon Mount Sinai for six days. On the seventh day Yahweh calls Moses up to Himself.

xxv–xxxi. (Portions[1]). Yahweh gives Moses directions as to the Tabernacle, its Furniture, the Priestly Vestment, the Consecration of Aaron and his Sons, *the Sabbath*, &c. He gives Moses the Two Tables of the Testimony.

xxxiv. 29–33. When Moses comes down from Mount Sinai his face shines. When he has told the people the Divine commands, he puts on a veil.

xxxiv. 34 f. *He makes a practice of wearing this veil, except when he is communicating Divine commands to the people.*

xxxv. 1–3. The Sabbath is to be observed.

xxxv. 4—xl. *Moses and the people carry out the Divine instructions as to the Tabernacle, &c., &c. When all the portions, furniture, &c., &c., are finished they set up the Tabernacle, and the Glory of Yahweh rests upon it.*

VIII. How far and with what Degree of Certainty the contents of EXODUS can be assigned to their Original Sources.

We have explained[2] that *Exodus* was compiled from earlier works by a series of editings. None of these works survive, except so far as portions of them are contained in *Exodus* and other works of the Old Testament. Clearly it was a difficult task to determine from which original document or editor each section of our book was taken; indeed, it is a task which can never be fully accomplished. Nevertheless the devoted labours of Christian scholars during more than a century has accomplished much. There is very general agreement

[1] See Table B. [2] See pp. 15 ff.

as to which portions were composed by the Priestly Writers; and we can often assign sections with comparative certainty to the Primitive or the Elohistic Document, as the case may be. But in many passages the division of the contents between the Primitive and the Elohistic Documents cannot be made with any confidence. It is quite clear that certain phrases or sentences belong to the one, and that certain other phrases or sentences belong to the other, but there is a third set which might perfectly well belong to either. Hence, in many cases, the analysis given in the text, in the summary, and in the tables, where it refers to J and E, is only a probable and approximate solution of a stubborn problem, and not a certain result which has been determined with detailed accuracy. Such analysis, however, fairly represents the way in which our present book has been compiled. If we had a full knowledge of the facts, we should find that the actual process of composition had been more elaborate and complicated than is indicated by the division of the text in the present volume.

Happily the method of composition of the Pentateuch can be illustrated by a comparison of some Biblical books with others. Amongst the sources of *Chronicles* were sections now found in *Kings*, *Samuel*, &c.; *Matthew* and *Luke* were partly compiled from *Mark*; and 2 *Peter* from *Jude*. A comparison of parallel passages will show the use of the method which has been shown to be followed for the Pentateuch, viz., borrowing word for word, modified by editorial addition, omission, and alteration. The editorial work is fully as elaborate and minute as that illustrated by the analysis of the Pentateuch.

Take, for instance, the following passage, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14–21. The portions in ordinary type are taken word for word from 2 Kings xxii. 8–13; the words in italics are additions made by the authors or editors of *Chronicles*; dots indicate a simple omission of something from *Kings*:—

And when they brought out the money that was brought into the House of Yahweh, Hilkiah the priest found the book of the law of Yahweh given by Moses. And Hilkiah *answered and* said to Shaphan the scribe, 'I have found the book of the law in the House of Yahweh.' And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan. . . . And Shaphan *carried the book* to the king, and *moreover* brought the king word again, *saying*, '*All that was committed to thy servants, they do it. And they* have emptied out the money that was found in the House *of Yahweh*, and have delivered it into the hands of the overseers . . . *and into the hand of the workmen.*' And Shaphan the scribe told the king, saying, 'Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book'; and Shaphan read *therein* before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words . . . of the law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah . . . and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and *Abdon* the son of *Micah*, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah the king's servant, saying, Go ye, inquire of Yahweh for me, and for *them that are left in Israel and in* Judah, concerning the words of *the* book that is found: for great is the wrath of Yahweh that is *poured out upon* us, because our fathers have not *kept the word of Yahweh*, to do according unto all that is written *in this book.*

TABLES.

A. Symbols.

The various documents, &c., are denoted by the following symbols, which are inserted in square brackets in the R.V. text, pp. 41 ff., e.g. [P], at the beginning of each section of a document. Also the document or documents from which the contents of a page were taken are indicated at the top of each page, e.g. P, or PJE, &c.

J. The Primitive Document (or Yahwistic or Jehovistic Document), see pp. 17, 19 ff.

E. The early Elohistic Document, see pp. 17, 22 ff.

L. The Lyric, Exodus xv. 1–19.

R. Additions made by pre-exilic editors to either J or E; or contributions from the editor who combined J and E into a single work; or further editorial additions to the combined or Twofold Document JE, see pp. 16 *f*.

D. Additions made after B. C. 600 to either J, or E, or JE, by editors writing in spirit of, or under the influence of, *Deuteronomy*, see pp. 16 *f*.

These are often denoted by R^D or D^2.

P. The Priestly Document, or later Elohistic Document, see pp. 17, 25 *f*.

S. Secondary Sacerdotal passages, including later additions to P (often denoted by P , P^x, &c.); contributions of the editor who combined P with the earlier documents (usually denoted by R^P); and other editorial additions from priestly hands or sources.

Remarks (*a*). When an incident is only found in one or more of the documents, and not in the others, it is sometimes possible that it was contained originally in the latter document or documents, but that this version or these versions of it have been omitted from the combined work to avoid repetition. Thus, for instance, J probably had an account of the birth of Moses, but this was so similar to E's account that the compiler did not think it necessary to insert any portion of it.

(*b*) In the following Tables B and C the items in **heavy type** under J and E belong to R; under P to S. The items in **heavy type** and in square brackets under J and E belong to D, e. g. [**31** *b*–**33**], on p. 32.

These secondary sections are placed in the columns containing the primary sections with which they seem most closely connected: many of the R sections were added to J and E while they were still separate works; others were added to the combined work JE. It is not easy to distinguish between these two classes of additions.

B. Of the Analysis.

(*a*) I—XXIV.

J with *R* and [*D*][1]	E with *R* and [*D*][1]	P with *S*[1]
i. 6, 8-12.	i. 15-22.	i. 1-5, 7, 13 f.
ii. 11-23*a*.	ii. 1-10.	ii. 23*b*-25.
iii. 2-4*a*, 5, 7-9*a*, 16-18.	iii. 1, 4*b*, 6, 9*b*-13, **14**, 15, 19, 20 ff.	
iv. 1-12, **13-16**, 19, 20*a*, 24-26, 29-31.	iv. 17 f., 20*b*, **21-23**, 27 f.	
v. 3, 5-23.	v. 1 f., 4.	
vi. 1.		vi. 2-12, **13-30**.
vii. 14, 16, 17*a*, 18, 21*a*, 24 f.	vii. 15, 17*b*, 20*b*, 23.	vii. 1-13, 19, 20*a*, 21*b*, 22.
viii. 1-4, 8-15*a*, 20-32.		viii. 5-7, 15*b*, 16-19.
ix. 1-7, 13, **14-17**, 18, **19-21**, 23*b*, 24*b*, 25*b*-29*a*, **29*b*-32**, 33 f.	ix. 22, 23*a*, 24*a*, 25*a*, 35*a*.	ix. 8-12, **35*b***.
x. 1*a*, [**1*b*, 2**], 3-11, 13*b*, 14*b*, 15*a*, *c*, 16-19, 24-26, 28 f.	x. 12, 13*a*, 14*a*, 15*b*, 20-23, 27.	
xi. 4-8.	xi. 1-3.	xi. 9 f.
xii. **21-23**, [**25-27**], 29-34, 37*a*, 38 f.	xii. 35 f.	xii. 1-20, 24, 28. **37*b***, **40-42**, 43-51.
xiii. 3*a*, 3*b*, 4, **5**, 6, **7**, [**8** f.], 10-13, [**14-16**], 21 f.	xiii. 17-19.	xiii. 1 f., 20.
xiv. 5 f., **9*a***, *b*, 10*a*, 11-14, 19*b*, 20*b*, 21*b*, 24 f., 27*b*, 28*b*, 30, 31.	xiv. 7*a*, *b*, 10*b*, 15*a*, 16*a*, 19*a*, 20*a*.	xiv. 1-4, 8, 9*c*, 15*b*, 16*b*-18, 21*a*, *c*, 22 f., 26, 27*a*, 28*a*, 29.
xv. 22-25*a*, 27.	xv. (*Lyric* 1-19), 20 f., 25*b*, **26**.	
	xvi. 4.	xvi. 1-3, **5**, 6-7, **8**, 9-21, **22-30**, 31-35, **36**.

[1] See Remark (*b*) on previous page.

J, &c.	E, &c.	P, &c.
xvii. 3, 7*a*, *c*.	xvii. 1*b*, 2, 4–6, 7*b*, 8–13, **14**, 15 f.	xvii. 1*a*.
	xviii. 1–7, **8–11**, 12–27.	
xix. 3*b*, 11*b*–13*a*, 18, 20–22, **23–25**.	xix. 2*b*, 3*a*, **4–6***a*, 6*b*–9*a*, **9***b*–**10***a*, 10*b*–11*a*, 13*b*, 14–17, 19.	xix. 1, 2*a*.
	xx. 1–4*a*, [**4***b*–**6**], 7–10, 12–22*a*, **22***b*, **23**, 24–26.	xx. 11.
	xxi, xxii.	
	xxiii. 1–22, **23–27**, 28–31*a*, [**31***b*–**33**].	
xxiv. 1 f., 9–11.	xxiv. 3–8, 12–15*a*, 18*b*.	xxiv. 15*b*–18*a*.

(*b*) XXV—XXXI. 18*a* P with S^1.

xxv, xxvi, xxvii. 1–19, **20** f., xxviii. 1–25, **26–28**, 29–40, **41**. xxix. 1–20, **21**, 22–32, **33**, 34–37, **38–42**, xxx, xxxi. **1–17**, 18*a*.

(*c*) XXXI. 18*b*—XXXV. 1–3.

J, &c.	E, &c.	P, &c.
	xxxi. 18*b*.	
xxxii. 25–29.	xxxii. 1–6, **7–14**, 15*a*, 16–24, **30–34**, 35.	xxxii. 15*b*.
xxxiii. 1–4, **12–23**.	xxxiii. **5**, 6–11.	
xxxiv. 1–5, **6–9**, 10*a*, **10***b*–**13**, 14, **15** f., 17, 18*a*, **18***b*, 19–23, **24**, 25*a*, **25***b*, 26–28.		xxxiv. 29–33, **34 f.**
		xxxv. 1–3.

(*d*) XXXV. 4—XL. *S*.

[1] See Remark (*b*).

C. Comparative Table of Chief Contents of the Three Main Documents.

Only complete sections are shown; where independent accounts have been pieced together to form a continuous narrative, they are given under a single heading, which is printed across the columns belonging to the documents from which these accounts are taken, e. g. 'Deliverance at the Red Sea.'

Where different documents give separate complete accounts, the title is printed separately in each column or set of columns, e. g. 'Yahweh appears on Sinai.'

J with *R* and [*D*][1]	E with *R* and [*D*][1]	P with *S*[1]
		i. 1–5. Account of the Family of Jacob.
i. 6–22; ii. 23*b*–25. The Oppression of the Israelites in Egypt.		
ii. 11–23*a*. Moses' flight to Midian, his marriage, death of Pharaoh.	ii. 1–10. Birth and Childhood of Moses.	
iii. 1—iv. 28. Yahweh reveals Himself to Moses and sends him to Egypt to deliver Israel, giving him Aaron as a spokesman.		vi. 2–12, vii. 1–5. Yahweh reveals Himself to Moses and bids him deliver Israel, giving him Aaron as a spokesman.
		vi. **13–30.** *Genealogies.*
iv. 29—vi. 1. Moses and Aaron appeal to Pharaoh, but only make matters worse.		vii. 6–13. Moses and Aaron appeal in vain to Pharaoh.
vii. 14—x. 11. Yahweh afflicts Egypt with Plagues.		
	xi. 1–3, xii. 35 f. At the bidding of Yahweh the Israelites borrow of the Egyptians.	

[1] See Remark (*b*) p. 30.

C. COMPARATIVE TABLE, ETC. (*cont.*).

J, &c.	E, &c.	P, &c.
xi. 4—xii. 34. The Firstborn and the		destruction of the institution of the Passover.
xii. 37—xiii. 16. Egypt, further		The departure from laws as to the Passover.
xiii. 17—xv. 21. The Deliverance at the Red Sea.		
xv. 22-27. From the Red Sea to Elim.		xvi. 1, xvii. 1*a*. From Elim to Rephidim.
	xvi. 4. The Manna.	xvi. 2-3, 5-36. The Manna and the Quails.
xvii. 1*b*-7. Water from the Rock at: Massah	Meribah	
	xvii. 8—xviii. Defeat of Amalek. Visit of Jethro.	xix. 1-2*a*. From Rephidim to Sinai.
xix. 2*b*-25. Yahweh appears on Sinai.		xxiv. 15*b*-17. Yahweh appears on Sinai.
	xx—xxiii. The Ten Words. The Book of the Covenant.	
xxiv. 1 f., 9-11. Moses and his companions ascend the Mount and behold the God of Israel.	xxiv. 3-8, 12-15*a*, 18*b*. The Covenant. Moses leaves Aaron and Hur in charge of the people; goes up the Mount again, and remains there forty days.	xxiv. 18*a*. Moses goes up the Mount to Yahweh.
		xxv. 1—xxxi. 18*a*. Instructions as to the construction of the Tabernacle, its furniture, &c., the Priestly Vestments, the Consecration of Aaron and his sons, *the Altar of Incense, Censer, Laver, Anointing Oil, Incense, the Sab-*

C. COMPARATIVE TABLES, ETC. (*cont.*).

J, &c.	E, &c.	P, &c.
	xxxi. 18*b*. Moses receives the Two Tables.	*bath.* Moses receives the Two Tables.
xxxii. 25–29. The Levites obtain the priesthood by massacring 3,000 rebels.	xxxii. 1–24, **30–34**, 35.	
xxxiii. 1–4, **12–23**, xxxiv. **6–9**. *Yahweh reveals Himself to Moses.*	xxxiii. **5**, 6. The Golden Calf.	
xxxiv. 1–26. Moses ascends the Mount. The Ten Words.	xxxiii. 7–11. The Tent of Meeting.	
xxxiv. 27 f. Moses remains forty days in the Mount. He receives the Tables.		xxxiv. 29–33, **34** f. The Veil on Moses' Face.
		xxxv. **1–3**. The Sabbath.
		xxxv. 4—xl. *Bezalel and Oholiab construct the Tabernacle and its furniture and the Priestly Vestments. The Tabernacle is set up, Aaron and his sons are consecrated, and the Glory of Yahweh fills the Tabernacle.*

D. The Chief Texts and Versions[1].

Massoretic Text, often denoted by the abbreviation MT. The Jewish edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. This text is derived from Jewish manuscripts not older than A. D. 800[2], and is the *Textus Receptus* or Received Text printed in Hebrew Bibles.

Samaritan Text, or Samaritan Pentateuch, the Samaritan edition of the Hebrew Text of the Pentateuch, written in a form of the ancient Hebrew character. It is derived from manuscripts obtained from, or held by, the Samaritans. These manuscripts are of uncertain date; but their claims to be very ancient are unfounded; probably they are not so old as some of the copies of the Massoretic Text. This text or Pentateuch is to be carefully distinguished from the Samaritan *Version* of the Pentateuch, a translation into the Samaritan dialect of Aramaic.

Septuagint. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek; the oldest manuscripts of this version belong to the Fourth Century A. D. The different books in this version were not all translated at the same time; the Pentateuch was translated first, probably between B. C. 250 and B. C. 100. This version is often denoted by the symbol LXX.

Syriac Version. The oldest extant Syriac Version was made somewhere between A. D. 100 and A. D. 300; largely under the influence of the Septuagint.

Vulgate, a revision of older Latin Versions made by Jerome about A. D. 400. The older Latin Versions were translations from the Septuagint, which Jerome carefully revised from the Hebrew.

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[1] See further *Genesis*, pp. 40 ff.
[2] See, however, on xx. 1–20.

E. Literature[1].

A list of the more important works to which the author has been chiefly indebted; occasional references to some others will be found in the body of the book. Works which are referred to under an abbreviation or a single name are placed here under that name or abbreviation.

Bacon, B. W., *Triple Tradition of the Exodus.* Hartford, Student Publishing Co., 1894.

Baentsch, B., *Exodus-Leviticus.* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1900.

BDB., *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Brown, Driver and Briggs. Clarendon Press, 1906.

DB., Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.* T. & T. Clark: cf. Kennedy.

Driver, S. R., *Introd. to the Lit. of the O. T.* T. & T. Clark.

EB., *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Dr. Cheyne and Dr. J. S. Black. A. & C. Black.

Erman, A., *Life in Ancient Egypt.* Eng. tr. Macmillan, 1894.

Holzinger, H., *Exodus.* Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1900.

Jeremias, A., *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients.* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1904.

Jeremias, J., *Moses und Hammurabi.* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1903.

Johns, C. H. W., *The Oldest Code of Laws.* T. & T. Clark, 1903.

Keil and Delitzsch, *Pentateuch.* Eng. tr., 1874.

Kennedy, A. R. S., articles on *Tabernacle* and allied subjects in *DB.*

Meyer, E., *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme.* Halle, Niemeyer, 1906.

Oxford Hexateuch, J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby. Longmans, 1900.

[1] Cf. *Genesis*, p. 63.

PROCKSH, O., *Die Elohimquelle.* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1906.

RYSSEL, V., revision of A. DILLMANN'S *Exodus und Leviticus.* Leipzig, Herzel, 1897.

SCHRADER, E., *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Third Edn., re-written by H. ZIMMERN and H. WINCKLER. Berlin, Reuther and Reichard, 1903.

SMITH, W. ROBERTSON, *Religion of the Semites.* A. & C. Black, 1904.

WINCKLER, H., *Die Gesetze Hammurabis.* Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1903.

THE BOOK OF EXODUS

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE BOOK OF EXODUS

[P] Now these are the names of the sons of Israel, 1
which came into Egypt; every man and his household

i. The Bondage in Egypt.

(Compiled from P, J, and E.)

N.B.—For the explanation of these and other initials see p. 29.

i. 1–5 (P). Names of the sons of Jacob, and the number of his family, seventy in all.

6 (J). The Twelve Patriarchs die.

7 (P). The Israelites become numerous and prosperous.

8–12 (J). A new Pharaoh, 'who knew not Joseph,' is alarmed at the increase of the Israelites; he subjects them to the *corvée*, in order to keep them in check. They build Pithom and Raamses; but continue to increase. The Egyptians are more and more alarmed.

13, 14 (P). The Egyptians oppress the Israelites by subjecting them to the *corvée*.

15–22 (E, except 20 which = R). Pharaoh calls the two midwives attending Hebrew women, and bids them kill all the male children that are born. They disobey him, and excuse themselves by a falsehood. God rewards them with prosperity. Pharaoh now charges his people generally to drown all male children born to the Israelites.

According to Josephus[1], the Israelites dug canals, embanked rivers, fortified cities, and built pyramids; and the Oppression lasted 400 years. The more active persecution of the Israelites was due to a prediction of a soothsayer, or according to the Targum of Jonathan, of Jannes and Jambres, that an Israelite child would be born who would bring disaster on Egypt and deliver Israel.

Sources, &c. Cf. pp. 15 ff. There are repetitions and *prima facie* inconsistencies which indicate that this chapter has been compiled from various documents. The enacting of forced labour from the Israelites is stated both in verse 11 and verses 13 and 14. Again, two midwives would not suffice for the mighty people

[1] *Ant.* II. ix. 2.

2 came with Jacob. Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah;
3, 4 Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; Dan and Naphtali,
5 Gad and Asher. And all the souls that came out of the
loins of Jacob were seventy souls: and Joseph was in
6 Egypt already. [J] And Joseph died, and all his breth-
7 ren, and all that generation. [P] And the children of
Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multi-
plied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was
filled with them.

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described in verses 7 and 9. These and other minor points might not in themselves be sufficient to indicate composition from sources; but as we know that elsewhere the narratives of the Pentateuch are taken from three sources or groups of sources commonly denoted by J, E, P, we may regard these repetitions, &c., as indications of the presence of two or more of these sources here. What is true of this chapter also applies to other passages where there are only slight marks of composite authorship.

Verses 1-5, 7, 13, 14 are connected with the *Priestly Code*, P, by style and choice of words; and by similarity to a passage in *Genesis* ascribed to P[1]. The Divine Name, 'God,' in verse 17 suggests the *Elohistic Document*, E; and the third source, apparently present in verses 6, 8–12, will naturally be the *Primitive Document*, J.

This chapter, therefore, introduces us to one point, which is commonly held to distinguish the *Primitive* and the *Elohistic Documents*, or—using symbols—J and E. In J, Israel is very numerous, living apart in Goshen; in E, Israel is a comparatively small tribe living amongst the Egyptians. Thus in verses 15–22 two midwives suffice for the tribe.

Neither the space nor the plan of this work allows us to go into detail as to the linguistic characteristics of the sources; and we may say here once for all that the division of the text between the sources is partly based on language; so that such statements need not be continually repeated.

2–4. The order of the names in these verses is the same as that in Gen. xxxv. 23–5, P.

5. seventy. The Septuagint has 'seventy-five,' see also the parallel passage Gen. xlvi. 27, P, where also the Hebrew Text has 'seventy,' and the Septuagint 'seventy-five.'

7. the land, i.e. Egypt.

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[1] See note on verses 2–4.

[J] Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which 8
knew not Joseph. And he said unto his people, Behold, 9
the people of the children of Israel are [a] more and
mightier than we: come, let us deal wisely with them; 10
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. Therefore they did set over them task- 11
masters to afflict them with their burdens. And they

[a] Or, *too many and too mighty for us*

8. a new king, the writer is apparently not acquainted with his name; nor does he give us elsewhere the names of any of the Egyptian kings to whom he refers. Pharaoh is not a name but a title. This feature of the book points to the conclusion that the document is separated by a considerable interval from the events it describes. On the other hand, it shows that we are dealing with genuine, simple-minded traditions, for the post-biblical Jewish literature invents names where they are lacking.

This 'new king,' the 'Pharaoh of the Oppression,' is variously identified with some otherwise unknown Rameses prior to the eighteenth dynasty, i.e. before B.C. 1587 or with Rameses II, B.C. 1300–1234[1], &c., &c.

knew not Joseph need not mean 'never heard of Joseph,' but 'had no experience or appreciation of his character and achievements,' and therefore did not take any friendly interest in Joseph's kinsfolk.

9. more and mightier than we, the R.V. marg. 'too many and too mighty for us,' i. e. 'to suit our convenience,' is better.

10. deal wisely, 'adopt a prudent policy.'

any war, the Israelites were settled in the north-east of Egypt, a frontier district peculiarly liable to invasion, and frequently threatened by the Syrian and Arabian nomads, and also by the Hittites, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Many of the Syrian tribes were nearly allied to Israel, so that its control of the frontier district was a danger to Egypt.

11. taskmasters, foremen or overseers of the *corvée* or forced labour. The poorer population, especially dependent peoples, like Israel, not belonging to the ruling nation, were compelled to labour on public works without pay, except food. One of the

[1] According to Petrie's dates.

built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses.
12 But the more they afflicted them, the more they multi-

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grievances of the Israelites against Solomon was that he had exacted such labour from them, 1 Kings v. 13 ff., ix. 15 ff., xii. 4. A similar charge is brought against Jehoiakim: 'Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice, that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him no hire,' Jer. xxii. 13. The Egyptian and Assyrian monuments show us gangs of labourers working under the lash of overseers; and the *corvée* is still an institution in the East.

to afflict them, to break their spirit and reduce their numbers. The language does not make it clear whether the Israelites were already subject to the *corvée* and their work was made more laborious, or whether they were now made subject to the *corvée* for the first time.

Pharaoh; see Gen. xii. 15.

store cities, for provisions and equipment for the army; such dépôts would be necessary on an exposed frontier. Moreover, the Egyptian frontier was the base for Egyptian expeditions into Syria. Solomon, too, had 'store cities' for his chariots and cavalry.

Pithom. The site of Pithom is now generally located at the modern *Tell el Maskhuta*, west of Lake Timsah, not quite half-way between the Mediterranean and the head of the Gulf of Suez. Here, in 1883, E. Naville discovered extensive ruins with inscriptions which showed that the town was sometimes called *P-atum*, House of Atum, the Sun God of On or Heliopolis, and that it was built by Ramèses II. The ruins included the remains of large granaries. It is chiefly on account of this discovery that the Pharaoh of the Oppression is often identified with Rameses II, whose statue has been discovered at Tell el Maskhuta. Cf. xiii. 20 on Etham, and xii. 37 on Succoth.

Raamses, a variant of Rameses. There is evidence that several towns of this name existed, most of them, at any rate, built by Rameses II. This Rameses has often been identified with Zoan or Tanis in the Eastern Delta near the Mediterranean coast; but some site nearer Pithom, e. g. Tell el Kebir, a little to the west (another identification) is more probable. At present the exact position of this 'Raamses' is uncertain.

After Raamses the Septuagint adds, 'And On which is Heliopolis,' i. e. the City of the Sun, Heliopolis, some distance to the south-west of Pithom, near the modern Cairo. On may have stood in the original Hebrew text and been omitted by accident or design; or it is possible, as has been suggested, that the addition in the Septuagint has arisen out of a gloss intended to give

plied and the more they spread abroad. And they [a] were grieved because of the children of Israel. [P] And 13 the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour: and they made their lives bitter with hard service, 14 in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field, all their service, wherein they made them serve with rigour.

[E] And the king of Egypt spake to the Hebrew mid- 15 wives, of which the name of the one was Shiphrah, and the name of the other Puah: and he said, When ye do 16 the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the birthstool; if it be a son, then ye shall

[a] Or, *abhorred*

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information about Pithom, which was called by the Greeks *Heroonpolis*. A scribe may have added after Pithom 'which is Heroonpolis,' and this may have been misread as Heliopolis, and then the gloss may have grown into the separate clause, 'And On which is Heliopolis.'

12. were grieved, because of R.V. marg., 'abhorred.'

14. service in the field, according to Deut. xi. 10 the Israelites sowed seed and watered it with their foot, i. e. irrigated the land by means of the shadoof, or some other machine equally cumbrous and laborious to work. The shadoof is still in use on the Nile, and pictures of it are found on the monuments (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., p. 426). Various forms of water-wheels are also used for irrigation; see Driver on Deut. xi. 10.

15. Hebrew, the name given to Israelites by foreigners; see Gen. xiv. 13.

Shiphrah and Puah: the names only occur here; Shiphrah is Hebrew, and means 'beauty'; there is no certain available Hebrew etymology of Puah, but it may also be Hebrew and mean brightness. The pair are spoken of as 'Hebrew midwives,' and naturally Israelite mothers would be attended by women of their own people. Thus Pharaoh was asking the midwives to betray and murder their own kinsfolk.

16. birthstool, A. V. 'stools'; Hebrew *'obhnayim*, a dual form, usually explained as referring to two stones on which the women in labour sat. The meaning, however, of the word is uncertain. It only occurs elsewhere in Jer. xviii. 3, where it is used of the two revolving discs of the potter's wheel. In any case,

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
18 alive. And the king of Egypt called for the midwives
and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and
19 have saved the men children alive? And the midwives
said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not
as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are
20 delivered ere the midwife come unto them. And God
dealt well with the midwives: and the people multiplied,
21 and waxed very mighty. And it came to pass, because the
22 midwives feared God, that he made them houses. And
Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is
born ye shall cast into [a] the river, and every daughter ye
shall save alive.

2 And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took

[a] See Gen. xli. 1.

'when ye see them upon the *'obhnayim'* means 'when ye see them in labour.'

if it be a son, &c.: if the male Israelites were largely diminished the girls would be enslaved, and bear children to Egyptians, so that the Israelites would be absorbed in the native population.

19. lively, &c., i. e. 'full of vitality,' so that the natural function of bearing a child is performed, as the context states, easily and quickly. The clause has also been translated, 'when they are pregnant, they are delivered, &c.' Pregnancy is usually easy with women of primitive races, and is said to be so amongst the Bedouin at the present time.

21. made them houses, gave them husbands, children, and descendants; cf. 1 Kings ii. 24.

22. If, as we believe, this verse belongs to the same document as the preceding, Pharaoh, foiled in one attempt, tries a new method. Some, however, regard this as alternative to the command to the midwives.

ii. 1–22 THE BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS OF MOSES. (Cf. Acts vii. 19–29.)

1–10 (E). A son is born to a couple of the tribe of Levi. After being hidden for three months, he is exposed on the banks of the

to wife a daughter of Levi. And the woman conceived, 2

Nile in an ark of bulrushes. There he is found by an Egyptian princess, who adopts him. First, his own mother is paid to nurse him; then he is brought up by the princess, who names him Moses.

11–15 (J). Moses, now grown up, slays an Egyptian who was ill-treating a Hebrew. The next day, attempting to reconcile two Hebrews who were quarrelling, he finds that the slaying of the Egyptian is known, and flees to Midian.

16–22 (J). There he helps the daughters of the priest of Midian to water their flock; is hospitably entertained by the priest; marries his daughter Zipporah, by whom he has a son, Gershom.

The narrative of Moses' early life in Egypt takes a familiar form. In folklore we constantly meet with the newborn child, destined to become a hero, whose life is sought by the king. The child is exposed, but is rescued in some wonderful way, and grows up to fulfil his destiny. The reader will remember how Romulus and Remus were exposed, and were suckled by the she-wolf. According to Herodotus, the elder Cyrus was ordered by Astyages, king of the Medes, to be exposed and left to die; but the herdsman, who should have carried out the king's orders, preserved the child's life and brought him up as his own son. Ultimately Cyrus became king of Persia, and defeated and deposed Astyages. A similar story is utilized by William Morris in his 'Man born to be king' in the *Earthly Paradise*. Similarly, we have a narrative written in the name of Sargon, king of Akkad, *c.* B.C. 3800, a precursor of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, in which he says of himself: 'My mother, of noble race, conceived me and bore me in secret. She put me in a basket, and closed up the opening with bitumen. She cast me into the river, which did not flow over me [?]. The river carried me along to Akki, the irrigator, who took me up, reared me, and made me a gardener. While I acted as gardener, [the goddess] Ishtar showed me favour. Forty-five years I ruled over the black-haired race (i. e. the Semites).'[1] Cf. the story of Hadad and Genubath, 1 Kings xi. 17–22.

Later Jewish tradition freely supplemented the biblical account of the youth of Moses, e. g. Josephus, *Ant.* II. ix., x, tells us that the name of Pharaoh's daughter was Thermuthis, and that Moses commanded the Egyptian army in a successful campaign against the Ethiopians, and married Tharbis the daughter of the Ethiopian king. Philo (*Vita Moysis*, i. 5) gives details of his education in all the learning of Egypt, Greece, Assyria, and Chaldaea[2].

[1] McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. 99, slightly abbreviated.

[2] Cf. pp. 5 f. and the author's article MOSES in *DB*.

and bare a son : and when she saw him that he was
3 a goodly child, she hid him three months. And when
she could not longer hide him, she took for him an ark
of [a] bulrushes, and daubed it with [b] slime and with pitch ;
and she put the child therein, and laid it in the flags
4 by the river's brink. And his sister stood afar off, to
5 know what would be done to him. And the daughter of
Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river ; and her

[a] That is, *papyrus*. [b] That is, *bitumen*.

Sources, &c. At first sight ii. 1–22 seems to read all right as a single consecutive narrative ; a closer examination reveals slight *prima facie* inconsistencies ; see notes on verses 4, 7, and 18. Further, when we take into account the characteristics of the documents shown elsewhere, it seems probable that substantially 1–10 belongs to the Elohistic document, E, and 11–22 to the Primitive Document, J, but that each section has been somewhat modified by editorial notes, e. g. the Reuel in verse 18.

Verses 1–10 are connected with E by the feature that the Israelites are not living apart in Goshen, but amongst the Egyptians, close to the Nile and the court.

Verses 11–22 are connected with J by the following features. We have the nameless 'priest of Midian' instead of E's Jethro. Instead of E's nameless 'wife and two sons' of Moses we have Zipporah and one son, Gershom. Verses 11–14, however, and part of verse 15 are sometimes given to E.

1 ff. a man . . . a daughter, &c. The writer is apparently not acquainted with the father, mother, and sister of Moses, or of the king of Egypt and his daughter. Pharaoh is merely a title. Cf. vi. 16–20.

3. ark, *tēbhâ*, box or basket, only used elsewhere for 'Noah's ark,' perhaps borrowed from the Egyptian, in which *T-b-t* is a chest or coffin, *BDB.* The ark of the covenant is *'ārôn.*

bulrushes, as marg., the papyrus-reed which grows plentifully on the banks of the Nile, and more especially of its backwaters. The Hebrew word *gōme'* may also be borrowed from the Egyptian. The Septuagint omits the word here.

flags, or rushes, the Hebrew word *sûph* may also be borrowed from the Egyptian. It gives name to the Red Sea, which is *Yam Sûph*, the Sea of Rushes.

4, 7. his sister. Verses 1, 2 imply that Moses was his mother's firstborn. The 'sister' may be introduced from another document,

maidens walked along by the river side; and she saw the ark among the flags, and sent her handmaid to fetch it. And she opened it, and saw the child: and, behold, 6 the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children. Then said 7 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? And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, 8 Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother. And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child 9 away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it. And 10 the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name [a] Moses, and said, Because I [b] drew him out of the water.

[a] Heb. *Mosheh.* [b] Heb. *mashah*, to draw out.

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or may be due to corruption of the text. It is hardly likely that a half-sister is intended.

5. her maidens walked along by the river side: perhaps to protect their mistress from any intrusion (Holzinger).

her handmaid, her special personal attendant; the word *'āmâ* is characteristic of E.

7. his sister. When she saw that the ark was found she ventured to join the princess' attendants to see what would happen to her brother.

9. thy wages. Thus the mother got paid for nursing her own child, a feature of the story which would be fully appreciated by a primitive sense of humour.

10. he became her son: was brought up as her adopted son. The statement of Stephen, Acts vii. 22, that 'Moses was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians,' and the similar statement of Philo, are legitimate deductions from the words 'he became her son.' As the adopted child of the princess he would receive the best education that Egypt could give.

Moses. The origin, derivation, and meaning of this name are uncertain. The Hebrew form of it, *Mōshê*, resembles the root *māshâ*, 'drew'; hence the derivation in the text, which, however, is not justified linguistically; nor is it likely that the Egyptian

11 [J] And it came to pass in those days, when Moses
was grown up, that he went out unto his brethren, and
looked on their burdens: and he saw an Egyptian
12 smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. 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 Egyp-
tian? And Moses feared, and said, Surely the thing is
15 known. Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought
to slay Moses. But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh,

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princess would give her son a Hebrew name. In the Septuagint the name is *Mōusēs*, and in the Vulgate *Moyses*; the form *Mōusēs* is accepted by Josephus and Philo, and explained by them as derived from the Egyptian *mō*, 'water,' and *ushe*, 'saved,' or *moü*, 'water,' and *se*, 'taken'; a similar view has been held by some modern scholars. The name has also been connected with the Egyptian *mes*, *mesu*, 'son'; and there are many other theories.

The name is apparently not given till Moses' mother brings him back to the princess.

11. he went out unto his brethren. We should expect that Moses would have been brought up as an Egyptian; and possibly this unexplained reference to his knowledge that he was a Hebrew indicates a second source. But it might be taken for granted that he had in some way learnt his parentage. Josephus implies that his Hebrew birth was publicly known all the time.

15. Josephus omits the slaughter of the Egyptian by Moses, and states that he fled because he became aware that the king was plotting to kill him, having been moved to jealousy on account of Moses' success in an Ethiopian campaign. The statement in Hebrews xi. 24, that 'Moses . . . refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter,' may be merely based on this passage—by espousing the cause of his brethren, he deliberately forfeited the favour of Pharaoh and his daughter. But the narrative suggests that he tried to avoid any public identification of himself with the Israelites; and it is possible that *Hebrews* follows some lost tradition (cf. Peake's *Hebrews*).

and dwelt in the land of Midian: and he sat down by a well. Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: 16 and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's flock. And the shepherds came and 17 drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock. And when they came to Reuel 18 their father, he said, How is it that ye are come so soon to day? And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of 19

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12 **Midian**, probably somewhere south or south-east of Palestine; cf. on Horeb, iii. 1, and on Gen. xxv. 2.

he sat down by a well. The story is very similar to that of Jacob, Gen. xxix, J; cf. also Gen. xxiv. 11.

16. priest of Midian: nameless, so usually in J. In E Moses' father-in-law is Jethro. Cf. also on verse 18, Reuel, and on Num. x. 29, Hobab. The Septuagint introduces *Iothor*, i. e. Jethro, after 'their father.'

17. Moses stood up and helped them. Like the heroes of primitive story, he is more than a match single-handed for many opponents.

18. Reuel: Septuagint, Raguel; the name also occurs in Gen. xxxvi. 4 (which see), &c., for a son of Esau; in Num. ii. 14 for a Gadite; and in 1 Chron. ix. 8 for a Benjamite. In Num. x. 29, J, we have 'Hobab, the son of Reuel [A.V. Raguel] the Midianite, Moses' father-in-law,' where Hobab and not Reuel is the father-in-law: as in Judges iv. 11, R.V., 'Hobab the father-in-law of Moses,' where, however, Hobab is a Kenite. Perhaps too 'Hobab the Kenite, the father-in-law of Moses,' should be read in Judges i. 16, with some manuscripts of the Septuagint. Others, however, would read here, 'Cain the father-in-law of Moses,' and would regard Cain as the name given to father-in-law of Moses by the oldest tradition (E. Meyer, p. 90). In our passage *Reuel* seems an editorial addition or note; the name would have come more naturally in verse 16, at the first mention of 'the priest of Midian.' So too in Num. x. 29, 'Hobab, the son of Reuel,' is probably an editorial note, intended to harmonize the use of Hobab and of Reuel for the father-in-law of Moses. Probably in the original story the father-in-law was nameless, and various names were supplied as the tradition developed.

so soon: apparently the interference of the shepherds was a familiar experience.

An Egyptian: Moses' dress would suggest that he was an Egyptian.

the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he drew water
20 for us, and watered the flock. And he said unto his
daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left
21 the man? call him, that he may eat bread. And
Moses was content to dwell with the man: and he gave
22 Moses Zipporah his daughter. And she bare a son, and
he called his name Gershom: for he said, I have been
[a]a sojourner in a strange land.

23 And it came to pass in the course of those many days,

[a] Heb. *Ger.*

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21. was content, agreed, decided.

Zipporah, the feminine form of Zippor, the name of the father of Balak, king of Moab, Num. xxii. 2, &c. These names denote 'small bird,' and may originally have been totemistic, i.e. persons so-called were named after the totem or animal deity of their tribe. Zipporah is also mentioned iv. 25, J, and xviii. 2, R. In Num. xii. 1 Moses is said to have married a Cushite, probably an Ethiopian woman; cf. Josephus's story about the Ethiopian princess. 'Cushite' can hardly be a description of Zipporah, and probably Num. xii does not belong to either the original J or the original E, but perhaps to a later addition of E. In the original E the name of Moses' wife is not given.

22. a son . . . Gershom: in E, xviii. 5 f., Moses has two sons; cf. notes on xviii. 2–4. In P we do not read of any sons of Moses, but there is a Levitical clan *Mushi*, vi. 19, which probably at one time claimed to be descended from him. The explanation 'for he said, I have been a sojourner in a strange land' regards the name as compounded of *ger*, 'a sojourner,' and *shām*, 'there,' but this is popular etymology and not a real derivation. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14 ff., xxvi. 23 ff., give the names of sons of Gershom and Eliezer. In Judges xviii. 30 the priest of the sanctuary at Dan is Jonathan son of Gershom, son of Moses. Thus the priesthood of the Northern Dan traced its descent to Moses through Gershom. Probably the Levitical clan Gershon is the same family; in the final rearrangement of the genealogies it traced its descent to Levi.

ii. 23—iv. 17. The Call of Moses.

(A narrative compiled by interweaving shorter and longer paragraphs of J and E; to this a section from P has been prefixed, and there are numerous editorial additions.)

that the king of Egypt died: [P] and the children of Israel

23*a* (J, P). The king of Egypt dies.

23*b*–25 (P). The Israelites appeal to God, who hears their cry.

iii. 1–5 (JE). As Moses is keeping the flock of Jethro on Horeb, he sees a bush which burns without being consumed; from this bush God speaks to him.

6–10 (JE). God tells Moses that He is about to deliver Israel from the Egyptians and to settle them in the land of Canaan. Moses is to be their leader.

11 (E). Moses says he is not equal to the task.

12 (E). God promises His presence. After their deliverance the Israelites will worship God on Horeb.

13 (E). Moses asks by what name he is to speak of God to the Israelites.

14–15 (RE). God reveals His name as 'I am that I am,' and declares Himself the God of the patriarchs.

16–22 (JE). Moses is to announce his mission to the Elders, and they are to go with him to the king of Egypt, to ask permission to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to their God. The king will refuse, and will not let the people go till God has smitten Egypt with wonders. When the Israelites depart, they shall borrow jewels and clothing of the Egyptians.

iv. 1–9 (J). When Moses objects that the people will not believe him, Yahweh gives him the signs of the rod which becomes a serpent, and his hand becoming leprous. These signs Moses is to repeat before the people. If they are not convinced, he is to turn water into blood.

10 (J). Moses objects that he never was eloquent and has not become so through his interview with Yahweh.

11, 12 (J). Yahweh declares that as the Creator, He will teach Moses what to say.

13–16 (R). Moses still demurs, and Yahweh in anger says that his brother Aaron the Levite shall join him and be his spokesman.

17 (E). God gives him a rod with which to do signs.

Sources, &c. There are the usual signs of compilation and of the presence of portions of the Primitive, Elohistic, and Priestly Documents. Thus ii. 23*b*–25 are by common consent referred to P; iii. 16–18, iv. 1–12 to J; iii. 6, 9*b*–13, 15, 19, 20, iv. 17 to E; and iii. 14 to R. Also iii. 21, 22 are usually ascribed to E. The source of some of the remaining verses, especially iv. 13–16, is not very certain. See the notes on iii. 1, 13, 15, 18, 22; iv. 2, 13–16, 17.

ii. **23. the king of Egypt died.** His successor, of course, is

sighed 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.*

3 [E] Now Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the back of the wilderness, and came to the mountain
2 of God, unto Horeb. [J] And the angel of the LORD ap-

'the Pharaoh of the Exodus,' sometimes identified with Merenptah, the successor of Rameses II; cf. on i. 8, and Introduction, p. 8.

24. covenant. Cf. Gen. xv. 18, J, xvii. 1–14, 19, 21, P, Abraham; xxvi. 2–4, E, Isaac; Gen. xxviii. 13 ff., Jacob.

25. saw . . . took knowledge of them. The Hebrew text as it stands hardly makes sense. The Septuagint renders the last clause 'and was known of them,' i. e. 'made Himself known unto them.' The Targum has a paraphrase to the effect that the bondage or toil of the Israelites was manifest to Yahweh, and He promised to deliver them. Possibly this latter rendering is from a more original text, and indicates that the present Hebrew is corrupt, i. e. has been incorrectly copied.

iii. **1. Jethro,** the name of the father-in-law of Moses in E; cf. ii. 16. In iv. 18 it is written *Jether,* perhaps by mistake. The name is similar to a Hebrew root meaning 'abundance,' 'excellence.'

the priest of Midian: as this phrase is characteristic of J, and this verse otherwise has the notes of E, these words are an editorial addition.

the back of the wilderness, literally, 'behind the wilderness,' i. e. 'across the wilderness,' i. e. to pastures on the side of the wilderness remote from the home of Jethro (Holzinger).

to the mountain of God, unto Horeb. The sacred mountain of the giving of the Law is called Horeb in E and D, and Sinai in J and P. The Old Testament, especially in the earlier literature, specially connects Yahweh with Sinai, as apparently His home and sanctuary, e. g., in addition to the Pentateuch, Judges v. 5; Teman and Paran in Hab. iii. 3 are probably the district of Sinai.

Horeb. Sinai must have been somewhere in the districts to the south and south-east of Palestine; otherwise its exact locality is

peared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I 3 will turn aside now, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And when the LORD saw that he turned aside 4 to see, [E] God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. [J] And he said, Here am I. And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy 5 shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. [E] Moreover he said, I am the God of 6

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matter of controversy. The early Israelite tradition placed Horeb-Sinai somewhere in or near Edom, Judges v. 4 ff. The localization of Sinai in what is now called the Sinaitic Peninsula is not older than the Exile, and may be the work of P. It is waste of time, therefore, to consider which particular mountain, Mt. Serbal or Jebel Musa, in the Sinaitic Peninsula is the Sinai of the Exodus. See further on Sinai. The words 'of God' are omitted by some texts of the Septuagint from the phrase 'mountain of God.'

2. the angel of the Lord, i. e. a special manifestation of Yahweh. In the earlier literature the phrase is often used interchangeably with 'Yahweh,' as here; cf. verse 4. Later 'the angel of Yahweh' becomes nearly equivalent to our archangel. See also on Gen. xvi. 7.

bush, *senê*, some kind of thorny shrub, it is not certain which; according to the Septuagint *batos* and the Vulgate *rubus*, the bramble. As the bramble is not found on the modern Sinai, the *senê* has also been identified with the acacia, on account of the superficial resemblance to *sant*, the Arabic name of the acacia. Probably the ancient writers would connect *senê* with the name Sinai. The word *senê* only occurs in the O.T. in this chapter and in Deut. xxxiii. 16.

5. put off thy shoes, still customary in the East as a mark of respect on entering a mosque or holy place.

holy ground. The scene of this revelation to Moses may have been an ancient sanctuary; or the place may have been thought of as rendered holy by this appearance of God.

6. God of thy father. The phrase also occurs in God's address to Jacob in Gen. xlvi. 3; it is a little striking here, as no stress is laid on Moses' father in E. Perhaps we should read 'thy fathers,' as in verse 15.

thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was
7 afraid to look upon God. [J] And the LORD said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their task-
8 masters; for I know their sorrows; 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 the Amorite,
9 and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. And

God of Abraham, &c. This passage is used by Jesus as a proof-text for the resurrection in His answer to the Sadducees, Mark xii. 26.

hid his face, to avoid the danger involved in beholding God; cf. Gen. xvi. 14, Judges xiii. 22.

8. I am come down, to make further investigation. So Yahweh came down to see the tower of Babel, Gen. xi. 5, and to inquire into the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah, Gen. xviii. 21.

flowing with milk and honey, a standing description of Palestine; cf. xiii. 5, xxxiii. 3, &c., as affording abundant pasturage for flocks and herds. Possibly the honey, *debhash*, is grape-syrup; in Gen. xlix. 11, 12 wine is coupled with milk.

the Canaanite, &c., similar enumerations are common, and the lists are sometimes supposed to be editorial additions, where they are found in connexion with the earlier sources. Canaanite is sometimes a general term for the inhabitants of Palestine, especially in J, but properly Canaan is the lowlands, the maritime plain and the valley of the Jordan.

Hittite, a non-Semitic people, at one time dominant in Asia Minor and Syria. The reference here is to the Hittite settlements in Canaan, located about Hebron in P, Gen. xxiii.

Amorite, also often used for the inhabitants of Palestine generally, especially in E; sometimes for the inhabitants of Northern and North-East Palestine. Sihon in East Palestine is king of the Amorites, Num. xxi. 29.

Perizzite, either a tribe settled near Bethel or the inhabitants of the *perazoth* or open villages; cf. Gen. xiii. 7.

Hivite, inhabitants of the districts about Gibeon, Shechem, and Hermon.

Jebusite, inhabitants of Jerusalem and its district.

now, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me: [E] moreover I have seen the oppression where-
with the Egyptians oppress them. Come now therefore, 10
and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt.
And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go 11
unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt? And he said, Certainly I will be 12
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. And Moses said unto God, Behold, when 13
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? [R] And God said unto Moses [a] I AM THAT 14

[a] Or, *I AM BECAUSE I AM* Or, *I AM WHO AM* Or, *I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE*

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10. Pharaoh. See on ii. 23.

12. this shall be the token unto thee. According to R.V. the token that Moses is receiving a divine commission is that hereafter the Israelites will worship God on that mountain. This does not seem to suit the circumstances; Moses needs some present assurance and encouragement, but this 'token' is only an added demand for faith. There is no certain explanation of the difficulty. Possibly the author forgets the circumstances of Moses, and writes from his own standpoint, from which the events of the sojourn of Israel at Sinai were a signal vindication of the claims of Moses. Some understand 'this' of the burning bush, and make 'When thou hast brought forth the people, &c.,' a separate sentence.

13. What is his name? In this, the Elohistic, document, E, the Divine Name Yahweh is not known to the Israelites before the Exodus, and is now first revealed to Moses. Apparently in earlier times the Israelites are thought of as simply using the general term, *Elohim*, 'God.' See *Genesis* in this series, pp. 36, 45, 92. This passage is important because it explains the exclusive use of *Elohim* in the previous portions of E. Cf. the parallel passage from P in Exod. vi. 2, 3.

14. I am that I am. Hebrew, *'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh.* As the

I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children
15 of Israel, [a] I AM hath sent me unto you. [E] And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the

[a] Or, *I WILL BE* Heb. *Ehyeh.*

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margins of the R.V. show, the translation and interpretation of these words is very uncertain. *'Ehyeh* is the Hebrew imperfect, a most elastic verbal form, with a great variety of possible meanings. Its exact force in any particular instance must be determined by the context. Here, therefore, in two short phrases which practically have no context, it is difficult to say what the translation should be; the choice here lies, as the R.V. indicates, between 'I am' and 'I will be.' As, however, the root HYH may also mean 'become,' we must add 'I become' or 'I will become.'

Unfortunately the particle *'asher* is equally elastic; like our 'that,' it may be a relative pronoun of any gender or number, here 'who' or 'what,' or it may be a conjunction, here 'because.'

The various translations are all obscure, but they are generally understood as indicating that the Hebrew is an attempt to express the independence, the self-sufficiency, the self-consistency or the eternity of God, and the idea that the nature and attributes of God transcend thought and language.

Thus 'I am that I am,' God is an ultimate fact; He cannot be explained by anything else, but only by Himself. And, again, 'I am—always—that which I am—now, and always have been,' as in the New Testament, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

Then, I 'am, because I am,' there is no cause for God's existence outside of Himself.

Then, too, 'I am who am,' God is pure and essential being.

And, again, 'I will be that I will be,' or 'I become that which I will, or choose to, become'; God is lord of His own destiny.

The very vagueness and ambiguity of the words invest the Divine Name with a certain mystery which adds to its suggestiveness. At the same time, this attempt to express abstract ideas about God points to a comparatively late origin for this verse; it is more in accordance with *Deuteronomy* and *2 Isaiah* than with J and E; so that here, probably, the verse is an editorial addition, and originally verse 15 was the answer to the question in verse 13; cf. on xvi. 1.

15. moreover, probably an addition necessitated by the introduction of verse 14; 'moreover' often appears to be an indication

children of Israel, [a] The 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. [J] Go, 16
and gather 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: and I have said, I will bring you 17
up out of the affliction of Egypt unto the land of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite, unto a land flowing with milk and honey. And they shall hearken 18
to thy voice: and thou shalt come, thou and the elders of Israel, unto the king of Egypt, and ye shall say unto

[a] Heb. *Jehovah*, from the same root as *Ehyeh*.

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of the presence or neighbourhood of an editorial addition, or of the combination of short portions of different sources.

The LORD. In Hebrew YHWH, the personal name of the God of Israel. The vowels are not given in the Hebrew text, and the original pronunciation is not known; the English *Jehovah* is not a Hebrew form, but is due to a mistake. On various grounds, amongst others the etymology in the previous verse, it is generally believed that the Name was pronounced *Yahweh*; but this may have been a Hebraized form of a non-Hebrew name. The fact that the Name is also found in Hebrew and other languages in the forms *Yah* and *Yahu* is no evidence against *Yahweh* as the ordinary Hebrew pronunciation. See further on Gen. ii. 4.

God of your fathers. The Yahweh now made known to Israel is identified with the God worshipped by the Patriarchs.

memorial, that by which one is remembered.

the elders, of a tribe or town, were probably the sheikhs or heads of families and clans, and formed a kind of governing council, exercising a measure of local authority. The prominence given in the Pentateuch to 'the elders of Israel' is often regarded as a characteristic of the Primitive Document, J.

18. thou and the elders of Israel. Note the absence of any reference to Aaron, who apparently did not figure in J.

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
19 our God. [E] And I know that the king of Egypt will
20 not give you leave to go, no, not by a mighty hand. And I will put forth my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst thereof: and after
21 that he will let you go. And I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come
22 to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty: but every woman shall ask of her neighbour, and of her that

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The LORD, the God of the Hebrews, hath met with us: the experience of Moses is spoken of as if it had been shared by his companions. The Septuagint slightly alters the text, and translates 'hath called for us.'

three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice, implying that they would return, a device to obtain permission to leave Egypt, another characteristic of J. 'Three days' journey' from Egypt would not bring them to Horeb; the phrase is a conventional formula for a short journey. The God of the Hebrews is thought of as dwelling in the wilderness, the home of the people before their settlement in Egypt under Joseph and Jacob.

19. no, not by a mighty hand. This does not make sense; Pharaoh does send the Israelites away 'by a mighty hand,' either the mighty hand of God compelling him, xxxii. 11, or his own mighty hand with which he drives them forth, vi. 1, where 'strong' represents the same Hebrew as 'mighty.' We should read with the Septuagint and Vulgate 'except by a mighty hand,' i. e. under Divine compulsion.

22. ask. This root *shā'al* is also found in the sense of 'borrow,' but in a different form. It is just possible that the writer has in view the death of the firstborn; under the terror of this disaster the Egyptians might yield to the demand for their valuables, and by a grim irony this might be referred to as giving the Israelites favour in the eyes of the Egyptians. But even if we translate 'ask,' it is easier to understand 'ask as a loan.' We might connect with the request to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice. The jewels and raiment would be borrowed for the women and children to wear at the festival, on the understanding that they would come back at the end of

sojourneth 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.

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

[a] Heb. *nahash.*

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the three days, and return the borrowed articles to their owners. If these verses are independent of J (cf. above *Sources*, &c.), we must imagine the Israelites making suitable pretexts. In xi. 2, and xii. 35, the people generally 'ask,' and not merely the women.

It is possible to devise interpretations which would justify the ideas of verses 21, 22, from a moral standpoint; but it is probable that we have here an illustration of a stage of morality at which no scruples were felt as to deceiving a heathen enemy.

her neighbour. The Israelites are settled amongst the Egyptians, a feature of E.

her that sojourneth in her house. The sojourner, *gēr*, in later times was a foreign client or dependent of a family; and perhaps in introducing this feature the writer is unconsciously reproducing the circumstances of his own period. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that the households of the oppressed Israelites should include Egyptian dependents. As the protection of the *gēr* was an imperative duty in ancient times, it is apparently felt that the sanctions of morality may be altogether set aside in the case of Egyptians.

raiment, festival clothing.

spoil, plunder.

iv. **1. behold, they will not believe me.** We may perhaps understand this with the Septuagint, 'If' or 'suppose they do not believe me.' The Septuagint adds at the end of the verse, 'What shall I say unto them?' Moses' experience of his fellow countrymen after he had slain the Egyptian would suggest that they might not believe him.

2. A rod. The rod here, J, is an object operated on by the wonder-working gift, not as in E and P, a magic rod by means of which signs are wrought.

3. it became a serpent. In vii. 9-12 *Aaron* performs this

4 and Moses fled from before it. And the LORD said unto
Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by the tail:
(and he put forth his hand, and laid hold of it, and it be-
5 came a rod in his hand:) 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
6 thee. 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
7 was leprous, as *white as* snow. 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,
8 behold, it was turned again as his *other* flesh.) And it
shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, neither
hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will
9 believe the voice of the latter sign. 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
10 upon the dry land. And Moses said unto the LORD, Oh
Lord, I am not [a] eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since

[a] Heb. *a man of words.*

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sign before Pharaoh, and the magicians of Egypt do 'in like manner with their enchantments.' Egyptian conjurers can still render snakes rigid like a rod.

5. that they may believe. The construction is elliptical; we must supply some such words as, 'And Yahweh said to Moses, Thus shalt thou do before the people, that, &c.'

6, 7. The infliction and the healing of leprosy were specially regarded as direct acts of God, so that Moses' ability to produce and remove its symptoms would be a convincing proof that he was invested with a Divine commission.

9. the river, the Nile, *ye'ōr*. In vii. 14–35 this sign on a large scale is performed before Pharaoh, and is successfully imitated by the magicians.

10. I am not eloquent. Cf. Isaiah's sense of unworthiness on

thou hast spoken unto thy servant: for I am slow of
speech, and of a slow tongue. And the LORD said unto 11
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? Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, 12
and teach thee what thou shalt speak. [R] And he said, 13
Oh Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom
thou wilt send. And the anger of the LORD was kindled 14
against Moses, and he said, Is there not Aaron thy

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account of sin, Isa. vi. 5; Jeremiah's shrinking from the prophetic office because of his youth, Jer. i. 6; and Ezekiel's reluctance implied in Ezek. i. 1, ii. 6, &c.

nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant. As Moses had been endowed with supernatural power to work wonders; he might also have been rendered eloquent.

13–16. In the J narratives Moses speaks for himself, and Aaron does not appear, e. g. vii. 16, viii, 1, &c., though in many places Aaron's name has been added by an editor, e. g. viii. 8. The position of Aaron in E is doubtful; see on xxxii; but he is not Moses' spokesman; that position is expressly assigned to him in vii. 1 ff. Thus these verses seem to be an editorial addition; further on verse 14.

13. send, I pray thee, &c. A polite attempt to decline the mission; hence the anger of Yahweh.

by the hand. A conventional phrase for agency, used where hand is not actually in question.

14. Aaron. Hebrew *'Ahărōn*[1]; the origin and meaning of the e are unknown. Various improbable derivations have been ested, e. g. 'illuminated,' 'lascivious,' the latter (Gesenius) btained from the meaning of a cognate word in Syriac, and it receive some slight support from the incident of the Golden xxxii. 25. A view adopted by many scholars is that *'Aharon* variant of *'aron*, 'ark'; either Aaron is the ark personified[2], ie name arose from the description of the priesthood of the is *bnê ha-'aron*, 'Sons of the Ark,' which became *bnê 'aharon*, *aharon* being eventually understood as a proper name of a person[3]. In that case Aaron cannot have figured in the original tradition of the Exodus. Aaron is frequently mentioned in the

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1 ... ted fo...
... ew of ...
2 E. ... the ...
3 *Eb Die Isr... geeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 93.
... eucha

brother the Levite? I know that he can speak well.
And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and
15 when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart. And
thou shalt speak unto him, and put the words in his
mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his
16 mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do. 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
17 shalt be to him as God. [E] And thou shalt take in

Psalms in connexion with Moses; but is only once referred to in the Prophets, Mic. vi. 4, where Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are spoken of as leading the people out of Egypt. See further in the Introduction, p. 6.

the Levite here is not 'member of the tribe of Levi' in which sense Moses also was a Levite; but, as in the older literature and in *Deuteronomy*, 'Levite' is an official title for 'priest.' This usage was superseded by P, in which 'Levites' are temple servants inferior to the priests. The presence of the term here is very difficult; its use, as we have seen, is not that of P; Aaron is never called 'the Levite' elsewhere; and the paragraph does not fit into the original J or E (see above). It does not seem likely that there was an ancient tradition in which Aaron bore this title as priest. There is no certain explanation of the difficulty; the word 'the Levite' might be got rid of by simple omission; or by a very slight emendation of the text[1] we might read, 'Is there not Aaron thy brother? Dost thou not know, &c.' Or perhaps the addition was written soon after the publication of the Priestly Code by an editor who adopted its theory of the history, but was accustomed to the language of the Deuteronomic school.

15 *b* = **12** *b*.

16. he shall be thy spokesman unto the people lit. 'he shall speak for thee to the people.' We do not find Aaron acting as Mose's spokesman to the people except in ver 30, which is probably also an addition.

thou shalt be to him as God. Moses is inspired, and his words are as the words of God; Aaron is a mere mouthpiece. The arrangement is not a concession to Moses' rebrous unbelief,

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[1] Read הלא *hl'*, giving 'do I not know?' This ה, *hlwy*, giving 'the Levite, I know'; *l'*, 'not,' is sometime succeeded by mistake *lw*, 'to him.'

use of

thine hand thden his heart, and he will not let the people
signs. shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the 22
And Moses wemy son, my firstborn: and I have said 23
y son go, that he may serve me; and
o let him go: behold, I will slay thy 24
as one might expect fro J] And it came to pass on the way
on a pinnacle of solita
Aaron is Moses' prophet, Heb. *make strong.*

17. this rod, wherewith ——————————
the rod in the hand of *Moses* is t: a point constantly insisted on in
cf. verse 2. In P the rod wo ess was necessary in order that
This verse may have been the r. It is not really a prolonged
some portion of E may have bee God might have compelled
'this rod' with the ordinary shephe nly persists in his refusal
In the original, E, Moses received a m e theological difficulty cf.
verse 20*b* it is called the 'rod of God.'
Aaron's rod as it is Moses' in J; cf. vii. 9 a E at this point of
iv. 18–31. MOSES RETURNS TO EG ntext. But they
(A narrative compiled from J and E.) and have been
r addition:
(E). Moses obtains permission from Jethro to omplete
f the
20*a* (J). At the command of Yahweh Moses sets out fo
with his wife and sons (see notes).
(E). Moses takes the rod of God with him.
R). Yahweh bids Moses perform the signs before Pha-
Yahweh, however, will harden Pharaoh's heart, so that he
ot let the people go.
23 (R). Moses is to threaten Pharaoh with the death of
tborn son.
(J). On the way Yahweh seeks to kill Moses, but is
sed by the circumcision of his son.
26 (E). At the command of Yahweh Aaron meets Moses
mount of God.
1 (J). Moses (see notes) delivers his message to the
of Israel, and performs the signs before them.
ces, &c. Verses 21–23 or 22, 23 are often given to J, and
sometimes to R, otherwise there is substantial agreement
as to the analysis.

Verse 27 can hardly be the original sequel of the previous verses, in which Moses has left 'the mountain of God,' returned to Jethro, started for Egypt, and made some progress on his journey. In view of the nomadic character of Midian, our own uncertainty as to the geography, and the possibly vague ideas of some of the Pentateuchal writers on that subject—in view of all

brother the Levite? I know that he can pray thee, and
And also, behold, he cometh forth to me Egypt, and see
15 when he seeth thee, he will be glad in hi o said to Moses,
thou shalt speak unto him, and put th d unto Moses in
mouth: and I will be with thy mou ll the men are dead
16 mouth, and will teach you what ye s took his wife and his
shall be thy spokesman unto the nd he returned to the
come to pass, that he shall be to th took the rod of God in
17 shalt be to him as God. [E] D said unto Moses, When
pt, see that thou do before
which I have put in thine hand:

Psalms in connexion with Moses
the Prophets, Mic. vi. 4, whe
spoken of as leading the peo
Introduction, p. 6.

the Levite here i
which sense Moses a
ture and in *Deute*
This usage was
servants in
is very
A

we cannot say definitely that 'the mountain
lie on the way from Midian to Egypt. But it
ral to connect the meeting of Moses and Aaron on
tain of God' with the appearance of God to Moses
mountain. Perhaps verses 27, 28 were originally the
ediate continuation of verse 16, and have been transposed by
a later editor.

18. Jethro his father in law. In the different authorities the spelling varies here between Jethro and Jether.

my brethren, &c. Brethren is kinsfolk generally (Holzinger). Moses would hardly think it possible that the whole nation had been exterminated. Jethro would have been alarmed if he had announced his real mission; he therefore pretends that he is merely paying a visit to his family to see how they fare. The language suggests that Moses has spent a long time with Jethro.

19. The Septuagint inserts ii. 32*a*, 'And after those many days the king of Egypt died,' between verses 18 and 19; the clause would be a suitable introduction to verse 19. It seems probable that verses 19, 20*a* in the original J followed ii. 23*a* and *preceded* the appearance of Yahweh in the Burning Bush, which would then take place as Moses was on his way to Egypt.

20. his sons. Read 'his son': in J, ii. 22, and in this immediate context in verse 25, Moses has only one son. In view of xviii. 2-4, E, the alteration to 'sons' would be very natural.

rod of God: cf. verses 2 and 17.

21. In verses 1-12 Moses is bidden perform the signs before the people, which he does in verse 30. But in vii. 8 foll. he also performs them before Pharaoh. This verse was probably inserted by an editor to prepare the way for the second performance.

but I will [a] harden his heart, and he will not let the people go. And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the 22
LORD, Israel is my son, my firstborn: and I have said 23
unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me; and thou hast refused to let him go: behold, I will slay thy 24
son, thy firstborn. [J] And it came to pass on the way

[a] Heb. *make strong.*

I will harden his heart: a point constantly insisted on in *Exodus*. Pharaoh's stubbornness was necessary in order that God may fully display His power. It is not really a prolonged contest between God and Pharaoh; God might have compelled the king to give way at once, he only persists in his refusal because God hardens his heart. On the theological difficulty cf. Introduction, p. 5.

22, 23 can hardly belong to either J or E at this point of the story; they have no connexion with the context. But they may have belonged to a later stage of J, e. g. xi. 4, and have been transferred here by the editor; or they may be a later addition: the editor seems anxious to make Moses' instructions complete by including references to the leading points in the history of the sequel. It is curious, however, that the words 'I will slay thy son, thy firstborn' are immediately followed by Yahweh's attempt to slay *Moses'* firstborn; it is possible that the presence of these verses here is due to some confusion between the two slayings of the firstborn.

22. Israel is my son, my firstborn: a familiar idea in the Old Testament, Deut. xxxii. 6; Isa. i. 2; Jer. xxxi. 9; Hos. ii. 1.

24–6. This incident is strange and unexpected. Why should Yahweh seek to kill the man whom He has just called to be the deliverer of His people? Apparently because he has failed to circumcize his son; but this explanation does not seem adequate. If the omission was a crime deserving death, why had Yahweh chosen the culprit as His agent? The narrative must belong to tradition so ancient that even the author of the Primitive Document did not fully understand its original meaning; he probably introduced it in connexion with his theory of the origin of circumcision, to prepare the way for Joshua v. 2, 3[1]. Originally the story had nothing to do with the context in which it now stands.

This struggle in the night between Zipporah and Yahweh is

[1] According to P, Gen. xvii, the law of circumcision was revealed to Abraham.

at the lodging place, that the LORD met him, and sought
25 to kill him. Then Zipporah took a flint, and cut off the foreskin of her son, and [a] cast it at his feet; and she said,

[a] Heb. *made it touch.*

a parallel to the wrestling of Jacob by night with Elohim at Penuel; see on Gen. xxxii.

The story was no doubt connected with an ancient theory of circumcision, but with a theory that J did not endorse, and has obscured by omissions and alterations. We have not ventured to attempt a complete reconstruction of the ancient story [1].

24. the lodging place, lit. 'the place where one spends the night,' used Gen. xlii. 27, xliii. 21, of the first halting-place of Joseph's brethren after leaving Egypt. It might mean a *khan*, or resting-place for travellers, chiefly an enclosed courtyard; but it seems more likely that here it is simply a camping-ground.

a flint. Cf. the flint knives for circumcision in Josh. v. 2, 4; the use of flint knives was doubtless a survival of primitive ritual. In Egypt flint knives were used for circumcision and other ceremonial purposes.

cast it at his feet, we should rather follow the literal rendering of R.V. marg., 'made it touch His feet,' i. e. she touched with it the person of Yahweh, and the touch was a magic spell which made Him relinquish His purpose of slaying Moses. Probably at one time circumcision was regarded as a spell which protected a new-born child from hostile spiritual powers. Probably 'made to touch His feet' means the same as 'touched the hollow of His thigh,' in Gen. xxxii. 25; 'made to touch,' and 'touched' are the same in the consonantal text. We have pointed out in the notes on Gen. xxxii that, in the original story, Jacob touches the hollow of the thigh of the Elohim with whom he contends, and thus overcomes Him. But as there the Pentateuchal writers have partly reversed the relations of the antagonists, so here also they probably understood 'his feet' as the feet of Moses. This view is also taken by many modern scholars; e. g. Baentsch supposes that Yahweh was angry because *both* Moses and his son were uncircumcized, and that the 'touching' of Moses symbolically included him in the rite, so that the circumcision of the son was accepted for both. The narrative is often understood as explaining how the more primitive custom of circumcizing adults before marriage was changed to the circumcizing of children.

[1] The interpretation mainly follows E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, &c., p. 59.

Surely a bridegroom of blood art thou to me. So he let 26
him alone. Then she said, [a] A bridegroom of blood *art thou*, because of the circumcision.

[E] And the LORD said to Aaron, Go into the wilder- 27
ness to meet Moses. And he went, and met him in the mountain of God, and kissed him. And Moses told 28
Aaron all the words of the LORD wherewith he had sent him, and all the signs wherewith he had charged him.
[J] And Moses [R] and Aaron [J] went and gathered 29
together all the elders of the children of Israel: [R] and 30
Aaron spake all the words which the LORD had spoken unto Moses, [J] and did the signs in the sight of the

[a] Or, *A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision*

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a bridegroom of blood. In the original story this would refer to Yahweh in the first instance, and probably be transferred to human bridegrooms. The original no doubt made it clear how it applied to Yahweh, but J has judiciously suppressed the explanation[1], intending that the phrase should be applied to Moses. The 'blood' is that due to circumcision; and the phrase was understood as 'the bridegroom who was the cause of the shedding of that blood.'

26. he let him alone: Yahweh refrained from slaying Moses.

A bridegroom of blood *art thou*, **because of the circumcision**, rather as R.V.marg., 'A bridegroom of blood in regard of the circumcision,' or 'A bridegroom of circumcision-blood,' an explanation of 'A bridegroom of blood.' The longer phrase was probably derived from the ancient ritual of circumcision.

27. Aaron. Even if 'Aaron thy brother the Levite' belongs, as some hold, to the ancient tradition, the introduction of Aaron is abrupt, and the information about him meagre in the extreme. Possibly something has been omitted in the compilation.

29, 30. From a comparison with other passages of J in which Moses speaks for himself, e. g. v. 22, viii. 1, 9, &c., it seems that here and elsewhere Aaron's name in J is an addition of the editor; here, for instance, the combination with verses 27, 28 would almost necessitate the insertion. Verses 29–31 narrate the fulfilment of the command given in iii. 16 foll., where there is no mention of Aaron.

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[1] For a possible conjecture see reference above to Meyer.

31 people. And the people believed: and when they heard
that the LORD had visited the children of Israel, and
that he had seen their affliction, then they bowed their
5 heads and worshipped. [E] And afterwards Moses and
Aaron came, and said unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the
LORD, the God of Israel. Let my people go, that they
2 may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness. And
Pharaoh said, Who is the LORD, that I should hearken
unto his voice to let Israel go? I know not the LORD,
3 and moreover I will not let Israel go. [J] And they
said, The God of the Hebrews hath met with us: let us
go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the wilderness,

The original J would read, 'and Moses went and gathered together all the elders of the Israelites, and spake all the words which Yahweh had spoken, and did the signs, &c.'

v. 1—vi. 1. UNSUCCESSFUL APPEAL TO PHARAOH.

(A narrative from J, with small additions from E.)

v. 1, 2 (E). Moses and Aaron request permission to hold a feast in the wilderness; Pharaoh refuses.

3 (J). [Moses and the Elders] (see note) request permission to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh.

4 (E). The king of Egypt reproaches Moses and Aaron with encouraging the Israelites to neglect their work.

5 (J). Pharaoh reproaches [Moses and the Elders] with encouraging the Israelites to neglect their work.

6-9 (J). Pharaoh bids the taskmasters compel the Israelites to find their own straw, and yet make the same tale of bricks as before.

10-14 (J). The taskmasters obey; when the tale of bricks is not made up, the Israelite foremen are beaten.

15-19 (J). The foremen appeal in vain to Pharaoh.

20-vi. 1 (J). The foremen reproach Moses' who appeals to Yahweh. Yahweh promises deliverance.

Sources, &c. Note that 3 repeats 1, 2, and 5 repeats 4.

2. Who is the Lord. This is not a request for information, but an expression of contempt.

3. they said. 'They' = Moses and the Elders; cf. iii. 18. A statement in J that after the interview of iv. 29-31 Moses and the Elders went to Pharaoh has apparently been replaced by verses 1 and 2.

and sacrifice unto the LORD our God; lest he fall upon
us with pestilence, or with the sword. [E] And the king 4
of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and
Aaron, loose the people from their works? get you unto
your burdens. [J] And Pharaoh said, Behold, the people 5
of the land are now many, and ye make them rest from
their burdens. And the same day Pharaoh commanded 6
the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying,
Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, 7
as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for them-
selves. And the tale of the bricks, which they did make 8
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. Let heavier 9
work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein;
and let them not regard lying words. And the task- 10
masters of the people went out, and their officers, and
they spake to the people, saying, Thus saith Pharaoh,
I will not give you straw. Go yourselves, get you straw 11
where ye can find it: for nought of your work shall be
diminished. So the people were scattered abroad 12

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with the sword, by stirring up enemies against them.

5. the people of the land, a curious expression for foreign slaves. It is usually a half-contemptuous term for 'the common people.' The writer makes Pharaoh speak from the standpoint of a native tyrant like Rehoboam.

6. taskmasters: see iii. 7.

and their officers. Here and in verse 10 these words seem to be an editorial addition; the 'officers' are introduced and described in verse 14 as if they are mentioned for the first time. The taskmasters were Egyptians, the 'officers' native foremen.

7. straw to make brick: Egyptian bricks were usually unburnt, and mixed with short pieces of straw[1].

8. tale, number.

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[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 417, Eng. tr.

throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble for
13 straw. 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, which Pharaoh's
taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, [a] and de-
manded, 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
16 thy servants? There is no straw given unto thy servants,
and they say to us, Make brick: and, behold, thy servants
17 are beaten; but the fault is in thine own people. But
he said, Ye are idle, ye are idle: therefore ye say, Let us
18 go and sacrifice to the LORD. Go therefore now, and
work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye
19 deliver the tale of bricks. And the officers of the children
of Israel did see that they [b] were in evil case, when it
was said, Ye shall not minish aught from your bricks, *your*
20 daily tasks. And they met Moses [R] and Aaron, [J] who
21 stood in the way, as they came forth from Pharaoh: 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,
22 to put a sword in their hand to slay us. And Moses
returned unto the LORD, and said, Lord, wherefore hast
thou evil entreated this people? why is it tl at thou hast
23 sent me? For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy

[a] Heb. *saying.* [b] Or, *were set on mischief, when they said*

12. throughout all the land of Egypt: not to be taken literally, rather 'far and wide in the land.'

15. unto Pharaoh. Direct access to the ruler on the part of petitioners of humble rank is comparatively easy in the East.

20. and Aaron: here again an addition; in verse 23 it is Moses who speaks.

name, he hath evil entreated this people; neither hast thou delivered thy people at all. And the LORD said 6
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.

[P] And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, 2
I am JEHOVAH: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto 3
Isaac, and unto Jacob, as [a] God Almighty, but [b] by my name JEHOVAH I was not [c] known to them. And I have 4
also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. And moreover I have heard the 5

[a] Heb. *El Shaddai.* [b] Or, *as to* [c] Or, *made known*

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vi. **1. by a strong hand.** The phrase in the first case means 'compelled by the strong hand of God'; and it may have this meaning in the second case. But probably the last clause means that Pharaoh will drive out the people with violence; in xii. 39, J, they are driven out.

vi. 2–12. GOD'S COMMISSION TO MOSES.

(The beginning of a narrative from the Priestly Code, parallel to chaps. iii, iv. The narrative is continued in vi. 28—vii. 7; the intervening vi 13–27 are a later addition.)

2–3. God reveals to Moses His name Yahweh.

4–8. For the sake of His covenant with the patriarchs He will deliver Israel.

9–12. Moses declares God's purpose to the people, but they do not believe. Yahweh then tells him to demand the release of Israel from Pharaoh. Moses declares himself unequal to the task.

Sources, &c. We have here a second revelation of the name Yahweh, parallel to iii. 15. The latter being referred to E, this will belong to the other source, which avoids Yahweh in *Genesis*, namely to P; a view confirmed by the reference to El Shaddai, which is found in P in *Genesis*.

3. Shaddai (marg.). Probably an ancient Divine Name. The origin and meaning are unknown; it is sometimes rendered 'Almighty,' as in the text; see further on Gen. xvii. 1.

by my name JEHOVAH I was not known. Therefore the Priestly Code does not use 'Yahweh' before this point.

4. my covenant. See on ii. 24.

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
7 judgements: 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
8 the burdens of the Egyptians. And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning which I lifted up my hand to
9 give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an heritage: I am Jehovah. And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel: but they hearkened not unto Moses for [a] anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage.
10, 11 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Go in, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of
12 Israel go out of his land. And Moses spake before the LORD, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me,
13 who am of uncircumcised lips? [S] And the LORD spake

[a] Or, *impatience* Heb. *shortness of spirit.*

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8. lifted up my hand, part of the ceremony of taking an oath; cf. Gen. xiv. 22.

10. that he let the children of Israel go. A plain demand for their release without the subterfuge as to sacrifice or feast resorted to in J and E.

12. uncircumcised lips, a figurative expression for lips not properly prepared to deliver a Divine message; circumcision fitted men to belong to the people of God. In Jer. vi. 10 the uncircumcized ear cannot hear. Cf. iv. 10.

vi. 13-27. GENEALOGIES.

(An addition made after the compilation of the Priestly Code, or perhaps after the combination of the latter with the earlier documents.)

unto Moses and unto 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.

These are the heads of their fathers' houses: the sons 14
of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: these are the families of Reuben. And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and 15
Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: these are the families of Simeon.

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13. Introduction.
14. Clans of Reuben.
15. Clans of Simeon.
16–25. Clans of Levi, with special reference to the genealogy of Moses and Aaron.
26–7. Conclusion.

Sources, &c. These verses are shown to be a later addition by the fact that they interrupt the sequence of the story.

It should be noted that some of the names indicate clans, and not individuals; e. g. Mushi, the Mushites or Mosesites, apparently a clan which once traced its descent to Moses. Some of the names are connected with places, and indicate Levitical clans dwelling there; e. g. Hebron and Libni, the men of Libnah. Many of the names, too, were current amongst the Levites or elsewhere at various periods of the history, including the time after the Exile. These features indicate that the genealogy more or less represents the Levitical families and their relationships after the Exile.

The possible presence of Egyptian names—Assir, Putiel, Phinehas, may indicate an Egyptian influence upon the priesthood of Jerusalem.

The writer has taken the beginning of Gen. xlvi. 8 ff. and expanded the section on Levi from *Numbers*. He probably only retained the verses on Reuben and Simeon for the sake of an introduction, his object being to give a genealogy of Moses and Aaron.

Verses 14–16 *a* are substantially a repetition of Gen. xlvi. 8 *a*–11, which see.

14. fathers' houses, clans or families.

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
17 and seven years. The sons of Gershon; Libni and
18 Shimei, according to their families. And the sons of
Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel:
and the years of the life of Kohath were an hundred
19 thirty and three years. And the sons of Merari; Mahli
and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites ac-
20 cording to their generations. And Amram took him
Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him
Aaron and Moses: and the years of the life of Amram
21 were an hundred and thirty and seven years. And the
22 sons of Izhar; Korah, and Nepheg, and Zichri. And

Verses 16–19, 20 consist of Num. iii. 17–20, xxvi. 59, P, with the lengths of the lives added. In *Numbers* Jochebed is clearly intended to be the actual daughter, not merely the descendant of Levi. In Lev. xviii. 12, xx. 19 the marriage of an aunt and nephew is forbidden; accordingly in the Septuagint here Amram is Jochebed's cousin, and this may have been the original reading (Cheyne, *EB.*). The 'Jo' in Jochebed is probably a contraction for 'Yahweh,' so that the name means 'Yahweh is my glory.' If so, we are confronted with the difficulty that Moses' mother bears a name compounded from a Divine name which, according to P, was first revealed to Moses. Jochebed, however, only occurs in these two passages, both of which are from additions to P; and an editor supplementing P may have forgotten P's theory on this point.

20. Aaron and Moses, as if Aaron were the firstborn, in contradiction to ii. 1, 2. In vii. 7 Aaron is the elder brother.

21. Korah, identified in Num. xvi. 1 with one of the leaders of a rebellion against Moses, who was slain for his insubordination. To remove any difficulty as to the genealogies, a late note, Num. xxvi. 11, states that his children did not perish with him. See further on Num. xvi, xxvi.

Nepheg, not mentioned elsewhere; also the name of a son of David, 2 Sam. v. 15.

Zichri, not mentioned elsewhere, but occurs as the name of several other persons, some of them priests or Levites. It may be a contraction for Zechariah.

the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Sithri.
And Aaron took him Elisheba, the daughter of Ammi- 23
nadab, the sister of Nahshon, to wife; and she bare him
Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. And the sons 24
of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph; these are
the families of the Korahites. And Eleazar Aaron's son 25
took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and

Mishael and Elzaphan figure in the narrative in Lev. x. 4. There is a Levite Mishael in Neh. viii. 4, and one of Daniel's companions, better known as Meshek, was named Mishael. Elzaphan also occurs in Num. iii. 30, 1 Chron. xv. 8, and perhaps 2 Chron. xxix. 13. There was also a prince of Zebulun of that name, Num. xxxiv. 25.

Sithri, only mentioned here.

23. Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, the sister of Nahshon. Elisheba is only mentioned here. In Num. i. 7, &c., Nahshon the son of Amminadab is prince of the tribe of Judah. According to Gen. xlvi. 12, Ruth iv. 20 we have the genealogy —Judah, Pharez, Hezron, Ram, Amminadab, Nahshon. Thus Aaron's wife is the sixth generation from Jacob (not counting Jacob himself); but from this section we get for Aaron—Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Aaron—only four generations. The care given here to the wives and children of Aaron and Eleazar, and the absence of any reference to the family of Moses, seems to imply that, according to this writer, Moses had no wife.

Nadab and Abihu, slain by Yahweh for offering strange fire, Lev. x. 1, 2.

Eleazar, Aaron's successor; in Exod. xviii. 4, E, Moses has a son Eliezer, practically the same name.

Ithamar. A priestly family, tracing its descent to Ithamar, existed after the Exile, Ezra viii. 2.

24. Assir only occurs in the genealogies here and 1 Chron. vi. 22. In 1 Chron. vi. 23, 37 there is an Assir, *son* of Abiasaph; and Jeconiah is called Assir, 1 Chron. iii. 17 R.V. marg. The name has been connected with the Egyptian Osiris.

Elkanah, only mentioned elsewhere 1 Chron. vi. 23. The name occurs as that of several individuals, three or four of whom are Levites.

Abiasaph, only mentioned elsewhere in 1 Chron. vi. 23, 37, ix. 19, where the name is given as Ebiasaph.

25. Putiel, only mentioned here. As PT is often an element in Egyptian names, Potipher, Potiphera, &c., the name has been supposed to be Egyptian. The document may originally have

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
27 Egypt according to their hosts. 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
29 unto Moses in the land of Egypt, that the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, I am the LORD: speak thou unto
30 Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I speak unto thee. And Moses said before the LORD, Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?
7 [P] And the LORD said unto Moses, See, I have made

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preserved more information about Putiel, or he may have figured in the traditions of the priestly families; and the names may have been sufficiently well known amongst them to need no explanation.

Phinehas, the successor of Eleazar as High Priest, often explained as an Egyptian word meaning 'negro,' 'brown men,' or 'men of dark complexion.' The name also occurs for a son of Eli, and for the father of an Eleazar, a priest who returned with Ezra.

26, 27. These verses explain the object of the preceding genealogy. We might paraphrase, 'Please observe that the preceding section gives the family history of Aaron and Moses, the deliverers of Israel.'

27. These are that Moses and Aaron. Probably a note inserted later than the rest of verses 26, 27, in order to restore Moses to his proper pre-eminence. The annotator had observed the unusual order 'Aaron and Moses,' and added these words by way of correction. A similar note, 'This is that Dathan and Abiram,' &c. is added to Num. xxvi. 9.

vi. 28—vii. 7. UNSUCCESSFUL APPEAL TO PHARAOH.
(Continuation of vi. 2–12, P.)

vi. 28–30 (S). Moses' commission and hesitation.
vii. 1–2 (P). Aaron is to be Moses' prophet and demand the release of Israel.

thee a god to Pharaoh: and Aaron thy brother shall be
thy prophet. Thou shalt speak all that I command thee: 2
and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh, that
he let the children of Israel go out of his land. And 3
I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs
and my wonders in the land of Egypt. But Pharaoh will 4
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.
And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when 5
I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the
children of Israel from among them. And Moses and 6
Aaron did so; as the LORD commanded them, so did they.
And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore 7
and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh.

And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, 8

3-5 (P). Yahweh will harden Pharaoh's heart, so that he will not let the Israelites go until Yahweh has manifested His power in signs, wonders, and judgements.

6 (P). Moses and Aaron carry out their commission.

7 (P). Age of Moses and Aaron.

Sources, &c. Verses 28-30 are repeated from verses 10-12, &c., in order to resume the narrative after the interruption.

vii. **1. prophet**, spokesman. Prediction is not a leading function of the earlier prophets. Cf. on xv. 20 and Gen. xx. 7.

3, 4. signs . . . wonders . . . judgements, the same acts from different points of view.

6. as Yahweh commanded them, so did they: a favourite phrase of P; cf. verse 10, xii. 28, &c.

7. This verse illustrates P's fondness for chronology and statistics. Aaron is older than Moses, as in vi. 20-6, but in contradiction to ii. 1.

vii. 8-13. THE SIGN OF THE ROD THAT BECAME A SERPENT.
(A narrative from P.)

8, 9. Yahweh bids Moses meet Pharaoh's demand for a wonder by directing Aaron to cast his rod down before Pharaoh that it may become a 'serpent.'

9 saying, 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
10 become a [a]serpent. And Moses and Aaron went in
unto Pharaoh, and they did so, as the LORD had com-
manded: and Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh
11 and before his servants, and it became a serpent. Then
Pharaoh also called for the wise men and the sorcerers:
and they also, the [b]magicians of Egypt, did in like
12 manner with their [c]enchantments. For they cast down
every man his rod, and they became serpents: but
13 Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods. And Pharaoh's

[a] Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile; and so in vv. 10, 12.
[b] See Gen. xli. 8. [c] Or, *secret arts*

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10. Moses and Aaron carry out these instructions.

11. The Egyptian magicians successfully imitate Aaron, but his rod swallows up their rods.

12. But Pharaoh's heart is hardened so that he will not hearken.

9. show a wonder. As in iv. 21, R, the sign is shown to Pharaoh; but in J, iv. 1–12, 20, it is shown to the Israelites.

serpent, *tannin*, also used for sea-monsters, dragons, and mythical monsters—implying something larger or more formidable than the simple *nahash* of J, iv. 3, an ordinary serpent.

11. wise men . . . sorcerers . . . magicians, may be three different names for the same class according to different views or forms of their art; or wise men and sorcerers may denote two different classes of magicians. With 'wise men' cf. our 'wizard' and 'wise women.' The root of 'sorcerer,' *K Sh Ph*, is found in the same sense in Assyrian. It is sometimes explained as meaning originally 'cut,' either 'cut oneself,' like the prophets of Baal, or cut up herbs, &c., for a magic potion.

the magicians of Egypt, perhaps an explanatory note added by an editor; the word for magician is *hartom*, perhaps 'engraver,' 'writer'; see on Gen. xli. 1. In 2 Tim. iii. 8 there are only two magicians who withstood Moses, viz. Jannes and Jambres. The names were no doubt derived from Jewish tradition; they are found in various forms in the Jerusalem Targum, the Talmud, and other Jewish literature, but are not given by Josephus or Philo.

heart was [a]hardened, and he hearkened not unto them;
as the LORD had spoken.

[J] And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh's heart 14

[a] Heb. *was strong.*

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vii. 14—xii. 30. THE TEN PLAGUES.

To the modern Christian 'the Ten Plagues' are a well-defined whole, and he is inclined to think of the narrative concerning them as complete and distinct from what precedes and follows. But this narrative, or rather these narratives, are not so marked off in Exodus. We pass from the Sign of the Rod that became a serpent to the First Plague by a perfectly easy transition, and the story of the Tenth Plague is interwoven with the institution of the Passover, and the preparations for departure; and we pass from these matters without a break to the actual departure. As 'ten' is a round number, and fairly common, the editor of the Pentateuch probably arranged to have Ten Plagues; but the later inspired writers were not interested in the number; 'the Ten Plagues' is not a Scriptural phrase.

Moreover, the number did not belong to any ancient tradition, it only arises in the editing of the complete Pentateuch. Taking, in the first instance, the present arrangement of the text, just as it stands, we get the following table, showing which plagues were present in which sources:—

	J.	E.	P.
1.	Nile smitten.	Nile turned to Blood.	Nile turned to Blood.
2.	Frogs.	—	Frogs.
3.	—	—	Lice.
4.	Flies.	—	—
5.	Murrain.	—	—
6.	—	—	Boils and Blains.
7.	Hail.	Hail.	—
8.	Locusts.	Locusts.	—
9.	—	Darkness.	—
10.	Firstborn.	Firstborn.	Firstborn.

But if the reader will refer to the detailed notes on the various plagues, he will find that there are strong grounds for believing that P's Lice is only another version of J's Flies, we might call them both Vermin; that J's Murrain is a variant of P's Boils and Blains, we might put Pestilence; and that the section of J at present connected with E's Darkness had nothing whatever to do originally with any such plague, there being no Darkness in

15 is [a]stubborn, he refuseth to let the people go. [E] Get

[a] Heb. *heavy*.

Our table, therefore, would have to be modified as follows:—

J.	E.	P.
		[Rod and Serpent.]
1. Nile smitten.	Nile turned to Blood.	Nile turned to Blood.
2. Frogs.	—	Frogs.
3. Vermin.	—	Vermin.
4. Pestilence.	—	Pestilence.
5. Hail.	Hail.	—
6. Locusts.	Locusts.	—
7. —	Darkness.	—
8. Firstborn.	Firstborn.	Firstborn.

We cannot be sure that all the E material has been preserved, and, on the other hand, we are not quite sure that he had an account of the Death of the Firstborn, though it is very difficult to believe that it was absent from his narrative; cf. on xii. 21–7.

Taking our second table, we have five plagues each in E and P, and seven in J. Probably P reckoned the plagues as signs, and included the Rod and Serpent, making six.

The three writers have strongly marked characteristics both in phraseology and as to the machinery, so to speak, of the Plagues.

The formula of the Primitive writer, J, is as follows:—

And Yahweh said unto Moses . . . tell him [Pharaoh] . . . Thus saith Yahweh, The God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go that they may serve me . . .	vii. 14, 16 (viii. 1), 20, ix. 1, 13 f., x. 1–3.
If thou refuse to let them go, I will . . .	viii. 2, 21, ix. 1, 17, x. 4.
. . . to morrow . . .	viii. 10, 23, ix. 5, 18, x. 4.
. . . and Yahweh did so . . .	viii. 24, ix. 6.
. . . and Pharaoh called for Moses and said, Intreat Yahweh . . . and Moses went out from Pharaoh and intreated Yahweh, and Yahweh did according to the word of Moses . . .	viii. 8, 12, 13, (ix. 27), x. 16, 18.
But Pharaoh hardened his heart and did not let the people go.	(viii. 15) 32, ix. 7, 34.

The formula of the Elohistic Writer, E, is as follows:—

And Yahweh said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be . . .	ix. 22 (x. 12), x. 21.

thee unto Pharaoh in the morning; lo, he goeth out

And Moses stretched forth his rod[1] towards heaven [over the land of Egypt].	(vii. 20 *b*), ix. 23 *a*, x. 13 *a*, 22.

The formula of the Priestly writer, P, is as follows:—

And Yahweh said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth [thine hand with] thy rod . . .	(vii. 8), vii. 19, viii. 5, 16.
And Aaron stretched out his hand . . .	(vii. 10), viii. 16, 17.
And the magicians did in like manner with their enchantments . . .	vii. 11, vii. 22, viii. 7, 18.
And Pharaoh's heart was hardened[2], and he hearkened not unto them; as Yahweh had spoken.	vii. 13, vii. 22 (viii. 15 *b*), 19 (ix. 12).

Apart from phraseology, the main difference is in the way in which the plagues are brought about. In J they are the direct work of Yahweh, for the most part, apparently, by natural means; the river swarms with frogs, and later on they die, viii. 1, 13; the flies come and go, viii. 21, 31; a murrain falls upon the cattle, ix. 6; there is a hail, ix. 23; an east wind brings the locusts and a west wind takes them away, x. 13, 19. The supernatural character of the plagues appears from their unprecedented severity, ix. 18, 24, x. 6, 14, xi. 6; and from the fact that they happen at a time fixed by Yahweh and announced by Moses.

In E the plagues come when Moses stretches out his rod.

In P Aaron stretches out his rod.

Other peculiarities are the exemption in J of the land of Goshen, the settlement of the Israelites. Also in P the competition of magicians with Aaron.

As has already been pointed out in connexion with J, the Plagues are in themselves natural phenomena, their supernatural character appears from the circumstances under which they come and go, and from their extreme severity. Even the changing of the water into blood is usually illustrated by the fact that between June and August the Nile turns to a dull red, owing to the presence of vegetable matter. However, the actual changing to blood as in E and P would not be a natural phenomenon. In J's account of the First Plague, apparently, the water does not change to blood, but becomes polluted so that the fishes die. But even in J there is the Sign of the water changing to blood, but only a small quantity is affected.

[1] Cf. note on ix. 22.

[2] The word for 'harden' in J is from the root KBD, lit. 'be heavy'; in E and P, from the root ḤZQ.

unto the water; and thou shalt stand by the river's brink

The Editor has mainly relied upon J, and has generally used his narratives, supplementing them from E and P, but portions of J have been omitted. Only fragments of E are preserved.

If we had J by itself in its original form we should have a dramatic story of great literary value. Though, like Homer and other ancient epical poets, he has his formulae, yet he is not hampered by them, but uses them with complete freedom. Note, for instance, the growing impression made on Pharaoh by the Plagues. Nothing is said about the effect of the pollution of the Nile, but the frogs extort from Pharaoh a promise of release, which he promptly repudiates when they are taken away, having had no intention of keeping it. When the Flies come he endeavours to make a serious bargain; they shall sacrifice 'in the land'; eventually he agrees to let them go into the wilderness, but not far. After the Murrain, the cattle being dead beyond recall, he does not offer any terms. After the Hail he agrees without discussion to let them go at once. But when the Locusts are only threatened he tries to make terms, and afterwards expresses much contrition; and if the view taken in the notes on xi. 21–27 be correct, after the locusts had been removed and before another plague was threatened, Pharaoh offered to fulfil his promise with some limitations.

If we attempt to construct a chronology of the plagues from the various indications of time, they might seem to extend from the summer, between June and August, to the following Easter. But the absence of any direct statements shows that the Editor was not concerned with any chronological scheme; and the original documents imply that they happened within a few days, therefore shortly before Easter. J mentions an interval of seven days between the First and Second Plagues, otherwise they seem to happen in quick succession. The only note of time in E is 'three days' of darkness; whereas in P the Plagues are signs, and P's narrative as it stands is quite capable of the interpretation sometimes put upon it, that the Plagues are wrought one after another, in a single audience before Pharaoh. P refers to the Death of the Firstborn, but his account of the actual event has been omitted in favour of J's.

In Ps. lxxviii. 44–51, we have a list of the Plagues thus:— (1) Rivers turned to Blood, (2) Flies, (3) Frogs, (4) Locusts[1], (5) Hail, (6) Pestilence, (7) Death of the Firstborn.

The plagues enumerated are those of J, though in a different order.

[1] The 'caterpiller' and 'frost' are merely variations of 'locusts' and 'hail.'

to meet him; and the rod which was turned to a [a] ser-

[a] See ch. iv. 3.

In Ps. cv. 26–36 we have (1) Darkness, (2) Waters turned to Blood, (3) Frogs, (4) Flies, or Lice, (5) Hail, (6) Locusts, (7) Firstborn. Again the order is changed, and the Murrain and the Boils and Blains are omitted. From the structure of the poem 'Flies' and 'Lice' are equivalents, so that again there are seven plagues[1]. As these psalms only make a selection of the incidents of the history, we cannot be sure that they were only acquainted with the plagues they mention; but they show a tendency to reckon *seven* plagues as if the number *ten* for these were either unknown or not commonly accepted[2].

vii. 14–24. The First Plague. The Water turned to Blood. (A narrative compiled from J, E, and P.)

14 (J). Yahweh's instructions to Moses.

15 (E). Moses with *his* rod is to meet Pharaoh.

16, 17*a* (J). Yahweh's instructions to Moses. He, Yahweh, will smite the river.

17*a* (E). Moses is to turn the waters of the *Nile* to blood by smiting them with *his* rod.

18 (J). The fish in the Nile will die, so that the water will not be fit to drink.

19, 20*a* (P). Yahweh instructs Moses that *Aaron* is to stretch *his* rod over *all* the waters of Egypt and turn them to blood. Moses and Aaron carry out these instructions.

20*b* (E). [Moses] smites the Nile with *his* rod and turns its water to blood.

21*a* (J). The fish in the Nile die, so that the water is not fit to drink.

21*b*, 22 (P). All the water in Egypt is turned into blood. The magicians also turn water to blood, and Pharaoh continues stubborn.

23 (E). Pharaoh continues stubborn.

24 (J). The Egyptians get water by digging.

Sources, &c. There are two complete sets of instructions, 14–18, JE; 19, 20*a*, P. There are different views as to the details of the Plague. In J Yahweh Himself smites the Nile, so that the fish die, and the water is not fit to drink.

In E Moses smites the Nile with *his* rod, and the water of the Nile becomes blood.

In P Aaron stretches out *his* rod over all the waters of Egypt, and they become blood.

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[1] Cf. also Ps. cxxxv. 8.

[2] Cf. further the detailed notes and the Introduction, pp. 20 ff.

16 pent shalt thou take in thine hand. [J] And thou shalt
say unto him, The LORD, the God of the Hebrews, hath
sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go, that they
may serve me in the wilderness: and, behold, hitherto
17 thou hast not hearkened. Thus saith the LORD, In
this thou shalt know that I am the LORD: [E] behold,
I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the
waters which are in the river, and they shall be turned
18 to blood. [J] And the fish that is in the river shall die,
and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall loathe
19 to drink water from the river. [P] And the LORD said
unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch
out thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their
rivers, over their [a] streams, and over their pools,
and over all their ponds of water, that they may

[a] Or, *canals*

P's and J's narratives seem complete, but parts of E have been omitted, their place being supplied by material from J. Thus E's 17 *b* 'with the rod, &c.,' is inserted after J's 17 *a* '. . . I will smite,' so that the corresponding words in E become unnecessary and are omitted.

15. which was turned to a serpent. E does not seem to have narrated the turning of the rod into a serpent, so that probably these words are a later addition.

17. In this thou shalt know that I am Yahweh. The marvels wrought in the name of Yahweh will teach Pharaoh His nature and power.

behold, I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand. If this were a single, straightforward narrative, and not a compilation, we should suppose that Yahweh was still the speaker; but that is impossible; we read nothing of a rod in Yahweh's hand. We might put a full stop at the second Yahweh, and make 'Behold, &c.' the words of Moses; but then Yahweh's sentence is left unfinished, 'this' is not defined.

The combination of the sources has not been quite successful; originally E's account at this point ran somewhat as follows, (15 *b*) 'the rod thou shalt take in thine hand, and thou shalt say to Pharaoh, &c., &c., and (17 *b*) thou shall smite with the rod that is in ***thine*** **hand, &c.'**

become blood; and there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone. And Moses and Aaron did so, as the LORD 20
commanded; [E] and he lifted up the rod, and smote the 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 river were turned to blood. [J] And the 21
fish that was in the river died; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river; [P] and the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt. And the magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their 22
enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart [a] was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken. [E] And Pharaoh turned and went into his house, neither 23
did he [b] lay even this to heart. [J] And all the 24
Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink; for they could not drink of the water of the river. And seven days were fulfilled, after that the LORD had 25
smitten the river.

[a] Heb. *was strong.* [b] Heb. *set his heart even to this.*

19. vessels of stone, including pottery.

22. the magicians of Egypt did in like manner. If, as in verses 19 and 21 *b*, all the water in Egypt had been turned into blood, where did the magicians get water from for their magic? Apparently in P the plague was a mere transient phenomenon, and the water turned to blood almost at once returned to its natural state (Baentsch). It should be noticed that if verse 24 were taken to be part of the same narrative this explanation would be excluded.

24. Nothing is said about the restoration of the Nile to its natural state. We have accounts of deliverance from the other plagues; clearly the Nile did not always remain either blood or full of dead fish. A paragraph about the restoration may have been omitted, or it may have been taken for granted that the flow of fresh water from the Upper Nile would cleanse the Nile in Egypt.

vii. 25—viii. 15. THE SECOND PLAGUE. THE FROGS.
(Compiled from J and P.)

vii. 25—viii. 4 (J). Seven days after the Plague of Blood

8 [a] And the LORD spake unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh,
and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Let my people
2 go, that they may serve me. And if thou refuse to let
them go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs:
3 and the river shall swarm with frogs, which shall go up
and come 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
4 thy kneadingtroughs: and the frogs shall come up both
upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon all thy ser-

[a] [Ch. vii. 26 in Heb.]

Yahweh instructs Moses to threaten Pharaoh with a Plague of Frogs.

5-7 (P). At the bidding of Yahweh, conveyed through Moses, Aaron stretches out his rod over the waters of Egypt and brings up frogs. The magicians do likewise.

8-15 *a* (J). At Pharaoh's entreaty and his promise to release the people, Moses intercedes with Yahweh, and the frogs die. But Pharaoh breaks his promise and remains stubborn.

15 *b* (P). Pharaoh remains stubborn.

Sources, &c. Either E had no Plague of Frogs, or his story was so similar to that of J that the compiler has omitted it. J's account of the actual bringing of the frogs has also been omitted, only P's being given. The sections from J and P present the characteristics already noted on pp. 82 ff.

J's account of the removal of the plague is a new feature.

Aaron has been introduced into verses 8 and 12 by the Editor; he is ignored in the rest of the J portion.

2. frogs. Varieties of frogs are found both in Palestine and in Egypt. In the Bible they are only mentioned in connexion with this plague, here and Psalms lxxviii. 45, cv. 30, and in Apoc. xvi. 13, where there appear 'three unclean spirits like frogs.'

3. kneadingtroughs. The meaning of the word *mas'ereth*, translated 'kneadingtrough' is not certain; it also occurs Deut. xxviii. 5, 17 and Exod. xii. 34 J, where the Israelites carry *mas'ereths* bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders. It is commonly explained as a shallow wooden trough or bowl, but also as a leathern-bag (*DB.* Art. BREAD). Egyptian monuments show dough being kneaded by the hand in a shallow bowl, and by the feet in a large tub. (Erman, pp. 189 f.)

vants. [a] [P] And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto 5
Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the
rivers, over the [b] streams, and over the pools, and cause
frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt. And Aaron 6
stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the
frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt. And the 7
magicians did in like manner with their enchantments,
and brought up frogs upon the land of Egypt. [J] Then 8
Pharaoh called for Moses [R] and Aaron, [J] 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. And Moses 9
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?
And he said, Against to-morrow. And he said, Be it 10
according to thy word: that thou mayest know that
there is none like unto the LORD our God. And the frogs 11
shall depart from thee, and from thy houses, and from
thy servants, and from thy people; they shall remain
in the river only. And Moses [R] and Aaron [J] went 12
out from Pharaoh: and Moses cried unto the LORD

[a] [Ch. viii. 1 in Heb.] [b] Or, *canals*

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5. Cf. vii. 19.

8, 12. and Aaron, a later insertion; cf. the '*I* intreat' in verse 9.

9. Have thou this glory over me. 'A polite address to the king,' 'Assume the honour of deciding when, &c.'

remain in the river only, where they would naturally be at all times.

10. that thou mayest know that there is none like unto Yahweh our God: often regarded as an editorial note pointing the lesson of the incident; cf. vii. 17, viii. 22, ix. 14–16, 29, x. 1, 2. The Primitive Document usually leaves its readers to draw their own morals.

concerning the frogs [a] which he had brought upon
13 Pharaoh. And the LORD did according to the word of
Moses; and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the
14 courts, and out of the fields. And they gathered them
15 together in heaps: and the land stank. But when
Pharaoh saw that there was respite, he [b] hardened his
heart, [P] and hearkened not unto them; as the LORD
had spoken.

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 [c] lice throughout all the land of Egypt.
17 And they did so; and Aaron stretched out his hand

[a] Or, *as he had appointed unto Pharaoh* [b] Heb. *made heavy.*
[c] Or, *sand flies* Or, *fleas*

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viii. 16-19. THE THIRD PLAGUE. THE LICE.

(A narrative from P; cf. pp. 81 ff.)

16, 17. At the bidding of Yahweh, conveyed through Moses, Aaron turns all the dust of Egypt into lice.

18, 19. The magicians unsuccessfully attempt to do the same, and own that this is 'the finger of God.' Pharaoh remains stubborn.

16, 17. smite . . . smote. In P Aaron usually only 'stretches forth his hand with the rod'; he does not smite, vii. 19, viii. 6; the smiting with the rod usually belongs to E, vii. 20; and the presence of the words here may be due to the influence of E.

16. lice, marg. sandflies or fleas. The traditional rendering varies between 'lice' (Josephus, &c.) and some species of gnats (LXX); both are common in Egypt. If we adopt 'gnats' this narrative may be P's equivalent of J's Plague of Flies.

16, 17. throughout all the lands of Egypt . . . all the dust of the earth became lice throughout all the land of Egypt. The wide extent of the plague recalls P's narrative in vii. 19. viii. 5, and the parallel indicates that 'all' is literal, not rhetorical. As in vii. 22, a difficulty arises: *all* the dust having been turned into lice, where did the magicians find dust to experiment on? Apparently, as in the case of the water and the blood, vii. 22, the change was only temporary; there is no account of the removal of the lice. One text of the Septuagint omits 'throughout all the land of Egypt' in 16, 17, though it is retained in vii. 19, 21.

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 enchantments to bring forth lice, but they could not: and there were lice upon man, and upon beast.
19 Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God: and Pharaoh's heart [a]was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken.

20 [J] And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in

[a] Heb. *was strong.*

19. This is the finger of God: no mere marvel, but a real proof of a special Divine intervention. The magicians say 'God,' not 'Yahweh,' because they are not Israelites. It is not clear why the magicians could not imitate this wonder; perhaps the changing of a rod into a serpent, of water into blood, and the production of frogs resembled feats which the Egyptian magicians were supposed to perform; while the changing of the dust into lice or gnats was not one of their performances.

viii. 20-32. THE FOURTH PLAGUE, THE FLIES.

(A narrative from J, cf. pp. 81 ff.)

20, 21. Yahweh bids Moses threaten Pharaoh with a plague of flies.

22, 23. The plague will not affect Israel in Goshen.

24. Yahweh sends the flies.

25-31. Pharaoh by a promise to let Israel sacrifice in the wilderness induces Moses to intercede with Yahweh and obtain the removal of the flies.

32. Pharaoh hardens his heart and breaks his promise.

Sources, &c. This narrative has characteristics of J which we have already referred to, viz. the direct action of Yahweh without the intervention of Moses or Aaron or a rod; the three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice; the intercession; the removal of the plague; and the broken promise. There is also the location of Israel in a separate district, Goshen, and exclusion of the plague from that district. The first two plagues were specially connected with the Nile, and would naturally not touch Goshen, so that there was no need to say that Goshen was not affected.

This narrative is probably J's equivalent of P's Plague of Lice or Gnats (which see).

the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh
forth to the water; and say unto him, Thus saith the
21 LORD, Let my people go, that they may serve me. 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
22 the ground whereon they are. 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
23 know that I am the LORD in the midst of the earth. And
I will [a] put a division between my people and thy people:
24 by to-morrow shall this sign be. And the LORD did so;
and there came grievous swarms of flies into the house of

[a] Or, *set* a sign of *deliverance* Heb. *set redemption.*

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20. Rise up early. It is doubtful whether the Hebrew really expressly states 'early'; cf. on Gen. xix. 2.

21. swarms of flies. A single word in the Hebrew, *'ārōbh*, only used in the account of this plague and in the references to it in Ps. lxxviii. 45, cv. 31. The word *'ārōbh* itself probably means 'swarm,' and here the 'swarm' is 'a swarm of flies.' The root may mean 'mix' and the word 'mixture,' hence the Vulgate 'every kind of flies.' The Septuagint translates 'dog-fly.' Philo, in his account of this plague, has an eloquent description of this 'stinging and treacherous beast,' as he styles the dog-fly.

22. the land of Goshen, the district east of the Delta; cf. above, pp. 82 f., and on Gen. xlv. 10.

22 *b*. to the end, &c., probably an addition; cf. on verse 10.

23. I will put a division. The Hebrew means literally as R. V. marg. 'set deliverance,' of which 'set *a sign of* deliverance' is an interpretation. As a matter of fact the existing Hebrew text does not make sense. The E. V. is a translation of the Vulgate, which follows the Septuagint. Probably instead of the *pedûth* of our Hebrew text, the Hebrew text used by the Septuagint had *pel'uth*, 'distinction,' from the root PL, used in ix. 4, xi. 7 in the phrase 'And Yahweh shall distinguish' or 'divide between' and in a similar clause.

24. and Yahweh did so. The appeal to Pharaoh and its failure are taken for granted.

Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses: and in all the land of Egypt the land was [a] corrupted by reason of the swarms of flies. And Pharaoh called for Moses [R] 25
and for Aaron, [J] and said, Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land. And Moses said, It is not meet so to do; 26
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

[a] Or, *destroyed*

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corrupted, polluted by these unclean creatures and their carcases, or better as marg. 'destroyed.' Josephus says men perished and the land lay uncultivated for want of husbandmen.

25. and for Aaron, an addition; there is no other reference to Aaron in this narrative; cf. the 'I go out . . . I will entreat' of verse 29.

in the land, in Egypt or Goshen, where they would be under Pharaoh's control, and could not escape.

26. the abomination of the Egyptians. In 2 Kings xxiii. 13 we have 'Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites,' and the word for 'abomination' both here and in *Kings* is the same[1]. Hence 'abomination' may be an Egyptian idol or deity, e. g. the Apis bull or the ram in which Amon manifested himself. But 'abomination' more often means some obnoxious object or practice, so that 'to sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians' would mean to offer a sacrifice abominable to the Egyptians. In either case it is implied that the Israelites would sacrifice animals which according to Egyptian ideas ought not to be sacrificed; and such worship would obviously not be safe. Disturbances often arise in India owing to the behaviour of Mohammedans or Europeans towards the cow, which is sacred to the Hindoos. Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 26, speaks of sacred animals, for which the Egyptians had the greatest respect. According to Herodotus, ii. 41–6, the Egyptians sacrificed bulls and calves, but not cows; in some districts goats were sacrificed but not sheep, in others sheep but not goats. At Egyptian Thebes a ram was never put to death except at the annual festival of Jupiter. The Israelites sacrificed bulls, sheep, goats, pigeons, and doves, so that they stood a fair chance of

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[1] *Tôē'bhâ*, but *shiqqûç* is more often used in such phrases, as e. g. 1 Kings xi. 5, 7, and elsewhere in 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

27 not stone us? We will go three days' journey into the
wilderness, and sacrifice to the LORD our God, as he
28 shall command us. And Pharaoh said, I will let you go,
that ye may sacrifice to the LORD your God in the wilder-
ness; 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
31 LORD. 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
32 remained not one. And Pharaoh [a] hardened his heart
this time also, and he did not let the people go.

9 [J] Then the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto
Pharaoh, 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

[a] Heb. *made heavy.*

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wounding the religious susceptibilities of any Egyptian who might witness their sacrifice.

26–8. Moses maintains the fiction that the Israelites only desire a temporary leave of absence for ritual purposes, and Pharaoh professes, at any rate, to think that Moses is sincere, 'only ye shall not go very far away.'

ix. 1–7. THE FIFTH PLAGUE. THE MURRAIN.

(Narrative from J; cf. pp. 82 ff.)

1–5. Yahweh instructs Moses to threaten Pharaoh with a cattle-plague.

6, 7. All the cattle of Egypt are slain, but none of the cattle of the Israelites. Still Pharaoh is stubborn.

Sources, &c. J's 'Murrain' is perhaps the equivalent of P's 'Boils and Blains.'

still, behold, the hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle 3
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. And the LORD 4
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. And the LORD appointed a set 5
time, saying, To-morrow the LORD shall do this thing in
the land. And the LORD did that thing on the morrow, 6
and all the cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the
children of Israel died not one. And Pharaoh sent, and, 7
behold, there was not so much as one of the cattle of the
Israelites dead. But the heart of Pharaoh was [a] stubborn,
and he did not let the people go.

[P] And the LORD said unto Moses and unto Aaron, 8

[a] Heb. *heavy*.

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3. camels. There is no conclusive evidence of the existence of camels in Egypt till the Greek period, centuries after this time. Cf. on Gen. xii. 16.

murrain. The original is *debher*, 'pestilence,' a perfectly general term.

4. Cf. viii. 23, xi. 7.

6. all the cattle of Egypt. The 'all' may be rhetorical; but it is probably to be taken literally. Verses 19-25 are mostly from sources other than J.

7. There is no paragraph as to entreaty for removal of the plague, &c. Pharaoh would hardly ask Moses to restore the cattle to life.

ix. 8-12. THE SIXTH PLAGUE. THE BOILS AND BLAINS.
(Narrative from P.)

8-10. At the command of Yahweh Moses sprinkles ashes towards heaven, and it becomes boils on men and beasts.

11. The magicians, smitten with the boils, can no longer face Moses.

12. Yahweh hardens Pharaoh's heart, so that he remains stubborn.

Sources, &c. This plague may be P's equivalent of J's 'Mur-

Take to you handfuls of [a] ashes of the furnace, and let
Moses sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pha-
9 raoh. 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
10 Egypt. 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
11 and upon beast. And the magicians could not stand
before Moses because of the boils; for the boils were upon
12 the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians. And the

[a] Or, *soot*

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rain.' We have several of the characteristics of P, e. g. the magicians; Aaron, however, is not so conspicuous as he usually is in P; his rod does not appear. Possibly P reserved the final, more important, acts for Moses; Aaron's rod does not appear in P's account of the death of the firstborn, or the crossing of the Red Sea. It is often, however, supposed that the sprinkling of the ashes is borrowed from a parallel account, perhaps from E. Apparently this plague also is thought of as temporary and passing away of itself.

8. ashes, marg. **soot.** The word only occurs here.

9. shall become small dust. As the handfuls of soot are thrown up they will break up into fine dust; this will settle on men and animals and cause an eruption.

a boil breaking forth with blains. 'Boil,' *shehîn*, is the word used of Job's disease, Job ii. 7, and of a boil which might be leprous, Lev. xiii. 18-23. In Deut. xxviii. 27, 35 we read of 'the boil of Egypt' and of a 'boil' that attacked the knees and the legs. Hezekiah suffered from a 'boil.' *Shn* is said to be used in Egyptian for an abscess (Macalister, *DB.* MEDICINE). 'Blains' only occurs in this passage. The phrase means that the disease did not consist in a single boil, but in a number of swellings. The data are not sufficient to indicate the exact disease intended; very probably the author thinks of a special supernatural disease, devised for this particular occasion.

upon beast. According to verse 6 all the cattle are dead. Though the words are different, they would naturally refer to the same animals. This is one of the many indications that different paragraphs are taken from different sources; cf. further verses 19-25.

LORD [a] hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken unto Moses.

[J] And the LORD said unto Moses, Rise up early in 13
the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say unto

[a] Heb. *made strong.*

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ix. 13-35. THE SEVENTH PLAGUE. THE HAIL.

(A narrative from J, supplemented by fragments from E and editorial notes.)

13 (J). Yahweh bids Moses appeal to Pharaoh to release Israel.

14-17 (R). Yahweh will now send all these plagues; He has only spared the Egyptians so far that He might manifest His power.

18 (J). Yahweh will send terrible hail.

19-21 (R). The Egyptians are to call in their slaves and cattle from the fields, that they may not be killed by the hail. Some obey, some disobey.

22, 23*a*, 24*a*, 25*a* (E). At the bidding of Yahweh Moses stretches forth his rod, and Yahweh sends thunder, hail, and lightning. The hail smites the men and animals left in the fields.

23*b*, 24*b*, 25*b* (J). Yahweh rains hail such as was never known in Egypt before, it smites the trees and crops.

26 (J). There was no hail in Goshen.

27-29*a* (J). Pharaoh promises to let the people go, and Moses agrees to intercede for him.

29*b*, 30 (R). For the glory of Yahweh, though he knows Pharaoh will break his promise.

31, 32 (R). The extent of the damage done to the crops.

33, 34 (J). At Moses' intercession the hail is stopped. Pharaoh remains stubborn.

35 (E) (R). Pharaoh remains stubborn.

Sources, &c. The main narrative here is J; verse 13 is almost identical with vii. 14, 16, viii. 1, ix. 1, 13; the land of Goshen is spared, and there are the intercession and the broken promise, and other characteristics of J. On the other hand, some verses show the notes of E; e. g. Moses brings the plague by his rod, 23*a*. Moreover, J destroyed all the cattle with murrain in verse 6, and according to him the hail destroys the trees and the crops, 25*b*; but in E the hail smites man and beast, 25*a*. If the verses given to E are omitted, we still have a complete story. The presence of verses 14-17 make the speech too long and didactic for J, and are an editorial expansion (cf. on viii. 10), unless 17, as some think, belongs to J.

19 and 20f. do not resemble either J or E, and are probably

him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of the Hebrews,
14 Let my people go, that they may serve me. [R] 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
16 off from the earth: 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 thyself against my people, that
18 thou wilt not let them go? [J] 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
19 even until now. [R] Now therefore send, hasten in
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,
20 and they shall die. He that feared the word of the LORD
among the servants of Pharaoh made his servants and his
21 cattle flee into the houses: and he that regarded not the
word of the LORD left his servants and his cattle in the field.

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two separate additions, perhaps suggested by 25 *a*. Again, 29 *b*, 30 are an expansion similar to 14-16; and 31, 32 interrupt the connexion, and read like a note; some, however, regard them as a fragment of E. The repetition in 34, 35 indicates the presence of E, and the concluding clause is an addition based on a P formula.

14-16. Cf. viii. 10.

14. heart. The king would be moved and distressed by the plagues. The writer may have the slaying of the firstborn specially in mind.

16. have I made thee to stand, i. e. 'kept thee alive,' when Yahweh might have destroyed him at once.

18. hail. Hail and thunder sometimes occur in Egypt, but are exceedingly rare in that country.

19. thy cattle, all dead in verse 6; cf. on verse 10.

[E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch forth 22
thine hand 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.
And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and 23
the LORD sent thunder and hail, and fire ran down
unto the earth; [J] and the LORD rained hail upon the
land of Egypt. [E] So there was hail, and fire [a] mingled 24
with the hail, [J] very grievous, such as had not been
in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.
[E] And the hail smote throughout all the land of 25
Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast;
[J] and the hail smote every herb of the field, and
brake every tree of the field. Only in the land of Goshen, 26
where the children of Israel were, was there no hail.
And Pharaoh sent, and called for Moses [R] and Aaron, 27
[J] and said unto them, I have sinned this time: the LORD
is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. Intreat the 28
LORD; for there hath been enough of *these* [b] mighty
thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall
stay no longer. And Moses said unto him, As soon as 29
I am gone out of the city, I will spread abroad my hands

[a] Or, *flashing continually amidst*
[b] Heb. *voices* (or *thunderings*) *of God.*

23. fire, lightning.

27. and Aaron: addition; Moses is alone in the rest of this narrative.

I have sinned this time, i. e. 'this time,' 'now, I acknowledge that I have sinned.'

Yahweh is righteous, and I and my people are wicked: rather, 'Yahweh is in the right, and I and my people are in the wrong' in this matter that is in dispute between us, the releasing of Israel.

28. I will let you go. This time Pharaoh makes the promise at once, without trying to bargain for partial concessions.

29. Cf. viii. 10.

the city. There is nothing to indicate the name of the city, which was apparently unknown to the author.

unto the LORD; the thunders shall cease, neither shall there be any more hail; [R] that thou mayest know
30 that the earth is the LORD'S. 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
32 barley was in the ear, and the flax [a] was bolled. But the wheat and the spelt were not smitten: for they were not
33 grown up. [J] 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
34 poured upon the earth. And when Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he

[a] Or, *was in bloom*

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30. The LORD God. Yahweh God, an unusual combination, chiefly found in Gen. ii, iii (which see), and probably never original, but always due to editors or scribes (*BDB.*). Here the Septuagint omits 'God,' and the Samaritan Hebrew text has 'Lord (*Adonay*) Yahweh.'

31, 32. The time indicated by these verses is about the end of January or the beginning of February. The barley, as is implied here, ripens earlier than the wheat. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the wheat would still be too young to be injured by hail when the barley was in ear.

31. bolled, in bloom, as in the margin.

spelt, *kussemeth*, only occurs here and Isa. xxviii. 25, where A. V. renders 'rye,' and Ezek. iv. 9, where A. V. renders 'fitches.' The rendering 'spelt' (a kind of wild wheat) is from the Septuagint. Others regard it as a kind of vetch, the Arabic name of which is *karsana*; or as the *divra*, African millet or sorghum. The *divra* is known to have been common in ancient Egypt, and there is sufficient evidence of the cultivation of spelt. The identification with the 'vetch' seems to imply a knowledge of its existence in ancient Egypt, but I have not met with any express statement to that effect. Rye is not known to have been cultivated in Egypt.

33. went out of the city, probably that he might be alone in prayer.

spread abroad his hands, an attitude of prayer shown upon the monuments.

sinned yet more, and [a] hardened his heart, he and his servants. [E] And the heart of Pharaoh [b] was hardened, 35
and he did not let the children of Israel go; [S] as the LORD had spoken by Moses.

[J] And the LORD said unto Moses, [D] Go in unto 10
Pharaoh: for I have [a] hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might shew these my signs in

[a] Heb. *made heavy.* [b] Heb. *was strong.*

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34. sinned yet more, rather, repeated his sin—by again breaking his promise.

x. 1–20. THE EIGHTH PLAGUE. THE LOCUSTS.

(A narrative from J, supplemented from E, and slightly annotated.)

1–6 (J) [1 *b*, 2, D.] Yahweh bids Moses go to Pharaoh . . . [D. He has hardened Pharaoh's heart, that He may work signs which will become a tradition, and will reveal his nature] . . . Moses goes to Pharaoh and threatens him in the name of Pharoah with a plague of locusts, if he will not let the people go. He leaves Pharaoh.

7–11 (J). The courtiers induce Pharaoh to recall Moses. Pharaoh offers to let the men go without their families. Moses refuses the offer, and is driven out from the presence of Pharaoh.

12, 13 *a*, 14 *a*, 15 *a* (E). At the bidding of Yahweh, Moses stretches out his rod, and brings up over all the land of Egypt locusts, which devour the vegetation which had survived the Plague of Hail

13 *b*, 14 *b*, 15 *b*–19 (J). An east wind covers the land with locusts, which devour the vegetation. Pharaoh calls for Moses, confesses his sin, and prevails upon him to intercede with Yahweh, who sends a west wind and takes away the locusts.

20 (E). Yahweh hardens Pharaoh's heart and he remains stubborn.

Sources, &c. As in the previous narrative, a few fragments of E, e. g. 12, 13 *a*, Moses' rod, have been introduced into a section bearing the characteristics of J; cf. pp. 82 ff. Aaron has been brought in here and there by the editor, possibly from E, and there is a didactic expansion in verses 1 and 2; cf. notes. A comparison of verses 3, 6 and 7 shows that the presence of Aaron is due to the editor; *Moses and Aaron* went in, but only *Moses* came out, '*he* turned and went out . . . how long shall *this man*

2 the midst of them: and that thou mayest tell in the ears
of thy son, and of thy son's son, [a] what 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
[J] unto 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-
5 morrow will I bring locusts into thy border: and they

[a] Or, *How I have mocked the Egyptians*

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be a snare?' again in 16 *Moses and Aaron* are called for in haste, but only Moses goes away, 'he went out.'

Nothing is said about the exemption of Goshen, it is perhaps assumed; or a verse or two of J's account may have been omitted.

2. Cf. Deut. iv. 9; Joel i. 2 f.

3. And Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him. In J's other plague-narratives Yahweh's instructions to address certain words to the king are given in full, and the repetition of the words by Moses to Pharaoh is not given, but is taken for granted, viii. 20-4, ix. 1-5. Apparently this was also the case here, and the statement about Moses and Aaron going in unto Pharaoh has been introduced in consequence of the addition of 1 *b*, 2.

4. locusts are still a trouble in Egypt. A number of striking accounts of swarms of locusts are quoted in G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 398 ff., from which we borrow the following experience of Mr. Bryce in South Africa. Referring to a swarm of locusts, he writes, 'It is a strange sight, beautiful if you can forget the destruction it brings with it. The whole air, to twelve or even eighteen feet above the ground, is filled with the insects, reddish-brown in body, with bright, gauzy wings. When the sun's rays catch them it is like the sea sparkling with light. When you see them against a cloud they are like the dense flakes of a driving snowstorm. You feel as if you had never before realized immensity in number. Vast crowds of men gathered at a festival, countless tree-tops rising along the slope of a forest-ridge, the chimneys of London houses from the top of St. Paul's—all are as nothing to the myriads of insects that blot out the sun above and cover the ground beneath and fill the air whichever

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: and thy houses shall be filled, and the 6
houses of all thy servants, and the houses of all the Egyp-
tians; 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 went out from Pharaoh.
And Pharaoh's servants said unto him, How long shall 7
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? And Moses [R] and Aaron [J] were brought 8
again unto Pharaoh: and he said unto them, Go, serve
the LORD your God: but who are they that shall go? And 9
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

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way one looks. The breeze carries them swiftly past, but they come on in fresh clouds, a host of which there is no end, each of them a harmless creature which you can catch and crush in your hand, but appalling in their power of collective devastation.' There is also a graphic description of a plague of locusts in Joel i, e. g. verses 6-10: 'A nation is come up upon my land, strong, and without number; his teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the jaw-teeth of a great lion. He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig-tree: he hath made it clean bare, and cast it away; the branches thereof are made white . . . The meal offering and the drink offering are cut off from the house of Yahweh . . the corn is wasted, the new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth.'

5. the face of the earth, lit. the eye of the earth.

the residue . . . from the hail. The hail would only beat down vegetation in exposed places, the locusts would penetrate everywhere, and eat right down to the earth.

8, 16. and Aaron. Addition.

who are they that shall go? The Hebrew is not simply 'who,' but 'who and who,' an idiom only found here and explained as 'who exactly, who in particular' (*G.K.*).

10 unto the LORD. And he said unto them, So be the
LORD with you, as I will let you go, and your little ones:
11 look to it; for evil is [a] before you. 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 [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine
hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they
may come up upon the land of Egypt, and eat every herb of
13 the land, even all that the hail hath left. And Moses
stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, [J] and
the LORD brought an east wind upon the land all that
day, and all the night; and when it was morning, the
14 east wind brought the locusts. [E] And the locusts
went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the
borders of Egypt; [J] very grievous were they; before
them there were no such locusts as they, neither after
15 them shall be such. For they covered the face of the
whole earth, [E] so that the land was darkened; and
they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the
trees which the hail had left: [J] and there remained
not any green thing, either tree or herb of the field,
16 through all the land of Egypt. Then Pharaoh called for
Moses [R] and Aaron [J] in haste; and he said, I have
17 sinned against the LORD your God, and against you. Now

[a] Or, *what ye purpose* Heb. *before your face.*

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10. So be Yahweh with you, as I will let you go. A form of oath, 'I swear by Yahweh, I will not let you go.' The use of Yahweh's name by the king is contemptuous.

look to it; for evil is before you, i. e. to put it colloquially, 'Take care, or you will get into trouble.'

11. men. In some cases only the men took part in religious ceremonies, e. g. xxiii. 17, 'Three times in the year all thy *males* shall appear before Yahweh,' i. e. for the festivals.

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. And he went out from Pharaoh, 18 and intreated the LORD. And the LORD turned an ex- 19 ceeding 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. [E] But the LORD 20 [a] hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel go.

And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine 21

[a] Heb. *made strong.*

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17. this death only. Unless the locusts were removed there would be no food left.

19. west wind, lit. 'wind from the sea'; the author writes from the standpoint of Palestine, where the sea is on the west.

x. 21-9. THE NINTH PLAGUE. THE DARKNESS.

(A narrative compiled from J and E.)

21-3 (E). At the bidding of Yahweh Moses stretches out his hand and brings darkness for three days on Egypt, but the Israelites have light.

24-6 (J). Pharaoh offers to let the Israelites go, but without their flocks and herds. Moses refuses.

27 (E). Yahweh hardens Pharaoh's heart, and he remains stubborn.

28-9 (J). Pharaoh sends Moses away, and bids him come no more. Moses agrees.

Sources, &c. The structure of this narrative is quite different from that of the preceding; there are no Divine instructions for an appeal to Pharaoh, and no interview between him and Moses; in other words, the main framework is not J. We begin at once with the bringing on of the plague by Moses at the bidding of Yahweh, in the manner of E, except that the rod is missing, probably through an alteration of the original text (see note on verse 22).

The second part, however, 24-6, 28 ff., is a bargaining between Pharaoh and Moses in the manner of J; this time, however, Pharaoh does not give way. As the darkness was definitely for three days its removal has already been implied.

But did 24-6, 28 ff. originally belong to a J account of a Plague

hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the
22 land of Egypt, [a] even darkness which may be felt. And
Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there
was a thick 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

[a] Or, *so that men shall grope in darkness*

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of Darkness? If so, why should the editor in this case omit the rest of J? It should be noticed that there is a development in the bargaining in successive plagues in J. It first appears in connexion with the Flies, *after* the plague has been sent; it appears next in connexion with the Locusts, while the plague has only been threatened, before it has been sent. It seems natural, therefore, to suppose that in J originally 24-6, 28 ff. were the sequel to the narrative of the locusts, and that J had no Plague of Darkness, except indeed that the land was darkened by the locusts, 15 *a*. Thus J would represent that Pharaoh by this time has been so much impressed that, even after the removal of the locusts, he is willing to make large concessions.

According to some 23 *a*, 'but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings,' is an editorial note. It has also been held that verse 25 comes from E. In one way this would remove the difficulty arising out of 25, 26; but it is hard to understand how Moses could simply ask for gifts of victims from Pharaoh, and—apparently—acquiesced in leaving their own cattle behind—unless they had no cattle in E. Elsewhere, too, there is no bargaining in E, but so little of that source has been preserved that this objection is not serious (cf. above, p. 84). It is possible that an editor has added something in 25 or 26 or both.

21. darkness which may be felt. The description would suit a London fog in November, but the condition which causes such a fog did not exist in Egypt; and the three days of verses 22, 23 exclude explanation by an eclipse. The natural phenomenon corresponding to this plague is commonly supposed to be the electric wind *Khamsin*, which blows for many days in the spring, and brings with it clouds of sand and dust, loading the atmosphere and darkening the sun. It usually lasts about three days. (Ryssel.)

22. stretched forth his hand. Elsewhere in E it is 'his rod,' and perhaps we should read 'rod' here. The alteration might very easily be made by a scribe in view of the 'hand' in the corresponding phrase in Yahweh's instructions.

light in their dwellings. [J] And Pharaoh called unto 24
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. And Moses said, Thou must also give into 25
our hand sacrifices and burnt offerings, that we may sacri-
fice unto the LORD our God. Our cattle also shall go 26
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. [E] But the LORD [a] hardened Pharaoh's 27
heart, and he would not let them go. [J] And Pharaoh 28
said unto him, Get thee from me, take heed to thyself,
see my face no more; for in the day thou seest my face
thou shalt die. And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well; 29
I will see thy face again no more.

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23. in their dwellings. In E the Israelites are thought of as living amongst the Egyptians, and the exemption has to be given to each house; in J it is simply given to the land of Goshen.

24. unto Moses. The Septuagint and Vulgate add 'and Aaron,' showing how natural it was to make such an addition.

let your flocks and your herds be stayed, as a pledge of their return.

25–26. The meaning apparently is: 'Not only must we take our own cattle, but you [Pharaoh] must contribute victims for the sacrifices; and we must take *all* our cattle, because we cannot tell till we get to the scene of our worship which particular cattle Yahweh requires,' the idea being that at the place of sacrifice Yahweh will indicate by an oracle the number and nature of the offerings He demands.

It would be simpler to understand the verses, 'You must also concede victims for the sacrifice, and therefore we must take our own cattle, &c.' The Hebrew as it stands can scarcely mean this, but the text may have been slightly altered.

Or, again, 25 may belong to one source, and 26 to another (cf. above, *Sources*).

sacrifices, *zebahim*, the ordinary sacrifices, of which part was consumed on the altar, and part eaten by the worshippers.

burnt offerings, *'oloth*, were wholly burnt on the altar.

11 [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Yet one plague

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xi. 1—xii. 30. THE TENTH PLAGUE. THE SLAYING OF THE FIRSTBORN.

(A narrative and laws compiled from J, E, and P, and freely annotated by editors.)

xi. 1-3 (E). Yahweh announces to Moses a final plague. The Israelites are to 'borrow' of the Egyptians. The renown of Moses.

4-8 (J). Moses declares [to Pharaoh] that at midnight Yahweh will slay all the firstborn of Egypt; Pharaoh's courtiers will beg the Israelites to depart. Moses leaves the presence of Pharaoh.

9-10 (S). Yahweh tells Moses that Pharaoh will not hearken, and so it happens.

xii. 1-13 (P). *The Law of the Passover.* Yahweh instructs Moses and Aaron thus: This month shall be the first month. On the tenth day each household is to take a lamb; on the fourteenth they are to kill it and put some of its blood on the doorposts and lintels of the house. That night they are to eat it roast, with unleavened bread, and bitter herbs. Anything left till the morning is to be burnt. Those partaking are to eat as if about to start on a journey. That night Yahweh will smite all the firstborn of Egypt, but the blood will protect the Israelites.

14-20 (S). This is to be a permanent feast; for seven days only unleavened bread is to be eaten; any one transgressing this law is to be 'cut off.' The first and last of the seven days are to be specially observed.

21-3 (J E). Moses bids the elders of Israel kill lambs for the Passover, and put some of the blood on the doorposts and lintels of the houses, and remain in the house till the morning. Yahweh will pass through to smite the Egyptians, but seeing the blood, He will spare the Israelites.

24 (P). This is to be a permanent law.

25-7 (J E). The ritual is to be observed in the Promised Land, and explained to each succeeding generation. The people reverently receive the instructions.

28 (P). The Israelites carry out the instructions given to Moses and Aaron.

29, 30 (J). At midnight Yahweh slays all the firstborn of the Egyptians. Pharaoh and his courtiers and his people arise in the night and raise great lamentation over their dead.

Sources, &c. There is abundant evidence that this section has been compiled from various sources. Moses' final defiance of Pharaoh, x. 29, xi. 4-8, is interrupted by irrelevant instructions from Yahweh to Moses about borrowing jewels, xi. 1-3. xii. 18,

more will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: [a]when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether. Speak now in the ears of the people, and let them ask 2
every man of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold. And 3
the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians. Moreover the man Moses was very great in

[a] Or, *when he shall let you go altogether, he shall utterly thrust you out hence*

21, 22 take for granted that the people are well acquainted with matters which, according to xii. 1–20, have only just been revealed to Moses, &c., &c.

But the process of compilation and annotation has been so complicated that it is impossible to indicate at all adequately the considerations that justify the present analysis; cf. however the notes on xi. 1, 4, 9, 10, xii. 15, 16, 19, 21 f.

The section xii. 14–20 does not belong to the main Priestly writer who composed xii. 1–13, but is a later supplement; it hardly attempts to maintain the standpoint of the night of the Exodus, but gives directions for observing an annual feast according to rules which could not have been followed in Egypt.

Verses 21–3, 24–7 appear to be based upon material both from J and E. Moses deals with the elders as in J; but in 23 and 27 the people seem to be dwelling among the Egyptians, as in E. The editor has so combined, supplemented, and otherwise modified his material, that we cannot recover the original elements; but the section is certainly older than P; cf. xii. 27.

1. when he shall let you, &c. As the variation between the text and margin shows, the translation of the latter part of this verse is uncertain. The 'altogether' would refer to Pharaoh's attempts to induce the Israelites to go without their families or their cattle, so that the text would mean, 'When he does let you go, he will let you all go, men, women, and cattle,' and the margin, 'When he does make up his mind to let you *all* go, he will drive you out.' The latter seems preferable, and the clause 'when he shall let you go altogether' is probably an editorial note; as apparently the bargaining was not narrated by E.

2–3. Cf. notes on iii. 21 ff.

3. Egyptians. The Septuagint and the Samaritan text add 'and they lent to them.'

the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people.

4 [J] And Moses said, Thus saith the LORD, About
5 midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: 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
6 mill; and all the firstborn of cattle. 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
7 more. But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog [a]move his tongue, against man or beast: that ye may know how that the LORD doth put a difference
8 between the Egyptians and Israel. 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.

[a] Heb. *whet.*

Moreover the man Moses was very great, &c., i. e. 'had a great reputation, &c.'; probably an editorial note.

4. The continuation of iii. 29.

Thus saith Yahweh, About midnight will I go out: the frank anthropomorphic style of J.

behind the mill. The grinding of the daily corn in the handmills was the lowest drudgery.

and all the firstborn of cattle. All dead ix. 6; the clause is a rhetorical addition by a scribe who had overlooked the earlier passage.

7. Yahweh doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel: implying that this plague, like the others, will not affect the Israelites.

8. Thy servants shall come. According to x. 28 f., Moses is not to see Pharaoh again. He will not therefore be sent for to come into the king's presence as before; there will be no question of any further bargaining; but the courtiers will be sent in haste to grant all that has been asked; or perhaps they will come of their own accord, without waiting to be sent. (Baentsch.)

[S] And the LORD said unto Moses, Pharaoh will not 9
hearken unto you: that my wonders may be multiplied
in the land of Egypt. And Moses and Aaron did all 10
these wonders before Pharaoh: and the LORD [a]hardened
Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the children of Israel
go out of his land.

[P] And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in 12
the land of Egypt, saying, This month shall be unto you 2
the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the
year to you. Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, 3
saying, In the tenth *day* of this month they shall take to

9–10. These verses were apparently inserted by an editor as a concluding summary of the narrative of the plagues (Oxf. Hex.); the actual slaying of the firstborn and the Passover being reserved for a separate section. In ch. xii the death of the firstborn is subordinated to the other topics. We might perhaps read 'Yahweh had said, &c.'

xii. 1–27. THE INSTITUTION OF THE PASSOVER; cf. Deut. xvi. 1–8. See also Appendix

1. in the land of Egypt. This was implied by the context; but the writer was anxious to emphasize the place of institution of the Passover. Moreover, this section would often be read as a separate lesson, so to speak, and the clause would then help the hearers to realize the situation. Most of the laws were given at Sinai.

2. This month. At first sight there is nothing to tell the reader which month is meant. Various features of the plagues show that they took place in the spring; see on ix. 31 f., x. 21. The author knew that his readers would understand the month to be that in which they were accustomed to observe the Passover, viz. the month known as Abib or Nisan, about April or Easter. The date is given clearly later on xiii. 4.

the beginning of months . . . the first month: implying that up till now the year had begun at some other time, but henceforth it would begin in the Passover month. Before the Exile the year began in the autumn; thus in xxiii. 16, E, the autumn or vintage feast is 'at the end of the year'; but after the Return the Jews adopted the Babylonian custom of beginning the year in the spring.

3. tenth day. Perhaps the choice of 'tenth' points to a time of reckoning by periods of ten days.

them every man a [a] lamb, according to their fathers' houses,
4 a lamb for an household: and if the household be too
little for a lamb, then shall he and his neighbour next
unto his house take one according to the number of the
souls; according to every man's eating ye shall make
5 your count for the lamb. Your lamb shall be without
blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it from
6 the sheep, or from the goats: 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

[a] Or, *kid*

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lamb: lamb or kid; cf. verse 5.

fathers' houses, here explained as 'household,' family in the narrower sense. It is also used for the family in the larger sense, the clan.

4. if the household be too little, &c., a practical concession. If small families had been compelled to consume a whole lamb apiece or destroy what was left (verse 10) there would have been great waste.

souls, persons, as in our 'a ship with two hundred souls on board.'

according to every man's eating, ye shall make your count, &c. This English suggests that the extent of each person's appetite was to be carefully ascertained, and the families grouped accordingly; which is absurd. The clause has been rendered, 'Each person's share of the lamb shall be apportioned according to his capacity for eating.' Not apparently that each is to have his fill; but that definite portions were to be allotted according to age or sex, so that the meal might proceed quickly and orderly (Baentsch). Another rendering is, 'A lamb is to be provided (lit. reckoned) for as many as can eat it' (Kautzsch); cf. on xvi. 16.

5. The conditions laid down here are those prescribed for animals for sacrifices. Apparently the Passover was originally considered a sacrifice; cf. verse 27; later on, when sacrifices could only be offered at the Temple, the Passover which was celebrated elsewhere was necessarily distinguished from sacrifices.

6. ye shall keep it up, lit. 'ye shall have it in keeping,' i. e. 'ye shall take care of it.' It is not clear why the animal was to be got four days before it was killed; it may be some feature of ancient ritual whose significance had been forgotten when the laws were committed to writing.

it [a]at even. And they shall take of the blood, and put 7
it on the two side posts and on the lintel, upon the
houses wherein they shall eat it. And they shall eat the 8
flesh in that night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread;
with bitter herbs they shall eat it. Eat not of it raw, nor 9
sodden at all with water, but roast with fire; its head

[a] Heb. *between the two evenings.*

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the whole assembly . . . shall kill it, i. e. each householder shall kill his lamb at the appointed time.

at even, possibly the original phrase had this meaning, i. e. at sunset or nightfall. The Hebrew in its present form was probably intended by the final editors of the Hebrew text to mean, as in R. V. marg., 'between the two evenings'; either at the point at which the one evening ended and the other began or at some time in the period covered by the two evenings. The two evenings are commonly explained as the hour before and the hour after sunset, but sometimes as from sunset to dark, or from about 3 p.m. to sunset.

7. The blood-ritual, again, is also a survival of primitive ritual. Similarly Ezek. xliii. 18. The priests put the blood of the sin-offering on the doorposts of the Temple; and both in Arabia and Syria the doorposts of houses, &c., are sprinkled with sacrificial blood (Jeremias, p. 260). At some stage of the development of the ritual the lamb may have been regarded as a sin-offering, and the sprinkling of its blood on the doorposts, &c., conveyed its atoning efficacy to the inmates of the house. But these directions for the first, the Egyptian, Passover, rather suggest that the blood originally protected the family from the attacks of a hostile spirit. See further in Appendix I.

lintel, the beam across the top of a doorway.

8. roast with fire, perhaps to distinguish it from the sacrifices at which boiled flesh was eaten, e. g. Lev. viii. 31. According to Deut. xvi. 7 the Passover lamb was to be boiled.

unleavened bread, as being more pure; so in Lev. ii. 4 unleavened cakes are to be used for a meal-offering. In J, xii. 34, the unleavened bread is due to the haste with which they departed; they had no time to wait for it to leaven. The theory of the Priestly Code also seems to be that the Passover ritual consists of commemorative symbols; cf. on verse 15.

9. Eat not of it raw, nor sodden. The prohibition implies that this or other sacrifices were at one time eaten raw; we know that they were eaten sodden, i. e. boiled; cf. on the previous verse.

10 with its legs and with the inwards thereof. 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 it; with your loins girded, your
shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand: and ye
12 shall eat it in haste: it is the LORD's passover. 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
13 execute judgements: I am the LORD. 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 [a] to destroy you, when
14 I smite the land of Egypt. [S] 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
15 feast by an ordinance for ever. Seven days shall ye eat

[a] Or, *for a destroyer*

10. let nothing of it remain until the morning, in order that this specially sacred object might not be used for an ordinary meal; a similar rule is laid down for sacrificial victims in Lev. iv. 12, vii. 15, 17. So the consecrated elements of the mass (unless reserved for ritual purposes) must all be consumed by the worshippers or the priest.

11. On the night of the Egyptian Passover the Israelites were to partake of the meal prepared to start at once on their journey, as soon as the call came.

passover: see Appendix I.

12. and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgements. The sentence may mean that in triumphing over Pharaoh, and plaguing him and his people, Yahweh conquers the gods of Egypt and executes judgements on them; or may refer to the fact that the Egyptians worshipped animals such as were destroyed in the plagues.

14. a memorial. Verses 1–13 are instructions for the night of the Exodus; 14–20 direct that a permanent annual festival shall be observed.

15. Seven days. The original observance was confined to the night of the Passover.

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. And in the first day there 16
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. And ye shall observe the 17
feast of unleavened bread; for in this selfsame day have I brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day throughout your generations by an ordinance for ever. In the first *month*, on the 18
fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even. Seven days shall there be no leaven 19
found in your houses: for whosoever eateth that which

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unleavened bread. Verses 14–20 are wholly occupied with this feature of the ritual. Originally *Mazzoth*, or the Feast of Unleavened Bread, was distinct from the Passover; cf. Appendix I.

that soul shall be cut off from Israel. 'Person' would be better than 'soul.' 'Cut off' is ambiguous, perhaps intentionally; judging from Num. iii. 4, xv. 36, where death is the penalty of offering the wrong kind of incense and of gathering sticks on the Sabbath, the Priestly writers would have been quite willing to interpret 'cut off' by 'put to death.' But as the Jewish authorities in the period when the priestly writings were published, and for the most part afterwards, had not the power of life and death, 'cut off' came to mean 'excommunicated,' excluded from worship at the Temple and from intercourse with faithful Jews.

16. an holy convocation, *miqrâ' qodesh*, a characteristic term of the Priestly writers for a religious gathering on a sacred day. On these particular 'holy convocations' no work might be done, as 16*b* tells us, except that involved in the preparation of food; so that these days were less sacred than the weekly or Sabbath, on which no work of any kind might be done.

17. in this selfsame day, the first day of unleavened bread, the fourteenth day of the first month.

18. In the first month, taking for granted the new arrangement made in verse 2.

is leavened, that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a sojourner, or one that
20 is born in the land. Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.
21 [R] Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said unto them, [a] Draw out, and take you [b] lambs
22 according to your families, and kill the passover. 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 his house until the
23 morning. For the LORD will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel,

[a] Or, *Go forth* [b] Or, *kids*

19. the congregation, *'ēdhâ*, 'company,' used especially, by the Priestly writers, for the Jewish community. To use modern terms, the Church and the Nation were identical, so that the 'congregation' is at once the body of citizens and the company of believers; but in the Priestly use of *'ēdhâ* the emphasis is on the religious character of the community.

sojourner, *gēr*, 'resident alien,' a foreigner residing more or less permanently in Israel, under the protection of an Israelite family or authority; later on a proselyte.

one that is born in the land, a native Israelite, 21 ff. These verses seem to assume that the Passover is an institution already known—note 'the passover,' 'the blood which is in the basin'; Yahweh's instructions to Moses and Aaron said nothing about the hyssop or the basin.

21. Draw out, perhaps 'Proceed forthwith' (*BDB.*); the Syriac version has 'Make haste.'

22. hyssop, also used for ceremonial sprinkling in case of leprosy, Lev. xiv. 51, and in the ritual of the red heifer, Num. xix. 6. The nature of this plant is not certainly known; it is said that it cannot be our hyssop, which is not found in Palestine, but that it is either the caper or the *Origanum malu*, a kind of marjoram.

23. to smite the Egyptians. We should probably understand the firstborn; but, if so, the words are those of an author assuming his reader's general acquaintance with the facts, rather than those of a speaker communicating fresh information.

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. [P] And ye shall observe this 24
thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever.
[D] And it shall come to pass, when ye be come to the 25
land which the LORD will give you, according as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this service. And it shall 26
come to pass, when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is 27
the sacrifice of the LORD'S passover, [a] who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. And the people bowed the head and worshipped. [P] And 28
the children of Israel went and did so; as the LORD had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

[J] And it came to pass at midnight, that the LORD 29
smote 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. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, 30
he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a

[a] Or, *for that he passed*

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the destroyer, probably the *Malakh Yahweh* acting as destroying angel. Here, as elsewhere, the connexion between Yahweh and the *Malakh* Yahweh or Angel of Yahweh are so close that the terms are used interchangeably; cf. Gen. xvi. 7. Or the last clause of the verse may not be from the same hand as the earlier part.

25. promised; see on Gen. xii. 7.

27. the sacrifice of Yahweh's passover; cf. on verses 5, 7, 8.

29. Cf. verse 4.

30. There was not a house where there was not one dead. A household in the East is usually much larger than with us, so that it would be rare to find a house in which there was not one firstborn.

31 house where there was not one dead. And he called for Moses [R] and Aaron [J] by night, and said, Rise up, get you forth from among my people, both ye and the

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xii. 31—xiii. 16. The Exodus.

(Narrative and laws, compiled from J and P, annotated and supplemented.)

xii. 31–4 (J). The Israelites are sent away in great haste.

35, 36 (E). They 'borrow' jewels and raiment of the Egyptians.

37–9 (J R). They journey to Succoth accompanied by their flocks and herds and a mixed multitude.

40–2 (S). The duration of the sojourn in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years.

43–50 (P). *Supplement to the Law of the Passover.* The Passover only to be eaten by circumcized persons.

51 (P). The Israelites leave Egypt.

xiii. 1, 2 (P). *Supplement to the Law of the Passover.* The firstborn to be dedicated to Yahweh.

3–9 (J R). Unleavened Bread to be eaten seven days, as a sign.

10–13 (J). The firstborn to be dedicated to Yahweh.

14–16 (R). The story to be told to future generations.

Sources, &c. The composite nature of the section is obvious. There are frequent repetitions; cf. xiii. 1, 2 with 12, 13; xiii. 6, 7 with xii. 14–20; and xiii. 3, 8, 9 with 14–16. The narrative of the sudden, hurried departure of two or three million persons is interrupted to introduce repetitions and expansions of laws already revealed, a repetition of the law as to the Feast of Unleavened Bread being inserted in the middle of the laws as to the firstborn. This second law as to the Unleavened Bread is inconsistent with the former; in xiii. 6 the feast is on the seventh day, whereas in xii. 14 f. the feast is on the first day, though there is also a 'holy convocation' on the seventh day.

Thus the narrative is interwoven with laws from different sources. The cause of this combination is the theory that all the laws as to the firstborn, the Passover, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread were delivered at the time of the departure from Egypt, a theory not always observed elsewhere in the Pentateuch. The attempt to apply it here has given rise to much annotation on the part of editors.

31. and Aaron, addition; cf. viii. 8.

from among my people, perhaps introduced from E; cf. on i. 15 ff. But, in any case, even in reference to the Israelites as settled in Goshen, Pharaoh would think of them as in his land and among his people.

children of Israel; and go, serve the LORD, as ye have
said. Take both your flocks and your herds, as ye have 32
said, and be gone; and bless me also. And the 33
Egyptians were urgent upon the people, to send them
out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead
men. And the people took their dough before it was 34
leavened, their kneadingtroughs being bound up in their
clothes upon their shoulders. [E] And the children of 35
Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they
asked of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of
gold, and raiment: and the LORD gave the people favour 36
in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they let them have
what they asked. And they spoiled the Egyptians.

[J] And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses 37
to Succoth, [S] about six hundred thousand on foot that

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33. We be all dead men. No one could tell what new plague would follow if the Israelites were not sent away at once, perhaps the extermination of the whole people.

34. According to this narrative the people are not prepared for any journey, and have had no orders to get rid of leaven; on the contrary, they have dough in their houses which they expect to leaven, and are only prevented from doing so by their sudden departure—a view of matters quite different from that of verses 1–20, P.

This verse gives a traditional explanation of the Feast of Unleavened Bread; it commemorates the hasty start at the Exodus, when there was no time for leavening.

kneadingtroughs. Cf. on viii. 3.

35–36. Cf. on iii. 21 f.

37. Rameses. Cf. i. 11; and Num. xxxiii. 3–5.

Succoth. As a Hebrew word this would mean 'booths'; cf. Gen. xxxiii. 17. Here it is the Hebraized form of the Egyptian *Thuku*, either another name for Pithom or the name of a place in the immediate neighbourhood of Pithom. As we are not certain of the position of Rameses, we cannot determine the distance.

six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children. Here and in x. 10, *ṭaph*, the word translated 'chil-

38 were men, beside children. [J] And a mixed multitude
went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even
39 very much cattle. 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 them-
40 selves any victual. [S] Now the sojourning of the
children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was
41 four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at

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dren' is to be understood as including women. The 600,000 is probably a round number, representing the 603,550 of Num. i. 46, P, and the 601,730 of Num. xxvi. 51, P. These figures in *Numbers* stand for the fighting men of Israel, the tribe of Levi being excluded. The 600,000 also occurs in Num. xi. 21 in a J passage; it is probably an editorial insertion in both places. The words used here imply that the 600,000 were fighting men, so that with the 'mixed multitude' the total could hardly be less than 3,000,000; and although J thinks of the Israelites as very numerous, he has a measure of historical feeling, and probably did not use numbers in this reckless fashion. Such figures do not call for serious discussion.

38. mixed multitude, *'erebh*, a heterogeneous collection of non-Israelites, probably slaves who took advantage of the panic of the Egyptians to escape. An interesting recognition on the part of ancient tradition that the Israelite community was of mixed origin. In Neh. xiii. 3 we read that in the time of Nehemiah the 'mixed multitude' was separated from the Jews.

flocks and herds. The Israelites were not mere slave-labourers on the Egyptian public works, but nomad tribes with cattle.

40 f. four hundred and thirty years. This date is a great puzzle, and cannot be reconciled with the other chronological data: e. g. vi. 16-20, Aaron was the son of Jochebed the daughter of Levi, and Levi was grown up before the sojourn began. In Gen. xv. 13 (which see) the period of the 'affliction' of the Israelites in Egypt is given as 400 years, which may be a traditional round number. Our passage would then add the 30 years for the period of sojourning in Egypt before the 'affliction' began. It has been pointed out that this makes the time from the Creation to the Exodus 2,666 years, two-thirds of 4,000 years; according to P, 26 generations of 100 years each, up to and including Aaron and Moses, the odd 66 years being for the next generation,

the end of four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the LORD went out from the land of Egypt. It is [a] a night 42
to be much observed unto the LORD for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: [b] this is that night of the LORD, to be much observed of all the children of Israel throughout their generations.

[P] And the LORD said unto Moses and Aaron, This 43
is the ordinance of the passover: there shall no alien eat thereof: but every man's servant that is bought for 44
money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he

[a] Or, *a night of watching unto the* LORD
[b] Or, *this same night is a night of watching unto the* LORD *for all &c.*

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which was already on the scene, but had not run its course. This would fit in with the male genealogy of Aaron, viz. Levi, Kohath, Amram, Aaron—which would account for the 430 years at the rate of 100 years a generation, and an extra 66 as before, less 36 years for the part of the life of Levi before he settled in Egypt. The above is a good example of the artificial and unreal character of P's chronology; a further illustration is afforded by the fact that 430 years is double the length of the sojourning of the patriarchs in Canaan, viz. 215 years, Gen. xii. 4, xxi. 5, xxv. 26, xlvii. 9. The Septuagint here has 435 years in both verses. Also the Septuagint and the Samaritan Hebrew text attempt to lessen the difficulties by making the number include the sojourns both in Canaan and in Egypt, thus reducing the latter to 220 years. The Septuagint has 'in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan,' the Samaritan 'in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt.'

41. the selfsame day, the fifteenth Nisan.

42. a night to be much observed (twice), marg., a night of watching. The word *shimmurim*, translated 'to be much observed,' 'watching,' only occurs in this passage; the root Sh MR means 'keep,' 'watch,' 'observe'; 'night of watching' will refer to the night-long vigil observed at the Passover. The verse has been explained, 'It is a night when Yahweh kept watch to bring out, &c., therefore the night when the Israelites keep watch for the sake of Yahweh, &c.' (Baentsch).

44. The slave is a member of the family, and shares its religious duties and privileges.

45 eat thereof. A sojourner and an hired servant shall not
46 eat thereof. In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt
not carry forth aught of the flesh abroad out of the
47 house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof. All the
48 congregation of Israel shall [a]keep it. And when a
stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the pass-
over 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 in the land: but no uncircumcised
49 person shall eat thereof. One law shall be to him that
is homeborn, and unto the stranger that sojourneth
50 among you. Thus did all the children of Israel; as the
51 LORD commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they. And
it came to pass the selfsame day, that the LORD did
bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt by
their hosts.

13 2 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Sanctify
unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb
among the children of Israel, both of man and of beast:
it is mine.

[a] Heb. *do it.*

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45. A sojourner and an hired servant. The context implies that both are foreigners; the term *gēr*, 'resident alien' (see on ii. 22), would apply to both. The sojourner, here *tōshābh*, is a foreigner who is his own master as distinguished from one who works for hire. It is assumed that 'an hired servant' will as a rule be a foreigner.

46. neither shall ye break a bone thereof, quoted in connexion with our Lord's Passion, John xix. 36.

51. the selfsame day. The 15th Nisan, after the night of the Passover.

xiii. **2. Sanctify,** *qaddesh*, dedicate, devote to Yahweh. According to Num. iii. 11–13, P, the firstborn children are redeemed by the dedication of the Levites to the services of the Temple. Then in Num. xviii. 17, 18, P, the firstlings of 'clean' animals were to be sacrificed, and Num. xviii. 16, P, the firstlings of unclean animals were to be redeemed with money; cf. xiii. 11 ff.

[J] And Moses said unto the people, [R] Remember 3
this day, in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the
house of [a] bondage; for by strength of hand the LORD
brought you out from this place: there shall no leavened
bread be eaten. [J] This day ye go forth in the month 4
Abib. [R] And it shall be when the LORD shall bring 5
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
month. [J] Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, 6
and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the LORD.
[R] Unleavened bread shall be eaten throughout the 7
seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen
with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee,
in all thy borders. [D] And thou shalt tell thy son in 8
that day, saying, It is because of that which the LORD
did for me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it 9
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. [J] Thou shalt there- 10
fore keep this ordinance in its season from year to year.

And it shall be when the LORD shall bring thee 11
into the land of the Canaanite, as he sware unto thee

[a] Heb. *bondmen.*

3, 6, 7 have already been given as xii. 17-20, P.

4. Abib, the old Hebrew name of the month, called later on by the Babylonian name Nisan, the 'first month'; cf. xii. 2, which see. Cf. Num. xxxiii. 3.

5. Cf. iii. 8, vi. 8.

8. Cf. xii. 26 f., xiii. 14.

9. See on verse 16.

11. Cf. verse 5.

12 and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee, that thou shalt
[a] set apart unto the LORD all that openeth the womb,
and every firstling which thou hast that cometh of a
13 beast; the males shall be the LORD's. And every first-
ling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a [b] lamb; and if thou
wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck: and
all the firstborn of man among thy sons shalt thou
14 redeem. [D] And it shall be when thy son asketh thee
in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt
say unto him, By strength of hand the LORD brought us
15 out from Egypt, from the house of [c] bondage: and it
came to pass, when Pharaoh [d] would hardly let us go,
that the LORD slew all the 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
16 I redeem. And it shall be for a sign upon thine hand,

[a] Heb. *cause to pass over.* [b] Or, *kid*
[c] Heb. *bondmen.*
[d] Or, *hardened himself against letting us go*

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12. set apart. Heb. lit. 'cause to pass over,' *he'ebhir*, the term used for sacrificing the firstborn to Moloch, e. g. 2 Kings xxi. 6. Here verse 17 shows that the children were not to be sacrificed; but the use of the term may be a survival of a time when the firstborn were sacrificed, or may be borrowed from the Canaanites, amongst whom such sacrifices were common; cf. on xxii. 29.

13. every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem, because it was unclean, and could not be sacrificed.

all the firstborn of man among thy sons shalt thou redeem, probably with money; cf. verse 2 and Num. iii. 46 f., xviii. 15 f.

14. Cf. verses 3, 8, 16.

In time to come, lit. 'to-morrow.'

16. And it shall be for a sign upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes, &c., almost identical with verse 9; the definite word 'frontlet' has been substituted for the more general 'memorial.' Both verses 9 and 16 are probably derived

and for frontlets between thine eyes: for by strength of hand the LORD brought us forth out of Egypt.

[E] And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the 17

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from Deut. vi. 8f. 'And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the doorposts of thy house, and upon thy gates.' In *Exodus*, at any rate, 'the expressions are evidently meant figuratively; cf. Prov. i. 9' (Driver, on Deut. vi. 8, 9). The passage in *Deuteronomy* may be intended literally; it was so interpreted by the Jews, and gave rise to the custom of wearing phylacteries, or cases containing inscribed scrolls, on the arms; and of affixing somewhat similar cases to the doorposts; see on Deut. vi. 8, 9.

frontlets, *ṭôṭāphôth*, only here and Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18; here in the figurative sense of 'perpetual remembrance,' *BDB*. The derivation and original meaning are uncertain; it is commonly explained as a band round the forehead, but also as a kind of tattoo mark. In post-biblical Hebrew the word is used for 'phylacteries,' and so is the corresponding word in Aramaic.

xiii. 17—xiv. 31. The Passage of the Red Sea.

(Narrative compiled from J, E, and P.)

xiii. 17-19 (E). The Israelites leave Egypt. God leads them a circuitous route by the Red Sea. Moses takes the bones of Joseph with him.

20 (P). They go from Succoth to Etham.

21, 22 (J). Yahweh goes before them in a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night.

xiv. 1-4 (P). Yahweh bids the Israelites encamp by the Red Sea that Pharaoh may think they are shut in. Yahweh will harden his heart that he may pursue them, that Yahweh may be glorified. They do so.

5-6 (J). After the Israelites have fled Pharaoh changes his mind and musters his army.

7 *a* (E). Pharaoh takes six hundred chosen chariots,

7 *b* (R). and all the chariots of Egypt.

8 (P). Yahweh hardens the heart of Pharaoh, and he pursues the Israelites.

9 *a* (J). The Egyptians pursue the Israelites.

9 *b* (R P). Pharaoh overtakes the Israelites at Pi-hahirōth.

10 *a* (J). The Israelites see the Egyptians overtaking them, and are afraid.

10 *b* (E). They appeal to Yahweh.

people go, that God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said,

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11–14 (J). The people complain to Moses; he assures them that Yahweh will deliver them.

15 *a*, 16 *a* (E). Yahweh bids Moses lift up his rod.

15 *b*, 16 *b*–18 (P). [Yahweh bids Moses] stretch out his hand over the sea and divide it, that the Israelites may go through on dry ground. Then He will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, that they may follow.

19 *a* (E). The angel of God moves from the van to the rear of Israel.

19 *b*, 20 (J). The Pillar of Cloud moves from the van to the rear of Israel. The Egyptians cannot get near the Israelites.

21 *a*, *c*, 22, 23 (P). Moses stretches out his hand, the waters divide; the Israelites enter the dry bed of the sea, and the Egyptians follow.

21 *b* (J). Yahweh drives back the sea by an east wind.

24, 25 (J). Yahweh discomfits the Egyptians, and they propose to flee.

26, 27 *a*, 28 *a* (P). At the bidding of Yahweh Moses stretches his hand over the sea that the waters may return; the waters return and drown the Egyptian army.

27 *b*, 28 *b* (J). The waters return in the morning; the Egyptians flee, but none escape.

29 (P). The Israelites go safely over.

30 (J). Israel sees the Egyptian dead on the shore.

31 (R). Israel believes in Yahweh and Moses.

Sources, &c. Characteristics of the sources noticed in the account of the Ten Plagues recur here. As in the case of the Locusts, x. 13, an east wind plays an important part in J's narrative, xiv. 21. Moses' rod appears, as elsewhere in E, xiv. 16.

But Aaron does not appear in this narrative; cf. however xv. 20. Evidently Aaron did not figure in the original tradition, and although P had associated him with Moses in the account of the Plagues, it did not occur to P to introduce him here.

Cf. also the notes on xiii. 17, 19, xiv. 15, 19, 21, 22.

Josephus, *Ant.* II. xvi. 5, supports the credibility of the narrative by telling his readers that 'for the sake of those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedon, who yet lived comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian Sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no other way to go.' This experience of Alexander is mentioned in other writers, one of whom alleges that 'the Pamphylian Sea did not only open

Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war,
and they return to Egypt: but God led the people about, 18
by the way of the wilderness by the Red Sea: and the
children of Israel went up armed out of the land of
Egypt. And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: 19
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. [P] And they took their 20

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a passage for Alexander, but, by rising and elevating its waters, did pay him homage as its king.' (Whiston's Note.)

17–19. God, a mark of the Elohistic Document. Although his theory allowed him to use 'Yahweh' after the revelation of that name to Moses, and he usually does so; yet, having used 'Elohim,' 'God,' so far, he retains the usage in some measure, perhaps as a habit.

17. the way of the land of the Philistines, the direct route. The use of the name 'Philistine' is an anachronism, as the Philistines did not settle in Palestine till after the Israelites.

repent when they see war. Their spirits might prove to have been broken by their drudgery and subjection in Egypt, so that they could not face armed opposition.

18. Red Sea, *Yam Sûph*, 'Sea of Rushes or Reeds.' Rushes or reeds are fresh-water plants, e. g. in ii. 3 (which see) Pharaoh's daughter, bathing in the Nile, sees the ark amongst the *sûph*, R.V. 'flags.' Hence the *Yam Sûph* has been identified with lagoons along the Mediterranean to the north-east of Egypt; but this does not suit the route assigned to the Israelites. Moreover, in 1 Kings ix. 26. Eloth and Ezion-geber in Edom are on the *Yam Sûph*, so that it includes the Gulf of Akaba, the north-east extremity of our Red Sea. Hence the *Yam Sûph* here also will be, at any rate, the northern part of our Red Sea, including the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akaba. Why it should be called *Yam Sûph* is a mystery; there may have been freshwater marshes or shallow lakes continuing the present Gulf of Suez, but why should these give a name to the sea? Possibly *Sûph* is a proper name which originally had no connexion with *suph*, 'reed.' The translation 'Red Sea' is derived from the Septuagint.

armed, *ḥamushîm*, a word of uncertain meaning, possibly 'in battle array,' in orderly fashion, like an army. The Septuagint has 'in the fifth generation.' 'Five' is *ḥamesh* in Hebrew.

19. Cf. Gen. l. 25.

journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the
21 edge of the wilderness. [J] And the LORD went before
them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way;
and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light;
22 that they might go by day and by night: [a] the pillar
of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night, departed
not from before the people.

14 [P] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto
2 the children of Israel, that they turn back and encamp
before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before
Baal-zephon: over against it shall ye encamp by the sea.
3 And Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are

[a] Or, *he took not away the pillar of cloud by day, nor the &c.*

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20. Etham, sometimes supposed to be a variation of Pithom, 'P' being the Egyptian article; but if Succoth is practically Pithom (see on xii. 37), either this identification must be rejected or the Priestly writer is more ignorant of geography here than he appears elsewhere. Pithom, too, was not 'on the edge of the wilderness.' Some texts of the Coptic (Egyptian) Version have *Epethom* here, and in Num. xxxiii. 6, 7 the Septuagint has for Etham, *Bouthan*, which may represent Pithom. There are many other conjectures as to Etham, but at present its locality is uncertain. Cf. Num. xxxiii. 7.

21. pillar of fire . . . pillar of cloud. In Gen. xv. 17, J, Yahweh manifests His presence at night by 'a smoking furnace and a flaming torch,' and in Exodus iii. 2 'in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush.' In connexion with the 'pillar of fire' the fire signals borne in front of a caravan are sometimes referred to.

xiv. 2. turn back, rather 'turn.' At first they would naturally march north-east so as to pass to the north of the end of the Gulf of Suez; now they are bidden turn south or south-east so as to strike the west shore of the gulf.

Pi-hahiroth . . . Migdol . . . Baal-zephon. These places are not identified with certainty; they were obviously close together on the west shore of the Gulf of Suez near its north end. There is also some doubt as to the extent of the gulf in ancient times. Migdol is Hebrew for 'fortress'; cf. Num xxxiii. 7.

3. of the children of Israel. Septuagint, 'to His people, the children of Israel.'

entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.
And I will [a] harden Pharaoh's heart, and he shall follow 4
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. [J] And it was 5
told the king of Egypt that the people 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? And 6
he made ready his [b] chariot, and took his people with
him: [E] and he took six hundred chosen chariots, 7
[R] and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over all
of them. [P] And the LORD [c] hardened the heart of 8
Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of
Israel: for the children of Israel went out with an high
hand. [J] And the Egyptians pursued after them, [R] all 9
the horses *and* chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen,
and his army, [P] and overtook them encamping by the
sea, beside Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-zephon. [J] And 10
when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up
their eyes, and, behold, the Egyptians marched after
them; and they were sore afraid: [E] and the children of
Israel cried out unto the LORD. [J] And they said unto 11
Moses, Because 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?

[a] Heb. *make strong.* [b] Or, *chariots* [c] Heb. *made strong.*

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7. captains, *shalishîm*, 'thirds,' perhaps the third man in a chariot, although there were only *two* men in an Egyptian chariot. Baentsch explains 'picked soldiers for the chosen chariots.'

8. with an high hand. From the rest of the story, and from the other passages where this and similar phrases occur, xiii. 3, &c., it can hardly denote the proud bearing of the Israelites, but rather the mighty intervention of God. Cf. Num. xxxiii. 3.

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
13 that we should die in the wilderness. And Moses said
unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the
salvation of the LORD, which he will work for you
to-day; [a] for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day,
14 ye shall see them again no more for ever. The LORD
shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.
15 [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Wherefore criest
thou unto me? [P] speak unto the children of Israel,
16 that they go forward. [E] And lift thou up thy rod,
[P] and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide
it: and the children of Israel shall go into the midst of
17 the sea on dry ground. And I, behold, I will [b] harden
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 horse-
18 men. And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD,
when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his
19 chariots, and upon his horsemen. [E] And the angel
of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed
and went behind them; [J] and the pillar of cloud removed

[a] Or, *for whereas ye have seen the Egyptians to-day*
[b] Heb. *make strong.*

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12. Let us alone, &c. These words have not been given; but cf. v. 21, vi. 9.

15. Wherefore criest thou unto me? Moses' crying to Yahweh has been omitted in order to insert the complaint of the people and Moses' reply.

17. Cf. ix. 16, xiv. 4.

19. the angel of God. Not elsewhere in this section as it now stands, but doubtless the presence of this angel and the part played by him were more fully explained in E's narrative, of which this is a fragment; cf. on xiii. 17.

from before them, and stood behind them; [E] and it 20
came between the camp of Egypt and the camp of
Israel; [J] and there was the cloud and the darkness, yet
gave it light by night: and the one came not near the
other all the night. [P] And Moses stretched out his 21
hand over the sea; [J] and the LORD caused the sea to
go *back* by a strong east wind all the night, [P] and made
the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the 22
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. And the Egyptians pur- 23
sued, and went in after them into the midst of the sea,
all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.
[J] And it came to pass in the morning watch, that the 24
LORD looked forth upon the host of the Egyptians
through the pillar of fire and of cloud, and discomfited
the host of the Egyptians. And he [a] took off their 25

[a] Some ancient versions read, *bound*.

20. An oracle addressed to the Assyrian king, Esarhaddon, promises, 'I, Ishtar,' a goddess, 'will cause smoke to come up at thy right hand and fire at thy left.'

there was the cloud and the darkness, &c. The exact sense is obscure, and the text may not be correct; the versions differ in some respects from the Hebrew. But probably the meaning of the original was that the cloud was dark to the Egyptians, while it gave light to the Israelites (Holzinger).

21. a strong east wind would seem to drive the waters on to the Israelites; perhaps a north-east wind is meant. A 'violent wind' is less likely.

xiv. 21-22. In these verses we have two different views. In verse 21 *a*, by J, a strong east wind drives back the water and leaves a dry passage, i. e. the whole bed of a shallow arm of the sea is left bare. Probably the returning tide was checked for a time. In 22, P, a narrow passage is left dry and the water is heaped up high on each side like a wall.

24. the morning watch, the last of the three parts into which the Israelites divided the night.

25. took off. The Samaritan Hebrew text, the Septuagint,

chariot wheels, [a] that 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 [P] And the LORD said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, and upon their horse-
27 men. And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, [J] and the sea returned to its [b] strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it; and the LORD [c] overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.
28 [P] And the waters returned, and covered the chariots, and the horsemen, even all the host of Pharaoh that went in after them into the sea; [J] there remained not so
29 much as one of them. [P] But the 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
30 left. [J] Thus the LORD saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the Egyptians
31 dead upon the sea shore. [R] And Israel saw the great [d] work which the LORD did upon the Egyptians, and the people feared the LORD: and they believed in the LORD, and in his servant Moses.

15 [L] Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the LORD, and spake, saying,

[a] Or, *and made them to drive* [b] Or, *wonted flow*
[c] Heb. *shook off.* [d] Heb. *hand.*

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and the Syriac versions have 'bound,' which is preferable. With the wheels off they could hardly be said to drive at all. 'Bound' would mean that the wheels became clogged so that they did not turn properly. The difference in the Hebrew between 'took off' and 'bound' is very slight.

27. overthrew, lit. 'shook off'; the Egyptians were scattered here and there.

XV. 1–21. THE SONG OF THE RED SEA.
(A Lyric, with Introduction and Conclusion.)

1 *a. Introduction.*

I will sing unto the LORD, for he [a] hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.
[b] The LORD is my strength and song,
And he is become my salvation:

[a] Or, *is highly exalted* [b] Heb. *Jah.*

1 *b*–18. *The Lyric.*

1 *b*–3. The warlike prowess of Yahweh.

4–5. The drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea.

6–7. How Yahweh destroys His foes.

8–10. The drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea.

11–16. By His incomparable power Yahweh destroyed the enemy, and safely guided Israel to Palestine. The inhabitants of Canaan were terror-striken at the catastrophe of the Red Sea, so that they did not molest Israel.

17–18. Yahweh will settle Israel in Canaan and reign for ever.

19. *Conclusion.*

20, 21 (E). Miriam, Aaron's sister, leads the Israelite women while they celebrate the deliverance with dance and song, singing the opening lines of the above lyric.

Sources, &c. Verses 1 *b*, 21 *b*, 'I will sing unto Yahweh . . . into the sea,' are an ancient couplet which has been expanded into the poem of verses 1–19. This lyric was not composed by any one of the main authors of the Pentateuch. It may have circulated as an independent work, or may have been preserved in a collection of poems.

It implies the Conquest of Canaan, verses 13–16, and the establishment of the Temple, verse 17, and the writer seems acquainted with the narratives of J and E, so that the poem cannot be much older than 750 B. C. The relation to P is not certain. Possibly some of the points in P's narrative, cf. xiv. 21, xv. 8, were suggested by this poem, and if so it may have been composed towards the close of the monarchy. It is also possible, though less probable, that the author of the poem was acquainted with P, in which case it would be post-exilic. It has been inserted by one of the editors.

Verses 20, 21 are ascribed to E on account of the mention of Miriam, who only appears in E in the older documents; and because of her description as 'prophetess'—E takes a special interest in prophecy.

1. Cf. verse 21.

2. **The LORD is my strength and song,**
And he is become my salvation.

These two lines also occur with very slight changes in Isa. xii. 2; Ps. cxviii. 14.

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.
7 And in the greatness of thine excellency thou overthrowest 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:

The LORD, Heb. 'Yah,' the contracted form of Yahweh.

song. The Septuagint has 'protector,' *skepastes.*

salvation, deliverance.

3. man of war, warrior.

4. captains: cf. xiv. 7.

7. the greatness of thine excellency, thy great majesty or exaltation.

8. Cf. xiv. 22.

floods, *nozelîm*, elsewhere of rivers. In Joshua iii. 13, 16 the Jordan stands as an heap. The writer may be referring to the drying-up of the Jordan as well as of the Red Sea.

The deeps were congealed. 'A poetical description of the piling-up of the waves like solid masses' (*KD.*).

9. The enemy, the Egyptians.

My lust shall be satisfied upon them;
I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.
Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered 10
them:
They sank as lead in the mighty waters.
Who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods? 11
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,
Fearful in praises, doing wonders?
Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, 12
The earth swallowed them.
Thou in thy mercy hast led the people which thou 13
hast redeemed:
Thou hast guided them in thy strength to thy holy
habitation.
The peoples have heard, they tremble: 14
Pangs have taken hold on the inhabitants of Philistia.
Then were the dukes of Edom amazed; 15
The [a] mighty men of Moab, trembling taketh hold
upon them:
All the inhabitants of Canaan are melted away.

[a] Heb. *rams.*

My lust, my desire (*nephesh*) for vengeance, plunder, &c.

10. Thou didst blow with thy wind. In xiv. 21 *b*, 27, J, the wind drives back the water, and the sea returns, apparently when the wind falls. Here the wind drives the water upon the Egyptians.

11. glorious in holiness, *ne'dār baq-qōdesh*, exalted in unique divine power and majesty.

fearful in praises, inspiring awe by the mighty deeds for which His people praise Him.

12. The earth swallowed them. These words do not suit the drowning of the Egyptians; they may refer to the fate of Dathan and Abiram, Num. xvi. 30, 32.

13. mercy, kindliness, goodwill, loving-kindness.

thy holy habitation, the Holy Land.

Philistia: cf. xiii. 17.

15. dukes, chiefs; see on Gen. xxxvi. 15.

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 [a] purchased.
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.
19 For the horses of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and 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 [E] And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out

[a] Heb. *gotten*.

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17. the mountain of thine inheritance. Taken by themselves these words would suggest the Temple-hill in Jerusalem; cf. 1 Kings viii. 13. But we can hardly think of Israel as 'planted' in the Temple-hill, so that here, as in verse 13, the reference seems to be to Palestine, thought of as a hill-country. The last two lines, however, seem to refer to the Temple; we might perhaps render, 'where is the place which Thou hast made,' &c.

20. Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Aaron. Considering that Aaron is much less conspicuous than Moses in the preceding narratives, we should have expected Miriam to be described as the sister of Moses. It almost seems as if in this source Aaron was not the brother of Moses. The leading of the women in songs and dances is an example of the prophetic functions of Miriam. The earlier prophets were subject to religious ecstasy; cf. 1 Sam. x. 5. See also on Exod. vii. 1 and Gen. xx. 7. The only other references to Miriam in the Pentateuch are Num. xii. 1–15, the rebellion of Aaron and Miriam against Moses; cf. Deut. xxiv. 9; Num. xx. 1, her death; Num. xxvi. 59,

after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam 21
answered them,

Sing ye to the LORD, for he [a] hath triumphed gloriously;
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.

[J] And Moses led Israel onward from the Red Sea, 22
and they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water. And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of 23
the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore the name of it was called [b] Marah. And the people 24
murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? And he cried unto the LORD; and the LORD shewed 25
him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters

[a] Or, *is highly exalted* [b] That is, *Bitterness.*

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her place in the genealogy. In Micah vi. 4, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are mentioned as the leaders of Israel. Miriam is explained as either 'corpulent' or 'rebellious'; it is the original of Mary and Mariamne.

with timbrels and with dances: cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7.

21. answered. Miriam and her choir sang antiphonally.

XV. 22-27. MARAH AND ELIM.

(A narrative from J, with additions; cf. Num. xxxiii. 9.)

22-25 *a* (J). The Israelites find bitter water at Marah; Moses sweetens it by means of a tree shown him by Yahweh.

25 *b* (E). [Yahweh] gives the people laws and proves them . . .

26 (R). Immunity from disease promised as the reward of obedience.

27 (J). The Israelites encamp at Elim.

22. the wilderness of Shur, the district of the north-east frontier of Egypt.

23. Marah, not certainly identified; various sites on the east of the Gulf of Suez have been suggested.

25. the LORD shewed him a tree. Another illustration of J's habit of referring results to natural causes under Divine guidance and control. It is said that a shrub in this district has the quality ascribed to the 'tree.'

He made for them a statute . . . he proved them. In the

were made sweet. [E] There he made for them a statute
26 and an ordinance, and there he proved them; [R] and
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 [J] And they came to Elim, where were twelve springs
of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they
16 encamped there by the waters. [P] And they took their

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present context 'he' would be Moses; but it is Yahweh who 'proves' Israel. The fragment is usually assigned to E. Perhaps a paragraph of E stood here in an early edition of the narrative, and most of its contents have been replaced by other material. We should have expected to hear how Yahweh 'proved' Israel; the bitter water is not an adequate explanation. 'Proved' is from NSH, the root of Massah; E's Massah story may have stood here originally.

26. and he said. The subject is Yahweh.

I will put none of the diseases upon thee, &c. This verse is not very suitable to the situation. Apparently something went wrong with the piecing together of the sources, or a bit of the manuscript got torn away, and the editor did his best to set things right. We might make some such connexion as follows: At Marah the Israelites had found themselves threatened with one of the plagues of Egypt, undrinkable water; Yahweh had delivered them from this, and similarly, if they were obedient, He would protect them from the diseases which had afflicted the Egyptians.

the LORD that healeth thee: 'Yahweh thy Healer' sounds like a title of Yahweh, perhaps a reminiscence of a lost narrative.

27. Elim, variously identified with Wady Gherandel, sixty-three miles south-east from Suez; and with '*Ayun Musa*, 'the Wells of Moses,' in the same district as Marah.

xvi. The Manna and the Quails.

(A narrative from P, freely annotated.)

1–3 (P). The Israelites come into the Wilderness of Sin, and murmur at their meagre fare.

journey from Elim, and all the congregation of the

4 (E). Yahweh announces that He will rain bread from heaven to see if the Israelites will observe His law.

5 (S). A double portion to be gathered on the sixth day.

6–7 (P). Moses and Aaron declare to the people that Yahweh will justify Himself.

8 (S). He will give them abundant food.

9–10 (P). The Glory of Yahweh appears.

11–12 (P). Yahweh promises flesh and bread.

13–14 (P). Quails cover the camp in the evening, and the 'bread' appears in the morning.

15–18 (P). Moses bids the people gather an omer apiece ; they gather some more, some less ; but when they measure it each has just an omer.

19–21 (P). Moses directs that none shall be left till the morning ; nevertheless some is left, and it becomes putrid.

22–30 (S). On the sixth day they gather two omers apiece ; this apparent disregard of his instructions is reported to Moses, who explains that this is a special provision for the Sabbath—a double amount is to be gathered on the sixth day and none on the Sabbath.

31–35 (P). The Israelites call the 'bread' Manna ; an omer is put in a pot and laid up before Yahweh. The Israelites eat manna forty years.

36 (S). The amount of an omer.

Sources, &c. With the exception of the fragment of E in verse 4, the section belongs to the Priestly Code and the editors who supplemented and annotated it. But as the Priestly writer did not invent such narratives as that of the manna and the quails, it is probable that he has used a story from J, and expanded it into an illustration of the application of the Law of the Sabbath, a piece of case law. The omission of the J story is probably due to the fact that all its leading features were reproduced in P, so that it is quite reasonable to suppose that some of the more purely narrative phrases and sentences are simply appropriated from J ; cf. xvi. 31 and Num. xi. 7, J or E.

But the section is clearly out of place ; it implies at least the Law of the Sabbath, the Ark, and the Tables of the Law, none of which existed at this time ; cf. verses 9, 23, 33 f. Moreover, the episode of the Quails is given in Num. xi, *after* the giving of the Law on Sinai. Thus this chapter must have stood in the Priestly Code after the Sinai legislation. As it stands the reference to the Quails has nothing to lead up to it, and no sequel. Any explanation can only be advanced with much hesitation ; but something like the following may possibly have happened. The original Priestly Code may have combined the Manna and

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

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the Quails in one narrative. When the editor combined this with J and E, he may have found a narrative of the Manna at the beginning, where it now stands, and have transferred P's account to that place, adding to it verse 4 and perhaps other elements from J E. The need for food would arise as soon as the Israelites entered the wilderness and exhausted the scanty stores they would be able to bring with them; therefore the miraculous provision for their wants would naturally begin at once. To avoid clashing with J's story of the Quails, Num. xi, he intended to omit the references to them, but did not fully carry out his intention. He and his followers overlooked the anachronisms caused by transferring the chapter to the beginning of the Wanderings; cf. also on verse 1.

The late origin of verse 15 *a* is seen from the fact that the word *man*, translated 'what,' is not Hebrew but Aramaic.

In Num. xxxiii. 11 the route is Elim, 'camp by the Red Sea,' wilderness of Sin.

1. the wilderness of Sin, some district east of the Gulf of Suez. If Sinai is our 'Sinai,' this wilderness would be one of the plains not far from the Gulf; but if Sinai is somewhere south of the Dead Sea, the wilderness would be farther west. It is only mentioned here, xvii. 1 and Num. xxxiii. 11 f. It can hardly be connected with the *Sin* of Ezek. xxx. 15 f., which is usually located north-east of Egypt. The resemblance to Sinai suggests that the wilderness and the mountain were in the same district, and that the names are connected. According to Num. xx. 1, &c., after leaving Sinai the Israelites came to a wilderness of Zin, where they were distressed for want of water, as at Rephidim. Hence it has been supposed that Sin and Zin are two forms of the same name. In Num. xxxiii. 36 Zin is identified with Kadesh.

Sinai. For the position, see on *Horeb*, iii. 1. The name is derived from the Babylonian moon-god, *Sin*, and it should be noted that Ur and Haran, the early homes of Abraham, were seats of the worship of Sin; Sarah is a name of the female counterpart of Sin; Milcah, the name of Nahor's wife, is a title of Ishtar, who was worshipped at Haran; and Laban may be another name of the moon-god, *KAT.*, p. 364 f. A title of Sin is 'the self-producing one' (Jeremias); cf. iii. 14.

the fifteenth day of the second month, according to the reckoning in xii. 1, one month after the departure, somewhere in May.

Egypt. And the whole congregation of the children of 2
Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron in
the wilderness: and the children of Israel said unto 3
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. [E] Then said the LORD unto Moses, Behold, 4
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.
[S] And it shall come to pass on the sixth day, that they 5
shall prepare that which they bring in, and it shall be
twice as much as they gather daily. [P] And Moses and 6
Aaron said unto all the children of Israel, At even, then
ye shall know that the LORD hath brought you out from
the land of Egypt: and in the morning, then ye shall 7
see the glory of the LORD; for that he heareth your

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3. died by the hand of the LORD. As if they had left unwillingly, through fear of Divine judgement if they stayed.

we did eat bread to the full seems hardly consistent with the earlier descriptions of their wretched condition in Egypt; but perhaps 'distance lent enchantment to the view.'

4. that I may prove them. Cf. xv. 25. It is not clear what the nature of the test was in the original context, but in the chapter as it stands the test would be connected with the limitation of the daily amount gathered; the daily provision, none to be left for the next day; and the gathering a double portion on the sixth day, and none on the seventh.

5. Cf. verses 9, 23.

6. the LORD hath brought you out, i. e. it was Yahweh who had brought them out, not Moses and Aaron, as in verse 3.

7. the glory of the LORD: apparently an appearance, probably of light, seen in the cloud in verse 10. But this appearance seems to have been manifested at once according to verse 10; and here the 'glory' is not to be seen till the morning. Hence the 'glory' here has been explained as the manifestation of Yahweh's power and faithfulness in sending the manna. The explanation of the

murmurings against the LORD: and what are we, that ye
8 murmur against us? [S] And Moses said, *This shall be*,
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,
9 but against the LORD. [P] And Moses said unto Aaron,
Say unto all the congregation of the children of Israel,
Come near before the LORD: for he hath heard your
10 murmurings. 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
11 the LORD appeared in the cloud. And the LORD spake
12 unto Moses, saying, I have heard the murmurings of the
children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, [a] At 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 came to pass at even, that the quails came up,

[a] Heb. *Between the two evenings.*

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discrepancy lies somewhere—we cannot say where—in the complicated process of composition and annotation.

what are we, that ye murmur against us. In murmuring against Moses and Aaron they were really murmuring against God.

8 *b* = 7 *b*.

9. Come near before the LORD. The words imply some sanctuary at which the Divine Presence would be manifested; the reference might be to the Pillar of Cloud. But this chapter takes for granted much that has not yet been mentioned, but is provided for hereafter, e. g. the law of the Sabbath, verses 5, 23. In verse 23 a pot of manna is to be laid up 'before Yahweh, to be kept for your generations,' and in verse 34 'before Yahweh' is explained as 'before the Testimony,' i. e. 'the Ark'; cf. verse 34.

10. they looked toward the wilderness, perhaps in the direction of the Pillar of Cloud.

13. the quails came up. 'Flesh' has been mentioned, verses 8, 12, but nothing has been said about quails, and nothing more is

and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew that lay was 14
gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small [a] round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground. And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to 15
another, [b] What is it? for they wist not what it was.

[a] Or, *flake* [b] Or, *It is manna* Heb. *Man hu.*

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said about them, whereas in Num. xi there is a whole chapter about the quails, preceded by a paragraph on the unsatisfying nature of the manna. Here again the editor has not been quite successful in dealing with his materials; he perhaps intended to omit any reference to the quails here, but has not fully carried out his ideas; cf. above on *Sources*.

14. a small round thing (marg. **flake**), **small as the hoar frost . . . 15 . . . they said one to another, What is it?** (marg. **It is manna**) **. . . 31 . . . the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna** (Heb. **Man**): **and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.** The 'round thing' or 'flake,' *meḥuspās*, is translated by the Septuagint, 'like white coriander seed,' an interpretation borrowed from verse 31. The Vulgate has 'as if pounded by a pestle,' *pilo tusum*. The word only occurs here, and its meaning is matter of controversy. Coriander seed is only mentioned here and Num. xi. 7, also in connexion with manna; the so-called seed is really fruit; it is straw-coloured, and about the size of a peppercorn (*DB.* and *EB.*). Wafer, *ṣeppīḥith*, occurs only here. In Num. xi. 7 f. the manna is said to be 'like coriander seed, and the appearance thereof as the appearance of bdellium'; it was ground in mills, or beaten in mortars, and tasted like fresh oil; and the Israelites got very tired of it, so that 'their soul was dried away,' i. e., as we should say, they were dying for something more palatable.

Bdellium, or rather the *bedolaḥ* it represents, may be a whitish gum, or some kind of precious stone, or a pearl; cf. on Gen. ii. 12. There is nothing in Num. xi to show that the manna was supernatural. In Ps. lxxviii. 24 f. it is spoken of as 'corn from heaven' and 'angels' food.' Cf. also Deut. viii. 3, 6; Joshua v. 12; Neh. ix. 20.

The derivation in verse 15, **What is it**, *Man hû*, is one of the usual popular guesses, and has no etymological value. The Hebrew for 'manna,' viz. *mān*, is an equivalent of the Arabic *manna*; the name is of a 'sweet, sticky, honey-like' (*BDB.*)

And Moses said unto them, It is the bread which the
16 LORD hath given you to eat. This is the 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
17 for them which are in his tent. And the children of
18 Israel did so, and gathered some more, some less. 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.

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juice, exuding in heavy drops, in May or June, from a shrub found in the Sinai peninsula. This also is said to be 'a dirty yellow, but white when it falls upon stones; it falls upon the earth in grains, is gathered in the morning, melts in the heat of the sun, and has the flavour of honey' (*KD.*). This natural manna would account for the paragraph in *Numbers*; but the narrative here implies a supernatural provision, on account of the immense quantities which must have been supplied. The basis of the story is no doubt a primitive idea that the natural manna dropped, not from trees, but from heaven. Josephus, *Ant.* II. iii. 1, tells us that in his time this manna still came down in rain, clearly identifying it with the natural manna.

16. every man according to his eating, as in xii. 4; so much apiece, or less probably an average of so much, reckoning a suitable amount according to age and sex.

omer. The exact values of the Israelite weights and measures are not certainly known. They varied somewhat at different times. When this document, the Priestly Code, was compiled the Ephah might be reckoned as rather less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ pecks, and the Omer, the tenth part of the Ephah (cf. verse 36), as rather less than two quarts. The *'ōmer* is only mentioned in this chapter, and must be carefully distinguished from the *ḥōmer*, which was ten ephahs.

17–18. The sense is not clear; but apparently the meaning is that in some miraculous way, however much or however little a man gathered, when he took it to his tent and measured it, there was just an omer apiece for his family; any excess had vanished, any deficiency had been made up. It has also been interpreted to mean that 'they found that adherence to the prescribed proportion exactly used up the available amount' (*Oxf. Hex.*); there was just enough for them to gather an omer

And Moses said unto them, Let no man leave of it till 19
the morning. Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto 20
Moses; but some of them left of it until the morning,
and it bred worms, and stank: and Moses was wroth with
them. And they gathered it morning by morning, every 21
man according to his eating: and when the sun waxed
hot, it melted. [S] And it came to pass, that on the 22
sixth day they gathered twice as much bread, two omers
for each one: and all the rulers of the congregation came
and told Moses. And he said unto them, This is that 23
which the LORD hath spoken, To-morrow is a solemn
rest, a holy sabbath 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. And they laid it up till the morning, as Moses 24
bade: and it did not stink, neither was there any worm
therein. And Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is 25
a sabbath unto the LORD: to-day ye shall not find it in
the field. Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh 26

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apiece and none over. But it is difficult to see how this can be got from either the Hebrew or the English; cf. on verse 16.

20, 21. The natural manna does not putrefy rapidly, but it does melt in the sun.

22. The people, without express instructions, were specially inspired to gather a double quantity on the sixth day. This seemed to the rulers a breach of the command to gather only one omer a day, and they report it to Moses.

23. Moses explains that the people have been divinely guided —this seems implied—to provide for the due observance of the Sabbath.

This is that which the LORD hath spoken, i. e. 'This conduct is in accordance with the law of the Sabbath given by Yahweh.' Nothing has been said as to this revelation; another indication that the chapter is not in its proper place: cf. verse 9. It should come somewhere after the Ten Commandments.

a solemn rest, a holy sabbath, *shabbathón shabbath qōdesh*, a phrase denoting by repetition, 'a day that is specially or assuredly a sacred day of rest.'

27 day is the sabbath, in it there shall be none. 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
29 keep my commandments and my laws? 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
30 the seventh day. So the people rested on the seventh
31 day. [P] And the house of Israel called the name thereof
[a] Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the
32 taste of it was like wafers *made* with honey. 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
33 Egypt. And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and
put an omerful of manna therein, and lay it up before the
34 LORD, to be kept for your generations. As the LORD
commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the

[a] Heb. *Man*.

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28. The going out to gather manna was work which violated the injunction to rest on the Sabbath.

29. his place, his tent and its immediate neighbourhood. The definition of the limits of the place gave rise to much hair-splitting casuistry amongst the Rabbis of later times.

31. See on verse 14.

32. generations, posterity.

33, 34. Cf. verse 9.

33. a pot, according to the Septuagint 'a golden pot,' a view which the Priestly writer would certainly have endorsed, with a feeling of regret that he had forgotten to give expression to it himself.

34. before the Testimony, *'ēduth*, i. e. before the Ark. The tables of stone are called 'the Tables of the Testimony,' as containing the commandments, which testified God's will; then the Ark is called 'the Ark of the Testimony,' as containing the two

Testimony, to be kept. And the children of Israel did 35
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. [S] Now an omer is 36
the tenth part of an ephah.

[P] And all the congregation of the children of Israel 17
journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, by their [a] journeys,
according to the commandment of the LORD, and pitched
in Rephidim: [E] and there was no water for the people

[a] Or, *stages*

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tables, xxv. 22, xxxi. 18. Neither Ark nor tables were yet in existence, another sign of the misplacement of the chapter; cf. verse 9.

35. According to Joshua v. 12 the manna continued till after the Israelites crossed the Jordan, i. e. till after the death of Moses.

36. Cf. verse 16.

xvii. 1–7. WATER FROM THE ROCK.
(A narrative from J E.)

1 *a* (P). The Israelites come to Rephidim.

1 *b*, 2 (E). The people strive with Moses because there is no water.

3 (J). The people murmur against Moses because there is no water.

4–6 (E) (J). Moses, at the bidding of Yahweh, smites the rock in Horeb, and water comes forth.

7 *a*, *c* (J). The place is called Massah, . . . because the Israelites tempted Yahweh.

7 *b* (E). [The place is called] Meribah, because the Israelites strove with Yahweh.

Sources, &c. In Num. xx. 1–13 a second version of this story is given, compiled chiefly from J and P. In *Numbers* Meribah is at Kadesh; Moses strikes the rock *in anger*, with Aaron's rod taken from the Tabernacle (cf. Num. xvii. 10); and on account of this anger Moses and Aaron are excluded from Canaan. The relation of the two versions is a difficult problem, of which no satisfactory solution has yet been proposed.

1. Rephidim. In Num. xxxiii. 14 the route is—wilderness of Sin, Dophkah, Alush, Rephidim. The last-named is only mentioned in Exod. xvii, xix, and Num. xxxiii. Its position is

2 to drink. 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
3 tempt the LORD? [J] And 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 [E] And Moses cried unto the LORD, saying, What shall 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
6 hand, and go. 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
7 Israel. [J] And he called the name of the place [a] Massah, [E] and [b] Meribah, because of the striving of the children

[a] That is, *Tempting*, or, *Proving*. [b] That is, *Chiding*, or, *Strife*.

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not known, but it must have been somewhere near Sinai—unless the whole section is misplaced, and Rephidim, with the Meribah of *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*, is at Kadesh.

2. tempt, from the root *NSH*, translated 'prove' in xv. 25, xvi. 4; there Yahweh proved Israel, here vice versa.

5. wherewith thou smotest the river: cf. vii. 20.

6. the rock in Horeb. There is nothing to indicate what rock is meant, and the parallel account in *Numbers* is equally vague. For Horeb see iii. 1.

7. Massah . . . because they tempted. Massah from *NSH*; cf. on verse 2. The place is unknown; it is only mentioned elsewhere Deut. vi. 16, ix. 22, xxxiii. 8; see next note.

Meribah . . . because of the striving. Meribah is from the root *RYBh*, 'to strive.' In Num. xx. 13 'the waters of Meribah' are so called 'because the Israelites strove with Yahweh.' In Num. xx, xxvii. 14, Deut. xxxii. 51, Meribah is at Kadesh—a position which would suit the neighbourhood of Amalek; see verse 8. In the reference to Massah and Meribah in

of Israel, [J] and because they tempted the LORD, saying, Is the LORD among us, or not?

[E] Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in 8
Rephidim. And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us 9
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. So Joshua did as Moses had said to him, 10
and fought with Amalek: and Moses, Aaron, and Hur

Deut. xxxiii. 8, Yahweh 'proves' Levi. Levi may stand for Moses and Aaron; or the passage may refer to another version of the story, now lost, but originally connected with xv. 25.

xvii. 8-16. THE DEFEAT OF AMALEK.

(A narrative from E.)

8-13 (E). Amalek attacks Israel. Joshua leads the army, while Moses secures victory by going to the top of 'the hill' and holding up his rod. When he is tired Aaron and Hur hold up his hands. The battle lasts till sunset, and Amalek is completely defeated.

14 (R). The Divine determination to exterminate Amalek is to be recorded in a book.

15, 16 (E). Moses builds an altar, Yahweh-nissi.

Sources, &c. Probably this incident, like the preceding, originally stood at a later stage of the story; a struggle with Amalek appears in Num. xiv. 43, 45, and there Amalek is rather in the neighbourhood of Kadesh than in that of Sinai. At the same time a nomad tribe is quite capable of raids at a distance from its usual home; cf. on verse 9.

xvii. **8. Amalek**, a nomad tribe of the wilderness south of Palestine; cf. on Gen. xiv. 7.

Rephidim. See on verse 1.

9. Joshua, mentioned for the first time, without any description, father's name, &c., as if he were a well-known person. Later on, however, xxxiii. 11, E, he appears as 'his [Moses'] attendant, Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man'—as if he were being introduced for the first time. Probably in E this incident originally followed that in xxxiii; cf. above, *Sources*, also what is said of Hur in verse 10. The name probably means 'Yahweh saves,' in Num. xiii. 16, Hoshea. *Jesus* is a form of Joshua.

the hill, like 'the rock' in verse 6: there is nothing to show what hill is meant.

the rod of God. Cf. iv. 17.

10. Aaron. The first place where we can be reasonably sure

11 went up to the top of the hill. And it came to pass,
when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and
12 when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed. But
Moses' hands were 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
13 until the going down of the sun. And Joshua [a] discom-
fited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword.
14 [R] And the LORD said unto Moses, Write this for a
memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of

[a] Heb. *prostrated.*

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that the mention of Aaron belongs to the ancient tradition, and is not due to the editor; but cf. on verse 11.

Hur, introduced, like Joshua, without any description, either because originally Hur played a larger part in E, and had been described in some omitted passage, or because he was a well-known figure of ancient tradition. He is only mentioned elsewhere in xxiv. 14, again in conjunction with Aaron, unless he is to be identified with the Hur of xxxi. 2, the grandfather of Bezaleel, or the Hur, king of Midian in Num. xxxi. 8. Persons of this name are also mentioned 1 Kings iv. 8, Neh. iii. 9. According to Josephus, *Ant.* III. ii. 4, vi. 1, he was the husband of Miriam. *EB.* suggest a connexion with the Egyptian god Horus. Another suggestion (Meyer) is that he, as eponymous ancestor, represents the Horites, the ancient inhabitants of the south of Canaan.

11. his hand. The versions and the Samaritan text have 'hands,' as in verse 12. But there seem to be two views in these verses: according to one, Moses holds up the rod, obviously in one hand; according to the other, Moses holds up both hands, i. e. assumes an attitude of prayer. It seems hardly reasonable to suggest that he held the rod first in one hand, then in the other; if so, why should Aaron and Hur hold up both hands at once? Perhaps in the original tradition Moses held up the rod and only Hur supported him; then the use of the two hands was introduced to make room for Aaron.

14. this, the battle with Amalek and the Divine doom of that people.

in a book, the earliest reference to Moses as an author.

rehearse it in the ears of, perhaps 'impress it upon,' as if

Joshua: [a] that I will utterly blot out the remembrance of
Amalek from under heaven. [E] And Moses built an 15
altar, and called the name of it [b] Jehovah-nissi: and he 16
said, [c] The LORD hath sworn: the LORD will have war
with Amalek from generation to generation.

Now Jethro, [R] the priest of Midian, Moses' father 18

[a] Or, *for* [b] That is, *The LORD is my banner.*
[c] Or, *Because there is a hand against the throne of the LORD*
Heb. *A hand* is lifted up *upon the throne of Jah.*

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he were to carry it out. Actually punishment was inflicted upon Amalek by Gideon, Judges vi. 3, 33; Saul, 1 Sam. xv; and David, 1 Sam. xxx, 2 Sam. viii. 12.

15, 16. Virtually equivalent to 14; the altar with its name and (probably) its inscription serves the same purpose as the 'book,' and is no doubt original, verse 14 being an editorial addition.

15. Yahweh-nissi, marg., **That is, Yahweh my banner.** Perhaps the name Yahweh is an ensign. It is possible that the similarity of 'nissi' to *NSH*, the root of Massah, may account for the proximity of the two narratives.

16. The LORD hath sworn, taking the rendering, marg. Heb., **A hand . . . upon the throne of Jah** to denote a gesture which a king would use in taking an oath; but both the rendering and the interpretation are more than doubtful. The other marg., **Because there is a hand against the throne of the LORD** is not much better. Probably by a very slight alteration [1] of the text we should read, 'A hand on the banner of Yah.' In the original story the stone on which Moses sat may have been set up for the altar (Baentsch).

xviii. The Visit of Jethro.

(A narrative from E, with additions.)

1–7 (E). Jethro brings Zipporah and her two sons to Moses.
8–11 (R). Moses tells Jethro the marvellous doings of Yahweh, and Jethro gives praise to Him.
12 (E). Jethro makes a feast for the Israelite notables.
13–23 (E). Observing how Moses is burdened with judicial duties, Jethro advises him to appoint subordinates to take the lighter cases.
24–26 (E). Moses acts upon this advice.
27 (E). Jethro goes home.

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[1] *Nes*, נס, instead of *Kes*, כס.

in law, heard of all that God had done for Moses,
and for Israel his people, how that the LORD had
2 brought Israel out of Egypt. And Jethro, Moses' father
in law, [E] took Zipporah, Moses' wife, [R] after he had
3 sent her away, [E] and her two sons; of which the name
of the one was Gershom; for he said, I have been [a] a
4 sojourner in a strange land: and the name of the other
was [b] Eliezer; for *he said*, The God of my father was my
5 help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh: and
Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife
unto Moses into the wilderness where he was encamped,

[a] Heb. *Ger.* See ch. ii. 22. [b] Heb. *El*, God, and *ezer*, help.

Sources, &c. The names 'God,' 'Jethro,' and other features show that the main narrative is E. It has been supplemented, but to what extent is not clear; nor can we be certain whether the editorial additions are based upon J. Cf. notes on verses 1, 8–12.

In Deut. i. 9–18 Moses reminds the people how he had made these arrangements, but he does not acknowledge his indebtedness to Jethro.

1. Jethro. See on iii. 1, **the priest of Midian,** the description of Moses' father-in-law in J (cf. ii. 16), inserted here by an editor.

how that the LORD had brought Israel out of Egypt. Also an editorial insertion, the main narrative in this chapter uses 'God'; cf. on verses 8–12, and see *Sources*.

2. Zipporah. See on ii. 21. This is the last time she is mentioned. It is curious that, as far as the extant narrative is concerned, neither Moses nor any one else takes any notice of the wife and two sons, after the bare announcement in verse 6. In J, ii. 22, which see, Moses has only one son, Gershom, and he takes his wife and son with him to Egypt, iv. 20.

after he had sent her away. The phrase is more obscure in Hebrew than in English; but the meaning seems to be that when Moses arrived in Egypt he sent his wife back to her father. The phrase is an editorial insertion intended to do away with the discrepancy between this chapter and iv. 20.

3. Gershom. See on ii. 22.

4. Eliezer, only here and in 1 Chron. xxiii. 15, 17, xxvi. 25, probably the same as the Eleazar who is frequently mentioned as Aaron's son; see vi. 23. There were several Israelites of this name, some of them priests or Levites.

at the mount of God: and he said unto Moses, I thy 6
father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife,
and her two sons with her. And Moses went out to 7
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. [R] And Moses told his father 8
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. And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness 9
which the LORD had done to Israel, in that he had
delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians. And 10
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 Egyptians. Now I know that the 11
LORD is greater than all gods: yea, in the thing wherein
they dealt proudly against them. [E] And Jethro, Moses' 12
father in law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for

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6. and he said unto Moses, I thy father-in-law Jethro am come. A slight alteration in the text gives, 'And Moses was told, "Lo, thy father-in-law Jethro has come"'; this is supported by the Septuagint and other authorities, and may be correct.

7. and they came. The Samaritan text and some texts of the Septuagint read 'and he brought him'; other Septuagint texts have 'and he brought them.'

8-11. The use of Yahweh in these verses marks them out from the context; they may be from J, to which verse 7 is often ascribed; but in that case 'Jethro' in 9, 10 must be due to an editor, and the theology in 11 is hardly in the style of J. It is simpler to regard the whole as an editorial expansion.

11. they dealt proudly against them. 'They,' the gods of Egypt, identified with their worshippers; 'them,' the Israelites.

12. The Gentile priest offers a sacrifice, at which Aaron and, presumably, Moses are guests. Such a narrative implies an attitude towards Gentiles very different from that of the Priestly Code.

God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to
13 eat bread with Moses' father in law before God. And it
came to pass on the morrow, that Moses sat to judge the
people: and the people stood about Moses from the
14 morning unto the evening. 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
15 morning unto even? 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 neighbour, and I make
17 them know the statutes of God, and his laws. And
Moses' father in law said unto him, The thing that thou
18 doest is not good. 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
19 alone. Hearken now unto my voice, I will give thee
counsel, and God be with thee: be thou for the people
20 to God-ward, and bring thou the causes unto God: and
thou shalt teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt
shew them the way wherein they must walk, and the
21 work that they must do. 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

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eat bread . . . before God, partake of the Sacrificial feast.

15. to inquire of God. They came to Moses as to an oracle.

21. unjust gain, bribes, almost part of the usual routine of an Eastern court.

rulers of thousands, &c. A familiar organization is here traced back to Moses. It is sometimes suggested that 'thousands,' &c., stood for larger and smaller groups, not for numbers. They would often, of course, be only approximate.

rulers of tens: and let them judge the people at all 22
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. If thou shalt do 23
this thing, and God command thee so, then thou shalt be
able to endure, and all this people also shall go to their
place in peace. So Moses hearkened to the voice of his 24
father in law, and did all that he had said. And Moses 25
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. And they judged the 26
people at all seasons: the hard causes they brought unto
Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves.
And Moses let his father in law depart; and he went his 27
way into his own land.

[P] In the third month after the children of Israel 19

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23. and God command thee so, i. e. 'and if God, when He is consulted, approves of the plan': so important a step could not be taken without Divine guidance.

xix–xl. THE LAWGIVING AT SINAI.

xix. PREPARATIONS.

(A composite narrative, mostly J and E.)

1, 2*a* (P). The Israelites arrive at Sinai.
2*b*, 3 (E). Israel encamps before the Mount.
Moses' *first* ascent to commune with God.
Yahweh instructs him to tell the people . . .
4–6*a* (R). Yahweh promises rewards for obedience.
6*b*–9*a* (E). Moses descends, and reports the words of Yahweh to the people, who promise obedience.
Moses reports the people's promise to Yahweh. [? *Second* Ascent.]
Yahweh announces that He will appear in a thick cloud, and Moses is to . . .
9*b*–10*a* (R). Moses reports the people's promise to Yahweh, who bids Moses . . .

were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day
2 came they into the wilderness of Sinai. And when they

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10 *b*–11 *a* (E). . . . go to the people and prepare them to behold Him on the third day.

11 *b*–13 *a* (J). Arrangements are to be made that no living thing touch the mount.

13 *b* (E). When the trumpet gives a long blast the people are to come up to the mount.

14–17 (E). The people sanctify themselves ; there is a thunderstorm ; the trumpet sounds ; Moses brings the people to meet God.

18 (J). Yahweh descends to Sinai in fire and earthquake.

19 (E). The trumpet sounds louder and louder ; Moses speaks, and God answers him.

20–22 (J). Yahweh comes down to the top of Sinai, and calls Moses up to Him (*third* ascent of Moses). Yahweh instructs Moses to forbid the people to break through, and to command the priests to sanctify themselves.

23–24 *a* (R). Moses reminds Yahweh that this has already been done. Yahweh bids him go down.

24 *b*, 25 (J). Moses may come up, but not the priests and the people, lest Yahweh break forth upon them. Moses goes down to the people and says to them . . .

Sources, &c. The composite character of this chapter is obvious from the lack of coherence, consistence, and smooth sequence. There are abrupt transitions from 'Yahweh' to 'God' or vice versa, 3, 19, 20. In 3 *a*, &c. Moses goes up to the mountain to speak to God ; in 3 *b* Yahweh calls to him from the mountain ; in 10, 14 all the people are sanctified ; in 22, 24 only the priests, &c. It may be possible by the exercise of great ingenuity to construct a consistent and consecutive account of the goings and comings of Moses up and down the mountain, and of his reports from Yahweh to the people and vice versa ; but any one who attempts this task will soon feel that the original tradition must have been much more simple and dignified.

It is extremely difficult to analyse this chapter into its original sources, and the analysis in the text is only given as a fairly probable approximation to the actual facts. Cf. on 2, 3, 9, 10, 13, 16, 25.

1. the same day, lit. 'in that day.' As our text stands the day has not been given. The Hebrew cannot very well mean 'some time in the third month' ; but probably the day was stated in the original, and words have been dropped out, possibly because they conflicted with the later Jewish tradition that the Giving of the Law took place fifty days after the Passover.

2. And when they were departed from Rephidim, and were

were departed from Rephidim, and were come to the wilderness of Sinai, they pitched in the wilderness; [E] and there Israel camped before the mount. And 3
Moses went up unto God, [J] and the LORD called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; [R] Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and 4
how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, 5
and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me [a] from among all peoples: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of 6
priests, and an holy nation. [E] These are the words

[a] Or, *above*

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come to the wilderness of Sinai, they pitched in the wilderness. The sequence of the narrative would be improved if these words were placed before verse 1; the two sentences may have been transposed in copying or in the process of compilation. The clause 'and they pitched in the wilderness' is omitted by the Septuagint.

3. God . . . LORD. The abrupt change of names indicates two different sources; moreover, in the first clause Moses goes up to God, and is on the mountain with Him; in the second Yahweh calls from the mountain to Moses. Apparently the original account of the interview at this point did not satisfy the later editor, and he substituted a revised version in 3 *b*–6.

4. how I bare you on eagles' wings. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 11.

brought you unto myself, i. e. to Sinai to the holy mount, the sanctuary and dwelling of Yahweh.

5. a peculiar treasure. In Hebrew a single word, *segullâ*, commonly used of Israel as the chosen and precious possession of God; in Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18 in the phrase people of *segullâ*; cf. Titus ii. 14, 1 Pet. ii. 9. In two very late passages the word is used of actual treasures. 1 Chron. xxix. 3; 'I have a treasure of my own of gold and silver,' Eccles. ii. 8.

all the earth is mine. The idea of Yahweh as Lord of all things is probably not older than the late monarchy.

6. a kingdom of priests. Cf. Isa. lxi. 5 f. 'Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen and your vine-dressers. But ye shall be named the priests of Yahweh.'

7 which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. And
Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and
set before them all these words which the LORD com-
8 manded him. 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
9 LORD. And the LORD said unto Moses, 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. [R] And Moses told the words of the people unto
10 the LORD. And the LORD said unto Moses, [E] Go unto
the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and
11 let them wash their garments, and be ready against the
third day: for the third day [J] 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 ye go not up into
the mount, or touch the border of it: whosoever touch-
13 eth the mount shall be surely put to death: no hand
shall touch [a] him, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot

[a] Or, *it*

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an holy nation, i.e. a nation set apart for the worship of Yahweh. The words express the same idea as the previous phrase.

9. I come unto thee in a thick cloud. Cf. verse 16.

the people may hear, &c. Cf. verse 19.

may also believe thee for ever. Having witnessed the direct intercourse of Yahweh with Moses, they would ever afterwards believe in his Divine mission. The subsequent course of events, even in this document, see xxxii, show that this expectation was disappointed.

9, 10. And Moses told the words of the people unto the LORD. A repetition of 8 *b*.

10. sanctify, perform certain rites—bathing, washing of garments, &c.—in order to become ceremonially fit for the worship; cf. verse 15.

through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live:
[E] when the [a] trumpet soundeth long, they shall come
up to the mount. And Moses went down from the 14
mount unto the people, and sanctified the people; and
they washed their garments. And he said unto the 15
people, Be ready against the third day: come not near a
woman. And it came to pass on the third day, when it 16
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. And Moses brought forth the people 17
out of the camp to meet God; and they stood at the
nether part of the mount. [J] And mount Sinai was 18
altogether on smoke, because the LORD descended upon
it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke
of a furnace, and the whole [b] mount quaked greatly.
[E] And when the voice of the trumpet waxed louder and 19
louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice.
[J] And the LORD came down upon mount Sinai, to the 20
top of the mount: and the LORD called Moses to the
top of the mount; and Moses went up. And the LORD 21
said unto Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they
break through unto the LORD to gaze, and many of them
perish. And let the priests also, which come near to the 22
LORD, sanctify themselves, lest the LORD break forth
upon them. [R] And Moses said unto the LORD, The 23
people cannot come up to mount Sinai: for thou didst

[a] Or, *ram's horn* [b] Some ancient authorities have, *people*.

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13. ram's horn (marg.), probably an actual ram's horn, to be sounded as a signal according to some arrangement to be made by Moses; different from the trumpet of verses 16 and 19.

16. the voice of a trumpet, a supernatural sound from the Presence of Yahweh in the mount.

charge us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and
24 sanctify it. And the LORD said 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
25 upon them. So Moses went down unto the people, and
told them.

20 [E] And God spake all these words, saying,

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25. **and told them,** rather, 'and said unto them,' a phrase used to introduce a report of spoken words. Here the sentence breaks off abruptly, without telling us what was said. In the process of composition either this has been omitted or placed elsewhere.

XX. 1–17. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

(An ancient code with later notes and additions, perhaps incorporated in E.)

1, 2. Introduction.
3. I. Against the Worship of other Gods.
4–6. II. Against Images.
7. III. Against taking Yahweh's Name in vain.
8–11. IV. The Sabbath.
12. V. Filial Duty.
13. VI. Against Murder.
14. VII. Against Adultery.
15. VIII. Against Theft.
16. IX. Against False Witness.
17. X. Against Coveting.

Sources, &c. Another version of the Ten Commandments is given in Deut. v. 6–21. The two versions agree in substance, but differ considerably in wording and in the comments on the actual injunctions. The Septuagint of the two passages in each case differs similarly from the text it is supposed to translate. Another Hebrew text of the Ten Commandments has been recently discovered in a papyrus probably written in the second century A. D., and therefore much older than the earliest Hebrew manuscripts hitherto known. This text, the Papyrus Nash, differs from all those mentioned above. It is apparently another edition of the Exodus-version; but sometimes it follows *Deuteronomy* when the latter differs from *Exodus*, and sometimes it presents the peculiarities of one or other of the Septuagint texts. The other versions, Latin, Syriac, &c., and the Samaritan Hebrew

I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of 2
the land of Egypt, out of the house of [a] bondage.

[a] Heb. *bondmen.*

text divide their support between the five texts mentioned above, and have other peculiarities of their own. Again, the form of the Commandments given in the quotations in the N.T. is not in absolute agreement with any of the above, e.g. Mark x. 19. Thus both Jews and Christians handled the wording of this section with great freedom. Cf. the notes on verses 8–11, 12, 17.

A different set of Ten Commandments is given in xxxiv. 10–28 (which see), J's account of what was written on the two tables of stone.

The *order* of the Commandments differs in the various texts, e.g. we have 'Thou shalt do no murder. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal' in the Hebrew Text of *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*; but 'Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt do no murder' is read by the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint in *Exodus*; while 'Adultery, Murder, Theft' is the order in Philo[1], the Papyrus Nash, and Rom. xiii. 9.

The *number* 'ten' is given by the use of the phrase, 'The Ten Words,' E.V. 'Commandments,' in reference to this section in Deut. x. 4, and in reference to J's 'Words'[2] in xxxiv. 28. But the phrase is not used in chap. xx, or in Deut. v, or anywhere else in the Bible; and we cannot be sure that the original author intended the number to be 'ten.' As the basis of the decimal notation commonly in use, 'ten' is a familiar round number; but no special sanctity attaches to it in the O.T. Including 'Remember,' 'Honour,' and various 'Thou shalt's' and 'Thou shalt not's,'[3] there are fourteen verbs each with a clause of its own[4], setting forth an injunction.

Opinions differ as to how the material of this section is to be divided in order to give just *ten* commandments. The arrangement in the summary above is familiar to us; it is that of the English Prayer Book, the Greek Church, and the Reformed Church. The Roman Church and the Lutherans make a single commandment of our I and II, the injunction to worship Yahweh only and the prohibition of images; and resolve our X into two; thus IX, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife (so Roman Ch. with *Deuteronomy*, but Lutherans "house" with *Exodus*); X, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house (Roman Ch. but Lutherans

[1] Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica.* [2] But see on xxxiv. 28.

[3] 'Thou shalt labour' is expressed by a single word in Hebrew, and so with the similar clauses.

[4] In verse 9 there are *two* verbs to the clause, we only count *one* of them.

3 Thou shalt have none other gods [a] before me.

[a] Or, *beside me*

"wife"), &c.' While the Jews make our *Introduction* into their First Commandment, and combine our I and II into their Second Commandment.

The subsequent inscription upon *two* tables indicates a *division* into two groups; these are variously reckoned as I—IV religious duties, and V—X moral duties; or I—V religious, and VI—X moral. The latter classification is defended on the ground that respect for parents was a matter of religion in ancient times, and the commandment has even been regarded, somewhat unnecessarily, as a relic of ancestor worship.

The *original form* of the Decalogue was probably not that in which we now have it. The comments show the influence of *Deuteronomy* and the Priestly Code, and were later additions to the ancient Ten Words, which, according to the analysis indicated by the initials in our text, were as follows:—

I. Thou shalt have none other gods beside me.
II. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image.
III. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God in vain.
IV. Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.
V. Honour thy father and thy mother.
VI. Thou shalt do no murder.
VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
VIII. Thou shalt not steal.
IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
X. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

The *origin* of the Decalogue is doubtful; it was not composed by the author of either J or E. The original version is often supposed to have been an ancient code, either appropriated independently by E and *Deut.*; or first used by E and then borrowed from E by *Deut.*; or, again, it may owe its present position to one of the editors of the Pentateuch, probably the editor who combined J and E.

Many modern scholars are inclined to regard the original Decalogue as the work of Moses. It is regarded as simple and primitive, and the great importance attached to it both here and in *Deuteronomy* is supposed to point to its antiquity. On the other hand, it is maintained that the pre-exilic literature does not lay any special stress on the Sabbath, and that images of Yahweh do not seem to have been regarded as illegitimate before the time of Amos and Hosea. Hence the composition of the code has also been assigned to the eighth or seventh century B.C.

3. before me, better as R. V. marg., 'beside me,' lit. 'to my face,' 'in my presence.'

Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, [D] nor 4
the likeness of any form that is in heaven above, or that
is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the
earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor 5
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 fourth generation of
them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto [a] thou- 6
sands, of them that love me and keep my command-
ments.

[E] Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God 7
[b] in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that
taketh his name [b] in vain.

[a] Or, *a thousand generations* See Deut. vii. 9.
[b] Or, *for vanity* or *falsehood*

4. a graven image, *pesel*, properly an image hewn from wood or stone, as distinguished from a *massekâ* or 'molten image'; but here the addition 'nor *the likeness of* any form,' &c., shows that it is used of idols in general. The prohibition extends, of course, to images of Yahweh. The verse has often been understood to forbid the making of any kind of sculpture; but it should probably be combined with verse 5, so as to mean 'Thou shalt not make images for the purpose of worshipping them.'

in heaven above may include birds, and idols representing the heavenly bodies as deities.

the water under the earth. According to the Semitic cosmogony the earth rested on an abyss of water, peopled by primaeval monsters.

5. a jealous God. 'Jealous,' *qannâ'*, is only used of God, though cognate words, 'jealousy,' 'to be jealous,' are also used of men. The emphasis is not so much on the mere feeling of discontent as in our 'jealous.' The Hebrew root is also used for 'zeal' and 'fury,' the just indignation of an injured man.

visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, a familiar article of the older Israelite faith, repudiated by Ezekiel xviii, &c., but nevertheless holding its ground in popular theology, John ix. 2.

6. unto thousands. We must understand as in R. V. marg., 'a thousand generations.'

7. in vain, for an unworthy purpose. The phrase would

8, 9 Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days
10 shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: 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
11 cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: [S] for
in six days the LORD made 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 [E] Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days

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apply to swearing falsely by the name of Yahweh, making vows in His name and not fulfilling them, and perhaps also to any light or blasphemous use of the name; cf. marg.

will not hold him guiltless, i. e. will punish him.

8-11. The wording of this commandment in *Deuteronomy* differs in many respects from that given here. After the command to hallow the Sabbath, there is added, 'As Yahweh thy God hath commanded thee.' Instead of 'nor thy cattle,' *Deuteronomy* reads 'nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle.' Instead of the reference to the Week of Creation, *Deuteronomy* has 'that thy slave and slave-girl may rest as well as thou'; Israel had been slaves in Egypt, and had been delivered, therefore Yahweh had ordained the observance of the Sabbath.

8. the Sabbath day. The Hebrew 'Sabbath' is from a root *Sh B Th*, denoting 'rest'; an observance of seventh days is found in Babylonia, but its relation to the Israelite Sabbath is uncertain; cf. further on Gen. ii. 1-3. The term 'Sabbath' is also applied to the Day of Atonement and the Seventh Year.

to keep it holy, i. e. a day specially devoted to Yahweh by abstinence from ordinary occupations. It must be remembered that the service of Yahweh was associated with cheerful social intercourse; the ordinary sacrifice was connected with a kind of dinner party, and the great sacred seasons were mostly festivals.

10. manservant . . . maidservant, male and female slaves.

stranger. See on xii. 19.

11. Cf. Gen. ii. 1-3. Here, however, Elohim has been replaced by Yahweh, to harmonize with verses 2, 5, and 7.

12. 'The first commandment with promise,' Eph. vi. 2. Here, again, *Deuteronomy* inserts 'as Yahweh thy God hath commanded thee,' and expands the second half of our verse.

may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

Thou shalt do no murder. 13
Thou shalt not commit adultery. 14
Thou shalt not steal. 15
Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. 16
Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt 17

Honour, *kabbēd*, render obedience, service, and respect. In Num. xxii. 17 Balak offers 'honouring to honour' Balaam, who understands the offer to include gifts of gold and silver. Ancient nations laid great stress on filial duty and the authority of parents.

13. Thou shalt do no murder, i. e. slay unlawfully or unjustifiably. This is clearly the meaning. It is true that the Hebrew rendered 'do . . . murder,' *RṢḤ*, is also used in the general sense of 'slay a man'; but O. T. expressly sanctions war and capital punishment.

14. commit adultery, sin with another man's wife. The prohibition would not interfere with polygamy or license as to concubines.

16. bear false witness, i. e. in a court of law. Such false witness has always been common in the East.

17. The corresponding verses, Deut. v. 20 f., have a different list in a different order, with other changes in the wording; thus, 'Thou shalt not covet (*ḤMDh*) thy neighbour's wife; nor shalt thou desire '(*WḤ*[1]) thy neighbour's house, his field, or his slave, or his slave-girl; his ox, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbour's.' The Septuagint agrees with the Hebrew *Deuteronomy* both in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*, except that after 'ass' it adds in both places 'nor any of his cattle.'

covet. This commandment differs from the rest in dealing not with overt acts, but with inner feelings, with the self-seeking inordinate desire which is the source of wrongful acts. Its presence in the Decalogue indicates a high standard of morals. On account of these two features, the difference from the other commandments, and the high level of ethics, it has been suggested that this verse did not belong to the original Decalogue, and that it may have replaced a prohibition of usury. The suggestion is probably wrong; but 'coveting' may emphasize not so much the feelings as the practical steps which might be taken to give effect

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[1] *Hithpael Voice.*

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.

18 And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it, they
19 [a] trembled, and stood afar off. And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let
20 not God speak with us, lest we die. And Moses said

[a] Or, *were moved*

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to them. This commandment would thus defeat the ingenuity of immoral casuistry, which might evade the previous prohibitions.

house. Probably the original commandment ended here (cf. Sources, &c.), and 'house,' as often in the O. T., meant 'household,' in fact all that is enumerated in the rest of the verse, wife, slaves, beasts, &c. The transposition of 'house' and 'wife' in *Deuteronomy* indicates that 'house' was understood of the building only; this mistake may have caused the alteration.

XX. 18-21. Effect of the Theophany on the People (E).

18, 19. The people, terrified, ask that God may not speak to them directly, but through Moses.

20. Moses reassures them.

21. The people stand afar off, but Moses goes up to God.

Sources, &c. In the Elohistic Document xx. 18 was probably the immediate continuation of xix. 18; cf. on verse 19.

18. saw the thunderings . . . and the voice . . ., a fairly familiar construction by which a verb is used with two or more objects, some of which should strictly be governed by another verb.

and when the people saw it. The Septuagint and some other authorities read, 'And the people were frightened.'

trembled, and stood afar off, i. e. remained standing at a distance. If we follow R. V. marg., 'were moved, &c., we might render 'withdrew to a distance.' The Septuagint omits 'trembled.'

19. let not God speak with us. These words imply that so far God had not spoken, and indicate that the Ten Commandments were not included in the document to which this verse belonged.

unto the people, Fear not: for God is come to prove
you, and that his fear may be before you, that ye sin not.
And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto 21
the thick darkness where God was.

And the LORD said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say 22

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20. to prove you. The awful accompaniments of the manifestation of God were not the prelude to a stern judgement, but God was making Himself known to Israel, in order to discover whether they would be loyal to Him.

xx. 22—xxiii. 33. THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT.

This title is derived from xxiv. 7, which, when it was written, probably referred to a part of this section. This section is also described in xxiv. 3 as 'judgements' and 'words,' and in xxiv. 4 it is said that the 'words of Yahweh' were committed to writing by Moses.

xxi. 1. 'Now these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them,' is the heading of an ancient collection of 'judgements,' including xxi. 2—xxii. 17, and perhaps also xxii. 25 ff., xxiii. 4 f. Then the 'words of Yahweh' will consist of xx. 22-26, xxii. 18-24, 28-31, xxiii. 1-3, 6-19. But 'Judgements' and 'Words' have been somewhat annotated, and xxiii. 20-33 has been added as a concluding exhortation.

Both the 'Judgements' and the 'Words' are amongst the oldest extant remains of Israelite literature, older than either the Jehovistic or the Elohistic document. They represent the main interests of the people as agricultural; they are designed for farmers, men who cultivate their own corn-land, vineyards, and olive-orchards under comparatively settled conditions. They are, therefore, later by some time than the Israelite conquest of Palestine, and earlier than the development of more complex social conditions under the later Monarchy. They have been dated as early as the eleventh century B. C., immediately before the reign of Saul, or in the reign of Solomon, or somewhat later. Many of the laws themselves are much older than these codes.

Most of the 'Words' also occur in xxxiv. 14-26.

The history of the compilation of this section is probably somewhat as follows:—

The 'Words' were inserted here by the Elohistic writer, and also in a somewhat similar place in the Jehovistic Document. The 'Judgements' were originally inserted by the Elohistic Writer either as an address of Moses at the close of his life, when

unto the children of Israel, [R] Ye yourselves have seen
23 that I have talked with you from heaven. Ye shall not
make *other gods* with me; gods of silver, or gods of gold,
24 ye shall not make unto you. [E] An altar of earth thou

Israel was encamped in the Plains of Moab, or in connexion with the farewell address of Joshua (Joshua xxiv) at Shechem. When the Deuteronomic legislation was added to the Twofold Document, JE, it took the place of the 'Judgements,' which were transferred to the sojourn at Sinai and combined with the 'Words,' notes being added to both.

The concluding exhortation includes elements from various sources, and has been built up gradually. As it makes no reference to the two Codes, its original substance may have been rather a part of a farewell address of Moses than an epilogue to the 'Judgements.'

It has also been suggested that originally the 'Words' only stood in xxxiv, and were introduced here later.

Various features in the wording of 'Judgements' are commonly held to show that they were inserted by the Elohistic Writer in his work.

A remarkable feature of these 'Judgements' is that they present many close parallels to the Code Hammurabi; see notes on xxi. 2, 15 ff., 22, 26-32, xxii. 6-12. Cf. Introduction, pp. 13 f.

xx. 22-26. Public Worship.

22 *a*. Introduction.

22 *b*, 23 (R). No idols of silver or gold must be made.

24. An altar of earth for sacrifices may be erected wherever God has manifested Himself.

25. Stone altars must only be built of unhewn stones.

26. There must be no steps up to altars.

23. Ye shall not make other gods with me. As the English version indicates by placing 'other gods' in italics, the sentence is incomplete; the verb 'make' has no object. Some word or words have dropped out of the text, but we have no means of determining with certainty what they were, although it is probable that our version gives substantially the right meaning.

gods of silver and gods of gold. The later editors of the Pentateuch would understand this as a general prohibition of images of all kinds, whether of Yahweh or other gods; but originally only gold and silver images may have been forbidden, as too luxurious innovations in contrast to the more simple, primitive images of wood or stone.

24 ff. These verses, which contemplate a multiplicity of altars

shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in every place where I [a] record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. And if thou 25 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. Neither shalt thou go up by steps 26

[a] Or, *cause my name to be remembered*

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of earth or unhewn stones, without steps, indicate a system of worship much simpler, less elaborate, and less rigid than that of the Priestly Code with its single elaborate brazen altar.

24. An altar of earth. It was perhaps to erect such an altar that Naaman required his two mules' burden of earth, 2 Kings v. 17.

burnt offerings: see x. 25.

peace offerings. The *shelem* or peace-offering is mentioned here for the first time. It was the ordinary sacrifice, often denoted by the general term 'sacrifice,' *zebaḥ*; see on x. 25. The E. V. rendering 'peace-offering' suggests a connexion with *shâlôm* in the sense of 'peace,' perhaps a sacrifice celebrating or promoting peace or good-will between man and God, or amongst men. *Shelem*, however, may connect with the use of the root *Sh LM* in the sense of 'repay,' hence 'a thank-offering.'

sheep . . . oxen. The list is not necessarily complete; goats and birds were also sacrificed.

in every place, contemplating a number of sanctuaries where God was worshipped and sacrifices were offered.

record my name. better as R. V. marg., 'cause my name to be remembered,' i. e. by sacrifice and other ritual.

where I record. The Syriac Version reads, 'where thou causest to be remembered,' a reading preferred by some scholars. The meaning would then be that God would respond to the worship of Israel wherever it was offered. If we adhere to the reading 'where I cause to be remembered,' the reference will be to sacred places like Bethel, where God manifested Himself to the Patriarchs and others.

25. thou hast polluted it. An altar of unhewn stones was erected by Elijah on Carmel, 1 Kings xviii. 31 f.; compare also the heap of stones piled up by Jacob and Laban at Mizpah, Gen. xxxi. 46. A special sanctity attached to 'monoliths' or large stones in their natural state; hence the use of such stones as *maṣṣeboth* or sacred pillars; see on xxiv. 4. In Gen. xxviii. 22

unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

21 Now these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them.

2 If thou buy an Hebrew [a] servant, six years he shall

[a] Or, *bondman*

Jacob says of the stone that had served for his pillow that it should be 'God's house.' Such a stone was 'polluted,' i. e. lost its sanctity by being hewn, and thus assimilated to ordinary stones hewn from a quarry. The explanation is sometimes given that the idea of the loss of sanctity through hewing arose at a time when the deity was supposed to dwell in the stone, and to be driven out by the blows of a tool. Compare also the prohibition of *graven* images in verse 4. Solomon built his temple with stones brought ready hewn from the quarry, a kind of compromise, 1 Kings vi. 7.

26. This verse implies that the worshipper wore some slight and simple form of ritual vestment.

Solomon's altars did not conform to the regulations of this paragraph; they were of gold and of brass, 1 Kings vii. 48, viii. 64. Our paragraph may be based on customs more ancient than Solomon, and may come from a school in the Northern Kingdom which regarded Solomon's institutions as heretical innovations. In Isa. lxv. 3 an altar of brick is spoken of as if it were objectionable. Cf. on xxvii. 1 ff.

xxi. 1–11. On Hebrew Slaves.

1. Introduction.

2-6. A purchased Hebrew slave is to be set free after serving six years. If he was married when purchased his wife goes with him; but if his owner has given him a wife and there are children, the owner retains the wife and children. If the slave prefers to remain in slavery rather than leave his family, he may become a permanent slave through a religious ceremony.

7-11. The above law does not apply to a daughter whom her father has sold as a slave. Her owner must either marry her himself, or give her in marriage to his son, with all the rights of a wife; or he must let her be bought back again. He may not sell her to a foreigner. If she is stinted of her due, she becomes free without payment.

1. judgements: apparently here laws on civil questions, as distinguished from the previous ritual regulations; but cf. xxiii. 14 ff.

2–11. There are *ten* clauses introduced by 'if' or 'and if.'

2. Hebrew. Usually the name used for Israelites by foreigners

serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he come in by himself, he shall go out by 3 himself: if he be married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master give him a wife, and she bear him 4 sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. But if the 5 servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: then his master 6 shall bring him unto [a] God, and shall bring him to the

[a] Or, *the judges*

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or by any one speaking or writing from the point of view of a foreigner, e. g. i. 15. Here, perhaps, of an Israelite as distinguished from a foreigner. The explanation that 'Hebrew' here refers to members of cognate tribes, not actually Israelite, is less likely.

servant, R. V. marg. *bondman*, rather 'slave.' An Israelite might be sold for a slave by his father, verse 7; or become a slave to a creditor to whom he owed a debt which he could not pay, 2 Kings iv. 1; or might forfeit his liberty by committing a crime, Exod. xxii. 3.

in the seventh he shall go out free. Deut. xv. 12-18 repeats this law, extending it to female slaves, and enjoining the owner to make a liberal present to the emancipated slave. The provisions about the wife and children are omitted. Lev. xxv. 39-41 lays down that Israelites are not to be treated as slaves, though they may be subjected to some milder form of bondage, to be terminated by the Jubilee.

The corresponding law, 117, in the Code of Hammurabi, see p. 13, lays down that when a man's wife, son, or daughter become slaves through his inability to pay his debts, they shall only serve for *three* years.

In Jer. xxxiv we have an account of an attempt to act on the lines of these laws, which suggests that, in Israel at any rate, they were for the most part a dead letter.

3. if he be married. The passage conveys the impression that the purchaser of the husband would at the same time acquire the wife, but this is not expressly stated.

4. If his master give him a wife. The context implies that this wife would be a slave owned by the master.

6. unto God, R. V. marg. *judges*; so the Syriac and the Targum; similarly the Septuagint 'to the judgement-seat of God,'

door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for ever.

7 And if a man sell his daughter to be a [a] maidservant,
8 she shall not go out as the menservants do. If she please not her master, [b] who hath espoused her to

[a] Or, *bondwoman*
[b] Another reading is, *so that he hath not espoused her.*

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i. e. to some sanctuary where the priests acted as judges, as was often the case in ancient times. Elsewhere 'unto God' usually means 'to a sanctuary.' But the rest of the verse implies that the door referred to was that of the master's house, so that the sanctuary here would be the doorpost or its neighbourhood. In ancient times a special sanctity attached to the door and its appurtenances, the threshold, doorpost, &c. The household images were about it or near it; or the household gods were thought of as dwelling there. Hence the formula and the custom are survivals of a time when these ideas still prevailed, and when the original words 'unto *Elohim*' meant 'unto the household deities.' This meaning had been forgotten before the Pentateuch was compiled, but was still known to the author of *Deuteronomy*, who therefore omits the words 'unto God,' xv. 17.

shall bore his ear through with an awl. Deut. xv. 17 directs that the awl shall be thrust through the ear into the door, which suggests that the idea of the ceremony was the permanent attachment of the slave to his owner's household. The piercing of the ears of slaves was a common practice in antiquity, possibly to symbolize the duty of obedience, as the ear was the organ of hearing.

7. maidservant . . . menservants. Male and female slaves; cf. verse 2.

she shall not go out. The succeeding verses show that it is assumed that a female slave will become wife or concubine to her owner or to his son, and therefore a permanent member of the family. The altered provision in *Deuteronomy* (see verse 2) corresponds to the more advanced social conditions of the close of the Monarchy, and implies large households with numerous female slaves, besides the wives or concubines of the men of the family.

8. who hath espoused her to himself. The alternative reading is rendered by the R.V. marg. *so that he hath not espoused her*, but it is doubtful whether it can have this meaning.

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. And if he espouse her 9 unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. If he take him another *wife*; her [a] food, 10 her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish. And if he do not these three unto her, then 11 shall she go out for nothing, without money.

[a] Heb. *flesh.*

There is much difference of opinion as to how this verse read originally, and as to what it means. As to this particular clause we may choose between the following interpretations. Having bought a girl with a view to marriage or concubinage, and changing his mind—(i) the owner may not sell her, but must let her family buy her back. (ii) If the owner has not actually made her his wife or concubine, she may be sold or returned to her family, but may not be sold to a foreigner. (iii) *Because* the owner *has* made her his wife or concubine, he may not sell her, but must return her to her family.

Of course these views are not simply interpretations of the same Hebrew, but involve different theories as to what the original Hebrew was. Cf. also the following notes.

then shall he let her be redeemed, i. e. bought back by her father, by repayment of the price paid for her. Even if the father had used the money, e. g. to pay a debt, the family might be expected to provide it. It is also proposed to translate 'let her be purchased,' i. e. by some other Israelite.

unto a strange people, i. e. a foreigner, or, according to some, any family other than her own; cf. above.

hath dealt deceitfully with her, either by not fulfilling his engagement to take her as a concubine, or by repudiating her after she had become his concubine.

9. deal with her after the manner of daughters, treat her as a daughter and not as a slave; or perhaps, more particularly, make such provision for her marriage with his son as he would make if he were giving his own daughter in marriage.

10 f. If he take him another wife. Without actually severing his connexion with the girl as concubine, he might take another concubine, and ill-treat and neglect the former. In that case she might return to her own family, and her owner could not claim repayment of the purchase-money.

12 He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall surely be
13 put to death. And if a man lie not in wait, but God
deliver *him* into his hand; then I will appoint thee
14 a place whither he shall flee. And if a man come
presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with

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xxi. 12–32. On Injuries to the Person.

12–17. The following offences are to be punished with Death :—

12–14. *Murder.* A man who has slain another by accident may take refuge at the altar [1], but there is no sanctuary for the murderer.

15 f. *Ill-treatment of, or disrespect to, Parents.*

16. *Kidnapping.*

28 f. *Keeping a dangerous ox*; cf. below.

18–36. Compensation or Minor Punishments are appointed for the following :—

18 f., 23–25. *Injury inflicted in a fight.* See notes.

20 f., 26 f. *Injury inflicted on a slave.* No punishment, however, is to be inflicted on a man who has flogged a slave to death, if he or she does not actually die under the master's hand.

22. *Causing miscarriage.*

[23–7, see above]

28–32. *Injury inflicted by an ox.* Various penalties, according to whether the ox was known to be dangerous (cf. above); and according to the status of the victim.

12. Cf. Gen. ix. 6; Exod. xx. 13. The murderer would usually be put to death by the 'avengers of blood,' the kinsfolk of the victim, Deut. xix. 12; Num. xxxv. 19.

13. if a man lie not in wait. The wording might, according to our ideas, exclude cases where a man killed another in a fight, not intending to proceed to such extremities, but 18 f. suggests that such slaying would have been regarded by this code as murder. We find only two alternatives, murder or accidental homicide; our 'manslaughter' is not recognized, although verse 30 admits a minor penalty for indirect homicide.

God deliver him into his hand. Rather, 'God hath brought it about through his instrumentality,' i. e. without any intention on the part of the slayer. Primitive faith was quick to discern the workings of the Divine Providence. Cf. the 'Act of God' in English law.

14. come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him

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[1] Cf. notes.

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 [a] curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.

18 And if men contend, and one smiteth the other with 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 [b] the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

20 And if a man smite [c] his 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.

[a] Or, *revileth* [b] Heb. *his sitting* or *ceasing*.
[c] Or, *his bondman, or his bondwoman*

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with guile. Rather, 'slay another in deliberate defiance of law and justice.'

15. Similarly Hammurabi ordains that if a son strikes his father his hands shall be cut off.

16. The corresponding ordinance of Hammurabi is that any one who kidnaps a boy shall be put to death.

18–19. Hammurabi directs that, if one man injures another in a quarrel, he shall take an oath that he did not intend to hurt him, and shall pay the doctor.

Verses 23–25 should follow verse 19; see below.

20–21. It is fairly certain that these verses and verses 26 and 27 are a mitigation of more primitive custom which gave the master absolute control over his slaves; including power of life and death. Thus the harshness does not belong to the author of these laws; their point is the limitation of the master's rights; the intention of the legislator is humane, and his provisions for the welfare of slaves were not restricted by lack of humanity, but

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
23 as the judges determine. But if any mischief follow,
24 then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for
25 tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning,
wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

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by practical difficulties. If he had made his laws more unfavourable to the master they would have remained a dead letter.

Verses 26 and 27 should follow verse 21; see below.

22. For a similar offence Hammurabi prescribes ten shekels compensation if the woman is free. The same condition is implied by the context here.

according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him... as the judges determine. If we accept this translation, we must understand it to mean that the claim of the husband is to be subject to the approval of the judges. The phrase, 'he shall pay as the judges determine,' may be a later addition intended to meet the difficulty that the husband's claim might easily be exorbitant. But it is doubtful whether the R. V. is a possible translation, and whether the Hebrew makes sense as it stands. A slight alteration of the Hebrew would give, 'so he shall pay for the miscarriage.'

23-25. These verses are clearly the sequel of verse 19, and not of verse 22. The transposition was due to the phrase 'if any mischief follow.' A scribe, attending to the words and not to the general sense, thought that this phrase must refer to the 'and yet no mischief follow' of verse 22, and altered the order accordingly.

The principle of these verses—*Lex Talionis*, 'tit for tat,' 'making the punishment fit the offence'—is obvious, and is more or less in evidence in the laws and customs of most peoples, especially in the earlier stages of civilization. There are many applications of it in the Code of Hammurabi. Thus if a man has deprived a noble of an eye, or a tooth, or maimed him, the culprit is to lose an eye, a tooth, or to be maimed, respectively. But these injuries inflicted on an ordinary freeman[1] may be atoned for by money compensation. Cf. Lev. xxiv. 20; Deut. xix. 21.

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[1] The words represented by 'noble,' 'ordinary freeman,' are variously rendered in different translations of the Code; but it seems clear that two social grades are distinguished above the slaves.

And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye 26
of his maid, and destroy it; he shall let him go free for
his eye's sake. And if he smite out his manservant's 27
tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go
free for his tooth's sake.

And if an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die, 28
the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be
eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit. But if the 29
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. If 30
there be laid on him a ransom, then he shall give for the

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26 f. These verses should follow verse 20, of which they are the natural sequel. The transposition was probably—in some way not easy to discover—due to the interference with the original order by moving verses 23–25 out of their proper place. When a scribe once begins to alter the arrangement of paragraphs in a document he is copying, anything is possible.

Hammurabi requires that any one who deprives a slave of an eye or maims a limb shall pay half his value to his owner[1].

28–32. Hammurabi lays down that no claim can be made against the owner of an ox which has killed a man, unless the owner knew it was dangerous, and failed to take proper precautions. When he has been thus careless, he must pay a fixed compensation, so much for a freeman, less for a slave.

28. the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten. The ox is regarded as a murderer, and its flesh is considered unclean. Cf. Gen. ix. 5, 'Your blood, the blood of your lives, will I require at the hand of every beast . . . and at the hand of man.'

30. A case of *wergeld* or substitution of compensation for blood-revenge. As this offence is not included in the list of capital crimes in verses 12-17, we may conclude that it was optional to accept compensation.

a ransom. The Hebrew word is *kopher*, from a root used as a technical term in connexion with the atoning value of sacrifices.

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[1] The words 'to his owner' are not in the Code, but they are clearly implied by the rest of the Code.

redemption of his life whatsoever is laid upon him.
31 Whether he have gored a son, or have gored 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
36 the dead also they shall divide. 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.
22 [a] If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell

[a] [Ch. xxi. 37 in Heb.]

Here the noun is used for *wergeld*; see above, and compare further on.

whatsoever is laid upon him, probably by the kinsfolk of the person killed, as in verse 22. Custom and public opinion would check exorbitant demands.

32. thirty shekels. A shekel contained rather less silver than our half-crown, but its purchasing power was very much greater; e.g. in 2 Kings vii. 1, under circumstances which could tend to raise prices, a shekel bought a peck and a half of flour. An adult slave in the United States of America in the first half of the nineteenth century often sold for from £100 to £150 and upwards.

the ox shall be stoned. As far as the animal is concerned, but for the killing of a slave is more or less murder; cf. on verse 28.

xxi. 33—xxii. 17. On Offences against Property.

Punishment or compensation is prescribed as follows:—

xxi. 33 f. *Pit left unfenced.* The owner must purchase the carcase of an ox or ass killed by falling into it, at the value it had while living.

it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for

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35 f. *Vicious ox.* If the character of the ox was not previously known, and it kills another ox, the surviving ox is to be sold, and the price, together with the carcase of the dead ox, to be divided between the two owners. But if the ox was known to be vicious, he must purchase the carcase, by providing a live ox.

xxii. 1-4. *Theft.* If a man has stolen an ox or a sheep, and killed or sold it, he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. But if he is caught with the animal in his possession, he shall restore it, and provide another like it. If the thief has nothing to pay, he is to be sold as a slave.

A burglar, caught in the act, may be put to death during the night, but not after sunrise.

5. *Trespass.* If a man turns his beast into another man's field or vineyard he shall make full restitution.

6. *Arson.* Restitution must be made.

7-9. *Loss of money or goods entrusted to a man for safe keeping.* If the custodian is at fault he must pay double. (Cf. notes.)

10-13. *Loss of, or injury to, an animal entrusted to a man for safe keeping.* If the animal dies, or is injured, or is lost by some unknown cause, the custodian may clear himself by an oath, and shall not be held responsible. If it is stolen he must compensate the owner. If it is torn in pieces the custodian is not to be held responsible if he produces the carcase.

14, 15. *Death or injury to a borrowed or hired animal.* If the animal is under the control of the hirer he shall make restitution, but not if it is under the control of its owner.

16, 17. *Seduction.* The seducer must marry the girl, or pay compensation.

xxi. 33. A more correct rendering would be, 'If a man open or dig a pit, and leave it uncovered,' &c. The 'open' refers to the uncovering of an existing pit, the 'dig' to the making of a new one.

35 f.; cf. 28 f.

xxii. 1-4. A law about robbery in general has been inserted in the middle of the law about the theft of an ox or an ass. The two should be separated thus:—

Theft of ox or ass. Verses 1, 3 *b*, 4. If a man steal an ox or a sheep, and kill or sell it, he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. He must make restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft. If the theft be found in his hand alive, ox, or ass, or sheep, he shall pay double.

Robbery. Verses 2, 3 *a*. If a thief be found breaking in, and be mortally hurt, it shall be justifiable homicide; but after sunrise it shall be murder.

2 a sheep. [a] If the thief be found breaking in, and be
smitten that he die, there shall be no [b] bloodguiltiness
3 for him. If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be
bloodguiltiness for him: he should make restitution; if
4 he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft. 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

[a] [Ch. xxii. 1 in Heb.] [b] Heb. *blood.*

Hammurabi's law about stealing animals is only partly legible. In his code housebreaking and brigandage are punished with death.

2. be found breaking in, i. e. in the night.

there shall be no bloodguiltiness, i. e. the relatives of the thief shall not be entitled to claim blood-revenge against the slayer.

4. pay double: cf. analysis above, also verse 6.

5. Hammurabi prescribes a fine or scale of compensation for similar trespasses.

another man's field. After these words we should add, with the Septuagint and the Samaritan text, 'he shall make compensation from his own field according to the produce thereof, and if he has caused the whole field to be eaten' (then follows as in our text) 'of the best of his own field.'

6. If fire break out, &c. 'Arson' is probably not strictly correct in reference to this verse. The case contemplated seems to be one in which a man kindles a fire, possibly to burn up rubbish, in his own field, and it spreads to his neighbour's. We might translate, 'if a fire spread.'

7-9. Hammurabi has laws dealing with similar cases; in

stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, he shall pay double. If the thief be 8 not found, then the master of the house shall come near unto [a] God, *to see* whether he have not put his hand unto

[a] Or, *the judges*

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one of them he provides that if a man has had charge of another's property, and it has been stolen from him, he shall compensate the owner, and shall recover the property from the thief.

In Israel, under the early monarchy, there was little or nothing corresponding to the protection given by our police; the safety of a man's property depended on his own household and any help he could get from his neighbours. If he lived in an outlying farm or hamlet he might be glad to deposit his valuables with some friend in a fortified town; just as with us deeds and bonds are often placed in charge of a bank or a solicitor.

7. unto his neighbour, rather, 'to some other person.'

stuff, gear, goods.

8 f. unto God, to see whether, &c. The two parties would attend at a sanctuary. The analogy of verse 11 suggests that the suspected man would either admit his guilt or take an oath that he was innocent. In some cases, verse 11, the oath would be accepted and the matter would be at an end. But in other cases, according to verse 9, a Divine decision would be given. How this decision was to be made known we are not told. A Divine judgement might fall upon the perjurer, possibly through some form of ordeal. Thus in Num. v. 11–31 a woman suspected of adultery is to drink dirty water with certain ceremonies, and her guilt or innocence is shown by 'her belly swelling and her thigh falling away,' or by her remaining free from disease. Or, again, recourse might be had to the sacred lots or some other form of oracle. The R. V. marg. 'judges' is not a correct translation; but the sense it suggests is not far wrong, as the priests of the sanctuary would no doubt try to settle the matter by ordinary evidence before resorting to ordeal or oracle.

We may compare the clause in Solomon's prayer at the Dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 31 f., 'If one man sin against another, and he be made to take an oath, and he come and swear before thine altar in this house: then hear thou in heaven, and act, and judge thy servants, condemning the guilty, to bring his way upon his own head; and giving judgement in favour of him who is in the right, to give him according to his uprightness.'

Compurgation by oath is recognized in many codes, and plays a considerable part in the laws of Hammurabi; cf. on verses 10 f.

9 his neighbour's goods. 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 [a] God; he
whom [a] God 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,
11 or driven away, no man seeing it: the oath of the LORD

[a] Or, *the judges*

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9. trespass, &c., here, 'any offence against property, whether it has to do with ox,' &c.

for any manner of lost thing, whereof one saith, This is it. A man claims that something which he finds in some one else's possession is property of his own which he has lost. Such claims were often mistaken or fraudulent. Hammurabi deals at length with the procedure to be observed in such cases. Amongst other things the witnesses are to give their evidence 'before God.'

shall pay double, i. e. the man found in possession of lost property shall restore it, and add as much again. Perhaps also any one who brought a wrongful claim would have to make similar compensation to the man he had slandered. Hammurabi prescribes that any one who brought such claims and failed to substantiate them should be put to death.

10–13. The idea of these verses is that the shepherd is responsible for his own carelessness, but not for unavoidable accidents. He is supposed to be able to prevent theft, but not disease or injury by wild beasts.

Similarly Hammurabi provides that the shepherd shall compensate the owner for injury due to his carelessness, but that if damage is caused by an act of God or by a lion, the shepherd shall purge himself before God, and shall not be required to pay compensation.

10. driven away, 'taken captive and carried away into captivity,' perhaps referring to the high-handed violence of a band of robbers, whom the shepherd would be powerless to resist, as distinguished from the mere thief of verse 11. But this does not suit the 'no man seeing it.' As the word for 'driven away,' *nishbâ*, is elsewhere used almost exclusively of men who are taken prisoners, and is also nearly identical with 'hurt,' *nishbar*, the words 'or

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 he shall not make restitution. But 12 if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof. If it be torn in pieces, let him bring 13 it for witness; he shall not make good that which was torn.

And if a man [a] borrow aught of his neighbour, and it 14 be hurt, or die, the owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make restitution. If the owner thereof be 15 with it, he shall not make it good: if it be an hired thing, [b] it came for its hire.

[a] Heb. *ask.* [b] Or, *it is reckoned in* (Heb. *cometh into*) *its hire*

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driven away' may have arisen through an accidental repetition of 'or hurt,' altered to make sense.

11. Cf. above.

shall accept it, probably the oath. If we omit the 'or driven away,' we might interpret, 'shall accept the injured animal or the carcase, instead of requiring it to be replaced by a sound, living beast.'

13. In Gen. xxxi. 39 Jacob illustrates his fidelity to Laban by saying that he had himself borne the loss caused by wild beasts, and had not brought the mangled carcases to Laban that the loss might fall upon the latter as owner.

14 f. If a man hires (or borrows) an animal without the owner, it is entirely under the hirer's control, and he is responsible for any accident that may befall it. But if he hires the services of a man and his animal, the animal is still under the control of its owner, and he is responsible.

Hammurabi has several laws dealing with such cases. If a hired animal is killed by a lion in the open country the loss falls upon the owner; but if it suffers through the carelessness or cruelty of the hirer he is responsible.

15. if it be an hired thing, it came for its hire, i. e. in fixing the charge for hiring, the risk of accident is taken into account. The meaning of the Hebrew is doubtful; other interpretations are: (*a*) 'If the owner of the hired animal has sent a hired servant in charge of it, he shall pay out of his wages for any accident that happens to it.' (*b*) 'If a hired servant is in charge of an animal working for his master, and any harm befalls it, he shall pay for

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
17 wife. If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him,
he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.
18 Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live.

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it out of his wages.' If the last view be taken, this sentence is a separate ordinance, and not merely a comment on, or qualification of, the preceding.

16 f. According to primitive ideas the seduction of a daughter before she was betrothed or married was an offence against property, because the father would in the natural course of events make money by selling his daughter in marriage.

16. that is not betrothed. A betrothed woman was regarded as a wife, and according to Deut. xxii. 23–25, any one seducing or forcing her was to be put to death; similarly Hammurabi.

he shall surely pay a dowry for her to be his wife. Rather 'he must purchase her for his wife at the (usual) price, *mohar*'; cf. above on verse 16 f.

17. he shall pay money, &c., i. e. he must pay the *mohar*, although he is not allowed to have the girl as his wife.

xxii. 18—xxiii. 19. On various Ritual and Moral Offences.

The following crimes are to be punished with death :—

xxii. 18. *Sorcery.*

19. *Bestiality.*

20. *Worship of gods other than Yahweh.*

xxii. 22–24 (xxiii. 9). If the Israelites wrong the *ger*[1], the widow, or the fatherless, Yahweh will slay them with the sword.

25. Interest must not be taken from poor Israelites.

26, 27. A garment taken in pledge must be restored before night, under penalty of Divine displeasure.

28. God must not be reviled, and the king must not be cursed.

29-30 (xxiii. 19*a*). Firstfruits, and the firstborn of men, oxen, and sheep are to be given to God.

31. Israelites must not eat carcases mangled by wild beasts, because they (the Israelites) are sacred to Yahweh.

xxiii. 1–3, 6–8. Nothing is to be said or done which would interfere with the impartial administration of justice.

4–5. Loss of, or injury to, an ox or ass is to be prevented by

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[1] Resident alien or client; see on ii. 22.

Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death. 19

He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the LORD only, shall be [a] utterly destroyed. And a stranger shalt 20 21

[a] Heb. *devoted.* See Lev. xxvii. 29.

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any one who has the opportunity of giving help, even if the owner is his enemy.

6-8. See verses 1-3.

9. See xxii. 22-4.

10-11. The land is to lie fallow in the *Seventh Year.*

12. No work is to be done on the *Seventh Day.*

13. No other god is to be worshipped other than Yahweh.

14-17. Three festivals are to be observed :—

15. *Unleavened Bread.*

16. *Harvest.*
Vintage.

18 *a.* Leavened bread not to be offered with sacrifices.

18 *b.* The fat of a sacred meal not to be left till the morning.

19 *a.* See xxii. 29.

19 *b.* A kid is not to be boiled in its mother's milk.

18. This verse has been the occasion of much superstitious cruelty, and has encouraged recurring epidemics of persecution of alleged witches.

Hammurabi's code opens with two laws as to sorcery; the meaning of which is not clear according to the present translations. These latter seem to suggest that under some circumstances the sorcerer would be put to death, but that under others the practice of magic arts would be regarded as legitimate. From other sources we know that magic was a recognized public profession in Egypt, Babylon, and indeed throughout most of the ancient world.

sorceress. A. V. 'witch.' Perhaps in Israel the art was specially practised by women; cf. the Witch of Endor. The Septuagint, however, has 'sorcerers,' and the Syriac Version and the Targum 'sorcerer.'

19. This practice was a part of the ritual of some pagan cults.

20. utterly destroyed, marg. 'devoted,' i. e. put to death in honour of Yahweh as *herem,* 'ban,' 'taboo,' like the inhabitants of Jericho and Achan, Joshua vi f.

21-24 f. Cf. xxiii. 9. The constant injunctions on behalf of the stranger, the widow, and the orphan are an eloquent testimony to the wretched condition of the weak and helpless in Israel; and

thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him: for ye
22 were strangers in the land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict
23 any widow, or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear
24 their cry; and 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 is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor; neither
26 shall ye lay upon him usury. If thou at all take thy

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the strenuous emphasis with which Divine judgement is threatened shows how little was to be expected from any human authority.

21 *b*-24. for ye were strangers in the land, &c. Such didactic exhortation is not in the manner of the ancient code; so that these verses, or most of them, are often regarded as an editorial addition.

24. your wives shall be widows, &c. Another application of the principle of an 'eye for an eye'; cf. xxi. 23 ff.

25. be to him as a creditor, i. e. exercise the legal rights of a creditor, seize upon his land, or sell him or his family into slavery, if he cannot pay his debts; cf. Neh. v, and on xxi. 7.

usury, rather, 'interest,' the word is said to have meant originally 'biting.' The Old Testament consistently forbids the Jews to take interest from their fellow countrymen, Deut. xxiii. 20; Lev. xxv. 36; Jer. xv. 10; Ezek. xviii. 8; Ps. xv. 5; Prov. xxviii. 8; while Deuteronomy expressly sanctions interest on loans to foreigners. The translation 'usury' in the English and Latin versions is due to a desire to avoid an inconvenient—and indeed unjustifiable—application to modern conditions; the Septuagint has 'interest,' *tokos*.

At the same time the practice which the Old Testament seeks to prevent is not commercial lending on interest, loans to a merchant who expects to make a profit over and above the interest by using the money borrowed. As our passage shows, the inspired writers desired to inculcate the duty of relieving distress by free loans which might become gifts, and to discourage the practice of making a profit out of the needs of those who were on the verge of ruin. Here, as often, a lax rendering like 'usury' expresses the real spirit of the original better than an exact translation. Nevertheless the authors of these passages probably intended to forbid interest altogether; they were not familiar enough with

neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it unto
him by that the sun goeth down: for that is his only 27
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.

Thou shalt not revile [a] God, nor curse a ruler of thy 28

[a] Or, *the judges*

---

the higher commerce to understand that there were circumstances under which interest might be justifiable. Hammurabi, dealing with a civilization much more advanced than that of the Israelite monarchy, recognizes interest as legitimate, though he seeks to protect the farmer from his creditor. If the farmer has a bad harvest, he need pay no interest on his loan for that year. There are a very large number of Babylonian and Assyrian contract tablets extant which deal with the rate of interest, some of them belonging to periods before the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan.

26. If thou at all take thy neighbour's garment to pledge. The 'at all' is an attempt to represent a Hebrew idiom for which there is no exact English equivalent. The force of the original here might be given by, 'If thou shouldest ever go so far as to take thy neighbour's garment to pledge.'

take . . . to pledge, i. e. as security for a debt.

garment, the upper garment, cloak, or shawl; a large square of cloth. For the pledging of garments cf. Amos ii. 8; Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 9 f. Deut. xxiv. 10–13 repeats and expands this verse, and Deut. xxiv. 6, 17 forbids the taking of a mill-stone or a widow's clothes in pledge; and Ezek. xviii. 7 includes the restoring of pledges to debtors amongst the indispensable duties of a good man. It is well to remember that the pledging of garments of small value is carried on to a large extent amongst our own poor.

by that the sun goeth down. A poor man might borrow a tool for use during the day, and deposit his cloak as security. It is difficult to see what use a pledge to be restored at nightfall would be in the case of a loan for some time; but perhaps the transaction gave the lender a more formal and binding claim to repayment.

27. Probably editorial; cf. on verses 21–24.

wherein shall he sleep? The peasant in the East usually sleeps in his upper garment.

gracious, the Hebrew, *ḥannûn*, suggests 'kindly and helpful, responding to the prayer of the needy.'

28. revile . . . curse. The two words thus rendered are

29 people. Thou shalt not delay to offer of [a] the abundance
of thy fruits, and of thy liquors. The firstborn of thy
30 sons shalt thou give unto me. 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.

[a] Heb. *thy fulness and thy tear.*

almost synonymous; the latter is stronger, implying that the curse actually injures its object.

God, so rather than the marg. 'judges'; cf. 1 Kings xxi. 13, where Naboth is accused of 'cursing,' a different word, 'God and the king.'

29. the abundance of thy fruits and of thy liquors, lit. as marg. 'thy fulness and thy tear,' i. e. the overflow of the threshing-floor and the wine-press and olive-press, a poetic or traditional expression for firstfruits. God gives in rich abundance, so that a portion may readily be given back to Him in token of gratitude. The Septuagint renders, 'the firstfruits of the threshing-floor and the wine-press.'

29-30. The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine ox, &c. These clauses raise a serious difficulty, of which there is no satisfactory explanation. The firstborn of oxen and sheep were sacrificed (Deut. xv. 19 ff.), and if Exod. xxii. 29-31 occurred in a heathen code, or if the *Book of the Covenant* stood by itself, we should naturally understand verse 29 *b* to mean that firstborn children were to be sacrificed to Yahweh. Such sacrifices were not infrequently offered to the king, *Melech*[1], a title sometimes given to Yahweh. And we gather that human firstborn were sometimes sacrificed to Yahweh under the impression that His law required them, a view which Jeremiah repudiates, vii. 31, xix. 5; but Ezekiel seems to endorse, 'I gave them statutes that were not good . . . in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb.' Moreover, the story of the proposed sacrifice of Isaac is intended to teach that God did not require such offerings, and would hardly have been written if the practice were not prevalent in Israel.

Nevertheless, it is clear that a general sacrificing of firstborn children to Yahweh was never part of the religion of Israel (Baentsch, *Exodus*, 89 f.; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, &c., 127). The practice appears in the history towards the close of the monarchy; it was probably due to the influence of neighbouring nations, although an attempt seems to have been made to support it from

[1] *Moloch* is an intentional mispronunciation of the later Jews.

And ye shall be holy men unto me: therefore ye shall 31
not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye
shall cast it to the dogs.

Thou shalt not take up a false report: put not thine **23**
hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.
Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither 2
shalt thou [a] speak in a cause to turn aside after a
multitude to wrest *judgement*: neither shalt thou favour 3
a poor man in his cause.

[a] Or, *bear witness*

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the wording of ancient laws. It is possible that in a remote pre-Mosaic period such sacrifices may have been the custom amongst certain of the ancestors of Israel, and that the wording of our passage is a survival from a barbaric age; but neither the compiler of the *Book of the Covenant*, nor the author of the *Elohistic Document*, nor the editor of the Pentateuch, intended these words to be understood as a demand by Yahweh that human children should be sacrificed.

The position of verse 29*b*, the clause about the firstborn sons between provisions about firstfruits and the firstlings of animals, is curious; the clause may not have originally belonged to this context, or, as some suggest, it may have read 'thy cattle,' *miqnekha*, instead of 'thy sons,' *banekha*.

Elsewhere we are told that the human firstborn were to be redeemed; some other offering was to be substituted for them; see on xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20, and cf. Num. iii.

31. holy, set apart for the worship of Yahweh; cf. xv. 11, xix. 6.

any flesh that is torn of beasts. The prohibition is no doubt ancient, and rests on primitive religious ideas, being probably connected with the principles that the slaughter of an animal for food should take the form of a sacrifice, and should be so performed that the blood should not be consumed. Neither of these conditions could be observed in the case in question. Cf. Deut. xiv. 21; Lev. xvii. 15 f.

1. a false report. The context shows that the meaning is that an innocent man is not to be condemned on false testimony.

3. a poor man. Many recent commentators, e. g. Baentsch, Holzinger, Kittel, propose to substitute for 'a poor man,' *DL*., 'a great man,' *GDL*; on the ground that the latter is more suitable to the context, and to the facts of life. An inclination on

4 If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray,
5 thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see
the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden,
[a] and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help
with him.
6 Thou shalt not wrest the judgement of thy poor in his
7 cause. Keep thee far from a false matter; and the
innocent and righteous slay thou not: for I will not
8 justify the wicked. And thou shalt take no gift: for a
gift blindeth them that have sight, and perverteth the
9 [b] words of the righteous. And a stranger shalt thou not
oppress: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye
were strangers in the land of Egypt.
10 And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather
11 in the increase thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt

[a] Or, *and wouldest forbear to release* it *for him, thou shalt surely release* it *with him*

[b] Or, *cause*

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the part of an Eastern judge to favour a poor, friendless man against a powerful suitor is said to be too rare to need to be guarded against. Lev. xix. 15 is quoted on both sides, the clause which agrees verbally with ours has 'great'; but 'poor' occurs in a parallel clause. The alteration here is unnecessary; dramatic acts of justice to the oppressed, involving the ruin of too powerful nobles, are among the luxuries of despots.

4, 5. These two verses are out of place; verse 6 is the natural continuation of verse 3. The arrangement of the clauses has been somehow disturbed, but it is not clear where these verses stood originally.

7. for I will not justify. Read, with the Septuagint, 'and thou shalt not justify,' i. e. acquit, or declare to be in the right, 'the wicked.'

8 *b*-**9.** A didactic addition; cf. xxii. 21.

10, 11. Cf. Lev. xxv and Deut. xv. The institution prescribed here is not the sabbatical year of Lev. xxv, but only a step towards it. These verses only require that all land shall be left fallow one year in seven, not that all land shall be left fallow in the same year, and the reason given is humanitarian and not ritual. Similar practices are still in vogue in Palestine (Nowack,

[a] let 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 oliveyard. Six days thou shalt do thy work, 12 and on the seventh day thou shalt [b] rest: that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed. And in all things 13 that I have said unto you take ye heed: and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth.

Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the 14

[a] Or, *release it and let it lie fallow* See Deut. xv. 2.
[b] Or, *keep sabbath*

Archaeologie), and such a custom may well have been observed in early times on agricultural grounds; but the utilitarian object would no doubt be associated with some religious reason and sanction. *Deuteronomy* omits this law as to the land; it may have proved unworkable in the later years of the monarchy. We are expressly told that in the period before the Exile the land 'did not enjoy its sabbaths,' Lev. xxv. 35; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. Traces of the observance of the Sabbatical Year are found in Neh. x. 31, and the later Jewish literature.

11. let it rest, marg. 'release it.' The word for 'release,' *Sh MT*, is that used in Deut. xv. 2 for the cancelling of debts in the seventh year.

that the poor of thy people may eat, &c.; i. e. of the self-sown crop.

In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, &c. It has been suggested that if vineyards and oliveyards had been left to themselves, to the poor, and to wild beasts, every seventh year, the result would have been disastrous; and that the last clause of this verse is the mechanical addition of a scribe who did not understand agriculture.

12. Cf. xx. 8-11.

the son of thy handmaid, i. e. the home-born slave.

14-19. Cf. xxxiv. 18-26, which repeats most of these verses, partly in the same words.

14-17. The three feasts are also dealt with in Lev. xxiii and Deut. xvi, with additions. If, as is suggested by some, the latter part of verse 15 from 'seven days' onward is a later addition, the three feasts here are purely agricultural. There is nothing here

15 year. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep: seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib (for in it thou camest out from Egypt); and none shall
16 appear before me empty: and 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
17 thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field. Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord GOD.
18 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my feast remain

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to indicate that these feasts were to be held on fixed dates, or at the same time by all Israelites. Such uniformity belongs to the later codes, which were more interested in exact ritual than in practical utility. Probably in earlier times the harvest and vintage feasts were celebrated at the local shrines, at times suitable to the needs of each district.

15. See on xii. 15, xiii. 6.

16. The feast of harvest, in xxxiv. 22; Deut. xvi. 9 the 'feast of weeks'; in Lev. xxiii no name is given to it. The 'feast of weeks' in later times was called Pentecost; cf. on Lev. xxiii.

the firstfruits, &c.; i. e. at which the firstfruits are to be offered.

the feast of ingathering, i. e. the Vintage Feast, as in Judges xxi. 19 ff. In Lev. xxiii. 34; Deut. xvi. 13, the Feast of Tabernacles or Booths.

at the end of the year. See on xii. 2.

17. the Lord GOD; i. e. 'the Lord Yahweh.' GOD is put instead of the usual LORD, to avoid repetition; cf. on Gen. xv. 2. The Septuagint and Syriac have 'the Lord thy God.'

18. This, like the corresponding verse xxxiv. 25, may refer to the Passover. In Lev. ii. 11 the offering of leaven is entirely forbidden; it appears, however, from Lev. vii. 13, xxiii. 17; Amos iv. 5 that in ancient Israel leaven was sometimes used in sacrifices; cf. on xii. 15. According to Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*, p. 221, a similar rule, that fat or flesh must not be left till the morning, is found in connexion with certain Saracen sacrifices; the idea being that the efficacy of the sacrifice lay

all night until the morning. The first of the firstfruits of 19
thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of the LORD
thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's
milk.

Behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee by 20

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in the living flesh and blood of the victim, and that everything must be done to avoid putrefaction. It seems natural, too, that putrefaction should be avoided as a form of ceremonial uncleanness.

19. The first of the firstfruits, rather, 'the choicest'; cf. xxii. 29.

Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. Robertson Smith, in the passage referred to above, suggests that some form of sacrifice is in the writer's mind, and that the milk would be sour and partake of the nature of leaven, so that the sacrifice would be unacceptable. But he considers that the prohibition is more probably directed against some form of heathen superstition. Some peoples reckoned milk as equivalent to blood.

xxiii. 20-33. CONCLUDING EXHORTATION.

20 (E). Yahweh will send His[1] angel before Israel to give them possession of the land of Canaan.

21-23 (E R). If Israel is obedient the angel will drive out the present inhabitants.

24-27 (R). Israel must not worship the gods of Canaan, but only Yahweh; then shall it be blessed, and its enemies be discomfited.

28 (E). Yahweh will send hornets to drive out the inhabitants of Canaan.

29-30 (E). He will only drive them out gradually, as Israel is able to take their place, lest the wild beasts increase.

31-33 (E D). Israel is to occupy the land from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the wilderness south of Palestine to the Euphrates. Israel must not worship the gods of Canaan, lest they be a snare; nor must Israel make any covenant with the Canaanites, nor suffer them to live in their midst.

20. an angel. Read with Septuagint, Vulgate, and the Samaritan text, and verse 23, 'My angel,' i. e. the *Malakh Yahweh* or Divine Manifestation. Yahweh Himself remains at His Dwelling Place on Sinai; cf. iii. 2, xxxiii. 2.

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[1] See note on verse 20.

the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have
21 prepared. Take ye heed of him, and hearken unto his
voice; [a] provoke him not: for he will not pardon your
22 transgression; for my name is in him. 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
23 adversary unto thine adversaries. [R] 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
25 them, and break in pieces their [b] pillars. And ye shall
serve the LORD your God, and he shall bless thy bread,
and thy water; and I will take sickness away from the
26 midst of thee. 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
28 enemies turn their backs unto thee. [E] And I will send

[a] Or, *be not rebellious against him*
[b] Or, *obelisks* See Lev. xxvi. 1, 2 Kings iii. 2.

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the place, Canaan.

21. my name is in him. All the effective Divine powers are there, as if Yahweh Himself were present; cf. on iii. 13 ff.

22. I speak. Yahweh identifies Himself with the angel.

23. Cf. iii. 17.

24. pillars. The 'pillar' or *maççebhâ* was an upright stone or monolith, regarded as a sacred object, forming or attached to a sanctuary. These 'pillars' were regarded as legitimate in ancient Israel, and were erected, according to the older documents, by Jacob at Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 18-22 (which see), and Moses at Sinai, xxiv. 4. They became associated with objectionable superstitions, and were condemned by the Deuteronomic writers, Deut. vii. 5.

26. cast her young may be used here of miscarriage either in women or animals.

the hornet before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite, from before thee. I will 29
not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out 30
from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land. And I will set thy border from the Red Sea even 31
unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness unto [a] the River: [D] for I will deliver the inhabitants of

[a] That is, the Euphrates.

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28. the hornet, collective for 'hornets.' This feature of the Conquest is mentioned elsewhere. In Deut. vii. 20 the hornet is sent to dispose of the scattered fugitives who had hidden themselves in ravines and caves, where it would be difficult to find them; cf. Isa. vii. 18 f. According to Joshua xxiv. 12 the hornet drove out Sihon and Og; and in Wisdom xii. 8 the hornets were sent as forerunners of the Israelite armies. Secular traditions are quoted of tribes being driven out of their homes by wasps, frogs, mice, and other vermin; and districts of South Africa are said to be rendered uninhabitable by the Tsetse fly. The 'hornet' here is not figurative, but a fragmentary reminiscence of an otherwise lost tradition.

the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite. This list of three nations is unique; cf. verse 23.

29. lest the land become desolate. In Judges ii. 3 a portion of the old inhabitants are left to be a thorn in the side of Israel, and that their gods may be a snare; in Judges ii. 21 f. they are left as a spiritual discipline to Israel; and in Judges iii. 1 that they may afford the Israelites an opportunity of military training. Evidently the failure of Yahweh to make a clean sweep of the Canaanites very much exercised the minds of the Jewish writers.

30. By little and little I will drive them out. Wisdom xii. 10 explains that this gradual process was intended to give the Canaanites an opportunity for repentance.

31. Red Sea. Cf. x. 19; here perhaps the Gulf of Akaba.

sea of the Philistines, the Mediterranean, so called here only; the limit given thus includes the Philistine territory in Israel. The frontier is usually said to reach to the *land* of the Philistines, which is thus excluded from the Israelite dominion, 1 Kings iv. 21. For the Philistines see xiii. 17.

the wilderness, to the south of Palestine.

the River, as marg., the Euphrates. The Israelite frontier is

the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive them out
32 before thee. Thou shalt make no covenant with them,
33 nor with their gods. 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.

24 [J] And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the LORD, thou, [R] and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, [J] and

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said to have extended to the Euphrates under David and Solomon, 2 Sam. x. 16, 19; 1 Kings iv. 21; cf. 1 Chron. v. 9.

xxiv. The Covenant.

1, 2 (J R). Yahweh bids Moses with certain companions to go up to worship; Moses alone is to approach the Divine Presence.

3-8 (E). Moses reports to the people the ordinances of Yahweh, and writes them in a book. The people enter into a covenant to observe them.

9-11 (J R). Moses and his companions go up and see the God of Israel, and make a covenant with Him by a sacramental meal.

12-14 (E). Moses and Joshua go up into the mountain, leaving Aaron and Hur in charge of the people.

15-18*a* (P). Moses goes up into the mountain.

18*b* (E). Moses remains forty days in the mountain.

Sources, &c. Composite authorship is indicated by the repetitions as to Moses going up. Also verse 9 is clearly the continuation of verse 2; verses 3-8 interrupt the connexion. The origin of 1, 2, 9-11 is very doubtful; they are sometimes ascribed to an early document used by E, and often denoted by E^1. As to 'the words . . . the judgements,' see pp. 167 f.

1, 2. It is suggested that 'Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu' is a later addition. The ease with which such additions were made is shown by the fact that the Samaritan text further adds 'Elcazar and Ithamar,' the other two sons of Aaron. The words 'afar off' and the whole of verse 2 are also an addition; they are inconsistent with 9, 10, in which the seventy elders see God. Further, the 'worship *ye* afar off' as addressed to Moses is out of place, as Moses is to draw near. The Septuagint has accordingly altered these words to 'and let *them* worship afar off.'

Thus the original form of this part of the J narrative was:—

'And he said unto Moses, Come up unto Yahweh, thou and seventy of the elders of Israel, and worship.'

Come up. In xix. 25, J, Moses went down.

seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye [R] afar
off: and Moses alone shall come near unto the LORD; 2
but they shall not come near; neither shall the people go
up with him. [E] And Moses came and told the people 3
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. And 4
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. And he sent young men of the children of 5
Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace
offerings of oxen unto the LORD. And Moses took half 6
of the blood, and put it in basons; and half of the blood
he sprinkled on the altar. And he took the book of the 7
covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and
they said, All that the LORD hath spoken will we do, and
be obedient. And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled 8
it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the

Nadab and Abihu. See on vi. 23, only in P or, as here, in late additions based on P.

the elders of Israel are prominent elsewhere in J, e. g. iii. 16.

3. the words . . . the judgements, the contents of the Book of the Covenant. As the rest of the section only refers to 'the words,' the phrase 'and all the judgements' may have been added when 'the judgements' were transferred to this stage of the narrative. See pp. 167 f.

4. pillars. See on xxiii. 24.

5. young men. E knows nothing of Aaron and his family as official priests.

burnt offerings . . . peace offerings. See on x. 25, xx. 24.

6-8. The sprinkling of the blood on the altar and the people symbolized the establishment of a blood-bond between them and Yahweh, upon condition of the observance of 'the words of Yahweh.'

8. the blood, the half reserved in the basins, verse 6.

covenant, which the LORD hath made with you [a] con-
9 cerning all these words. [J] Then went up Moses,
[R] and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, [J] and seventy of the
10 elders of Israel: and they saw the God of Israel; and
there was under his feet as it were [b] a paved work of
sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for clear-
11 ness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he
laid not his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and
drink.
12 [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Come up to me
into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the
tables of stone, and the law and the commandment, which
13 I have written, that thou mayest teach them. And Moses
rose up, and Joshua his minister: and Moses went up
14 into the mount of God. 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
15 cause, let him come near unto them. And Moses went
up into the mount, and the cloud covered the mount.
16 [P] And the glory of the LORD abode upon mount Sinai,

[a] Or, *upon all these conditions* [b] Or, *work of bright sapphire*

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9. Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, an addition; see on verse 1.

10. Cf. Ezek. i. 26.

11. he laid not his hand. Under ordinary circumstances the sight of God would have been fatal; cf. Gen. xvi. 13.

did eat and drink, a sacrificial meal, of a sacramental character, implying a covenant.

12. the tables of stone. E does not mention their number; according to P, xxxi. 18, there were *two*.

and the law and the commandment, the contents of the tables—unless this clause is an addition; cf. on verse 18.

13. Joshua. See xvii. 9.

14. Aaron and Hur. See xvii. 10.

15. This verse continues, 'had pitched in the wilderness,' P, in xix. 2; though there may also be fragments of P in the intervening sections.

16. the glory of the LORD. See on xvi. 7.

and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day
he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And 17
the appearance of the glory of the LORD was like de-
vouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the
children of Israel. And Moses entered into the midst 18
of the cloud, and went up into the mount: [E] and Moses
was in the mount forty days and forty nights

[P] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak 25
unto the children of Israel, that they take for me an
[a] offering: of every man whose heart maketh him willing
ye shall take my [a] offering. And this is the [a] offering 3
which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass;

[a] Or, *heave offering*

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xxv-xxxi. DIRECTIONS AS TO THE TABERNACLE: ITS FURNITURE, RITUAL, AND PRIESTHOOD.

These chapters are a section of the main body of the Priestly Code with various additions. They may be partly based on older documents. Cf. Introduction, pp. 6 f. and Appendix II on the Tabernacle and its Furniture. The carrying out of these directions is given as far as possible in the same words in xxxiv. 29—xxxix, and Lev. viii.

xxv. 1-9. THE COLLECTION.

1-7. Yahweh bids Moses collect from the Israelites freewill offerings.

8, 9. From these Moses is to construct a sanctuary according to the pattern which Yahweh will show him.

2. offering, marg. **heave offering.** The Hebrew word *terûmâ* is from a root *rum*, denoting 'rise' or 'raise.' It used to be explained as an offering raised as a symbol of presentation to God, but it is more probably an offering lifted off or separated from something else; it is used of a portion of a sacrifice given to the priest, Lev. vii. 14; of firstfruits, &c., Num. xv. 19-21; of the portion of the land of Israel dedicated to God, Ezek. xlv. 1-7, &c. The word is chiefly used in the Priestly Code and in *Ezekiel*, occasionally in *Deuteronomy*, but not earlier. It occurs in the present text of 2 Sam. i. 21, 'fields of offerings,' but probably only through corruption of the text.

3. brass, rather, 'copper' or 'bronze.'

4 and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and [a] fine linen, and
5 goats' *hair*; and rams' skins dyed red, and [b] sealskins, and
6 acacia wood; oil for the light, spices for the anointing
7 oil, and for the sweet incense; [c] onyx stones, and stones
8 to be set, for the ephod, and for the breastplate. And
let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among
9 them. According to all that I shew thee, the pattern of
the [d] tabernacle, and the pattern of all the furniture thereof,
even so shall ye make it.
10 And they shall make an ark of acacia wood: two cubits

[a] Or, *cotton*
[b] Or, *porpoise-skins*
[c] Or, *beryl*
[d] Heb. *dwelling.*

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4. blue, perhaps rather 'violet.'

purple, a reddish purple. As the list goes on to cotton-stuff or linen, and goats' hair, it appears that here 'blue, purple, and scarlet' stand for stuffs dyed with these colours.

5. sealskins, marg. **porpoise-skins.** The meaning of the word *taḥash* thus translated is quite uncertain. The A. V. has 'badgers' skins'; the skin of the dugong or sea-cow has also been suggested. The badger is found in Palestine; seals and dugongs are in the Red Sea; porpoises in the Mediterranean, and may have been taken in the Red Sea. A similar word in Egyptian means 'leather,' and possibly our *taḥash* is borrowed from the Egyptian and has that meaning. The word is only found in the Priestly Code.

According to a Jewish tradition in the Talmud, the *taḥash* was a kind of unicorn which specially appeared to Moses for this purpose and then disappeared (*Ency. Bibl.*).

acacia wood, A. V. 'shittim-wood'; only in the Priestly Code, and Deut. x. 3, Isa. xli. 19, a light, strong wood.

7. onyx, *shōham*, a precious stone not certainly identified; cf. Gen. ii. 12.

ephod: see xxviii. 4 ff.

breastplate: see xxviii. 15 ff.

8. that I may dwell among them. Yahweh needs a house for this purpose.

xxv. 10-22. The Ark.

10-15. Moses is to make a sacred chest,
16. and put in it the two tables of the law.

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. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within 11
and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a [a] crown of gold round about. And thou shalt cast 12
four rings of gold for it, and put them in the four feet thereof; and two rings shall be on the one [b] side of it, and two rings on the other [b] side of it. And thou shalt 13
make staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold. And thou shalt put the staves into the rings on the sides 14

[a] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding* [b] Heb. *rib.*

17-21. He is also to make a covering for the chest, with two cherubim.

22. This shall be the place where Yahweh will meet with Israel.

10. they shall make, the context shows that the Samaritan text and the Septuagint are right in reading 'thou shalt make.'

ark, or chest, *'ārôn,* also used for a money-box, 2 Kings xii. 10, and for Joseph's coffin, Gen. l. 26, but usually for this sacred chest. For 'ark' in Noah's Ark and the ark in the bulrushes the word is *tēbhâ.* All the references to the Ark show that it was regarded as specially sacred, in older times the representative, as it were, of Yahweh. Thus it is carried into battle as a talisman. Apart from the doubtful 2 Chron. xxxv. 3, the Ark disappears from history when it is placed in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings viii. 21. It was lost or fell to pieces some time before the Exile, and a prophetic oracle, Jer. iii. 16, forbade the construction of a substitute. Ps. cxxxii. 8 seems to express the hope that God would in some way replace it. For the possible connexion between the Ark, *'ārôn,* and Aaron, *'Ahărōn,* see on iv. 14.

The Egyptian monuments constantly depict sacred boats bearing a shrine which contained the figure of the god. These were carried in processions. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt,* p. 276, reproduces one of these pictures, which shows two winged figures within the shrine. The Babylonian gods were also carried about in coffers.

cubit, about eighteen inches.

11. crown, marg. **rim** or **moulding**; apparently some kind of decoration running round the top of the Ark. The word, *zēr,* only occurs in the Priestly sections of *Exodus* in reference to the Ark and the Altar of Incense.

15 of the ark, to bear the ark withal. 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
17 shall give thee. And thou shalt make a [a] mercy-seat of
pure gold: two cubits and a half *shall be* the length
18 thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. And
thou shalt make two cherubim of gold; of [b] beaten work
shalt thou make them, at the two ends of the mercy-seat.
19 And make one cherub at the one end, and one cherub
at the other end: [c] of one piece with the mercy-seat shall

[a] Or, *covering* [b] Or, *turned* [c] Heb. *out of the mercy-seat.*

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16. the testimony, the two tables of stone, as testifying to Israel the will of God; cf. xxxi. 18.

17. mercy-seat, Hebrew *kappōreth*, from the root *KPR*, which is constantly used of atoning for sin. Hence the rendering 'mercy-seat,' which is further supported by the fact that the culminating rite of the Day of Atonement was the sprinkling of the *kappōreth* with blood, Lev. xvi. 14 ff. Thus the Septuagint usually, though not here, renders *hilastērion*, 'the propitiatory,' so Heb. ix. 5; similarly the Vulgate, *propitiatorium*. The 'seat' is not justified by the etymology of *kappōreth*, but is suggested by verse 22 and similar passages, e. g. 1 Sam. iv. 4, 'Yahweh Çebāōth that sitteth upon (or, 'dwelleth between') the Cherubim.'

The rendering of the marg. 'covering' is obtained from the supposed original sense of *KPR*, 'to cover,' and is supported by the position of the *kappōreth*, which the Septuagint here renders 'cover,' *epithema*. It is doubtful whether *KPR* is ever used in the sense of 'cover' in the O. T., and even whether this was its original meaning.

18. cherubim, i. e. Cherubs, the Hebrew plural form. The Cherubim were originally mythical beings, perhaps personifying the thunderclouds. Here they are symbolical or decorative figures, and may have been suggested by the colossal winged bulls with human faces found in Assyria. The meaning of the Cherubim here is doubtful, but they may symbolize the heavenly court of Yahweh, or, as we should say, the angels. See further on Gen. iii. 24, Ezek. i.

beaten (marg. **turned**) **work,** *miqshá*, only in the Priestly Code of the Cherubim, the lamp-stand, and the trumpets.

19. of one piece with the mercy-seat, lit., as marg., **out of the**

ye make the cherubim on the two ends thereof. And 20
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. And thou shalt put the mercy-seat 21
above upon the ark; and in the ark thou shalt put the
testimony that I shall give thee. And there I will meet 22
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.

And thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two 23
cubits *shall be* the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth
thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And 24
thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, and make thereto a
[a] crown of gold round about. And thou shalt make unto 25
it a border of an handbreadth round about, and thou

[a] See ver. 11.

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mercy-seat. The meaning probably is that the Cherubim were to be fixed to the two ends of the *kappōreth*.

20. on high, rather, 'above.' The wings of the Cherubim veil the Divine Presence.

XXV. 23–30. THE TABLE OF THE SHEWBREAD.

23–28. Moses is to make a table of acacia-wood, overlaid with gold.

29, 30. He is to make for it golden dishes, spoons, flagons, and bowls, and the shewbread is always to be displayed upon it; cf. Num. iv. 7.

23. a table, corresponding to the 'altar of cedar-wood overlaid with gold,' R. V. marg. in 1 Kings vi. 20, and the wooden altar-table in Ezek. xli. 22. The panel of the Arch of Titus, showing the spoils taken from the Temple, depicts a table whose dimensions correspond roughly to the specifications here. See illustration on p. 205. An altar-table figures in the Assyrian sculptures.

24. crown: see verse 11.

25. a border, *misgereth*, from a root *SGR*, to 'shut up, hold in,' used in this sense only here and in connexion with the bases of

shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round
26 about. And thou shalt make for it four rings of gold,
and put the rings in the four corners that are on the four
27 feet thereof. Close by the border shall the rings be, for
28 places for the staves to bear the table. And thou shalt make
the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them with gold, that
29 the table may be borne with them. And thou shalt
make the dishes thereof, and the spoons thereof, and the
flagons thereof, and the bowls thereof, to pour out withal:
30 of pure gold shalt thou make them. And thou shalt set
upon the table [a] shewbread before me alway.
31 And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold: of

[a] Or, *Presence-bread*

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the 'seas' in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings vii. 28, &c. According to the Arch of Titus, it would seem to be a band round the legs of the table, about half-way up.

27. Close by the border, i. e. at the outer angles of the legs or feet where the 'border' crossed them.

29. to pour out withal, for libations. The table on the Arch of Titus bears a cup and a bowl.

30. shewbread, lit. 'bread of the face,' i. e. as marg. 'Presence-bread,' i. e. bread displayed in the presence of God, before the Holy of Holies, where the Ark was. This bread is also called 'the perpetual bread' or 'the bread set in order,' i. e. 'the row or pile of bread,' and 'the holy bread.' Under the latter name it is mentioned in the story of David, 1 Sam. xxi. 5. Doubtless in early times bread was thus presented as actual food for the deity; but here its meaning is akin to that of the firstfruits—it recognizes alike that the produce of the earth is God's gift to man, and that it should be used by man in God's service.

'The custom of placing loaves of sweet or unleavened bread on tables in the temples seems to have originated among the Babylonians, by whom it was also called, *Bread of the Presence.*'—A. R. S. Kennedy, *Cent. Bible* on 1 Sam. xxi. 4.

XXV. 31–40. THE GOLDEN LAMPSTAND.

31–36. Moses is to make a seven-branched golden lampstand,
37, 38. with golden lamps, tongs, and snuffdishes.
39. The whole set to weigh a talent,
40. and to be made according to the pattern showed to Moses in the mount.

PROCESSION OF ROMAN SOLDIERS carrying the seven-branched candlestick, the table of shewbread, and the silver trumpets taken at the capture of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus, A.D. 70. (From a marble relief on the Arch of Titus at Rome.)
From the *Oxford Helps to the Study of the Bible* (by permission).

[a] beaten work shall the candlestick be made, even its [b] base, and its shaft; its cups, its knops, and its flowers,
32 shall be [c] of one piece with it: 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
34 for the six branches going out of the candlestick: and in the candlestick four cups made like almond-blossoms,
35 the knops thereof, and the flowers thereof: and a knop under two branches [c] of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches [c] of one piece with it, and a knop under two branches [c] of one piece with it, for the six

[a] Or, *turned* [b] Heb. *thigh.* [c] Heb. *out of the same.*

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31. candlestick, rather, 'lampstand.' The Arch of Titus (see verse 23) shows a seven-branched lampstand. In Solomon's Temple there were *ten* lampstands, 1 Kings vii. 49, and in Rev. i. 12 *seven* lampstands.

beaten work. See on verse 18.

cups, &c. See below.

of one piece with it. Marg. Heb. **out of the same.** The meaning probably is that they were all fixed together; there were no parts which could be detached; cf. verse 19.

33. cups, cup-shaped ornaments placed at intervals on the branches and the central shaft. Either the 'cup' consisted of 'a knop and a flower,' or these latter are separate ornaments, connected with the cups.

knop, another form of 'knob'; according to the Septuagint and the Vulgate the 'knops' were spherical; i. e. according to the picture on the Arch of Titus the stems were enlarged into small spheres.

35. a knop under two branches, i.e. three out of the four knops on the main stem were at the points where two branches struck off.

of one piece. See on verse 31.

it, the lampstand.

branches going out of the candlestick. Their knops and 36
their branches shall be [a] of one piece with it: the whole
of it one [b] beaten work of pure gold. And thou shalt 37
make the lamps thereof, seven: and they shall [c] light the
lamps thereof, to give light over against it. And the 38
tongs thereof, and the snuffdishes thereof, shall be of pure
gold. Of a talent of pure gold shall it be made, with all 39
these vessels. And see that thou make them after their 40
pattern, which hath been shewed thee in the mount.

Moreover thou shalt make the [d] tabernacle with ten 26

[a] Heb. *out of the same.* [b] Or, *turned* [c] Or, *set up*
[d] See ch. xxv. 9.

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37. to give light over against it, i. e. to light the Holy Place, which was in a sense opposite the lampstand, if the latter stood on one side of the chamber, xxvi. 35.

38. tongs, rather, 'snuffers' for the lamp-wicks.

snuffdishes, lit. 'fire-pans,' here perhaps receptacles for pieces of wick removed by the snuffers; cf. xxvii. 3.

39. a talent of gold, perhaps about 108 lb. avoirdupois, containing about the same amount of metal as in 6,150 sovereigns; but the gold would purchase much more corn or labour than £6,150 would purchase now.

xxvi. The Dwelling.

1–14. Moses is to construct a 'dwelling,' consisting of ten curtains of tapestry, covered by a tent made of eleven curtains of goats' hair; and the tent is to be protected by coverings of rams' skins and seals' [1] skins.

15–28. This tent is to be supported by a wooden framework,

29. overlaid with gold.

30. The whole is to be made in accordance with what Moses has been shown in the mount.

31–34. A veil is to be made, similar to the curtains, to divide the Dwelling into an outer chamber, the Holy Place, and an inner chamber, the Holy of Holies. The Ark and the *Kappōreth* [2] are to be put in the Holy of Holies.

35. The Table for the Shewbread, and the Lampstand are to be put in the Holy Place.

36 f. A screen is to be made for the door of the Tent, similar to

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[1] Skins of the *taḥash*; see on xxv. 5. [2] See xxv. 17.

curtains; of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the cunning workman
2 shalt thou make them. 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
3 measure. Five curtains shall be coupled together one to another; and *the other* five curtains shall be coupled one
4 to another. And thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain [a] from the selvedge in the coupling; and likewise shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that is outmost in the second [b] coupling.
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 [b] coupling; the loops shall be opposite one
6 to another. And thou shalt make fifty clasps of gold,

[a] Or, *that is outmost in the* first *set* [b] Or, *set*

---

the curtains and the veil, and is to be supported by five wooden pillars overlaid with gold.

1. Cf. xxv. 4.

fine twined linen, sometimes explained as linen woven with blue, purple, and scarlet threads, so as to produce the figures of cherubim and perhaps other patterns.

cunning workman, 'artist,' as distinguished from an ordinary weaver.

2-4. The ten curtains are to be arranged in two sets of five. Each five are to be fastened together permanently lengthwise so as to make a great sheet 28 cubits by 20; these two sheets were to be connected by loops at the top so as to form a roof for the Dwelling and to hang down the sides and back; they were looped together along the twenty-eight cubit sides so that together they would measure forty cubits in the other direction. The loops would fasten and unfasten when the Dwelling was put together and taken to pieces.

4 f. The general sense is clear. There were to be fifty 'loops' along the edge of the end section of one large sheet; and fifty 'loops' at corresponding points along the edge of the end section of the other large sheet. The exact translation is doubtful, as is shown by the variation between text and marg. of R. V.

6. clasps. As there is only one clasp to each pair of loops, the

and couple the curtains one to another with the clasps: and the tabernacle shall be one. And thou shalt make 7
curtains of goats' *hair* for a tent over the tabernacle: eleven curtains shalt thou make them. The length of 8
each curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: the eleven curtains shall have one measure. And thou shalt couple five curtains by 9
themselves, and six curtains by themselves, and shalt double over the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tent. And thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of the one 10
curtain that is outmost in the [a] coupling, and fifty loops upon the edge of the curtain which is *outmost in* the

[a] Or, first *set*

clasp seems to have had a hook at each end, one for each loop, thus ⊂⊃. This seems to leave a long, narrow opening at the top, though it would be possible to devise a shape of clasp and a position of the loops which would bring the edges close together.

the tabernacle, rather, 'Dwelling,' as before. Evidently, to this writer, the huge tent-cloth produced by joining the two sheets is the essential portion of the Dwelling; it is a tent.

7–13. The construction and arrangement, and the words of the description, of the goats'-hair Tent on the one hand, and the Dwelling of tapestry curtains on the other, are largely the same. The chief differences are that the clasps of the Tent are brass; that the dimensions of the Tent are necessarily somewhat larger; and that there is an extra section which is used as a flap to partly cover the front of the Dwelling.

9. shalt double over . . . in the forefront of the tent. This is generally explained to mean that half of the extra section was doubled back over the front end of the top of the Dwelling so as to form a kind of ridge; still leaving a half-breadth extra to hang over at the back according to verse 12. Kennedy[1], however, suggests that the whole of the extra curtain was to hang doubled over the upper part of the screen at the front; thus connecting the top of the screen with the portion of the Dwelling serving as roof, and securing an end obviously aimed at, namely, that of excluding all natural light. In view of the use of the root *KPL*, 'double' in Aramaic, we might perhaps understand this clause to mean 'thou shalt fold . . . over the front,' i. e. allow the whole of the extra

[1] See p. 37.

11 second [a] coupling. And thou shalt make fifty clasps of
brass, and put the clasps into the loops, and couple the
12 tent together, that it may be one. And the overhanging
part that remaineth of the curtains of the tent, the half
curtain that remaineth, shall hang over the back of the
13 tabernacle. 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
14 cover it. And thou shalt make a covering for the tent
of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of [b] sealskins
above.
15 And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle of

[a] Or, *set* [b] Or, *porpoise-skins*

curtain to hang down over the front; cf. 12, 13. In view of the difficulty of combining the statements in these verses with the rest of the description, it has been suggested (Holzinger) that they are a later addition; an explanatory note added by some one who had been working out the previous figures, but had misunderstood them. Of the three views given in verse 9, the first, the traditional view, is consistent with the retention of verse 12, from which it is derived. The other two require the omission of verse 12.

12. This verse, if retained, implies some such view as the first of those given in verse 9.

13. The length of the curtains of the Dwelling, 28 cubits, was 2 cubits less than the length, 30 cubits, of the curtains of the Tent. The annotator tries to account for the two extra cubits. He may mean that the Tent was arranged so that the lower ends on each side projected a cubit below the lower ends of the curtains of the Dwelling; but it is possible that he thought of the latter as laid flat, and the odd cubits of Tent hanging down over their edges.

15. boards. The word for 'board,' *geresh*, is only used of the boards of the Dwelling, and in Ezek. xxvii. 6 in the sentence 'they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood,' where the original of 'thy benches,' marg. 'thy deck,' is 'thy *geresh*.' These 'boards' are 10 cubits long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad, i. e. nearly 15 ft. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft.[1]; the thickness is not given, some commentators

[1] Taking the cubit to be the shorter cubit.

acacia wood, standing up. Ten cubits shall be the length 16
of a board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each
board. Two tenons shall there be in each board, [a] joined 17
one to another: thus shalt thou make for all the boards
of the tabernacle. And thou shalt make the boards for 18
the tabernacle, twenty boards for the south side south-

[a] Or, *mortiсed*

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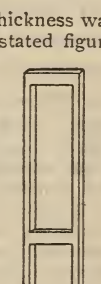
have deduced from the other dimensions that the thickness was a cubit, cf. on verses 22 ff.; but the absence of any stated figure suggests that this dimension was some ordinary one, on a much smaller scale. Still, the thickness must have been substantial, seeing that these upright boards had to carry four heavy tent-cloths, and that the distances between the pillars were ten and twenty cubits. It is doubtful whether such boards could be cut from the 'acacia' or any tree which can be meant by the shittim-tree. Some have suggested that each 'board' was made of two or three narrower planks fastened together. Kennedy maintains that the *geresh* was a frame, in Ezek. xxvii. 6 a panel. These frames would be much lighter to handle and carry; they would naturally be made of a number of comparatively small planks, and they would allow the tapestry curtains to be seen through them, if the latter were hanging in their natural place *over* the wooden framework. Cf. also on the verse 17 and Appendix II.



FRAME AND ITS BASES.

16. Ten cubits. This gives the inside height of the Dwelling.

17. tenons, lit. 'hands' or 'handles,' i. e. pegs to fit into the sockets of verse 19.

joined one to another. If we take Kennedy's view that the *geresh* was a frame like an elongated H, with crosspieces at the top and bottom, as well as the middle, the two pegs would continue the two sides of the frame, and be joined together by the lowest crosspiece.

18. twenty boards. This gives the length of the Dwelling, i. e. $20 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 30$ cubits.

for the south side southward. The Hebrew is two synonyms each of which means 'southward,' as if we should say 'eastern Oriental.' One of them is an addition to explain the

19 ward. 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
20 two tenons: and for the second side of the tabernacle,
21 on the north side, twenty boards: and their forty sockets
of silver; two sockets under one board, and two sockets
22 under another board. And for the hinder part of the
23 tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards. And
two boards shalt thou make for the corners of the
24 tabernacle in the hinder part. And they shall be double
beneath, and in like manner they shall be entire unto the

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other. These terms imply that the Dwelling was to face due East; cf. verses 20, 22.

22. six boards, nine cubits ... **25. eight boards,** twelve cubits. It is generally held that the breadth of the Dwelling was equal to the height, ten cubits (verse 16), and so a third of the length, which was thirty cubits (verse 18), so that the Holy of Holies was an exact cube, ten cubits each way (verse 33). If so the two corner 'boards' must have been, to the extent of a cubit each, against the ends of the 'boards' of the long sides, which must therefore have been a cubit thick, cf. on verse 15; unless we can find some interpretation of verse 24 (which see) which will otherwise dispose of the superfluous cubits.

These calculations follow the usual view that the 30, 10, and 10 are inside measurements. Kennedy maintains that they are outside measurements; he understands the corner frames to be used as outside buttresses, and the thickness of the other frames with the bars to be half a cubit, nine inches. Cf. *d d d c*, in illustration, p. 285. The present writer is inclined to reject views which make the thickness a cubit or half a cubit; cf. verse 15.

24. This verse is very difficult. There is no approach to agreement as to how it should be interpreted or emended. We have mentioned Kennedy's explanation that the corner 'boards' or frames were a kind of buttress. It would be useless to quote any full explanation of the verse, because any such would need to be further explained at greater length than is possible here, unless the reader finds commentaries much more lucid than the present writer does.

Practically we may assume that it is intended that extra support should be provided at the two corners, to correspond to the pillars supporting the Veil and the Screen.

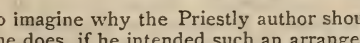
top thereof unto [a] one ring: thus shall it be for them
both; they shall be for the two corners. And there shall 25
be eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen
sockets; two sockets under one board, and two sockets
under another board. And thou shalt make bars of 26
acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of the
tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the other side 27
of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the side
of the tabernacle, for the hinder part westward. And 28
the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall pass
through from end to end. And thou shalt overlay the 29
boards with gold, and make their rings of gold for places
for the bars: and thou shalt overlay the bars with gold.
And thou shalt rear up the tabernacle according to the 30
fashion thereof which hath been shewed thee in the
mount.

And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and 31

[a] Or, *the first*

ring. See verse 29.

26-29. Five horizontal bars are to be fastened to the 'boards' to strengthen the wooden framework. No dimensions are given, except that the middle bar is to run from end to end. These bars pass through golden rings on the boards. Verse 28 applies to the two sides and the back; and if we adopt approximate figures to avoid the question of outside and inside measurements, there would be two bars thirty cubits long and one bar ten cubits long. Nothing is said about the length or position of the other bars. A favourite theory is that each of them was half the length of the middle bar; that two were placed along the top, forming a continuous row, and two along the bottom similarly, thus giving three rows, e. g.



It is difficult to imagine why the Priestly author should have used the language he does, if he intended such an arrangement.

30. This pattern would supply the omissions and explain the obscurities of the oral specifications.

31. Cf. xxv. 4.

veil, or 'curtain.' The Hebrew word, *pārôketh*, is only used of

scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work
32 of the cunning workman shall it be made: 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
34 the holy place and the most holy. And thou shalt put
the mercy-seat upon the ark of the testimony in the most
35 holy place. 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
36 table on the north side. And thou shalt make a screen
for the door of the Tent, of blue, and purple, and scarlet,
37 and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer. And

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this curtain and the corresponding one in the Temple. It means 'that which shuts off,' and is connected with an Assyrian word *parrakku*, 'inner shrine.' No dimensions are given of the *pārôketh* and its pillars; but the other specifications indicate that the *pārôketh* was 10 × 10 cubits[1]; and the pillars 10 cubits high. The two outer pillars would touch the walls, and the other two would be equidistant from them and from each other, thus dividing the breadth into three equal parts.

33. This verse gives us the dimensions of the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies. Between the clasps and the front of the Dwelling were five curtains, each 4 cubits broad, so that this portion of the wooden structure, the Holy Place, was 20 cubits long, and the inner portion, the Holy of Holies, 10 cubits long, thus making the latter an exact cube, 10 × 10 × 10 cubits; cf. on verse 22.

the ark of the testimony; see on xxv. 10, 21.

most holy, the correct translation, lit. as in A. V. 'Holy of Holies'; for 'holy' see on iii. 5.

34. mercy-seat. See on xxv. 17.

35. table . . . candlestick. See on xxv. 23, 31.

36, 37. *The Screen.* Here again no dimensions, but the screen also must have been 10 × 10 cubits[2], and its pillars 10 cubits high.

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[1] Questions of inside and outside measurement and similar matters being ignored.

[2] Ignoring questions of inside measurement, &c.

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.

27 And thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five cubits long, and five cubits broad; the altar shall be foursquare: and the height thereof shall be three cubits.

2 And thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners

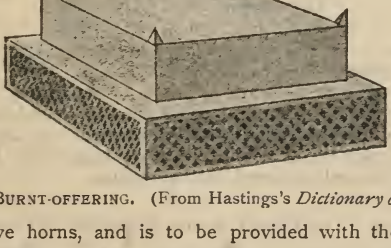
The two outer pillars would continue the two walls, and the other three would be equidistant from them and from each other, thus dividing the breadth into four equal parts, thus :—

| * * * * |

Note that there are no cherubim on the screen, and its sockets are only brass; although its pillars and hooks are overlaid with gold.

xxvii. 1–8. The Altar for Sacrifice; cf. xxxviii. 1–7.

1–3. Moses is to make an altar of acacia-wood overlaid with brass; this altar is to be five cubits square and three cubits high;



Altar of Burnt-offering. (From Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible.*)

it is to have horns, and is to be provided with the necessary utensils of brass.

4–7. The altar is to have a brazen grating, and is to be provided with staves by which it may be carried.

8. It is to be made according to the pattern shown to Moses in the Mount.

1. The size of the altar and the list of its utensils show that it was for sacrifices. It is questioned whether a wooden structure overlaid with bronze would long endure the heat of the sacrificial fires which would be constantly kindled on it.

2. horns, pointed projections.

thereof: the horns thereof shall be of one piece with it:
3 and thou shalt overlay it with brass. And thou shalt
make its pots to take away its ashes, and its shovels, and
its basons, and its fleshhooks, and its firepans: all the
4 vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass. 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 [a] corners
5 thereof. And thou shalt put it under the ledge round
the altar beneath, that the net may reach halfway up the
6 altar. And thou shalt make staves for the altar, staves
7 of acacia wood, and overlay them with brass. And the
staves thereof shall be put into the rings, and the staves
shall be upon the two [b] sides of the altar, in bearing it.
8 Hollow with planks shalt thou make it: as it hath been
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

[a] Heb. *ends.* [b] Heb. *ribs.*

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of one piece. See on xxv. 31.

4 f. a grating of network of brass ... under the ledge. The ledge was probably a band of metal running round the middle of the altar; in this band the rings were fixed for the carrying staves. Above the ledge the altar was entirely overlaid with bronze; the lower half was only covered with a grating.

xxvii. 9–19. THE COURT OF THE DWELLING; cf. xxxviii. 9–20.

9–18. The Court of the Dwelling is to be 100 cubits by 50. It is to be enclosed by linen curtains 5 cubits high, supported on brass pillars in brazen sockets, with silver hooks and fillets; twenty pillars for each of the longer sides and ten pillars for the back.

The Court, like the Dwelling itself, faces East, the gate being in the eastern side. The gate is closed by a screen, twenty cubits broad, supported on four pillars. On each side of the gate are curtains for fifteen cubits supported on three pillars.

All the tools, &c., used in handling the Dwelling are to be brass.

court of fine twined linen an hundred cubits long for one
side: and the pillars thereof shall be twenty, and their 10
sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and
their fillets *shall be* of silver. And likewise for the north 11
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. And for the breadth of the court on the west 12
side shall be hangings of fifty cubits: their pillars ten,
and their sockets ten. And the breadth of the court on 13
the east side eastward shall be fifty cubits. The hangings 14
for the one side *of the gate* shall be fifteen cubits: their
pillars three, and their sockets three. And for the other 15
side shall be hangings of fifteen cubits: their pillars
three, and their sockets three. And for the gate of the 16
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.
All the pillars of the court round about shall be filleted 17
with silver; their hooks of silver, and their sockets of brass.

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9. fine twined linen. See on xxvi. 31.

10. pillars, about five cubits high, verse 18.

11. fillets, lit. 'clasps' or 'binders,' only used in the account of the Dwelling, often explained as rods connecting the pillars and supporting the curtains; but probably bands in which were fixed the hooks on which the curtains were hung.

12. The author does not seem to take into account the fact that some of the pillars would be corner pillars; and does not make it clear whether these corner pillars were to count twice over, or what arrangement was intended.

14. A similar difficulty arises here. The intention of the description is that the pillars should be five cubits apart. This would either give *five* pillars to the 'gate' if the two end pillars are reckoned to the gate, or *three* pillars if they are reckoned to the side curtains.

16. The material of this screen is similar to that at the door of the Tent.

18 The length of the court shall be an hundred cubits,
and the breadth fifty every where, and the height five
cubits, of fine twined linen, and their sockets 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 [S] And thou shalt command the children of Israel,
that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the
21 light, [a] to cause a lamp to burn continually. In the [b] tent
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 [c] statute for ever through-
out their generations [d] on the behalf of the children of
Israel.

[a] Or, *to set up a lamp continually*
[b] See ch. xxv. 22, xxix. 42, xxx. 36. [c] Or, *due* [d] Or, *from*

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19. the instruments of the tabernacle, perhaps the tools used in setting it up and taking it down.

pins, tent-pegs to which were fastened the cords which held the pillars upright and kept the curtains in their places; no details as to these 'pins' are given.

xxvii. 20, 21. The Oil for the Lamp.

20, 21 (S). Oil is to be provided for the lamp in the Holy Place, that it may be always burning through the night.

Sources, &c. No account of the fulfilling of this command is given in chapters xxxv–xl. It is repeated in Lev. xxiv. 1–3, and has probably been introduced here from *Leviticus*. It is premature to deal with the oil here, as the priests who are to use it are not yet equipped or consecrated.

20. beaten, i. e. beaten out of the olives, which were pounded in a mortar.

20, 21. continually . . . from evening to morning. In view of the common practice of keeping a light or fire burning always, night *and* day, in a sanctuary, we should naturally understand 'continually' in this sense if it stood alone. On the other hand, 'from evening to morning' would naturally mean by night only. In 1 Sam. iii. 3 the lamp is put out when the priests go to bed.

21. tent of meeting. See xxv. 22.

testimony. See xxv. 16.

[P] And bring thou near unto thee Aaron thy brother, 28
and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel,
that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even
Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's
sons. And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy 2
brother, for glory and for beauty. And thou shalt speak 3
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. And these are the garments which they shall 4
make; a breastplate, and an ephod, and a robe, and a

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xxviii. The Priestly Vestments; cf. xxxix. 1–31.

1. Aaron and his sons are to be priests.

2–5. Aaron is to be arrayed in the following vestments and ornaments.

6–12. An embroidered linen *Ephod* with the names of the Twelve Sons of Israel, engraved on two precious stones.

13–30. With which is to be connected a *Breastplate* of similar material set with twelve precious stones, and containing the *Urim* and *Thummim*.

31–35. The Ephod is to be worn upon a blue robe, with a fringe of golden bells and pomegranates.

36–38. Also a *Turban* with a plate of gold, inscribed 'Holy to Yahweh.'

39–43. Other necessary articles of clothing.

1. Cf. vi. 23.

2. holy garments . . . for glory and for beauty, sacred vestments . . . to contribute to the splendour and dignity of the public worship of Yahweh.

3. wise hearted . . . filled with the spirit of wisdom, clever, . . . endowed with practical skill. The 'heart' in Hebrew is often, as here, the intellect. Inspired wisdom may be manifested in the practical skill of the handicraftsman.

to sanctify him, to consecrate him for the priestly office by clothing him with distinctive garments, &c., &c.; cf. xxix.

4. breastplate. See on verses 15–29.

ephod. See on verses 6–12.

robe. See on verses 31–35.

coat of chequer work, a [a] mitre, 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 [b] the 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
7 cunning workman. It shall have two shoulderpieces joined to the two ends thereof; that it may be joined
8 together. And the cunningly woven band, which is upon

[a] Or, *turban* [b] See ch. xxv. 3.

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a coat of chequer work, a mitre, and a girdle. See on verse 39.

5. Cf. xxv. 3, 4.

6. ephod, a word of uncertain origin, used in two distinct senses—(*a*) as an image or some part of the equipment of an image, (*b*) as a priestly vestment. Thus Gideon, Judges viii. 27, makes a golden ephod which is an object of worship, and Micah, Judges xvii. 5, &c., makes an ephod for his temple. On the other hand, Samuel, 1 Sam. ii. 18, wears a linen ephod. The connexion between the two uses is sometimes explained thus:—The ephods made by Gideon, Micah, &c., were clothing for the image, so that the priests in wearing an ephod were wearing the garment of the god. The description of the ephod here is obscure, and we cannot be sure as to the exact shape of the vestment. It consisted of two 'shoulder-pieces,' *kethēphôth*, and a 'cunningly woven band,' *ḥēshebh 'aphuddâ*, rather 'the girdle,' or 'band of the ephod.' The use of these words elsewhere does not throw any further light on the subject. The ephod seems to have been a kind of 'ornamental waistcoat' (Driver, *DB.*), or sash, supported by two shoulder-straps or braces. Another view is that the band of the ephod covered the breast rather than the waist. The 'robe' has also been regarded as part of the ephod. It is also possible that the writer assumes that the reader knows what an ephod is, and only specifies special features; cf. verses 7 and 8.

The ordinary priestly ephod in pre-exilic times was probably much simpler.

cunning workman. See on xxvi. 1.

7. the two ends thereof. 'Thereof' apparently means 'of the ephod.'

8. upon it, 'upon the ephod.'

it, to gird it on withal, shall be like the work thereof *and* of the same piece; of gold, of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. And thou shalt take two [9] [a] onyx stones, and grave on them the names of the children of Israel: six of their names on the one stone, and [10] the names of the six that remain on the other stone, according to their birth. With the work of an engraver [11] 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. And thou shalt put the two stones upon the [12] 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.

And thou shalt make ouches of gold: and two chains [13, 14]

[a] Or, *beryl*

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of the same piece: cf. on xxv. 35.

9. the children of Israel, rather, 'the sons of Israel,' i. e. the Twelve Tribes; cf. verse 21.

9–12. These verses may be a later addition; cf. 25, 30.

10. according to their birth, in order of seniority.

11. ouches, Elizabethan English for a clasp or similar ornament. The Hebrew word means a network, serving as a setting for the onyx stones.

12. memorial. The presence of Aaron bearing these stones engraved with the twelve names would recall the tribes to the memory of Yahweh; cf. verses 11, 29.

13–30. Much of the description of the *ḥôshen*, or 'breastplate,' is obscure, especially the account of how it was fastened to the Ephod. The confusion seems to arise partly from the incorporation into the text of notes, e. g. verses 26–28, which were intended to elucidate it. The Septuagint has a different text; it omits 25*a*, 26–28, and has another version of 24, thus eliminating the rings altogether. Probably these rings did not figure in the original description.

The actual *ḥôshen* was a bag about 9 in. square, containing the

of pure gold; like cords shalt thou make them, of
wreathen work: and thou shalt put the wreathen chains on
15 the ouches. And thou shalt make a breastplate of judge-
ment, the work of the cunning workman; like the work of
the ephod thou shalt make it; of gold, of blue, and
purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen, shalt thou make
16 it. Foursquare it shall be *and* double; a span shall be
17 the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof. And
thou shalt set in it settings of stones, four rows of stones:
a row of [a] sardius, topaz, and [b] carbuncle shall be the first
18 row; and the second row an [c] emerald, a sapphire, and a
19 [d] diamond; and the third row a [e] jacinth, an agate, and
20 an amethyst; and the fourth row a [f] beryl, and an [g] onyx,
and a jasper: they shall be inclosed in gold in their
21 settings. 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
22 name, they shall be for the twelve tribes. And thou
shalt make upon the breastplate chains like cords, of

[a] Or, *ruby* [b] Or, *emerald* [c] Or, *carbuncle*
[d] Or, *sardonyx* [e] Or, *amber* [f] Or, *chalcedony*
[g] Or, *beryl*

Urim and Thummim, and bearing in front twelve stones engraved with the names of the Twelve Tribes. Somewhat similar tablets, serving as amulets or oracles, are seen in monuments of Egyptian and Babylonian priests and kings.

13, 14. These chains and 'ouches' must be intended for the *hōshen*. In the original form of the description these two verses must have come further on; cf. verses 22 and 25.

15. breastplate of judgement. See on verse 16.

16. double, so as to form a bag.

span, a half-cubit, about nine inches.

17–20. Of these precious stones, the 'sardius,' 'carbuncle,' 'emerald,' 'diamond,' and 'beryl' occur in Ezek. xxviii. 13. Cf. the twelve precious stones in Rev. xxi. 19 f., also 14.

21. children of Israel . . . twelve tribes: cf. verse 9.

every one according to his name. On each stone the name of one tribe was to be engraved.

wreathen work of pure gold. And thou shalt make upon 23
the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two
rings on the two ends of the breastplate. And thou shalt 24
put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at
the ends of the breastplate. And the *other* two ends of 25
the two wreathen chains thou shalt put on the two ouches,
and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in
the forepart thereof. [S] And thou shalt make two rings 26
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. And thou shalt make two 27
rings of gold, and shalt put them on the two shoulder-
pieces of the ephod underneath, in the forepart thereof,
close by the coupling thereof, above the cunningly woven
band of the ephod. And they shall bind the breastplate 28
by the rings thereof unto the rings of the ephod with

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22. Cf. 14.

23-25. Probably verse 23 and the reference to the rings in verse 24 should be omitted. It seems impossible to combine the various references to rings with each other, and with the rest of the account of the *ḥôshen* and the Ephod. If we omit the rings, then we can understand that the two chains were fastened to the upper corners of the *ḥôshen* and to 'ouches' on the 'shoulder-pieces' of the Ephod.

25. ouches. These 'ouches' are probably different from those holding the engraved onyx stones in verse 9. The latter may not have figured in the original description; they appear to be superfluous, seeing that the names of the tribes were presented on the *ḥôshen*. Cf. also verse 27.

26. This verse repeats verse 23.

27, 28. Here, however, the rings are dealt with differently from verse 23 f. The annotator either misunderstood the former passage, or intended to supply a second couple of rings to fasten the bottom of the *ḥôshen* to the band of the Ephod.

27. underneath, in the forepart thereof, close by the coupling thereof, under the portion of the shoulder-piece hanging in front, close to the point at which the shoulder-piece joined the band.

a lace of blue, that it may be upon the cunningly woven
band of the ephod, and that the breastplate be not loosed
29 from the ephod. [P] And Aaron shall bear the names of
the children of Israel in the breastplate of judgement
upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place,
30 for a memorial before the LORD continually. And thou
shalt put in the breastplate of judgement [a] the 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.

[a] That is, *the Lights and the Perfections.*

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29. Cf. verses 12 and 30.

30. And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgement the Urim and the Thummim. The latter were the sacred lots used as an oracle. According to the original text preserved in the Septuagint, these were used by Saul, 1 Sam. xiv. 41, thus:—'O Yahweh, God of Israel, if the iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim; but if it be in the people, give Thummim.' In the Blessing of Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 8, the custody of the Thummim and the Urim was the special prerogative of Levi, the priestly tribe. According to Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, the Urim and Thummim were lost some time before the Return, and were not replaced. They were probably stones—perhaps precious stones.

As the words are now written in the Hebrew, they mean 'Lights and Perfections' (marg.); the Septuagint renders them here by singulars, 'the Manifestation and the Truth.' The original meaning is unknown; but Urim may be connected with *hôrâ* 'cast,' or 'give a decision,' the root of *tôrâ*, 'law'; and Thummim may be connected with an Arabic word meaning 'amulets.'

The breastplate is called the 'breastplate of judgement' because of the use of the sacred lots to give decisions.

It should be remembered that the Urim and Thummim had disappeared before this description was written, and that the author may have had no practical experience of any such decisions by lot. The phrases 'breastplate of judgement' and 'Urim and Thummim' were taken over from tradition; and the author may have attached meanings to them other than that which they bore in ancient times. But if he did so, he does not tell us what he understood by the words. The numerous theories on the subject

And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue. 31
And [a] it shall have a hole for the head in the midst 32
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. And upon the skirts of it thou shalt 33
make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet,
round about the skirts thereof; and bells of gold between
them round about: a golden bell and a pomegranate, 34
a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the skirts of the
robe round about. And it shall be upon Aaron to min- 35
ister: 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.

[a] Or, *there shall be a hole in the top of it*

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show how easy it is to give forced interpretation to survivals of primitive language.

31. robe, *me'il*, the ordinary long, sleeveless upper garment of the Israelite; e. g. in 1 Sam. xv. 27, xxviii. 14 Samuel wears a *me'il*, R. V. 'robe.'

of the ephod. This phrase might support the view that the author, taking for granted that his readers knew just what an ephod was, did not intend to describe it, but only to give an account of the special features which distinguished this particular vestment from an ordinary ephod. Or 'the robe of the ephod' may mean the robe to which the ephod was attached, or over which it was worn.

The words 'of the ephod' do not seem to have stood in the text used by the Greek translators.

33. bells, lit. 'strikers' or 'clappers,' perhaps round discs which struck against one another.

35. that he die not. The 'bells' also were probably a survival, having been intended to frighten the demons who were supposed to inhabit the threshold (Baentsch); but the Priestly writer may have regarded them as a respectful mode of announcing to Yahweh the approach and departure of the High Priest.

In the account of Aaron's vestments in Ecclus. xlv. 1-12, we read, 'And he [Moses] compassed him with golden pomegranates, with many bells round about, to send forth a sound as he went, to make a sound that might be heard in the Temple, for a memorial for the children of his people.'

36 And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave
upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLY TO THE
37 LORD. And thou shalt put it on a lace of blue, and it
shall be upon the [a] mitre; upon the forefront of the [a] mitre
38 it shall be. 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 ac-
39 cepted before the LORD. And thou shalt weave the coat in
chequer work of [b] fine linen, and thou shalt make a [a] mitre
of [b] fine linen, and thou shalt make a girdle, the work of
40 the embroiderer. And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make
coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and head-

[a] Or, *turban* [b] Or, *silk*

36. HOLY TO THE LORD, lit. 'Holiness to Yahweh,' i. e. 'Consecrated to Yahweh.'

37. a lace of blue, to fasten behind and keep the plate in its place. If the plate was on the mitre or turban, it would seem simpler to fix the plate permanently on the turban. Perhaps the clauses about the turban in this verse should be left out.

mitre, rather, as R. V. marg., 'turban.'

38. and Aaron shall bear the iniquity, &c., rather, 'that Aaron may bear,' &c. Even the sacred (holy) things and gifts offered to Yahweh would sometimes partake of 'iniquity,' i. e. their physical nature and condition would sometimes be unsatisfactory according to the ceremonial laws; and the dedication and devotion of the High Priest to Yahweh, symbolized by the engraved plate, would induce Him to overlook these defects. There would also, of course, be faults of temper and spirit in the offerers, but these are not in the mind of the writer. Here, again, the practice of bearing religious tribal or official marks on the forehead is ancient; originally such marks were supposed to have a magical efficacy. Such opinions, no doubt, maintained themselves amongst the less enlightened Jews, priests and otherwise.

39. And thou shalt weave the coat in chequer work of fine linen, 'And thou shalt plait the tunic of fine linen.' The exact meaning of the word rendered 'plait' or 'weave in chequer work' is not known. but it probably implies some sort of pattern.

40. headtires, turbans less elaborate than Aaron's 'mitre.'

tires shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty.
[S] And thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, 41
and upon his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and
[a] consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may min-
ister unto me in the priest's office. [P] And thou shalt 42
make them linen breeches to cover the flesh of their
nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs they
shall reach: and they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his 43
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.

And this is the thing that thou shalt do unto them to 29

[a] Heb. *fill their hand.*

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for glory and for beauty. See verse 2.

41. This verse is a later addition. It interrupts the instructions as to the manufacture of the priestly vestments, and anticipates xxix. 5 ff.

consecrate, as marg., lit. **fill the hand of:** the ancient technical term for consecrating a priest. We do not know its original meaning. The phrase may have meant 'place the office in his hands,' as it were; some symbol or implement of the office being actually placed in the hand, perhaps a fee, or a sacrificial portion; cf. Judges xvii. 5. **Sanctify,** with the proper ritual, ablutions, sacrifices, special clothing, &c.

43. tent of meeting. See on xxvii. 21.

that they bear not iniquity and die. Unseemly exposure in so sacred a place would have been a sin which Yahweh would have punished with death; cf. xx. 26, and the slaying of Nadab and Abihu for offering the wrong sort of incense, Lev. x. 1 f.

his seed after him. These chapters are a permanent law for the priesthood.

xxix. 1–37. The Ordination of Aaron and his Sons.

1–3. A bullock and two rams and the necessary adjuncts are to be provided for sacrifices.
4. Aaron and his sons are to bathe.
5–9. They are to put on the sacred vestments.
10–14. The bullock is to be offered as a sin-offering.

hallow them, to minister unto me in the priest's office: take
2 one young bullock and two rams without blemish, and unleavened bread, and cakes unleavened mingled with oil, and wafers unleavened anointed with oil: of fine wheaten
3 flour shalt thou make them. And thou shalt put them into one basket, and bring them in the basket, with the
4 bullock and the two rams. And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring unto the door of the tent of meeting, and shalt
5 wash them with water. 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
6 the cunningly woven band of the ephod: and thou shalt set the [a] mitre upon his head, and put the holy crown
7 upon the [a] mitre. Then shalt thou take the anointing
8 oil, and pour it upon his head, and anoint him. And thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them.

[a] Or, *turban*

15-18. One ram is to be offered as a whole burnt-offering.

19-28. The other ram is to be a 'ram of consecration'; its various portions, with the adjuncts, are to serve as a wave-offering and a heave-offering.

29, 30. Aaron's sacred vestments are to be handed down to his sons.

31-34. The flesh and bread 'of consecration' are to be eaten by Aaron and his sons at the door of the Tent of Meeting. Anything left is to be burnt.

35-37. The ceremonies of the ordination of the Priests and the dedication of the Altar are to continue for seven days.

The account of the carrying out of these instructions is given in Lev. viii.

1. hallow, the same word as 'sanctify' in xxviii. 41, which see.

2. unleavened bread. See on xii. 8.

4. tent of meeting. See pp. 6 ff. and cf. xxvii. 21.

shalt wash them. Nothing is said about the arrangements for this function; if it was to be public, due decorum would of course be observed.

5, 6. Cf. previous chapter.

7. the anointing oil: cf. xxv. 6. Only Aaron, i.e. the High Priest, is anointed. In the earlier literature kings are anointed.

And thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his 9
sons, and bind headtires on them: and they shall have
the priesthood by a perpetual statute: and thou shalt
consecrate Aaron and his sons. And thou shalt bring 10
the bullock before the tent of meeting: and Aaron and
his sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the
bullock. And thou shalt kill the bullock before the 11
LORD, at the door of the tent of meeting. And thou 12
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. And thou 13
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. But the 14
flesh of the bullock, and its skin, and its dung, shalt thou
burn with fire without the camp: it is a [a] sin offering.
Thou shalt also take the one ram; and Aaron and his 15
sons shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram.
And thou shalt slay the ram, and thou shalt take its 16
blood, and sprinkle it round about upon the altar. And 17

[a] Heb. *sin.*

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8. coats. See on xxviii. 39.

9. a perpetual statute. The priesthood was to be permanently confined to the House of Aaron.

10–14. Cf. on Lev. iv. 1 ff.

10. lay their hands upon the head of the bullock, rather, 'rest' or 'lean their hand.' The meaning of this rite is much disputed. It has been supposed to make the victim a representative of the offerer; or, more probably, to symbolize the transference of the sacrifice from the worshipper to God. Cf. Lev. iv. 4.

11. thou shalt kill the bullock. Aaron and his sons, not being yet ordained, are in the position of ordinary lay worshippers; and Moses acts as priest.

14. sin offering, *ḥaṭṭâth,* see on Lev. iv. 3. Before Aaron is fit to act as priest he must be purged of sin.

16. its blood. See on xii. 7.

thou shalt cut the ram into its pieces, and wash its inwards,
and its legs, and put them [a] with its pieces, and [a] with its
18 head. And thou shalt burn the whole ram upon the
altar: it is a burnt offering unto the LORD: it is a sweet
19 savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD. And
thou shalt take the other ram; and Aaron and his sons
20 shall lay their hands upon the head of the ram. 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
21 sprinkle the blood upon the altar round about. [S] And
thou shalt take of the blood that is 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 [P] Also thou shalt take of the ram the fat, and the fat
tail, and the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul
of the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon

[a] Or, *upon*

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18. burnt offering. See on x. 25.

sweet savour. The phrase is a survival from times when men thought that the actual smell of burning flesh or spices pleased the deity; cf. Gen. viii. 21. In the present document the words are used figuratively to denote that the offering was acceptable to God. The burnt-offering on this occasion would be a natural expression of Aaron's devotion.

19-21. As in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, two animals are taken, the one is sacrificed as a sin-offering, and the characteristic rites of the special occasion are connected with the second animal. Cf. also Lev. xiv. 1 ff.

20. Similar rites are prescribed for a person cleansed of leprosy, Lev. xiv. 14 ff., 25 ff. They may symbolize the devotion of the whole body to God.

22. fat tail. The fat tail of a Syrian sheep is esteemed a delicacy to be offered to an honoured guest.

them, and the right [a] thigh; for it is a ram of consecration: and one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled 23
bread, and one wafer, out of the basket of unleavened bread that is before the LORD: and thou shalt put the 24
whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of his sons; and shalt wave them for a wave offering before the LORD. And thou shalt take them from their hands, 25
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. And thou shalt take the breast 26
of Aaron's ram of consecration, and wave it for a wave offering before the LORD: and it shall be thy portion. And thou shalt sanctify the breast of the wave offering, 27
and the [a] thigh of the heave offering, which is waved,

[a] Or, *shoulder*

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consecration, lit. 'filling'; cf. on xxviii. 41.

23. Cf. verse 3.

24. This may be the 'filling of the hands' referred to above.

wave offering, usually something symbolically presented to God by being moved to and fro before the altar, but not actually consumed; such offerings being the perquisites of the priests. Here, however, the wave-offering is consumed on the altar, but is placed there, not by Aaron and his sons, who are not yet priests, but by Moses.

thou . . . shalt wave, &c. It is not clear how Moses could 'wave' loaves and joints of meat which were in the hands of Aaron and his sons. The translation sometimes proposed, 'shalt cause them to wave,' does not suit the context; it causes Aaron to act prematurely as a priest, and is not justified by the usage of the Hebrew word. Perhaps this clause is an addition; cf. previous note and verse 26.

26. it shall be thy portion, as officiating priest. In Lev. vii. 31 the breast of the wave-offering is the perquisite of the priests.

27. heave offering, *terûmâ*, 'something lifted or taken up.' Sometimes explained as an offering, like the wave-offering, symbolically presented by being raised on high. But the *terûmâ* is rather a part lifted off from a larger whole, that the part may be dedicated to God; or the portion taken from a sacrifice, to be

and which is heaved up, of the ram of consecration, even of that which is for Aaron, and of that which is for his
28 sons: 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
29 their heave offering unto the LORD. And the holy garments of Aaron shall be for his sons after him, to be
30 anointed in them, and to be consecrated in them. 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
31 the holy place. And thou shalt take the ram of conse-
32 cration, and seethe its flesh in a holy place. 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 [S] And they shall eat those things wherewith atonement was made, to consecrate *and* to sanctify them: but a stranger shall not eat thereof, because they are holy.
34 [P] And 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
35 is holy. And thus shalt thou do unto Aaron, and to his

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given to the priest as his due, so here and Lev. vii. 33. In Ezek. xlviii. 10 the land assigned to the priests is called a *terûmâ*, R. V. 'oblation.' Verses 27, 28 give the permanent arrangement as to these portions of the sacrifices.

28. peace offerings. See on xx. 24.

33. There is nothing corresponding to this verse in Lev. viii; no previous mention has been made of 'things wherewith atonement was made,' nor is it easy to understand that any of the edibles enumerated can be meant; possibly the flesh of the ram and the bread, in which case verse 33 *a* repeats verse 32 *a*. The command that a foreigner (R. V. 'stranger') shall not eat is superfluous after verse 32. This verse is probably an addition.

atonement. See on xxv. 17.

35-37. There is nothing of this in Lev. viii, except that

sons, according to all that I have commanded thee : seven
days shalt thou consecrate them. And every day shalt 36
thou offer the bullock of sin offering for atonement : and
thou shalt [a] cleanse the altar, when thou makest atone-
ment for it ; and thou shalt anoint it, to sanctify it. Seven 37
days thou shalt make atonement for the altar, and sanctify
it : and the altar shall be most holy ; [b] whatsoever
toucheth the altar shall be holy.

[S] Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the 38

[a] Or, *purge the altar, by thy making atonement* [b] Or, *whosoever*

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according to Lev. viii. 33 ff. Aaron and his sons are to remain seven days in the precincts of the Tabernacle.

36. the bullock, rather, 'a bullock.'

cleanse the altar. The altar was constructed from materials originally common or profane, and according to primitive ideas a kind of sinfulness or unworthiness attached to it from which it needed to be cleansed. In Christian times ceremonies of purification have been performed for sacred buildings which have been physically defiled.

37. shall be holy : i. e. dedicated to the service of Yahweh, and forfeited by its owner. Probably such things or persons could be redeemed by a fine. The idea of the contagiousness of sanctity is common in primitive religions. Cf. also Ezek. xlvi. 20 ; Hag. ii. 12.

xxix. 38–42. The Daily Offerings (S).

38. Two firstling lambs to be sacrificed every day.

39. One in the morning, one in the evening.

40, 41. A meal-offering and a drink-offering to be presented with each.

42. This is to be a permanent institution.

Sources, &c. This section is also premature. The main body of the legislation, the foundation code, is still occupied with the construction and dedication of the Tabernacle, and the ordination of its priests. Moreover, if these verses were in their right place here, 'thou' in verse 38 must refer to Moses as in verse 24 ; but in the permanent service Aaron, and not Moses, was the priest. Moreover, verse 43 *a* repeats verse 42 *b*.

Verses 38–41 also occur with slight verbal changes in Num. xxviii. 3–8. Daily morning and evening sacrifices were instituted

altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually.
39 The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the
40 other lamb thou shalt offer [a] at even: 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
41 part of an hin of wine for a drink offering. And the
other lamb thou shalt offer [a] at even, and shalt do thereto
according to the meal offering of the morning, and
according to the drink offering thereof, for a sweet savour,
42 an offering made by fire unto the LORD. It shall be
a continual burnt offering throughout your generations at
the door of the tent of meeting before the LORD: where
43 I will meet with you, to speak there unto thee. [P] And

[a] Heb. *between the two evenings.*

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by Ahaz, 2 Kings xvi. 15. Ezek. xlvi. 13-15 provides for a daily burnt-offering of a firstling lamb in the *mornings* only, with a smaller meal-offering, $\frac{1}{6}$ Ephah of flour, $\frac{1}{3}$ Hin of oil; and no wine.

38. continually, Heb. *tāmīdh*. This sacrifice was known in later times as the *Tāmīdh*, and great importance was attached to it. This is the regular public sacrifice, in addition to private offerings.

39. at even, lit. as marg., **between the two evenings**; see on xii. 6.

40. ephah, said to have contained six hins, probably rather more than eight gallons.

hin, said to have contained about twelve pints. It is only mentioned in Ezekiel and the Priestly sections of the Pentateuch.

beaten oil. See on xxvii. 20.

41. Cf. verse 18.

xxix. 43-46. CONCLUSION OF DIRECTIONS AS TO THE SANCTUARY AND THE PRIESTHOOD.

43. Yahweh will meet with the Israelites at the Altar, and the Tabernacle shall be consecrated by His visible Presence.

44. He will consecrate the Tabernacle, the Altar, and the Priests.

45, 46. Yahweh will dwell among the Israelites as their God, Who delivered them from Egypt.

there I will meet with the children of Israel; and *the Tent*
shall be sanctified by my glory. And I will sanctify the 44
tent of meeting, and the altar: Aaron also and his sons
will I sanctify, to minister to me in the priest's office.
And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be 45
their God. And they shall know that I am the LORD 46
their God, that brought them forth out of the land of
Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I am the LORD
their God.

[S] And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense 30

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43. there . . . the Tent. R. V. rightly supplies the latter words; it is within the Tabernacle that the Glory of Yahweh appears, xl. 34, 35. 'There' might also refer to the Tabernacle, but may mean the altar where the fellowship of Yahweh and Israel is effected by the sacrifices. The obscurity of the language may be due to the insertion of the previous section.

glory, the visible Presence of Yahweh in the fiery cloud.

44. I will sanctify. The physical acts, dealing with material objects, did not effect consecration by themselves. They were only valid because Yahweh appointed and accepted them, and Himself set apart the Sanctuary and its Ministers for His service.

XXX. 1–10. THE ALTAR OF INCENSE (S).

1–3. An altar is to be made of acacia-wood overlaid with gold, with a golden rim. The altar is to be a cubit broad, a cubit long, and two cubits high.

4, 5. It is to be provided with rings to hold the staves with which it is to be carried.

6. It is to be put in the Holy Place.

7, 8. Aaron is to burn incense on it morning and evening.

9. It is not to be used for any other purpose.

10. It is to be cleansed with the blood of the sin-offering once a year. It is a most sacred thing.

Sources, &c. This and some of the following sections belong to the later additions to the Priestly Code. The main body of that document only knows of one altar, that of burnt-offering, which it consistently calls '*the* altar,' xxix. 44 and *passim*. The passage also implies directions given at a later stage. Thus the 'strange incense' in verse 9 implies Lev. x. 1; and verse 10 implies the ritual of the Day of Atonement in Lev. xvi. In the Samaritan Pentateuch the passage comes after xxvi. 35.

2 upon: of acacia wood shalt thou make it. 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 [a] top there-
of, and the [b] sides thereof round about, and the horns
thereof; and thou shalt make unto it a [c] crown of gold
4 round about. 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
5 be for places for staves to bear it withal. And thou
shalt make the staves of acacia wood, and overlay them
6 with gold. And thou shalt put it before the veil that is
by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat that is

[a] Heb. *roof.* [b] Heb. *walls.* [c] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding*

There are many difficulties about this Altar of Incense, and it has been doubted whether it ever existed. If we render 'censers' instead of 'spoons' in xxv. 29, the offering of incense has already been arranged for; there is no such altar in Ezekiel; nor among the spoil taken by Titus. According to 2 Macc. ii. 5 ff., Jeremiah hid the Ark and Altar of Incense in a cave. On the other hand, there are references to this altar in 1 Macc. i. 21, iv. 49 ff. The reference to 'the golden altar' in 1 Kings vi. 22, vii. 48 is said (Kennedy) to be a late addition to that work, based on our passage. This altar is not mentioned amongst the contents of the Tabernacle in Heb. ix. 2-5: R. V. rightly translates *thumiaterion* in verse 4, 'censer,' and not, as marg., 'altar of incense.'

This altar may be simply the Table of Shewbread in another form, the Table being sometimes thought of and spoken of as an altar; the idea arose that at one time there was an altar within the Tabernacle; and the author of our passage gave an account of his theory of the nature and object of that altar.

Kennedy and Skinner, however, hold that such an altar did exist in the Second Temple.

1, 2. Cf. xxvii. 1, 2.

3-5. Cf. xxv. 24, 26, 28.

6. This verse, together with xl. 5, has led to misunderstanding. If we take the existing text, we should interpret, 'Thou shalt put the altar before the veil that is by the ark,' i. e. 'in the Holy

over the testimony, where I will meet with thee. And 7
Aaron shall burn thereon incense of sweet spices: every
morning, when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn it.
And when Aaron [a] lighteth the lamps [b] at even, he shall 8
burn it, a perpetual incense before the LORD throughout
your generations. Ye shall offer no strange incense 9
thereon, nor burnt offering, nor meal offering; and ye
shall pour no drink offering thereon. And Aaron shall 10
make atonement [c] upon 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 [d] for it throughout
your generations: it is most holy unto the LORD.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, When thou 11, 12

[a] Or, *setteth up* Heb. *causeth to ascend.*
[b] Heb. *between the two evenings.* [c] Or, *for* [d] Or, *upon*

Place or outer chamber, outside of the veil separating the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies.' The writer speaks from the point of view of a person entering the Tabernacle, to whom an object in the outer chamber is 'before the veil.' Then, similarly, 'before the Mercy-seat' applies to the veil, not to the altar.

The rival opinion that the altar stood within the veil, in the inner chamber, in front of the Ark, is not justified by the language here, or by the general account of the Tabernacle.

Perhaps, however, we should follow the Septuagint, the Samaritan Hebrew text, and a number of Hebrew MSS. in omitting 'before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony.'

10. The writer has in mind the ritual of the Day of Atonement, Lev. xvi. In that chapter incense plays an important part, but it is offered in a censer; and there is no reference to an altar of incense. The 'altar before Yahweh' is the altar of burnt-offering; cf. verses 12, 18, 20, 25 of Lev. xvi.

XXX. 11-16. THE POLL-TAX (S).

11-15. When a census is taken, the Israelites are to offer half a shekel a head to Yahweh.

16. This money is to be devoted to the service of the Sanctuary.

Sources, &c. This also appears to be a later addition. In

takest the sum of the children of Israel, according to those that are numbered of them, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the LORD, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them,
13 when thou numberest them. 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
15 of the LORD. 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

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Neh. x. 32 the people covenant to pay a *third* of a shekel a head yearly.

12. Primitive superstition regarded a census as dangerous or even impious; unless special precautions were taken Divine judgement would follow. Thus when Yahweh was angry with Israel He induced David to take a census, which was followed by a plague. So 2 Sam. xxiv; but 1 Chron. xxi. 1 judiciously substitutes Satan for Yahweh. In Num. i–iv this law is ignored, and other means are taken of averting God's wrath.

ransom, *kōpher*, from the root *KPhR*, 'atone'; cf. on xxv. 17.

soul, rather, 'life.'

13. the shekel of the sanctuary, or rather, 'the sacred shekel,' commonly supposed to be about half as much again as the ordinary shekel, 224 grains as against 173. The phrase is only found in the Priestly documents; cf. on xxi. 32. This tax is understood as an annual one in 2 Chron. xxiv. 6-9; but in our passage it seems only intended for special occasions.

gerahs only occur in the Priestly documents and *Ezekiel*; they are identified by the Septuagint with the Greek *obol*, i.e. about 11 grains of silver. We may compare a small Babylonian weight called *giru* mentioned in Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions.

16. memorial: cf. xxviii. 29.

children of Israel before the LORD, to make atonement for your souls.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Thou shalt 17, 18
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. And Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their 19
feet thereat: when they go into the tent of meeting, they 20
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: so they shall wash their 21
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.

Moreover the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take 22, 23

XXX. 17-21. THE BRAZEN LAVER (S).

17, 18. Moses is to make a Brazen Laver, and place it between the Tabernacle and the Altar.

19-21. From this laver Aaron and his sons are to wash their hands and feet when they minister at the Tabernacle.

Sources, &c. This and the following sections, xxx. 17—xxxi. 17 are mostly later additions. For this laver, compare the Brazen Sea in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings vii. 23.

20. that they die not. Here and elsewhere in the Priestly Code the uttermost wrath of Yahweh is excited by neglect of ritual; cf. **x. 1.**

XXX. 22-33. THE ANOINTING OIL (S).

22-25. Moses is to compound an oil for anointing, after a certain recipe.

26-30. With this he is to anoint the Tabernacle, its belongings, and Aaron and his sons.

31. This recipe is always to be followed in making oil for anointing the sacred persons and things.

32. The oil is not to be used for any other purpose.

33. Any one who imitates it or misuses it is to be 'cut off from his people.'

thou also unto thee the chief spices, of flowing myrrh five hundred *shekels*, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty, and of sweet calamus two
24 hundred and fifty, and of [a] cassia five hundred, after the
25 shekel of the sanctuary, and of olive oil an hin: and thou shalt make it an holy anointing oil, a perfume compounded after the art of the perfumer: it shall be an holy anointing
26 oil. And thou shalt anoint therewith the tent of meeting,
27 and the ark of the testimony, and the table and all the vessels thereof, and the candlestick and the vessels there-
28 of, and the altar of incense, and the altar of burnt offering with all the vessels thereof, and the laver and the base
29 thereof. And thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be most holy: [b] whatsoever 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
31 office. And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me
32 throughout your generations. 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
33 shall be holy unto you. Whosoever compoundeth any

[a] Or, *costus* [b] Or, *whosoever*

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23. flowing myrrh, lit. 'myrrh of flowing,' evidently pure and of best quality. Myrrh is a gum-resin from a shrub growing in Arabia and Africa.

sweet cinnamon, lit. 'cinnamon-spice' or '-balsam,' 'cinnamon of sweet odour,' a fragrant bark used as spice.

sweet calamus, lit. 'reed-balsam,' &c., an aromatic reed, found in Arabia and elsewhere.

24. cassia, an aromatic bark. For this verse see also verse 13 and xxix. 40. Here the 'sacred shekel' is a weight.

29. See on xxix. 37.

32. man, ordinary layman.

33. stranger, properly 'foreigner,' perhaps here merely 'layman'; cf. xxix. 33.

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 spices, [a] stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; sweet spices with 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, [b] seasoned 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,

[a] Or, *opobalsamum* [b] Or, *tempered together*

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cut off from his people: cf. xii. 15.

XXX. 34–38. THE SACRED INCENSE (S).

34, 35. Moses is to compound Incense according to a given recipe.

36. Some of it is to be placed before the Ark.

37. Such incense is only to be used for ritual purposes.

38. Any one who imitates it is to be 'cut off from his people.'

34. sweet spices, in the Hebrew a single word, 'spices,' *sammim*, only found in the Priestly writers and in *Chronicles*.

stacte, *nāṭāph*, 'drop,' an aromatic gum; it is not known from what plant it was obtained.

onycha, *sheḥēleth*, usually identified with a part of certain shell-fish, according to others amber.

galbanum, *ḥelbenâ*, a kind of gum. *Sheḥēleth* and *ḥēlbenâ* are said to stink when burnt alone, but to make a fragrant blend with the other ingredients. The use of these two, *sh.* and *ḥ.*, may date back to primitive times when incense was used to scare away demons.

each . . . a like weight, lit. 'portion for portion,' 'equal parts.'

35. pure, *ṭāhôr*, the term for ceremonial purity, fit to be used in the ritual.

36. This verse is obscure. It might possibly mean that a portion of the incense was to be kept, as a sample or a memorial, before the Ark in the Holy of Holies, like Aaron's rod and the manna. But the verse is commonly expounded thus:—As occasion required, portions of the incense were to be prepared and burnt on the altar of incense in the Holy Place, before the Ark, but separated from it by the Veil. If our author meant all this, he might have said so; he is usually fond of details.

where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most
37 holy. And the incense which thou shalt make, according
to the composition thereof ye shall not make for your-
38 selves: it shall be unto thee holy for the LORD. Whoso-
ever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, he shall
be cut off from his people.

31 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, See, I have
called by name Bazelel the son of Uri, the son of Hur,
3 of the tribe of Judah: and I have filled him with the
spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in
4 knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise
cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in
5 brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in carving
6 of wood, to work in all manner of workmanship. And
I, behold, I have appointed with him Oholiab, the son
of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan; and in the hearts of all
that are wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they may
7 make all that I have commanded thee: the tent of meet-
ing, and the ark of the testimony, and the mercy-seat that is
8 thereupon, and all the furniture of the Tent; and the

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37 f. Cf. verses 31 ff.

xxxi. 1–11 (S). BEZALEL AND OHOLIAB.

1–5. Bezalel is divinely called and inspired to work in metal and wood,

6. assisted by Oholiab, and other inspired craftsmen,

7–11. to make the Tabernacle and its furniture.

1. Bezalel might be read as meaning 'In the shadow of God,' also the name of a post-exile Jew, Ezra x. 30.

3. the spirit of God, an impartation of the Divine energy; cf. xxviii. 3.

6. hearts. The 'heart' in Hebrew is more often the seat of intelligence than emotion.

Oholiab, perhaps 'father's tent,' which seems to refer to his work in constructing the 'Tent of Meeting'; cf. Ezekiel's symbolic names Oholibah, Oholibamah. The writer may imply that this name was given to him on account of his work.

table and its vessels, and the pure candlestick with all its vessels, and the altar of incense; and the altar of 9
burnt offering with all its vessels, and the laver and its base; and the [a] finely wrought garments, and the holy 10
garments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to minister in the priest's office; and the anointing 11
oil, and the incense of sweet spices for the holy place: according to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak thou 12, 13
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. Ye shall keep the 14
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. Six days shall work be done; but 15
on the seventh day is a sabbath of solemn rest, holy to

[a] Some ancient versions render, *garments of service.*

10. finely wrought garments: we should probably follow the versions mentioned in the margin, and read 'garments of service.' The difference in Hebrew is only part of a letter.

xxxi. 12-17. THE SABBATHS.

12-14 *a*. The Sabbath is to be observed; Sabbath-breakers to be put to death.

14 *b*-16. The Sabbath is to be observed; Sabbath-breakers to be put to death.

17. The Sabbath a sign between Yahweh and Israel. At the Creation Yahweh rested on the Seventh Day.

Sources, &c. One of the Priestly equivalents of the Fourth Commandment. The repetitions indicate compilation from various sources or the presence of later additions.

14. shall surely be put to death . . . shall be cut off from among his people. The combination indicates the intention to 'cut off from among his people': cf. also verse 15. According to Num. xv. 32-36, P, a man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath was stoned to death. Cf. on xii. 15.

15. a sabbath of solemn rest. Heb. *shabbath shabbāthōn*,

the LORD: whosoever doeth any work in the sabbath
16 day, he shall surely be put to death. Wherefore the
children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the
sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual
17 covenant. 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, [E] tables of stone, written with the
finger of God.

32 And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come

'a sabbath of sabbatic observance,' 'a specially sacred sabbath.' The phrase is also applied to the Day of Atonement, and the Sabbatical Year. *Sabbāthôn* by itself is used of the Feast of Trumpets, and certain days of the Feast of Tabernacles.

17. Cf. xx. 11.

xxxi. 18—xxxii. 35. THE GOLDEN CALF (E R).

xxxi. 18 (S E). Yahweh gives Moses the Two Tables.

xxxii. 1–4 (E). On account of Moses' prolonged absence the people induce Aaron to make a molten image of a calf in gold, which they hail as the god which brought them out of Egypt.

5–6 (E). Aaron builds an altar before the Calf, and celebrates a feast to Yahweh.

7–14 (R). Yahweh bids Moses go down; He tells him what the people have done; and declares that He will destroy the people and make Moses the ancestor of a great nation. Moses intercedes, and Yahweh relents.

15 (E R S). Moses comes down from the Mount with the Two Tables.

16 ff. (E). Joshua and Moses hear the noise in the camp.

19 f. (E). Coming nearer, Moses sees the Calf and the dancing; he throws down the Tables and breaks them; grinds the Calf to powder, and makes the people drink water in which the powder has been strown.

21–24 (E). He reproaches Aaron, who pleads that he acted under constraint.

25–29. (J). At the command of Moses the Levites massacre 3,000 of the people.

down from the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us

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30-34 (R). Moses intercedes with Yahweh for the people, and asks that if they are destroyed he may share their fate. Yahweh answers that He will deal with each man according to his desert. Moses is to lead the people to Canaan; Yahweh's Angel will go before them; and in due season Yahweh will punish them.

35 (E). Yahweh sends a plague amongst the people.

Sources, &c. The various repetitions and discrepancies show that this section includes work from several hands. Thus in 7 f. Yahweh tells Moses what is happening, but in 16 ff. Joshua and Moses are taken by surprise by what they see and hear. Again, in 9 ff. Yahweh declares that He will destroy the people, but Moses intercedes, and He relents. Nevertheless in 31 f. Moses intercedes as if he knew nothing of Yahweh's relenting. Punishments are heaped upon the unhappy people; they are compelled to drink water with which the dust of the Calf has been mixed, verse 20; 3,000 are massacred, verse 28; and the people are smitten with a plague, verse 35. Yet verse 34 speaks of the punishment as postponed to some uncertain future. Aaron, the most conspicuous culprit, gets off scot-free; but that is what often happens in real life.

It is generally held that a narrative from the Elohistic Document, E, is the basis of this chapter, and that there is no trace of P; but there is no agreement as to the details of the analysis. It is uncertain which verses, &c., are E, which J, and which by later hands. It is also possible that the E narrative belonged to the later portions of that document. The analysis given in the text is only put forward as one out of many possible divisions of the text. Where so much is doubtful, it seemed convenient to prefer what is comparatively simple.

Any attempt to recover the original tradition represented by this chapter is beset with many difficulties. The following suggestions are made with great diffidence.

It must be remembered that Bethel was long regarded as a legitimate sanctuary founded by Jacob or some other patriarch, Gen. xxviii. 11; for centuries it was the scene of the official worship of Yahweh under the form of a Calf. The original form of our narrative may have ascribed the origin of this Calf to Moses, or some other ancient worthy. When both Bethel and its Calf were discredited, it was felt that the Calf was ancient, it must have been made not by Moses, but in spite of Moses. Our chapter is the result of a long literary process influenced by this and similar reflections.

The part assigned to Aaron is puzzling; Aaron is usually con-

[a] gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses,
the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we
2 know not what is become of him. 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
3 bring them unto me. And all the people brake off the
golden rings which were in their ears, and brought them
4 unto Aaron. And he received it at their hand, and
fashioned it with a graving tool, and made it a molten
calf: and they said, [b] These be thy gods, O Israel, which
5 brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And when
Aaron saw *this*, he built an altar before it; and Aaron
made proclamation, and said, To-morrow shall be a feast
6 to the LORD. 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 [R] And the LORD spake unto Moses, Go, get thee
down; for thy people, which thou broughtest up out of
8 the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves: they have

[a] Or, *a god* [b] Or, *This is thy god*

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nected with the Ark and its priesthood at Shiloh and Jerusalem, and not with Bethel. It is possible—the idea of course is a mere conjecture—that at one time there was an image of Yahweh in the form of a Calf in the Temple, and its construction was attributed to Aaron, the connexion being regarded as honourable both to him and to the image. The present narrative takes a different view, but does its best to excuse him; he acted under compulsion, hardly knowing what he did, verses 22-24.

1. gods, rather, as marg., 'a god.'

4. fashioned it with a graving tool, and made it a molten calf. One does not fashion metal with a graving tool, before melting it. The former clause may be a mistaken reading, or the two clauses may come from different sources. The Egyptian god Apis was worshipped in the form of a calf.

6. play, probably a euphemism for immoral orgies.

turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded
them: they have made them a molten calf, and have wor-
shipped it, and have sacrificed unto it, and said, These be
thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the
land of Egypt. And the LORD said unto Moses, I have 9
seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people:
now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot 10
against them, and that I may consume them: and I will
make of thee a great nation. And Moses besought the 11
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? Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, 12
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. Remember Abraham, Isaac, 13
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. And the LORD repented of the evil 14
which he said he would do unto his people.

[E] And Moses turned, and went down from the 15
mount, with the two tables [R] of the testimony
[E] in his hand: [S] tables that were written on both
their sides; on the one side and on the other were they
written. [E] And the tables were the work of God, and 16

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12. repent, a natural, almost necessary, anthropomorphism. Whatever theological views we may hold as to the unchangeableness of the Divine purpose, the course alike of Providence and of spiritual experience often impress us as a relenting on the part of God; cf. on Gen. vi. 6 f.

the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the
17 tables. And when Joshua heard the noise of the people
as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of
18 war in the camp. 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 overcome: but the noise of them
19 that sing do I hear. And 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
20 mount. 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
21 of it. 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:
23 thou knowest the people, that they are *set* on evil. 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
24 of him. And I said unto them, Whosoever hath any
gold, let them break it off; so they gave it me: and I
25 cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf. [J] And

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18. shout . . . cry . . . sing. Each of these three words renders the same Hebrew consonants; as 'shout' and 'cry' both have a qualifying phrase, probably some such phrase has been lost after 'sing.' The Septuagint has 'for wine.' Other versions understand 'the sound of transgressions.'

20. burnt it. The image would be cast over a wooden core.

made the children of Israel drink of it. Perhaps, as in the ordeal of the wife suspected of adultery, Num. v. 11-31, it is implied that this drinking would cause disease in those guilty of idolatry; hence the plague in verse 35.

25-29. It is not certain that these verses originally had anything to do with the episode of the Golden Calf; they may have

when Moses saw that the people were broken loose;
[R] for Aaron had let them loose for a [a] derision among
their enemies: [J] then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, 26
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. And he said unto them, Thus saith 27
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 neigh-
bour. And the sons of Levi did according to the word 28
of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about
three thousand men. And Moses said, [b] Consecrate 29
yourselves to-day to the LORD, [c] yea, every man [d] against
his son, and [d] against his brother; that he may bestow

[a] Heb. *whispering.* [b] Heb. *Fill your hand.*
[c] Or, *for every man* hath been *against his son and against his brother*
[d] Or, *upon*

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belonged to an account of some other of the many rebellions of the Israelites. The ascription to J is not made with any confidence; cf. above.

25. were broken loose, cast off restraint.

for a derision among their enemies. There is nothing here to explain the reference to 'enemies,' which seems to indicate that the paragraph originally stood in a different context; cf. next note.

26. This verse implies that the misdoing of the Israelites was some disloyalty against Yahweh, therefore not the making of an image of Yahweh. The Levites had remained faithful.

27. every man his brother, &c. As, according to verse 26, *all* the Levites were for Yahweh, these phrases must refer to their fellow Israelites.

29. Consecrate yourselves. Cf. xxviii. 41. The exact reading and translation here are doubtful. The Septuagint partly suggests 'ye have consecrated yourselves.' The general sense is clear: the Levites were invested with the priesthood—not necessarily an exclusive priesthood—as a reward for their loyalty on this occasion; cf. Deut. xxxiii. 9.

30 upon you a blessing this day. [R] 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
31 sin. And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Oh,
this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them
32 gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin— ;
and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which
33 thou hast written. And the LORD said unto Moses,
Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out
34 of my book. And now go, lead the people unto *the place*
of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, mine angel
shall go before thee: nevertheless in the day when I
35 visit, I will visit their sin upon them. [E] And the LORD
smote the people, because they made the calf, which
Aaron made.

33 [J] And the LORD spake unto Moses, Depart, go up

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30. I shall make atonement, *KPR*, as usual; cf. xxv. 17. There is no question of Moses appeasing Yahweh by sacrifices. Apparently he proposes to atone for the sin of the people by offering himself as a victim—a proposal which Yahweh declines.

32. if thou wilt forgive their sin—. The broken words give striking expression to Moses' deep feeling.

blot me . . . out of thy book, i. e. expunge my name from the roll of God's people, implying destruction by death. This figure of the book is also found in Ps. lxix. 28; Isa. iv. 3; Dan. xii. 1; Mal. iii. 16.

33. Cf. Ezek. xviii.

34. mine angel. Yahweh does not go Himself.

xxxiii. Instructions and Discussions concerning the March after leaving Sinai.

1–4 (J). Yahweh bids Moses and Israel leave Sinai for Canaan. He will not go with them, but will send His angel.

At these evil tidings the people mourn, and do not put on their ornaments.

5, 6 (R E). At the command of Yahweh the people take off their ornaments.

. . . . . .

hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up
out of the land of Egypt, unto the land of which I sware
unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy
seed will I give it: and I will send an angel before 2
thee; and I will drive out the Canaanite, the Amorite,
and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the
Jebusite: unto a land flowing with milk and honey: for 3
I will not go up in the midst of thee; for thou art a
stiffnecked people: lest I consume thee in the way.
And when the people heard these evil tidings, they 4
mourned: and no man did put on him his ornaments.
[R] And the LORD said unto Moses, Say unto the chil- 5
dren 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,

7–11 (E). Moses' practice was (whenever Israel encamped) to pitch the Sacred Tent at some distance from the camp. Moses used to go out to the Tent to meet with Yahweh, who descended in a pillar of cloud. Joshua ben Nun was the custodian of the Tent.

12–23 (R). Moses seeks the favour and help of Yahweh for his leadership. Yahweh promises that His Presence shall go with Israel; He declares that Moses enjoys His favour. Moses begs that he may see the Glory of Yahweh. Yahweh replies that He will proclaim His Name; Moses cannot see His face; but Yahweh will show him His back.

Sources, &c. There is general agreement as to the ascription of verses 7–11 to E, and as to the presence of passages from J with later additions in the rest of the chapter. Verses 12–23 may not have belonged to the original J.

Note the inconsistency between 4 *b*, where the people do not put on their ornaments, and 5 f., where they take them off at the bidding of Yahweh.

Again, in 11 Yahweh speaks to Moses face to face, as a man to his friend; but in verse 20 he may not see His face. See also notes on 7–11, 12–23.

1. Cf. ii. 24.
2 f. Cf. iii. 8, xxiii. 20.

6 that I may know what to do unto thee. [E] And the
children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments
from mount Horeb onward.
7 Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without
the camp, afar off from the camp; and he called it,
The tent of meeting. And it came to pass, that every
one which sought the LORD went out unto the tent of
8 meeting, which was without the camp. 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
10 the Tent: and *the* LORD spake with Moses. 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
11 man at his tent door. And the LORD spake unto Moses
face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he
turned again into the camp: but his minister Joshua,
the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the
Tent.

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6. stripped themselves. The word for 'strip' is that used in iii. 22 for 'spoil,' in 'they spoiled the Egyptians.'

7–11. The Tent in this paragraph is clearly the Sanctuary; but, according to chapters xxv f., xxxv ff., P, the Sanctuary was not yet in existence. Moreover, in P, the Sanctuary is in the middle of the camp, Num. ii, and is in charge of Aaron and his family and the Levites; here it is at some distance outside, and is in charge of the Ephraimite Joshua, who, according to P, would apparently have been excluded from the Tabernacle. The passage has no connexion with its present context; it was probably the sequel to E's account of the construction of the Tent, which has been omitted to make room for P's elaborate specifications.

7. tent of meeting: cf. xxvii. 21.

11. minister: cf. xxiv. 13.

Joshua: cf. xvii. 9.

[R] And Moses said unto the LORD, See, thou sayest 12
unto me, Bring up this people: and thou hast not let me
know [a] whom thou wilt send with me. Yet thou hast
said, I know thee by name, and thou hast also found
grace in my sight. Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have 13
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. And 14
he said, My presence shall go *with thee*, and I will give
thee rest. And he said unto him, If thy presence go not 15
with me, carry us not up hence. For wherein now shall 16
it be known that I have found grace in thy sight, I and

[a] Or, *him whom*

12-23. The sequence of ideas in these verses is difficult to follow. It seems as if the original arrangement of sentences had been accidentally altered. The following has been proposed as a probable order (*Oxf. Hex.*):—

17. Yahweh declares his goodwill towards Moses.

12 f. Moses begs that Yahweh will show this goodwill by clear instructions, 'Shew me now Thy ways.'

14. Yahweh promises that His Presence shall go with Israel.

15 f. Moses replies that he can only accomplish his mission if Yahweh's Presence goes with Israel and if Yahweh gives clear signs that Israel is His Chosen People.

19. Yahweh promises to declare His Name, to reveal His 'goodness,' and to show favour according to His sovereign will.

18. Moses begs that He may see the glory of Yahweh.

20–23. Yahweh declines to show Moses His face, but agrees to show him His back.

One cannot be certain that the above was the original order, but some such rearrangement seems needed.

12. I know thee by name, &c. This 'saying of Yahweh' is only found in verse 17; cf. above.

14. My presence, lit. 'my face,' not actually Yahweh Himself, but a manifestation, an *alter ego*, rather more closely identified with Him than was the Angel of Yahweh. From 2 Sam. xvii. 11 we gather that 'thy face' was a courtier-like mode of speaking of a king to himself, like 'Your Majesty.'

14. give thee rest, settle Israel in Canaan.

16. A tribal deity naturally accompanied His people,

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?

17 And the LORD said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken: for thou hast found grace in
18 my sight, and I know thee by name. And he said, Shew
19 me, I pray thee, thy glory. 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
20 will shew mercy. And he said, Thou canst not see my face:
21 for man shall not see me and live. And the LORD said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand
22 upon the rock: 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.

34 [J] And the LORD said unto Moses, Hew thee two

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separated . . . from all the people, distinguished from all others by the exceptional privilege of being the people of Yahweh.

the people. Read 'the peoples' with the Septuagint and the Syriac.

18. glory. Cf. xvi. 7.

19. goodness, rather, 'Beauty'; according to some a synonym for 'Glory'; but perhaps rather some less complete and personal manifestation.

name: cf. iii. 13.

to whom I will be gracious, i. e. to my Chosen People.

20. Cf. Gen. xvi. 13, xxxii. 30.

my face, the same words as 'My Presence' in verse 14, which see.

xxxiv. 1–28. THE (SECOND SET OF) TWO TABLES WITH TEN COMMANDMENTS.

(An annotated extract from the Primitive Document, J.)

1 (J [R]). Moses is to prepare two tables of stone (like those which he broke, and Yahweh will write upon them).

tables of stone [R] like unto the first: [J] and I will write upon the tables the words that were on the first

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2–5 (J [R]). Moses is to ascend Mount Sinai alone. Moses obeys; Yahweh descends in a cloud, and Moses worships Him.

6-9 (R). Yahweh passes before Moses and proclaims His Name. Moses worships and intercedes for the people.

10–13 (J [R]). Yahweh enters into a covenant with Israel. (He will do marvels on behalf of His people; they are to drive out all the inhabitants of Canaan, and destroy their altars and images.)

14–26. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS J [R]).

I. 14. *Only Yahweh is to be worshipped.*

(15, 16. There is to be no intermarriage with the Canaanites.)

II. 17. *No molten images are to be made.*

III. 18. *The Feast of Unleavened Bread is to be observed seven days.* (In the month Abib, as Yahweh commanded.)

IV. 19 f. *Firstling of oxen and sheep are to be given to Yahweh. Firstling of ass and the firstborn of men are to be redeemed.*

V. 21. *The Sabbath shall be observed.*

VI. 22. *Feasts are to be observed at the Harvest and the Vintage.*

VII. 23. *Three times in the year all males are to appear before Yahweh.*

(24. Yahweh will cast out their enemies and extend their territory; and no one will attack them when they are keeping a feast.)

VIII. 25 *a*. *Leavened bread not to be offered with sacrifices.*

(25 *b*. The Passover not to be left till the morning.)

IX. 26 *a*. *Firstfruits to be offered at a Sanctuary.*

X. 26 *b*. *A kid not to be boiled in its mother's milk.*

27 f. (J). At the command of Yahweh Moses writes these Ten Words on the Tables; spending forty days and nights on the Mount with Yahweh without food or drink.

Sources, &c. In this chapter we have the account given by the Primitive Document, J, of the Two Tables of Stone and the Covenant between Yahweh and Israel. There are many similarities between these two corresponding sections of J and E. Originally, no doubt, both stood—each in its own document—as the immediate sequel of the appearance of Yahweh on Sinai; the

2 tables, [R] which thou brakest. [J] And be ready by
the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount
Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the top of the
3 mount. And no man shall come up with thee, neither
let any man be seen throughout all the mount; neither
4 let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount. And
he hewed two tables of stone [R] like unto the first;
[J] and Moses rose up early in the morning, and went
up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him,
5 and took in his hand two tables of stone. And the
LORD descended in the cloud, [a] and stood with him
6 there, and proclaimed [b] the name of the LORD. [R] And
the LORD passed by before him, and proclaimed, The

[a] Or, *and he stood with him there, and called upon &c.*
[b] Or, *Jehovah by name*

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present position of J's version is due to the editor, who, wishing to include both, found room for J's account by making it a sequel instead of a parallel to that of E. Each contains a set of 'Ten Words,' which, in each case, is probably older than J or E respectively. Each has been somewhat freely annotated. There is much material common, word for word, between the two; and the same ancient document may be one of the sources of both. It is also possible that editors or copyists supplemented later editions of E from J and *vice versa*, just as copies of the Synoptic Gospels were supplemented from each other.

J's 'Ten Words' are purely ritual, and do not include the ethical precepts found in E.

1. I will write. In verses 27 ff. Moses writes the words that were on the first tables. But, according to verse 27, what was written was the substance of verses 10–26, something very different from the Ten Words on the Tables of chapter xx. These discrepancies indicate a later addition; or according to some, all verse 1 belongs to E.

3. Parallel to xix. 11*b* 13, 21, 24.

5. proclaimed the name of the LORD, worshipped Him.

6–9. The continuation of the secondary passage xxxiii. 12–23. It contains one of the most exalted descriptions of the Divine Character in the Bible, still, however, retaining the doctrine of

LORD, the LORD, a God full of compassion and gracious,
slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; [a] keeping 7
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. And Moses made haste, and bowed 8
his head toward the earth, and worshipped. And he 9
said, If now I have found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let
the Lord, I pray thee, go in the midst of us; for it is a
stiffnecked people; and pardon our iniquity and our sin,
and take us for thine inheritance. [J] And he said, 10
Behold, I make a covenant: [R] before all thy people I

[a] See ch. xx. 5, 6.

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punishment for the sins of ancestors, which Jeremiah and Ezekiel repudiated.

6. A similar description of Yahweh is found in Ps. lxxxvi. 15, cxi. 4, cxii. 4, 5, cxlv. 8, 9. It is not safe to assume that any four of these five passages (this verse and the Psalm verses) are quotations from the fifth. It is possible that some such description of Yahweh was part of the liturgy of some Israelite sanctuary, before either our paragraph or the Psalms were written.

6. full of compassion and gracious. In Hebrew 'full of compassion' is a single word, *rahûm*, which is quite as emphatic and significant as the English phrase. Both these terms are used only of God, and they mostly occur together. The similar Arabic phrase 'the Merciful and Compassionate' is one of the favourite Mohammedan titles of God.

7. Cf. xx. 5 f.

9. The natural moral frailty of man is here made a ground for claiming Divine forgiveness. A nation—it seems to be implied—should be judged and dealt with according to the bent of its character.

10. And he said, Behold, I make a covenant. The continuation of verse 5.

before all thy people may be the continuation of the preceding words and belong to J; or, as R. V., may be the beginning of a new sentence, and be part of the note.

will do marvels, such as have not been [a] wrought 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
11 terrible thing that I do with thee. Observe thou that
which I command thee this day: behold, I drive out be-
fore 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
13 for a snare in the midst of thee: but ye shall break down
their altars, and dash in pieces their [b] pillars, and ye shall
14 cut down their [c] Asherim: for thou shalt worship no
other god: [J] for the LORD, whose name is Jea-
15 lous, is a jealous God: [R] lest thou 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
16 call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice; and thou take of

[a] Heb. *created.* [b] Or, *obelisks*
[c] Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess Asherah.

with thee, 'through thee' or 'on thy behalf.'

11. the Amorite, &c. See on iii. 8.

12 f. Deut. vii. 2, 5, 6.

13. pillars. Cf. xxiii. 24.

Asherim. The *'asherâ* was a wooden pillar erected at sanctuaries, perhaps originally a sacred tree, and then a pole representing a sacred tree. In early times the *'asherâ* was regarded as a legitimate adjunct, or 'ornament'—to use a modern ecclesiastical term—of the worship of Yahweh; but it was condemned by the Deuteronomic lawgivers, doubtless because it was connected with superstitious ideas and practices. Perhaps *'asherâ* is sometimes, e. g. 1 Kings xviii. 19, the name of a Canaanitish goddess of Fortune; and the *'asherâ*, the sacred pole, may have been regarded as a symbol of this deity.

14. Cf. xx. 3, 5.

15. go a whoring. In the Old Testament sexual immorality is constantly used as a figure for idolatrous worship.

one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice. An ordinary sacrifice was a dinner-party with a rather elaborate grace, so that it was difficult to have social relations with the heathen without

their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods. [J] Thou shalt make thee no 17
molten gods. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou 18
keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, [R] as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt. [J] All that openeth the womb is mine; 19
and all thy cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. And the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem 20
with a [a] lamb: and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none shall appear before me empty.
Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou 21
shalt rest: in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.
And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, *even* of the 22
firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's [b] end. Three times in the year shall all thy 23

[a] Or, *kid* [b] Heb. *revolution.*

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being implicated in their idolatry. The same problem arose as to the relations of the early Christians with Pagans, Rom. xiv. 13 ff.; 1 Cor. x. 14 ff.

17. molten gods. The prohibition of 'graven images,' xx. 4 (which see), is probably intended to condemn images of all kinds. Here the prohibition is limited to the more elaborate and expensive 'molten images' of bronze, silver, and gold, which were connected with Canaanite culture and superstition. The symbolic blocks of wood or stone, rough hewn, or in their natural state, might be tolerated.

18. Cf. xiii. 4, 6, xxiii. 15.

19. Cf. xiii. 12, xxii. 29.

20. Cf. xiii. 13, 15.

21. Cf. xx. 8, xxiii. 12.

in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest, i. e. even when the pressure of farmwork might tempt men to break the Sabbath.

22. weeks. The feast ended the seven weeks of harvest; cf. xxiii. 16.

at the year's end, lit. 'at the turn,' R. V. marg., 'revolution,'

males appear before the Lord GOD, the God of Israel.
24 [R] For I will cast out nations before thee, and enlarge
thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when
thou goest up to appear before the LORD thy God three
25 times in the year. [J] Thou shalt not offer the blood of
my sacrifice with leavened bread; [R] neither shall the
sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the
26 morning. [J] The first of the firstfruits of thy ground
thou shalt bring unto the house of the LORD thy God.
27 Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk. And
the LORD said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for
after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant
28 with thee and with Israel. 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 [a] commandments.
29 [P] And it came to pass, when Moses came down from

[a] Heb. *words.*

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teqûphath, of the year. In xxiii. 16 (which see) the corresponding phrase is lit. 'at the going forth of the year.'

23. Cf. xxiii. 17.

24. The author of this verse reflected that the absence of all the adult male population at some considerable distance from their homes would afford an excellent opportunity to enemies. Hence he expresses his conviction that Yahweh would quench the hostile desires of Israel's neighbours at these seasons. There would be a 'Truce of God,' as in the Middle Ages. The annotator assumes the single sanctuary at Jerusalem, remote from Northern Palestine. J, of course, knows nothing of such limitation of public worship.

25. Cf. xxiii. 18.

the sacrifice, apparently the Paschal lamb.

27. Cf. xxiii. 19.

28. And he wrote: 'he' = Moses. Apparently he was occupied for forty days in engraving this chapter on the stones.

xxxiv. 29-35. MOSES' VEIL.

29 f. (P). When Moses came down from Sinai his face shone with a supernatural light, so that Aaron and the Israelites were afraid to come near him.

mount Sinai with the two tables of the testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses wist not that the skin of his face [a] shone [b] by reason of his speaking with him. And when Aaron and 30
all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him. And Moses called unto them; and Aaron and all the 31
rulers of the congregation returned unto him: and Moses spake to them. And afterward all the children of Israel 32
came nigh: and he gave them in commandment all that the LORD had spoken with him in mount Sinai. And 33
when Moses had done speaking with them, he put a veil on his face. [S] But when Moses went in before the 34
LORD to speak with him, he took the veil off, until he came out; and he came out, and spake unto the children

[a] Or, *sent forth beams* (Heb. *horns*)
[b] Or, *while he talked with him*

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31 f. (P). But, at a summons from Moses, Aaron and the rulers came to him, and received his report as to the instructions given him by Yahweh. These he afterwards repeated to all the people.

33 (P). When he had finished he put a veil on his face.

34 f. (S). It was Moses' practice to wear the veil, except when he was communing with Yahweh, or reporting to the people what he had heard from Yahweh.

Sources, &c. P naturally suppresses the story of Aaron's apostasy, and therefore also the breaking of the first tables. Verses 34 f. are an editorial attempt to explain the obscure reference to the veil.

29. shone. The word used here, *qāran*, only occurs in this passage; as it is also the root used for horn, *qeren*, it is translated in the Vulgate and elsewhere 'was provided with horns.' Hence the representations of Moses with horns.

33. a veil. The word thus translated only occurs in this passage. The object of the veil would be to prevent the Israelites being distressed by continual exposure to the supernatural radiance. The explanation of 2 Cor. iii. 12–16, that Moses wore the veil that the Israelites might not see this radiance die out, does not suit the context here.

35 of Israel that which he was commanded; 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.

35 [P] And Moses assembled all the congregation of the children of Israel, and said unto them, These are the words which the LORD hath commanded, that ye should
2 do them. [a] Six 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
3 therein shall be put to death. Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the sabbath day.
4 [S] And Moses spake unto all the congregation of the

[a] See ch. xxxi. 15.

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xxxv. 1–3. THE SABBATH.

1–3. No work is to be done and no fire kindled on the Sabbath: the transgressor is to be put to death

2. Cf. xxxi. 15.

3. Cf. xvi. 23.

xxxv. 4—xxxix.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TABERNACLE AND ITS FURNITURE, AND THE MAKING OF THE PRIESTLY VESTMENTS AND ORNAMENTS (S).

Sources, &c. This section is chiefly an account of the carrying out of certain of the instructions recorded in xxv–xxviii, and was composed by one of the later Priestly writers. As the wording of the instructions is usually followed exactly, with only the necessary changes of person, tense, &c., it has not been necessary to give analysis and notes, except where there are alterations.

The Septuagint of these chapters differs very widely from the present Hebrew text. There are numerous omissions, both long and short, and the order of the various sections is different.

xxxv. 4–29. THE COLLECTION, &c.

This corresponds to xxv. 1–7, supplemented with a list of the various parts and pieces of furniture, &c., of the Tabernacle; and a statement that all the Israelites responded freely and liberally to the appeal for contributions.

children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the
LORD commanded, saying, [a] Take ye from among you an 5
offering unto the LORD: whosoever is of a willing heart,
let him bring it, the LORD's offering; gold, and silver,
and brass; and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine 6
linen, and goats' *hair*; and rams' skins dyed red, and 7
sealskins, and acacia wood; and oil for the light, and 8
spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense; and 9
onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod, and for
the breastplate. And let every wise hearted man among 10
you come, and make all that the LORD hath commanded;
the tabernacle, its tent, and its covering, its clasps, and 11
its boards, its bars, its pillars, and its sockets; the 12
ark, and the staves thereof, the mercy-seat, and the
veil of the screen; the table, and its staves, and all its 13
vessels, and the [b] shewbread; the candlestick also for 14
the light, and its vessels, and its lamps, and the oil for
the light; and the altar of incense, and its staves, and 15
the anointing oil, and the sweet incense, and the screen
for the door, at the door of the tabernacle; the altar of 16
burnt offering, with its grating of brass, its staves, and all
its vessels, the laver and its base; the hangings of the court, 17
the pillars thereof, and their sockets, and the screen for
the gate of the court; the pins of the tabernacle, and the 18
pins of the court, and their cords; the [c] finely wrought 19
garments, for ministering in the holy place, the holy gar-
ments for Aaron the priest, and the garments of his sons, to
minister in the priest's office.

And all the congregation of the children of Israel 20
departed from the presence of Moses. And they came, 21
every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one
whom his spirit made willing, *and* brought the LORD's

[a] See ch. xxv. 2-7. [b] Or, *Presence-bread* [c] See ch. xxxi 10.

offering, for the work of the tent of meeting, and for all the
22 service thereof, and for the holy garments. And they
came, both men and women, as many as were willing
hearted, *and* brought brooches, and [a] earrings, and signet-
rings, and [b] armlets, all jewels of gold; even every man
23 that offered an offering of gold unto the LORD. And
every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and
scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' *hair*, and rams' skins
24 dyed red, and sealskins, brought them. 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
27 wisdom spun the goats' *hair*. And the rulers brought
the [c] onyx stones, and the stones to be set, for the ephod,
28 and for the breastplate; and the spice, and the oil; for
the light, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet
29 incense. The children of Israel brought a freewill offer-
ing 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.

[a] Or, *nose-rings* [b] Or, *necklaces* [c] Or, *beryl*

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22. brooches. The word usually means 'hook,' some kind of ornament is intended.

offered an offering, lit. 'waved a wave-offering'; cf. xxix. 24.

24. offer an offering of silver . . . the LORD'S offering, lit. 'heave a heave-offering of silver . . . Yahweh's heave-offering'; cf. xxix. 27.

[a] And Moses said unto the children of Israel, See, the 30
LORD hath called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the
son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah; and he hath filled 31
him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding,
and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship; and 32
to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver,
and in brass, and in cutting of stones for setting, and in 33
carving of wood, to work in all manner of cunning work-
manship. And he hath put in his heart that he may 34
teach, both he, and Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the
tribe of Dan. Them hath he filled with wisdom of heart, to 35
work all manner of workmanship, of the [b] engraver, 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. And Bezalel and Oholiab 36
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 com-
manded.

And Moses called Bezalel and Oholiab, and every wise 2
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: and they received of Moses all the 3
offering, which the children of Israel had brought for the

[a] See ch. xxxi. 1–6. [b] Or, *craftsman*

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xxxv. 30—xxxvi. 7. BEZALEL AND OHOLIAB.

xxxv. 30—xxxvi. 1 (corresponds to xxxi. 1–11). Moses reports to the people Yahweh's instruction that the work for the Tabernacle shall be done by skilled workmen under the direction of Bezalel and Oholiab.

2–4. Moses sets them to work.

work of the service of the sanctuary, to make it withal.
And they brought yet unto him freewill offerings every
4 morning. And all the wise men, that wrought all the
work of the sanctuary, came every man from his work
5 which they wrought; 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
7 bringing. For the stuff they had was sufficient for all
the work to make it, and too much.

8 [a] And every wise hearted man among them that wrought
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
9 them. The length of each curtain was eight and twenty
cubits, and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: all
10 the curtains had one measure. And he coupled five
curtains one to another: and *the other* five curtains he
11 coupled one to another. And he made loops of blue
upon the edge of the one curtain [b] from the selvedge in
the coupling: likewise he made in the edge of the cur-
12 tain that was outmost in the second [c] coupling. Fifty

[a] See ch. xxvi. 1-14. [b] Or, *that was outmost in the* first *set*
[c] Or, *set*

5-7. They report that they have already received more contributions than are needed, and the people are told that they are to bring nothing more.

xxxvi. 8-19. THE MAKING OF THE DWELLING.

Corresponds to xxvi. 1-11, 14. The obscure verses xxvi. 12 f. are ignored.

loops made he in the one curtain, and fifty loops made he in the edge of the curtain that was in the second [a] coupling: the loops were opposite one to another. And he made fifty clasps of gold, and coupled the 13
curtains one to another with the clasps: so the tabernacle was one. And he made curtains of goats' *hair* for a 14
tent over the tabernacle: eleven curtains he made them. The length of each curtain was thirty cubits, and four 15
cubits the breadth of each curtain: the eleven curtains had one measure. And he coupled five curtains by 16
themselves, and six curtains by themselves. And he 17
made fifty loops on the edge of the curtain that was outmost in the [b] coupling, and fifty loops made he upon the edge of the curtain which was *outmost in* the second [a] coupling. And he made fifty clasps of brass to couple 18
the tent together, that it might be one. And he made 19
a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering of [c] sealskins above.

[d] And he made the boards for the tabernacle of acacia 20
wood, standing up. Ten cubits was the length of a 21
board, and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. Each board had two tenons, [e] joined one to another: 22
thus did he make for all the boards of the tabernacle. And he made the boards for the tabernacle; twenty 23
boards for the south side southward: and he made forty 24
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. And for the 25
second side of the tabernacle, on the north side, he

[a] Or, *set* [b] Or, first *set* [c] Or, *porpoise-skins*
[d] See ch. xxvi. 15–29. [e] Or, *morticed*

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xxxvi. 20–34. The Making of the Wooden Framework. Corresponds to xxvi. 15–29.

26 made twenty boards, and their forty sockets of silver;
two sockets under one board, and two sockets under
27 another board. And for the hinder part of the tabernacle
28 westward he made six boards. 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 [a] one ring: thus
30 he did to both of them in the two corners. And there
were eight boards, and their sockets of silver, sixteen
31 sockets; under every board two sockets. And he made
bars of acacia wood; five for the boards of the one side of
32 the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the other
side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the
33 tabernacle for the hinder part westward. And he made
the middle bar to pass through in the midst of the boards
34 from the one end to the other. 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 [b] And he made the veil of blue, and purple, and
scarlet, and fine twined linen: with cherubim the work of
36 the cunning workman made he it. 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
37 silver. And he made a screen for the door of the Tent,
of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen,
38 the work of the embroiderer; 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.

[a] Or, *the first* [b] See ch. xxvi. 31–37.

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xxxvi. 35–38. The Veil and the Screen.

Corresponds to xxvi. 31 f., 36 f. In verse 38, however, only the chapiters and fillets are overlaid with gold; in xxvi. 37 the whole pillars.

[a] And Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood: two 37
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: and he overlaid it with pure gold within and 2
without, and made a [b] crown of gold to it round about.
And he cast for it four rings of gold, in the four feet 3
thereof; even two rings on the one [c] side of it, and two
rings on the other [c] side of it. And he made staves of 4
acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold. And he put 5
the staves into the rings on the sides of the ark, to bear
the ark. And he made a [d] mercy-seat of pure gold: two 6
cubits and a half *was* the length thereof, and a cubit and
a half the breadth thereof. And he made two cherubim 7
of gold; of [e] beaten work made he them, at the two
ends of the mercy-seat; one cherub at the one end, and 8
one cherub at the other end: of one piece with the
mercy-seat made he the cherubim at the two ends
thereof. And the cherubim spread out their wings on 9
high, covering the mercy-seat with their wings, with their
faces one to another; toward the mercy-seat were the
faces of the cherubim.

[f] And he made the table of acacia wood: two cubits 10
was the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof,
and a cubit and a half the height thereof: and he over- 11
laid it with pure gold, and made thereto a crown of gold
round about. And he made unto it a border of an 12
handbreadth round about, and made a golden crown to

[a] See ch. xxv. 10-20. [b] Or, *rim* Or, *moulding* [c] Heb. *rib.*
[d] Or, *covering* [e] Or, *turned* [f] See ch. xxv. 23-29.

xxxvii. 1-9. The Ark.

Corresponds to xxv. 10-15, 18-20.

xxxvii. 10-16. The Table for the Shewbread.

Corresponds to xxv. 23-29.

13 the border thereof round about. And he cast for it four
rings of gold, and put the rings in the four corners that
14 were on the four feet thereof. 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
16 them with gold, to bear the table. 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 [a] And 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
18 with it: 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
19 of the other side thereof: 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
20 the candlestick. And in the candlestick were four cups
made like almond-blossoms, the knops thereof, and the
21 flowers thereof: 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
22 it, for the six branches going out of it. Their knops and
their branches were of one piece with it: the whole of it
23 was one beaten work of pure gold. And he made the
lamps thereof, seven, and the tongs thereof, and the
24 snuffdishes thereof, of pure gold. Of a talent of pure
gold made he it, and all the vessels thereof.

[a] See ch. xxv. 31–39.

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xxxvii. 17–24. THE LAMPSTAND.

Corresponds to xxv. 31–39.

[a] And he made the altar of incense of acacia wood: 25
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.
And he overlaid it with pure gold, the top thereof, and 26
the sides thereof round about, and the horns of it: and
he made unto it a crown of gold round about. And he 27
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. And he made the 28
staves of acacia wood, and overlaid them with gold.
[b] And he made the holy anointing oil, and the pure 29
incense of sweet spices, after the art of the perfumer.

[c] And he made the altar of burnt offering of acacia 38
wood: five cubits was the length thereof, and five cubits
the breadth thereof, foursquare; and three cubits the
height thereof. And he made the horns thereof upon 2
the four corners of it; the horns thereof were of one
piece with it: and he overlaid it with brass. And he 3
made all the vessels of the altar, the pots, and the shovels,
and the basons, the fleshhooks, and the firepans: all the
vessels thereof made he of brass. And he made for the 4
altar a grating of network of brass, under the ledge round

[a] See ch. xxx. 1–5. [b] See ch. xxx. 23, 24, 34, 35.
[c] See ch. xxvii. 1–8.

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xxxv. 25–28. The Altar of Incense.

Corresponds to xxx. 1–5.

xxxvii. 29. The Anointing Oil and the Incense.

This brief statement corresponds to the recipes given in xxx. 22–25, 34, 35.

xxxviii. 1–7. The Altar of Burnt-offering.

Corresponds to xxvii. 1–8.

it beneath, reaching halfway up. And he cast four rings
for the four ends of the grating of brass, to be places for
the staves. And he made the staves of acacia wood, and
overlaid them with brass. And he put the staves into
the rings on the sides of the altar, to bear it withal; he
made it hollow with planks.

[a] And he made the laver of brass, and the base thereof
of brass, of the mirrors of [b] the [c] serving women which
served at the door of the tent of meeting.

[d] And he made the court: for the south side southward
the hangings of the court were of fine twined linen, an
hundred cubits: their pillars were twenty, and their
sockets twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and
their fillets were of silver. And for the north side an
hundred cubits, their pillars twenty, and their sockets

[a] See ch. xxx. 18.
[b] Or, *the women which assembled to minister*
[c] See Num. iv. 23, viii. 24; 1 Sam. ii. 22.
[d] See ch. xxvii. 9-19.

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xxxviii. 8. The Brazen Laver.

Corresponds to xxx. 17 f., where, however, there is nothing about the 'serving women' or their 'mirrors.'

8. mirrors. Mirrors of bronze and other metals are often found amongst the remains of ancient Egypt, Assyria, &c.

serving women which served. Such a class is only mentioned elsewhere in 1 Sam. ii. 22. The author of this late section has forgotten to explain how such a class could have been formed before the Tabernacle existed. Ibn Ezra explains that they were women who gave up their mirrors for this purpose because they had devoted themselves to a 'religious' life and had no further use for mirrors; then, *after* the Tabernacle was set up, they spent their time at its door in devotion—an explanation more edifying than probable.

xxxviii. 9-20. The Court.

Corresponds to xxvii. 9-19. There are slight changes in the wording and in the order of the sentences. The overlaying of the chapiters with silver in verse 19 is not in the instructions.

twenty, of brass; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. And for the west side were hangings of fifty 12
cubits, their pillars ten, and their sockets ten; the hooks of the pillars and their fillets of silver. And for the east 13
side eastward fifty cubits. The hangings for the one 14
side *of the gate* were fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three; and so for the other side: on 15
this hand and that hand by the gate of the court were hangings of fifteen cubits; their pillars three, and their sockets three. All the hangings of the court round about 16
were of fine twined linen. And the sockets for the 17
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. And the screen for the gate of the court was the 18
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. And their pillars were 19
four, and their sockets four, of brass; their hooks of silver, and the overlaying of their chapiters and their fillets of silver. And all the pins of the tabernacle, and 20
of the court round about, were of brass.

This is the sum of *the things for* the tabernacle, even 21

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18. the height in the breadth. This admirably reproduces the obscurity of the original; which may possibly mean that the height corresponded to the breadth; cf. xxvii. 9 f.

xxxviii. 21-31. Summary of the Work done and the Materials used in Constructing the Tabernacle.

21-23. Introduction.
24. The gold used amounted to 29 talents, 730 shekels.
25. The silver to 100 talents, 177 shekels.
26. At the rate of half a shekel a head for the 603,550 adult Israelites.

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
22 the priest. And Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, made all that the LORD commanded
23 Moses. And with him was Oholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, [a] an 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,
25 after the shekel of the sanctuary. 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:

[a] Or, *a craftsman*

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27. The 100 talents of silver were used for the sockets, a talent for each one.

28. The rest of the silver was used for the hooks, chapiters, and fillets.

29-31. Of brass, 70 talents, 2,400 shekels, were used for the sockets of the door and the court, the brazen altar and its vessels, and the tent-pins.

21. testimony. Cf. xxv. 16.

Ithamar. Cf. vi. 23. In Num. iv. 28, 33, vii. 8 the Dwelling is the special charge of Ithamar.

22, 23. Cf. xxxi. 1-11.

24, 29. offering, wave-offering; so in xxxv. 22.

24. talents. Cf. xxv. 39. There were 3,000 shekels to the talent.

29 talents, 730 shekels. There is nothing to show how the figures were arrived at. It has been calculated that the weight of gold was about equivalent to that in £200,000 (cf. Baentsch), but the purchasing power would be much greater.

shekel of the sanctuary. Cf. xxx. 13.

a beka a head, *that is*, half a shekel, after the shekel of 26
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. And the hundred talents of 27
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. And of the 28
thousand seven hundred seventy and five *shekels* he made
hooks for the pillars, and overlaid their chapiters, and
made fillets for them. And the brass of the offering was 29
seventy talents, and two thousand and four hundred
shekels. And therewith he made the sockets to the door 30
of the tent of meeting, and the brasen altar, and the
brasen grating for it, and all the vessels of the altar, and 31
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.

And of the blue, and purple, and scarlet, they made 39
finely wrought garments, for ministering in the holy place,
and made the holy garments for Aaron; as the LORD
commanded Moses.

[a] And he made the ephod of gold, blue, and purple, 2

[a] See ch. xxviii. 6-12.

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26. Cf. xxx. 13. This verse presupposes the census, which was not taken till afterwards, Num. i. 46.

27. Cf. xxvi. 19 (40 sockets), 21 (40 sockets), 25 (16 sockets), 32 (4 sockets). The sockets for the pillars of the screen, xxvi. 37, and for the pillars of the court, xxvii. 10-18, were of brass.

xxxix. 1-26. THE EPHOD, BREASTPLATE, AND ROBE.

1. Cf. xxviii. 2-4, xxxi. 10.
2-7. Corresponds to xxviii. 6-12 *a*.
3. Not in the instructions.
6. Cf. xxviii. 9, 11 f. There is nothing corresponding to xxviii. 10.
8-21. Corresponds to xxviii. 15-28.

3 and scarlet, and fine twined linen. 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
4 the fine linen, the work of the cunning workman. They
made shoulderpieces for it, joined together: at the two
5 ends was it joined together. 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
7 to the names of the children of Israel. And he put them
on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of
memorial for the children of Israel; as the LORD com-
manded Moses.
8 [a] And he made the breastplate, the work of the cunning
workman, like the work of the ephod; of gold, of blue,
9 and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. It was
foursquare; they made the breastplate double: a span
was the length thereof, and a span the breadth thereof,
10 being double. 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
12 diamond. And the third row, a jacinth, an agate, and
13 an amethyst. And the fourth row, a beryl, an onyx, and
a jasper: they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their
14 settings. 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
15 name, for the twelve tribes. And they made upon the

[a] See ch. xxviii. 15-28.

breastplate chains like cords, of wreathen work of pure
gold. And they made two ouches of gold, and two gold 16
rings; and put the two rings on the two ends of the
breastplate. And they put the two wreathen chains of 17
gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate.
And the *other* two ends of the two wreathen chains they 18
put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulder-
pieces of the ephod, in the forepart thereof. And they 19
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. And they made 20
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. And they did bind the breastplate by 21
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.

[a] And he made the robe of the ephod of woven work, 22
all of blue; and the hole of the robe in the midst thereof, 23
as the hole of a coat of mail, with a binding round about
the hole of it, that it should not be rent. And they 24
made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue,
and purple, and scarlet, *and* twined *linen*. And they 25
made bells of pure gold, and put the bells between the

[a] See ch. xxviii. 31-34.

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16. two ouches. Cf. xxviii. 13.

22-26. Corresponds to xxviii. 31-34.

24. *and* **twined** *linen*. Not in the instructions: we may read 'he words which R. V. supplies in italics, or more probably omit 'twined.' Some scribe got so used to writing 'blue and purple nd scarlet and fine twined linen' that he went on from 'scarlet' o 'twined' without thinking what he was doing.

pomegranates upon the skirts of the robe round about,
26 between the pomegranates; 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 [a] And they made the coats of fine linen of woven work
28 for Aaron, and for his sons, and the [b] mitre of fine linen,
and the goodly headtires of fine linen, and the linen
29 breeches of fine twined linen, and the girdle of fine
twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, the work
of the embroiderer; as the LORD commanded Moses.
30 [c] And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure
gold, and wrote upon it a writing, like the engravings of
31 a signet, HOLY TO THE LORD. And they tied unto it a
lace of blue, to fasten it upon the [b] mitre 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.

[a] See ch. xxviii. 39, 40, 42. [b] Or, *turban*
[c] See ch. xxviii. 36, 37.

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xxxix. 27-31. THE TUNICS AND HEADGEAR.

27-29. Corresponds, with variations of wording, to xxviii. 39 f., 42; cf. xxviii. 4.

30 f. Corresponds to xxviii. 36 f.

holy crown. Not in the instructions.

xxxix. 32-43. CONCLUDING SUMMARY.

An expansion of xxxi. 6-11.

32-42. When the work was finished, everything was brought to Moses. The various items are enumerated.

43. He ascertained that the Divine instructions had been accurately carried out, and blessed the workers.

The place where each item is dealt with will be found in the Subject Index.

And they brought the tabernacle unto Moses, the 33
Tent, and all its furniture, its clasps, its boards, its bars,
and its pillars, and its sockets; and the covering of 34
rams' skins dyed red, and the covering of [a] sealskins, and
the veil of the screen; the ark of the testimony, and the 35
staves thereof, and the mercy-seat; the table, all the 36
vessels thereof, and the shewbread; the pure candlestick, 37
the lamps thereof, even the lamps to be set in order, and
all the vessels thereof, and the oil for the light; and the 38
golden altar, and the anointing oil, and the sweet incense,
and the screen for the door of the Tent; the brasen 39
altar, and its grating of brass, its staves, and all its
vessels, the laver and its base; the hangings of the court, 40
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; the finely wrought garments for 41
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. According to all that the LORD 42
commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did all the
work. And Moses saw all the work, and, behold, they 43
had done it; as the LORD had commanded, even so had
they done it: and Moses blessed them.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, On the first **40**
day of the first month shalt thou rear up the tabernacle
of the tent of meeting. And thou shalt put therein the 3

[a] Or, *porpoise-skins*

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xl. 1–14. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE ERECTION OF THE TABERNACLE, AND FOR THE CONSECRATION OF THE TABERNACLE, OF ITS BELONGINGS, AND OF AARON AND HIS SONS.

For the various items see Subject Index as above.

1. first month. Cf. xii. 2, xiii. 4.

ark of the testimony, and thou shalt screen the ark with
4 the veil. And thou shalt bring in the table, and set in
order the things that are upon it; and thou shalt bring
5 in the candlestick, and [a] light the lamps thereof. And
thou shalt set the golden altar for incense before the ark
of the testimony, and put the screen of the door to the
6 tabernacle. 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
8 and the altar, and shalt put water therein. And thou
shalt set up the court round about, and hang up the
9 screen of the gate of the court. 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:
10 and it shall be holy. And thou shalt anoint the altar of
burnt offering, and all its vessels, and sanctify the altar:
11 and the altar shall be most holy. And thou shalt anoint
12 the laver and its base, and sanctify it. And thou shalt
bring Aaron and his sons unto the door of the tent of
13 meeting, and shalt wash them with water. And thou
shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments; and thou shalt
anoint him, and sanctify him, that he may minister unto
14 me in the priest's office. And thou shalt bring his sons,
15 and put coats upon them: 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

[a] Or, *set up*

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4. set in order the things that are upon it. A single word in the Hebrew. Cf. xxv. 29 f. 'The things' are the shewbread, spoons, dishes, &c.

7. Cf. xxx. 18.

9-15. Repeats with slight variations xxx. 26-30. Cf. xxviii. 41, Lev. viii.

14 f. In ch. xxx the sons are coupled with Aaron; here a separate paragraph is devoted to them.

be to them for an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations. Thus did Moses: according to all that the 16
LORD commanded him, so did he.

And it came to pass in the first month in the second 17
year, on the first day of the month, that the tabernacle was reared up. And Moses reared up the tabernacle, 18
and laid its sockets, and set up the boards thereof, and put in the bars thereof, and reared up its pillars. And he 19
spread the tent over the tabernacle, and put the covering of the tent above upon it; as the LORD commanded Moses. And he took and put the testimony into the 20
ark, and set the staves on the ark, and put the mercy-seat above upon the ark: and he brought the ark into 21
the tabernacle, and set up the veil of the screen, and screened the ark of the testimony; as the LORD commanded Moses. And he put the table in the tent of meet- 22
ing, upon the side of the tabernacle northward, without the veil. And he set the bread in order upon it before the 23
LORD; as the LORD commanded Moses. And he put 24
the candlestick in the tent of meeting, over against the table, on the side of the tabernacle southward. And he 25
[a] lighted the lamps before the LORD; as the LORD commanded Moses. And he put the golden altar in the 26

[a] Or, *set up*

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15. an everlasting priesthood. Cf. xxix. 9; Num. xxv. 13.

xl. 17–38. THE ERECTION OF THE TABERNACLE.

For the various items see Subject Index, as above.

16–33. Moses carries out the instructions given in verses 1–13.

34 f. The Glory of Yahweh fills the Tabernacle, so that Moses cannot enter.

36 ff. When Israel encamped anywhere the Pillar of Fire and Cloud descended upon the Tabernacle, and Israel remained at that place till the Pillar was taken up; then they broke up their camp and marched on.

17. the second year, after leaving Egypt.

27 tent of meeting before the veil: and he burnt thereon
incense of sweet spices; as the LORD commanded
28 Moses. And he put the screen of the door to the
29 tabernacle. 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;
30 as the LORD commanded Moses. And he set the laver
between the tent of meeting and the altar, and put water
31 therein, to wash withal. [a] And 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
33 commanded Moses. 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
35 glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle. And Moses was
not able to enter into the tent of meeting, because the
cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the LORD filled
36 the tabernacle. And when the cloud was taken up from
over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward,
37 throughout all their journeys: but if the cloud were not
taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was
38 taken up. 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.

[a] See ch. xxx. 19, 20.

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27. he burnt thereon incense . . . 29. . . . and offered upon it the burnt-offering, &c. As Aaron and his sons are not yet consecrated Moses acts as priest.

34. the glory of the LORD. Cf. xxix. 43.

The consecration of Aaron and his sons and the Tabernacle, in accordance with verses 9 ff., is narrated in Lev. viii.

APPENDIX I

THE ORIGIN OF THE PASSOVER

It has been pointed out in the notes[1] that the Passover, *Pesaḥ*, was originally distinct from the Feast of Unleavened Bread, *Maççôth*. The antiquity of the Passover is generally accepted by scholars, and it is believed to have been derived from the nomad period of the History of Israel. Indeed it is sometimes thought to be older than Moses, and to be one of the features of ancient Semitic religion, which were retained by the worshippers of Yahweh, and were finally adopted by Revealed Religion.

The late Prof. W. Robertson Smith wrote[2]:—

'Among the annual piacula of the more advanced Semites which, though they are not mystical sacrifices of an "unclean" animal, yet bear on their face the marks of extreme antiquity, the first place belongs to the Hebrew Passover, held in the spring month Nisan, where the primitive character of the offering appears not only from the details of the ritual, but from the coincidence of the season with that of the Arabian sacrifices in the month Rajab.'

Similarly Prof. Rudolph Smend[3]:—

'The Passover sacrifice was not originally connected with Yahweh; it is older than the God of Israel.'

The Passover is generally regarded as a later modification of the spring sacrifice of the firstlings of cattle by the nomads; but Benzinger[4] and others regard the sprinkling of the doorposts, &c., with blood as the essential and primitive element of the ritual. Such ceremonies were common in early times either as an offering to the household gods, who were supposed to have their seat at the door or the threshold, or were represented there by their images; or as a protection against hostile demons who might wish to force their way into the tent.

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[1] P. 115. [2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 406.
[3] A. T., *Religionsgeschichte*, p. 127.
[4] *Enc. Bibl.*, art. Passover.

APPENDIX II

THE TABERNACLE

(Cf. Introduction, pp. 6 ff. and notes on xxxi ff.)

THE account of the Tabernacle is in many respects incomplete and obscure. The various models and pictures with which most of us are familiar can only be constructed by supplying much as to which the Bible is silent; by putting a more or less probable, but far from certain, interpretation on ambiguous phrases; and by ignoring minor details of the description which are inconsistent with more important passages. The use of some such method is inevitable, if we are to try to realize the intention of the author.

Up to a certain point these intentions are obvious; but in other matters there are gaps in our information, or the author's meaning is doubtful.

(i) Let us take first what is *obvious*. Even here we obtain our results partly by interpretation; the general intention is, as it seems to us, perfectly clear, and up to a certain point can be used to interpret what is ambiguous, and to supplement what is inadequate.

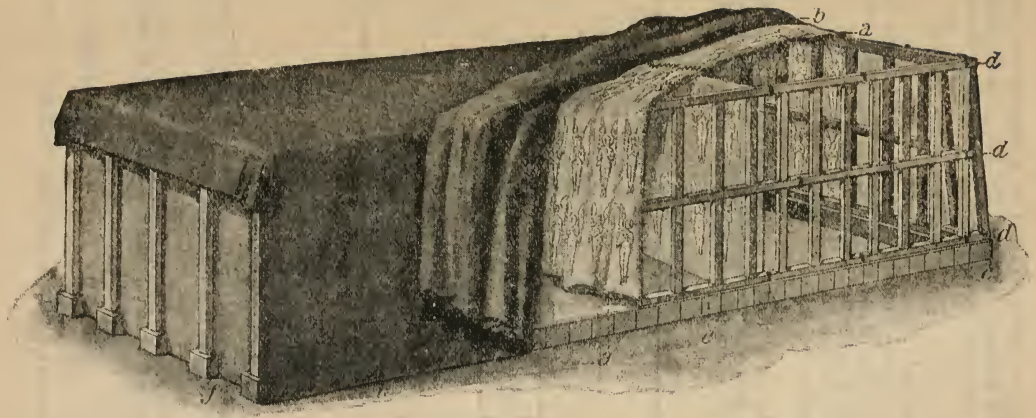
The Tabernacle, then, was to be a movable Sanctuary, provided with a movable barrier which was to be arranged so as to form an enclosure round it. The Tabernacle itself had a wooden framework, consisting of boards or wooden frames. These were provided with sockets in which they were to be fixed, so that they could stand upright. These were to be overlaid with gold. They formed two sides and a back, leaving the front open.

This framework was to be covered by a tent—the Dwelling—composed of a series of curtains fastened together, and also a veil dividing the Tabernacle into two parts, and a screen shutting in the open front of the wooden framework. The curtains were supported by the framework, and the veil and screen by pillars. Over this Dwelling were three upper coverings.

This Tabernacle was divided into an inner chamber, the Most Holy Place, containing the Ark; an outer chamber, the Holy Place, containing a seven-branched Lampstand, a Table for the Shewbread, and—perhaps—an Altar of Incense (cf. on xxx. 1–5).

The outer barrier consisted of curtains, supported on pillars, standing in sockets, and formed an oblong enclosure. Here stood the Altar of Sacrifice in front of the Tabernacle.

It is clearly the intention of the author that the Most Holy



MODEL OF TABERNACLE in perspective, with the two upper coverings removed, showing the framework covered by the tapestry curtains, *a a* with the cherubim figures, the goats'-hair curtains of 'the tent' *b b*, one of the corner frames *c*, the bars *d d d*, the veil *e*, and the screen *f*. (From Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy's Article TABERNACLE in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.)

Place, 'the Holy of Holies,' should be a cube of 10 × 10 × 10 cubits; and that the outer chamber, the Holy Place, should be also 10 cubits high, and 10 cubits broad, but double the length, i. e. 20 cubits.

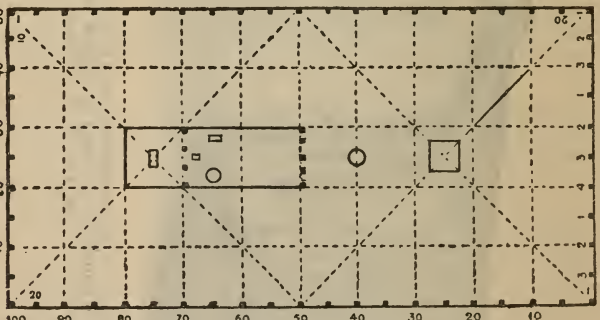
The enclosure or court was 100 cubits by 50 cubits, with a barrier 5 cubits high.

The Holy of Holies formed exactly the centre square of the hinder or western half of the court; and corresponding to it, the Altar of Sacrifice stood in the middle of the centre square of the front or eastern half of the court.

The Tabernacle and its court stand east and west, facing the east.

The materials, gold, silver, brass, costly clothes dyed various bright colours, show that the Sanctuary was intended to provide a unique example of conspicuous splendour, erected regardless of expense.

NORTH



SOUTH

PLAN OF THE COURT OF THE TABERNACLE

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$ in. = 1 cubit.

(From Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible.*)

The Tabernacle is made up of comparatively small portions, curtains, boards, &c., so that it may be readily put up and taken down, and moved from place to place.

The structure is a compromise between two kinds of sanctuaries; the wooden framework corresponds to a Temple such as Solomon's, the coverings represent a Tent.

(ii) Next let us consider the *omissions* and *ambiguities* of the description.

(*a*) *Floor.* No provision is made for any covering for the ground.

It seems strange that this should be so in a description of a magnificent structure, and that nothing should be said about it. Egyptian temples, however, had no marble floors; carpets or other coverings are sometimes laid on the floor in the tents of Bedouin sheikhs.

(*b*) *Tent-ridge*, &c. The present writer consulted a friend with much practical experience in manufacturing tents and other structures of wood, cloth, &c.; and his opinion is that the Tabernacle would not be stable without numerous supports in addition to those mentioned in *Exodus*, joists, cross-pieces, &c. Some sort of wooden ridge to support the four heavy cloth coverings seems required.

At first sight we might find a way out of the difficulty in the indefiniteness of *Exodus*—thickness of the boards is not given, and we may imagine them as substantial as we like. But this only lands us in a dilemma. If they are thin, they will not stand the strain to which they are exposed; but if they are thick—and some maintain they are 1½ cubits thick—the difficulties of transport become enormous, and no timber accessible in the wilderness would furnish such beams.

(*c*) *Inner and Outer Measurements*, &c. Other considerations, too, are involved in the thickness of the boards. While all, practically, are agreed that the Holy of Holies was a cube of 10 cubits each way, much time has been spent on discussing whether the ten cubits are to be measured inside or outside. The present writer does not feel that either view will work, and is convinced that the Priestly author did not take into account the difference between inner and outer measurement, i. e. he quite ignored the thickness of the boards. In the same way he ignores the adjustments necessary at corners; his arrangement of pillars will not work as he obviously intends it should; and he does not allow for folds and slackness of curtains—he assumes that they will be perfectly rigid.[1]

(*d*) *The Arrangement of the Curtains*, &c. It is not expressly said how the Curtains and other coverings are to be placed over the wooden framework; but the dimension of the goats'-hair curtains from edge to edge, *across* the framework, viz. 30 cubits, i. e. the sum of the breadth and the height of the two sides, implies that the coverings were to be laid over the wooden framework, as a pall is laid over a coffin.

Another view, however, has been taken. It has been supposed that there was to be a roof-ridge higher than the sides, so that the edges of the curtains hung at some 4 or 5 cubits from the ground. But this view would add considerably to the difficulty of understanding the description.

---

[1] Cf. p. 212.

(iii) *The Tabernacle and the Temples.* The same general plan is common to the Tabernacle and the four Temples—those of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod, and that designed by Ezekiel; in all four there is a building with inner and outer chambers, with an altar in front and an enclosure or court. The contents of the chambers were the same, except that there was no Ark in the post-exilic Temples.

In the Temples of Solomon and Ezekiel the dimensions of the two chambers were double those of the Tabernacle, the Holy Place was 40 × 20 × 20 cubits, and the Holy of Holies 20 × 20 × 20[1]. There were cells or small chambers built on to these; and there were additional courts, &c., &c. Instead of the one seven-branched lampstand Solomon's Temple had ten single lampstands; but the seven-branched stand reappeared in the Temple of Herod.

(iv) *Origin and Nature of the Priestly Description of the Tabernacle.* We know from the other documents of the Pentateuch that the Israelites had a tradition of a Sacred Tent in use amongst their ancestors during the wanderings. It is possible, though not probable, that this tradition as it reached the Priestly writers included some general statements as to its dimensions, arrangement, and equipment. But whatever tradition may have been available was clearly supplemented and corrected by reminiscences of Solomon's Temple.

As, however, the purpose of the description was to guide the Jews in restoring the Temple; the writer had introduced modifications which seemed desirable. What we know of the later Temples shows that those who built them understood that this was the purpose of these chapters, and used them accordingly.

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[1] There is a difficulty as to the height.

APPENDIX III

THE DATE OF HAMMURABI.

(Cf. Introduction, pp. 10, 13 ff., and notes 168 ff.)

The reader may be surprised at the variety and range of the dates given for Hammurabi. They are due to a recent discovery that certain Babylonian dynasties before supposed to be consecutive were really contemporaneous, so that there was only a single period, during which two or more dynasties ruled side by side, instead of a number of periods. Hence the reduction in the figures for Hammurabi and other ancient dates. There is not at present any exact agreement amongst Assyriologists as to what the new date is to be. One friend, who is an authority on this subject, mentioned to the present writer about B. C. 1920. Dr. Paul Haupt gives in a letter B. C. 1958–1916. Others, as in the notes, give B. C. 2100; thus Tofteen, *Ancient Chronology*, Part I, gives B. C. 2109-2066.

Attempts are made, for apologetic purposes, to show an agreement between the Babylonian and the Biblical Chronology. But in addition to the inconsistencies pointed out in the Introduction, the Biblical data are rendered uncertain by the variations between the figures in the Massoretic Hebrew text, the Samaritan Hebrew text,[1] and the various MSS. of the Septuagint. In view of the uncertainties on both the Biblical side and the Babylonian, it would be premature to build on any supposed agreement between them.

[1] Samaritan Pentateuch.

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