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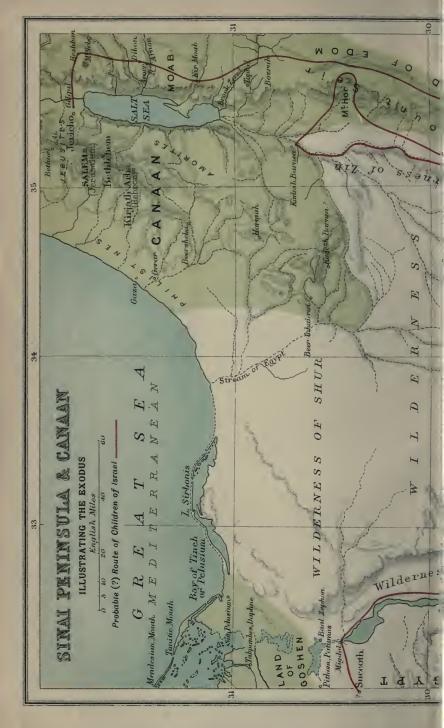
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## Leviticus and Numbers

INTRODUCTION
REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES
INDEX AND MAP

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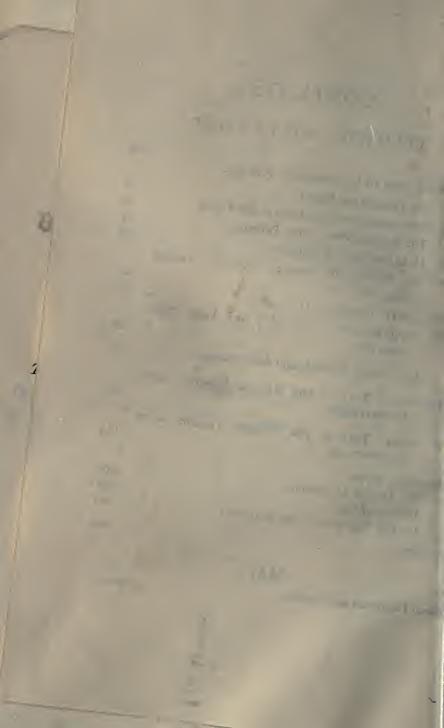
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# THE BOOKS OF LEVITICUS AND NUMBERS

INTRODUCTION

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## THE BOOKS OF LEVITICUS AND NUMBERS

#### INTRODUCTION

#### I. THE TITLES OF THE BOOKS.

'THE third Book of Moses, commonly (so R. V.) called Leviticus, the fourth Book of Moses, commonly called Numbers'—by these titles the reader is reminded that the two books in question are not independent literary productions, but the third and fourth sections of a larger whole, variously named 'the Torah' (i. e. 'direction,' 'instruction,' then 'law'), 'the five Books of Moses,' and 'the Pentateuch.' The last of these, the name now generally adopted, is in origin a Greek term signifying the 'five-volume' book, and has reference to the separate rolls on which the five sections of the Torah were inscribed. This application of the term Pentateuch goes back to at least the second century of our era; the corresponding Latin form, *Pentateuchus* (scil. liber), is first found in the works of Irenaeus.

In our Hebrew Bibles the individual books of the Torah bear titles consisting of one or more of the opening words of each book. On the other hand the names by which they have been known in the Christian Church from the first are descriptive of the contents, in whole or in part, of the several books. They belonged originally to the Septuagint (LXX), the name given to the translation of the Torah which was made for the use of the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria about the middle of the third century B.C. From the LXX they passed into the Vulgate, the Latin Bible of the Western Church, from which they passed in turn into our English Bibles (Genesis, Exodus,

&c.). The titles of the two books commented on in the following pages demand, however, a fuller explanation.

The title of Leueitikon, which 'the third Book of Moses' bears in the Septuagint, appears in the Vulgate in its Latin form Leviticus (scil. liber), both signifying 'the Levitical book,' The Greek adjective is once used, and in the same sense, in the New Testament by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who refers to the priesthood of Aaron as 'the Levitical priesthood' (vii, 11). Leviticus, therefore, is the section of the Torah which deals with the priests and their duties, not, as one might hastily infer, with the subordinate caste of the hierarchy to whom the term Levites is confined in certain parts of the Pentateuch (see p. 199 f. below). As a matter of fact there is but a single mention of the 'Levites'-and that from a late source—in the whole of Leviticus (xxv. 32 ff.). Leviticus, in short, is so named because it contains 'the law of the priests,' the not inappropriate title which it bears in more than one passage of the Mishna.

As regards the title of the Book of Numbers, it is interesting to note that while the titles of the other four books of the Pentateuch were taken over from the Septuagint with only such changes as were necessary to give them Latin terminations, the Greek title (Arithmoi) of this book was translated, and became Numeri in the Vulgate, in English, Numbers. This is practically identical with a title also found in the Mishna, 'the book of the mustered' or 'numbered,' both titles having reference to the 'numbering' or census of the Hebrew tribes commanded and carried out in the opening chapters of the book (see Num. i-iii and cf. xxvi, a second census).

#### II. ARRANGEMENT AND CONTENTS OF THE BOOKS.

It will be convenient at this point to give a conspectus of the Books of Leviticus and Numbers showing the main divisions and subdivisions adopted in this volume before proceeding to examine in greater detail the nature and history of their contents.

#### LEVITICUS.

#### First Division. CHAPTERS I-VII.

LAWS RELATING TO SACRIFICE.

A. i—vi. 7. The ritual of the five principal offerings—addressed to the community as a whole.

- (a) i. The ritual of the burnt-offering.
- (b) ii. ,, meal-offering.
- (c) iii. ,, ,, peace-offering.
- (d) iv. 1-v. 13. The ritual of the sin-offering.
- (e) v. 14-vi. 7. The law of the guilt-offering.

B. vi. 8—vii. 38. Supplementary directions for the ritual of sacrifice—addressed to the priests.

(With one exception [see p. 60] the sections follow the same order as those of A.)

#### Second Division. CHAPTERS VIII-X.

THE CONSECRATION AND INSTALLATION OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD.

- (a) viii. Consecration of Aaron and his sons.
- (b) ix. Aaron and his sons enter upon their office.
- (c) x. The death of Nadab and Abihu, with sundry regulations for the priests.

#### Third Division. CHAPTERS XI-XVI.

Laws relating to Uncleanness and Purification, including the Special Rites of the Day of Atonement (XVI).

- (a) xi. Laws relating chiefly to clean and unclean animals.
- (b) xii. The law of the purification of women after child-birth.
- (c) xiii, xiv. Laws concerning leprosy and the necessary purifications.
- (d) xv. Laws concerning the uncleanness of issues.
- (e) xvi. The Day of Atonement.

#### Fourth Division. Chapters XVII—XXVI.

#### THE HOLINESS CODE.

- (a) xvii. Laws relating to sacrifice and kindred topics.
- (b) xviii—xx. Laws relating chiefly to social morality.
- (c) xxi, xxii. Laws relating to priesthood and sacrifice.
- (d) xxiii—xxv. The cycle of sacred seasons and other matters.
- (e) xxvi. The close of the Holiness Code in the form of a hortatory address.

#### Appendix. CHAPTER XXVII.

ON THE COMMUTATION OF VOTIVE OFFERINGS AND TITHES.

#### NUMBERS.

#### First Division. CHAPTERS I-X. 10.

LAWS AND REGULATIONS GIVEN AT SINAL

- (a) i, ii. The first census and the disposition of the camp.
- (b) iii, iv. The Levites and their duties.
- (c) v, vi. Various laws and regulations, including the ordeal of jealousy and the law of the Nazirite.
- (d) vii. The offerings of the secular heads of the tribes.
- (e) viii. The dedication of the I.evites.
- (f) ix. 1—x. 10. A supplementary Passover law and other matters.

## Second Division. CHAPTERS X. 11—XX. 13. TRADITIONS OF THE WILDERNESS PERIOD, WITH ACCOMPANYING LEGISLATION.

- (a) x. 11-xii. 16. From Sinai to Kadesh.
- (b) xiii, xiv. The mission of the spies.
- (c) xv. A group of laws relating chiefly to ritual.
- (d) xvi-xviii. The mutiny of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the prerogatives and dues of the priests and Levites.
- (e) xix. The Red Heifer, or the ritual of purification from uncleanness caused by contact with the dead.
- (f) xx. 1-13. Death of Miriam at Kadesh. The 'waters of strife,' and exclusion of Moses and Aaron from the land of promise.

### Third Division. Chapters XX, 14—XXXVI, 13. From Kadesh to the Plains of Moab.

- (a) xx. 14—xxi. 35. The Hebrews, refused a passage through Edom, make a long detour and take possession of the country east of the Jordan.
- (b) xxii-xxiv. Balak and Balaam.
- (c) xxv-xxvii. A miscellaneous section (see p. 334).
- (d) xxviii, xxix. A table of the public offerings for the stated festivals.
- (e) xxx. The validity of women's vows.
- (f) xxxi. A holy war against Midian, and legislation based thereon.
- (g) xxxii. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and (part of) Manasseh are allotted territory east of the Jordan.
- (h) xxxiii. 1-49. An annotated itinerary of the route from Egypt to the Jordan.
- (i) xxxiii. 50—xxxvi. 13. A group of laws having reference to the impending occupation of Canaan.

From the foregoing synopsis it will be seen that in the Books of Leviticus and Numbers the historical element is completely overshadowed by the legal, since the whole of Leviticus and three-fourths, or more, of Numbers belong to one or other of the collections of priestly laws and precedents which it has become usual to group under the comprehensive title of the Priests' Code (symbol P, see below, pp. 20-31).

The Book of Exodus, it will be remembered, closes with the erection of the Tabernacle—properly 'the Dwelling' (of Yahweh)—and its consecration by the presence within it and over it of the Divine Glory. At the beginning of Leviticus, therefore, we should have expected to find an account of the solemn inauguration of the Tabernacle worship. But for this we have to wait till ch. ix, and in its place we find a manual of sacrifice (i-vii) in which the chief varieties of altar-offerings are enumerated, and the ritual appropriate to each is prescribed. These chapters of Leviticus must have had a history of their own before

being inserted in the place which they now occupy (see sect. vii, and more fully in the introductory note, p. 37). Here, however, let us note that while chapters i-v are said to have been revealed to Moses 'out of the tent of meeting' (i. 1), the remainder of the section is said to have been received by the Hebrew lawgiver 'in Mount Sinai' (see note on vii. 37 f.).

The next section (viii-x) consists of three closely related chapters, which record the consecration by Moses of Aaron and his four sons as the priests of the wilderness sanctuary, in accordance with the Divine instructions already given in Exod. xxix. In Lev. x. 10 f. it is stated that one of the most important, as it was undoubtedly one of the oldest, duties of the priest is to 'put difference between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean.' This reference to the priest as the arbiter in cases of uncleanness explains the position of Lev. xi-xv, a section of the greatest importance devoted to laws and regulations relating to uncleanness in its most varied forms (see the synopsis above), with the requisite rites of purification. From these the great expiation rite of the Day of Atonement, which occupies ch. xvi, cannot be separated, since it represents the culmination and crown of the purification-rites of the old covenant.

The ten chapters, Lev. xvii-xxvi, have long been recognized as possessing certain characteristics which mark them off from the rest of the Pentateuch legislation, and entitle them to be regarded as forming a separate collection of laws, on which the name of the Holiness Code (symbol H) is now universally bestowed. In chs. xviii-xx of this Code we have the only examples of moral precepts and social, as opposed to ceremonial, legislation contained in the Book of Leviticus. The difficult problem of the history and date of the Holiness Code falls to be discussed at a later stage (see sect. vi). According to the present colophon (xxvi. 46), 'the statutes and judge-

ments and laws' of this section were given, like the contents of vi. 8—vii. 38, 'to the children of Israel in Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses.'

According to the scheme of chronology adopted by the compiler or compilers of the Pentateuch, the giving of the laws now embodied in Leviticus must be assigned to the first month of the second year, reckoning from the Exodus (see Exod. xl. 1, 17; Num. i. 1). The Israelites, however, are not yet ready to leave the mount of lawgiving, for the organization of the theocratic community and the arrangements for the ordered worship of the Deity who has now condescended to dwell among them are still incomplete. Accordingly the first division of the Book of Numbers opens with the 'numbering' of the twelve secular tribes, and of the priestly tribe of Levi, as a preliminary to the necessary organization. On this follows the elaborate plan of the wilderness camp, a 'city of God' in the desert of Sinai, which the author has made the vehicle for the inculcation of spiritual truths regarding God's perfection and man's sinfulness (see below, p. 194 f.). The organization of the sanctuary and its worship is also completed by the setting apart of the tribe of Levi to an office intended to be one of great dignity and honour, although concerned only with the menial duties of the Tabernacle and its service.

With these topics, which occupy Num. i-iv and viii, have been incorporated various laws and regulations; some of these, such as the ordeal of jealousy in ch. v and the law of the Nazirite in ch. vi, are of special interest as representing beliefs and practices of a remote antiquity, which are here taken over and invested with a new significance by the later exponents of Hebrew religion and law.

In the arrangement of the contents of Numbers given above, and adopted in the body of the commentary, a new division is held to begin at x. II with the signal to leave Mount Sinai and to enter upon the second stage of the journey of the Hebrew tribes to the land of Canaan. In

this division we find almost all that the later historians have seen fit to hand down-many would say all that the popular tradition of their day had preserved-regarding the long period of the desert wanderings. The surprising meagreness of the details recorded must strike every student of Numbers. Here also we meet for the first time, since Exod. xxxiv, with extracts from the older Pentateuch sources, J and E (see below, pp. 16 ff.). These extracts contain divergent traditions regarding the guidance of the Hebrew tribes on their desert march to Kadesh, followed by others which seem to duplicate the stories of the manna and the quails already given in Exodus. Of the incidents located at Kadesh by the early traditions the most important, from the historian's point of view, is the mission of the spies in chs. xiii, xiv. Here, it may be confidently asserted, we have to do with a genuine historical tradition, for all modern investigators are agreed that Kadesh-the modern 'Ain Kadīs (see note on Num. xiii. 26)—played an important part, more important indeed than the present fragmentary condition of the sources at first sight suggests, in the history of the period with which we are now dealing (see the notes in loc.). From Kadesh it was to be expected that an attempt would be made to enter Canaan by one or other of the routes through the Negeb or South-land to Hebron. Of the failure of one or more of such attempts we have an echo in the traditions in question. Kadesh is also the scene of an important incident—whose precise nature it is now difficult to grasp (see notes on Num.xx. 1-13)—by which Hebrew tradition sought to explain the exclusion of Moses and Aaron from the land of promise.

With these historical traditions is combined a considerable amount of matter drawn from priestly sources. Thus the traditions relating to certain originally distinct mutinies against the secular leadership of Moses and against the privileged position of the tribe of Levi, now joined to form one composite narrative (see pp. 278 ff.), afford an

opportunity for the definite regulation of the prerogatives and dues of priests and Levites (Num. xvi-xviii). At this point there has also been inserted a chapter (xix) containing directions for the preparation of a special cathartic, or medium of purification, from the ashes of a cow, the so-called 'red heifer,' and presenting several features of interest to the student of the rites of purification.

Just as the second division of Numbers has been held to begin with the departure of the Israelites from Sinai, so the preparation for the departure from Kadesh (xx. 14 ff.) forms an appropriate opening for the third division (xx. 14-xxxvi). Here again the legislative matter greatly exceeds the historical. The latter, indeed, is almost entirely confined to the first section (xx. 14-xxi. 35), which gives asummary account of the long detour necessary to 'compass the land of Edom,' followed by an equally brief account of the conquest of the territory lying to the east of the Jordan. On this follows the section containing the familiar episode of Balaam (xxii-xxiv). Invirtue of itsliterary merits and the mystery attaching to the personality and character of its chief actor, and from the nature of its contents generally, this section is probably regarded by most students of Scripture as the most interesting in the Book of Numbers.

The last twelve chapters, from xxv. 6 onwards, consist of laws and precedents of the most varied character, but all bearing the unmistakable stamp of the priestly school of legislators. The greater part, as will be shown in a later section, must be of a date subsequent to that of the main body of the Priests' Code. The most important section is that dealing with the additional offerings prescribed for the great festivals of the ecclesiastical year (xxviii, xxix). Here the student will find valuable material for the history of the development of the Temple ritual in the post-exilic period.

#### III. THE MODERN VIEW OF THE PENTATEUCH.

The two books whose contents have been summarized in the preceding section form, as has been said, continuous portions of the first of the three main divisions of the Hebrew Scriptures, variously named the Torah, 'the Law' (so repeatedly in the New Testament, Matt. xii. 5; Luke ii. 23; John i. 45, &c.), the Pentateuch. As the two former designations lead us to expect, the Pentateuch is found to consist of four books or volumes mainly composed of law -one, Leviticus, is entirely so composed-set in a framework of history, with a fifth volume, the Book of Genesis, prefixed as an historical introduction to the other four. Now the legislation of the Pentateuch is consistently represented as given for a special purpose; its aim, stated in general terms, is to raise up a holy people for Yahweh, the covenant God of Israel, and to keep this people distinct from the nations around them. The history, into which the legislation is now fitted as a jewel in its setting, tells of Yahweh's choice of Israel to be His own special and 'peculiar' people. Thus history and legislation are found to blend into a harmonious whole, giving to the books of the Pentateuch an unmistakable unity of thought and purpose. Strictly speaking, one ought to include in this unity the Book of Joshua, which is related to the preceding books as fulfilment is related to promise. Hence has grown up the modern practice of grouping together the first six Books of the Old Testament under the title Hexateuch (the 'six-volume' book).

But unity after all is a relative term. A general unity of plan and purpose may be, and often is, found in a work made up of contributions by several authors agreeing in their general attitude to the subject under discussion, while differing from each other in their way of presenting it, and in the emphasis which they lay on its different parts. Such a work, according to the modern view, is the Pentateuch. The Christian Church, as every one knows, took

over from the Jewish Church of the first century the books of its sacred Canon, the only 'sacred writings' (2 Tim. iii. 15 R.V.) known to the first generation of Christians. Along with these Scriptures of the Old Testament came the then generally accepted beliefs regarding their authorship and date. Of these none was more surely believed than the already venerable tradition that the five books of the Torah were from the pen of the Hebrew lawgiver, Moses.

Equally familiar to every student of the Century Bible is the fact that, as the result of two centuries of patient research, this tradition of the Mosaic authorship is now rejected by the vast majority of Old Testament scholars. The Pentateuch, it is now maintained, is neither the work of a single author, nor even the product of a single age, but a compilation from a number of older and originally independent works, separated from each other in date by several centuries. It does not fall within the scope of this Introduction, which is concerned mainly with the Books of Leviticus and Numbers, to set forth in detail the grounds on which the modern view of the origin and literary history of the Pentateuch is based 1. It must suffice to say, in the most general terms, that the Mosaic authorship of the books of the Pentateuch can no longer be upheld in the face of the evidence as to their origin and history

¹ The literature of Pentateuch criticism is already enormous. The average student will find all he needs in the standard English work on the subject, The Hexateuch . . . arranged in its constituent Documents . . . with Introduction, Notes, &c., by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., and G. Harford-Battersby, M.A., in two vols., 1900 (frequently referred in the present volume as 'C-H. Hex.'). A full and impartial summary of the evidence is also given in Driver's classical Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, now in its eighth edition (1909). See further the critical works of Wellhausen, Holzinger, Addis, and others named below in the Bibliography (p. 391), the Introductions to the larger Commentaries there cited, and those to the volumes on Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy in the present series.

furnished by the books themselves. No tradition, however venerable, as to so complex a literary product as the Pentateuch on closer inspection has proved to be having proceeded from a single mind and a single pen, can be allowed to outweigh the overwhelming evidence from every part of the work that, notwithstanding its general unity of design, there is in it a remarkable diversity both of literary style and of religious development. Such diversity points, beyond the possibility of doubt, to a variety of authors belonging to widely separated epochs of Israel's political, social, and religious history.

Still keeping to general results and avoiding all details—as to which there still is, and from the nature of the case always will be, much diversity of opinion—let us attempt to set down as briefly as possible the several documents which modern literary criticism claims to have discovered in the Pentateuch; this much at least is necessary for the understanding of the results of the analysis indicated in the present volume. The main documents are three in number, although, as will appear in due course, two at least of these are themselves composite.

- (1) D. As a 'document' apart stands the Book of Deuteronomy (symbol D). The kernel of this book, to which the symbol D strictly belongs, and as to the extent of which there is some difference of opinion, is to be identified with the book of the Law discovered in the Temple in the eighteenth year of Josiah (622 B.C.). It formed the basis of the religious reform undertaken by the latter as recorded in 2 Kings xxii—xxiii.
- (2) P. The rest of the Pentateuch is made up of two distinct elements, which belong to two literary sources differing very markedly from each other in vocabulary and style. From the still wider divergence in their dominant interests these sources have been named respectively the Priestly and the Prophetic Document. The former, also frequently styled the Priests' Code (symbol P), has proved on closer examination to be anything but a homogeneous

work. As will be shown more fully in subsequent sections of this Introduction, P must have taken shape gradually, like the Pentateuch itself, through the accretion round a central nucleus of elements which, while united by a community of interest and all emanating from priestly circles, have each an individuality and history of their own. Inasmuch as the nucleus referred to has been proved to be the fundamental document—in German the Grundschrift—or groundwork of the completed Pentateuch, it is frequently denoted by the symbol Pg. Its date is probably circa 500 B. C., in the early post-exilic period (see p. 24).

(3) JE. The other main source, as has been said, is known as the Prophetic Document from the lofty ethical and religious spirit pervading it, by which it is connected with the teaching of the early prophets of Israel. It is not, however, a homogeneous historical work from a single pen but is composed of two separate strands, representing two originally independent but kindred narratives. These narratives have been so closely interwoven by their editor or redactor (Rje), that the analysis is in many places difficult and in some impossible (see the following section). conventional symbols for the separate documents, I and E, are best understood as reflecting the origin of the former in Judah, and of the latter in Ephraim or North Israel. Of the two J is regarded by the majority of critics as the older, as dating probably from the earlier half of the ninth century (900-850 B.C.), while E is usually assigned to the eighth century (circa 800-750 B. C.).

From the three main documents above enumerated, the Pentateuch, according to the dominant hypothesis, was compiled by three successive stages as follows:—

(I) The compilation of a graphic history of the Hebrew origins to the conquest of Canaan from the older historical narratives J and E, circa 650 B.C.

(2) The union of JE with the Deuteronomic law-book (D), probably during the Babylonian exile, to form JED.

(3) The amalgamation of the last-named work with the

main body of the Priests' Code, not later than A. D. 400. Apart from not inconsiderable additions by later priestly hands (see below, sect. vii), the result is essentially our Pentateuch.

This summary exposition of the modern view of the Pentateuch may fitly close with a pregnant quotation from the standard work to which the student has been already referred. 'On what grounds,' ask the learned authors of the Oxford Hexateuch, 'does it [the modern view] rest?' The answer, they rightly say, is twofold. It rests '(1) on a comparison of the documents with each other, and (2) on a comparison of the documents with history. The first yields the order, JE, D, and P; the second leads to the negative result that D was unknown before the seventh century, and P not in existence in its present form before the exile; while positively it connects D with a promulgation of sacred law under Josiah in 622, and P with a similar promulgation by Ezra, the date commonly assigned being 444 B.C.' (C-H. Hex. i. 69).

#### IV. JE IN THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

According, therefore, to the modern dating of the literary sources of the Pentateuch, the oldest portions are those derived from the prophetic narrative JE. But no trace of this source is found in Leviticus, and in Numbers the material derived from it does not exceed one-fourth of the whole. The purpose of the combined narrative, as of its two constituent elements, is to set forth the history of the origins of the Hebrew nation, and in connexion therewith to recall the fundamental fact of the historical religion of Israel, the solemn covenant between Yahweh and Israel at Sinai, and to enforce the moral and religious obligations incumbent on the people of God. Thus the lives of the patriarchs and of Moses illustrate the lofty ideals of life and conduct common to the two prophetic sources. In these we have 'prophecy teaching by example.' In contrast to P, whose interest is centred in Israel's religious

institutions and ritual laws and precedents, the dominant interest of JE is historical, although the legal element is not entirely excluded (Exod. xx-xxiii, xxxiv). Beginning with the creation of man (Gen. ii. 4<sup>b</sup> ff.), the prophetic history probably closed with the conquest of the land of promise and the subsequent death of Joshua, although some recent authorities find its separate strands represented in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

The method adopted by the compiler, or compilers, of the Pentateuch in fitting the material of JE into the historical framework furnished by the Priests' Code is twofold. In some parts passages from JE are placed alongside of those from P. Thus in Gen. i-ii the creation-story of P (i. 1-ii. 4a) is followed immediately by J's; similarly in Num. xx. 14-21 the earlier account of the march from Kadesh (also from J) is followed by the later parallel from P, xx. 22-29. In other parts, where the prophetic and priestly sources have a good deal in common, the compiler's method is to interweave their data into a new composite narrative. Of the latter method the classical illustration is the present narrative of the Flood in Gen. viviii (see Cent. Bible in loc.). Another excellent illustration is afforded by the story of the spies in Num. xiii-xiv (cf. ch. xvi, where JE is interwoven with a double strand of P).

Owing to the close affinity in style and standpoint between the Judaean (J) and Ephraimite (E) sources, a satisfactory analysis of the present narrative cannot in many cases be carried through. In several of the JE passages in Numbers, accordingly, no attempt has been made in the present volume to indicate the separate strands. This has been done only where there is practical unanimity among critical scholars that certain well-marked characteristics of the respective sources, J and E, are unmistakably present. Thus, Num. x. 29-32, where JE reappears for the first time since Exod. xxxiv, is unanimously assigned to J on the ground that elsewhere in this source Moses' father-in-law bears the name Hobab, while Jethro is

confined to E, to which accordingly the following verses, x. 33-36, with their divergent representation of the ark as guide, must be assigned.

A more important clue to extracts from the Ephraimite source is its well-known representation of the tent of meeting as situated without the camp, afar off from the camp' (Exod. xxxiii.7; cf. the note on Num. xi. 16 f.). This serves to secure xi. 1-3, 16 f., 24b-30 for E. Again, dreams and visions as media of divine revelation, and a marked emphasis on the prophetic element in Israel's history and on the prophetic ideal of life, are acknowledged to be prominent characteristics of E. To this source, accordingly, is unanimously assigned the important twelfth chapter of Numbers (see the introductory remarks thereto, p. 254 f.). In these and other passages of the text where the analysis is indicated the grounds will be found briefly stated in the notes.

The largest continuous extract from JE is that containing the familiar episode of Balak, king of Moab, and his dealings with Balaam, the mysterious magician and seer from the mountains of the East' (Num. xxii-xxiv). These chapters are an excellent illustration of the skill with which the editor of the prophetic history (Rje) has succeeded in compiling from his sources a narrative of surpassing interest and of remarkable, though not complete, homogeneity (see p. 316, where attention is called to the need of discriminating between the data of the several sources—for P is also represented—in any attempt to sketch the character of this elusive personality, who appears now as a wicked sorcerer, now as an inspired prophet of the Most High). Only one passage of Numbers is assigned to a later stratum of JE, viz. xiv. II-24 (JEs).

Peculiar interest attaches to the poetical pieces which form a special feature of the JE, and more particularly of the E, sections of Numbers. Of these three are found in ch. xxi alone (see verses 14 f., 17 f. the 'Song of the Well,' 27-30,—all probably from E). Four are oracular utterances ascribed to Balaam (xxiii. 7-10, 18-24, from E; xxiv.

3-9, 15-19, from J), together with the three shorter oracles of later date (xxiv. 20, 21 f., 23 f.). To these have to be added the couple of early tristichs addressed to the ark (x. 35 f. E), and the short poem on Moses' pre-eminence as a prophet in xii. 6-8 (E).

In one respect the most suggestive of the poems in this list is the tantalizing fragment cited in xxi. 14 f. Its suggestiveness lies in the fact that the Ephraimite historian extracted it from a national collection of songs which bore the interesting title, the 'Book of Yahweh's Battles' (see the notes in loc.). It is probably the same historian who, in Josh. x. 12 f., quotes another snatch from a similar collection known as the 'Book of Yashar,' from which other important extracts are given in 2 Sam. i. 19-27, and in the Greek text of 1 Kings viii. 12 f.

The contents of the ancient fragment associated with the ark (x. 35 f.) suggest that it too may have stood originally in the 'Book of Yahweh's Battles,' as may also have been the case with the 'Song of the Well' (xxi. 17 f.). The ballad-singers, or wandering minstrels, are cited as the repositories of a longer piece (xxi. 27-30) which originally, in all probability, celebrated a victorious invasion of Moab by the North Israelites under Omri (see p. 313 f.). In the notes on the Balaam episode the view is expressed that the poems are of early date (see pp. 316, 332), and not, as has recently been contended, documents of post-exilic eschatology. The authors of the Judaean and Ephraimite histories have fitted them with great effect into their literary treatment of the popular traditions respecting Balaam.

In JE are also found various narratives of the kind familiar to modern historians as 'aetiological legends.' Thus several explicitly or implicitly explain the historical origin of place-names; but in many cases the name is really older than the story, which took its rise in the popular mind as an explanation of the name.

### V. THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL'S THEOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS (Pg).

With a few unimportant exceptions (see, for example, Num. xxi. 33-35), what remains of the first four books of the Pentateuch, when JE has been extracted, belongs to the work known as the priestly writing, or more commonly the Priests' Code (P). Taken as a whole, P is sharply and clearly differentiated from all the other Pentateuch sources, J, E, and D, by its vocabulary, its unique style, and its special interests. Even so ardent a champion of conservative views as Professor Orr admits that the P sections are 'characterized by a vocabulary and style of their own, which enable them, on the whole, to be distinguished. This result also, whatever explanation may be offered, has stood the test of time, and will not, we believe, be overturned' (The Problem of the O.T., p. 197; cf. the similar admissions, pp. 335 ff.).

Notwithstanding the impression of unity which one derives from this prevailing uniformity-from which, however, Lev. xvii ff. should strictly speaking be excepted (see next section)-a closer study on comparative lines of the several elements of the priestly legislation shows, in Cornill's words, 'that the unity is one of spirit only, that it is not a literary unit that lies before us; in fact, the history of the origin and formation of P is complicated to a quite unusual degree' (Introduction to the Canonical Books of the O.T., p. 93). Into this complicated history it is impossible to enter here in detail (see the footnote on p. 13). But inasmuch as the whole of Leviticus and much the larger part of Numbers have been derived from one or other of the various strata of the priestly writings, some attempt must be made to put the student in a position to understand the repeated reference to such strata in the notes 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It has not been thought necessary to introduce the symbols of these strata of P (P<sup>g</sup>, P<sup>h</sup>, P<sup>t</sup>, P<sup>s</sup>) into the text, with the important

Now the discovery of minor linguistic differences within the priestly writings, and in particular the careful study of the many duplicate laws which they contain, and the comparison of these laws with each other and with the history of the rites and institutions concerned, have combined to show that P is in truth a growth of several centuries. As indicated in a previous section (p. 15) a central nucleus has gathered round itself a great variety of elements, some earlier, some probably contemporary, and some undoubtedly later in date. This nucleus (Pg) was a work consisting partly of history and partly of law, composed circa 500 B.C. (according to the now generally accepted view). The aim which its author set before him was to give a history of the religious rites and institutions of Israel. The ideal of the Hebrew state, as conceived by this devout student of the pastandeager builderfor the future, is that of a people living under the absolute sovereignty of God, and sanctified by His immediate Presence in their midst; in other words, a theocracy. The theme, therefore, of this kernel, not of P only but of the whole Pentateuch, may be said to be the history of the establishment of the theocracy and of the introduction of those laws, institutions, and rites by which the divine sovereignty received visible expression.

From the very beginning of Pg we see how the interest of its priestly author centres in the religious institutions which are represented as given by God to be the means of raising up and maintaining a holy people in perpetual covenant relation to their God, and of keeping them distinct from the nations around them. Thus the story of creation (Gen. i. 1—ii. 4<sup>a</sup>) culminates in the institution of the Sabbath, the catastrophe of the deluge in the blood taboo

exception of the Holiness Code (H or Ph) in Lev. xvii-xxvi. In one or two places, however, it is indispensable for the understanding of the narrative to distinguish between earlier and later elements of the story, as, for example, between Pg and Ps in Num. xvi.

<sup>1</sup> For the explanation of this symbol see above, p. 15.

(ib.ix. 4; cf. Lev. xvii. 10 ff.), the life of Abraham in the rite of circumcision (Gen. xvii. 10-14). These, it may be remarked, are precisely the three 'signs' by which the house of Israel through all the ages, down to our own day, have been specially distinguished from their Gentile neighbours.

In this connexion it is important to observe that the institutions we have cited are all introduced in a definite historical setting, for this is one of the most useful tests for distinguishing the ritual laws of Pg from those of other legislative sections of the composite Priests' Code. Thus, to continue our rapid survey of the contents of Pg, in Exod. xii. I-13, the Passover is instituted in immediate connexion with the historical situation, and its celebration on the eve of the great deliverance is to form the precedent and norm for all future celebrations (cf. the notes below on Lev. ix. p. 74, x. 12 ff. p. 79, xvi. I, p. 111, and elsewhere).

It is, however, in the crowning institution of the Tabernacle and its worship that the history of Israel's sacred institutions reaches its climax. Our priestly author dwells lovingly and expansively on all the details of the construction of 'the Dwelling' of Yahweh, and on its equipment, its sacrifices, and its priesthood. Now, in order to grasp the full significance and value of these cardinal sections of the Pentateuch, it is essential to enter into the spirit and intention of their author. For the religious leaders of the Jewish community in the exile the supreme question was this: How can the broken harmony between God and the people of His covenant be restored? To Ezekiel, first of all, came the Divine word of comfort: 'My dwelling shall [again] be with them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people' (Ezek, xxxvii. 27). To Ezekiel, then, and to those likeminded with him, the restored relation between Yahweh and Israel presented itself as an immediate dwelling of Yahweh in the midst of a holy nation.

<sup>1</sup> See more fully the introductory note on p. 35 f.

For the continued maintenance of this renewed relation, sacrifice, offered by a duly consecrated priesthood at the one appointed sanctuary, was the means divinely ordained (see p. 35). Only by this means could the restored community of Israel, no longer a nation but a church (the 'church-nation'), realize its true ideal as the people of God.

Now these two kindred spirits, Ezekiel and the author of the history of Israel's theocratic institutions, sought to impress this ideal upon their contemporaries by diametrically opposite methods. Ezekiel projects his ideal forward into the golden age of the future (see Ezek. xl-xlviii); the author of Pg throws his ideal backward into the golden age of the past, the period of the Exodus and the wilderness wanderings. Both sketches are none the less ideals whose realization for the priest as well as for the prophet was still in the future. Both had the worship of the restored community in view.

In the Books of Leviticus and Numbers there is less that can be confidently assigned to Pg than might at first sight be expected. Thus no part of Exod. xxx—Lev. vii 1 can be so assigned, for the original continuation of Exod. xxv-xxix is now found in Lev. viii-x, which records the carrying out of the instructions given in Exod. xxix for the installation of Aaron and his sons as the priests of the wilderness sanctuary, and for the sacrifices appointed for the worship of the community (see pp. 69 ff.). Similarly Lev. x is separated by chs. xi-xiv from its natural sequel in ch. xvi. The latter chapter, again, is followed by the separate code known as the Law of Holiness (xvii-xxvi), and it is not until we reach Num. i-iv that we recognize the main stream of Pg, which here, however, has been considerably swollen by tributary contributions from later sources (see p. 135). Special attention may be called to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Exod. xxx-xl, see Bennett's Exodus in Cent. Bible, and for Lev. i-vii below, pp. 28 f. and 37 ff.

the arrangement of the camp in ch. ii. In this ideal City of God in the wilderness of Sinai we have the complement and crown of the religious symbolism embodied in the earlier sketch of the Tabernacle and its Court (see below, p. 194f.). The further instalments of Pg cannot here be followed in detail, but mention may be made of the interesting contribution of this source to chs. xvi-xviii, which affords another illustration of the way in which a special piece of legislation is represented as arising naturally out of a definite historical situation. It is doubtful whether Pg is represented in Numbers after ch. xxvii (see the note on p. 347).

In the preceding exposition of the characteristics and contents of Pg the approximate date now generally adopted by critical students, viz. circa 500 B.C., has been assumed throughout. A datelater than the fail of the Jewish monarchy in 586 seems imperatively required by the position and dignity assigned to the High Priest. The latter has taken the place of the king as the civil and religious head of the theocratic state. On entering upon his office he receives 'a kingly unction,' and is invested with the purple robe and the 'holy crown' or diadem, the two insignia of royalty in the Persian period (see Lev. viii. 7-9 with the note p. 70 f.). The argument for placing Pg after Ezekiel based upon the fundamental distinction between priests and Levites will be found in the notes on p. 200 of the Commentary. Some scholars, finally, have detected a more precise indication of date in the express subordination of the secular to the religious head of the community in Num. xxvii, 21. When the original text of Zech. vi. 9-13 was written in 520 B.C., it was still believed that the two heads might be equal in dignity. This equality, as the present text shows, was soon found to be impracticable, and already, by 500, it is believed, the spiritual head was assigned his unique supremacy (Merx, Die Bücher Moses und Josua, pp. 109, 155).

#### VI. THE HOLINESS CODE (H or Ph).

This is the title now given to the section of the Pentateuch consisting of Lev. xvii-xxvi, a section which is sharply distinguished from the rest of the priestly legislation by the marked individuality of its phraseology and style, and by certain peculiar features in the formulation of its laws (note also the special subscription at the close, xxvi. 46). name Holiness Code (Heiligkeitsgesetz) or Law of Holiness, whence the symbol H, was first given to it by Klostermann in 1877, and has been universally recognized as a happy description of a code whose recurring signature is holiness. More precisely, the holiness of Yahweh is throughout represented as the motive for the attainment of holiness, moral and ceremonial, on the part of His people. The words 'ye shall be holy: for I Yahweh am holy' (xix. 2) may be fitly taken as the motto of the code (cf. the fuller statement, xxii. 31-33).

In thus assigning a motive for the pursuit of his ideal of life, the compiler of H resembles the authors of Deuteronomy for whom the compelling influence in man's life is love, love to God 'who first loved us.' In contrast to both stands the author of Pg, with whom no such motive for obedience is found. In P man must obey because God, the All-sovereign, commands; 'the divine imperative is its own all sufficient motive' (Moore, EBi. iii. col. 2783). In addition to this predominant motive of holiness we find—also as in Deuteronomy—motives of humanity and charity adduced, especially in relation to the poor.

The variety of subjects embraced in the legislation of H is remarkable for so small a code. In its terse formulation, in which it resembles the oldest of the Hebrew law-codes, the book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. 33), is reflected the antiquity of its laws. In both codes these have had their origin in the  $t\hat{o}r\bar{o}th$  (singular  $t\hat{o}r\bar{a}h$ ) or 'decisions' of the priesthood in matters submitted for their judgement. Like the Book of the Covenant, also, and like the Deutero-

nomic Code, H opens with a section devoted to sacrifice (Lev. xvii) and closes with a hortatory address (xxvi) in which obedience to the preceding laws is vigorously inculcated (see the reff. p. 119). In addition to laws relating to the cultus and its *personnel*, the calendar of sacred festivals (xxiii) and the like, H embraces legislation dealing with the foundation principles of social morality (xviii, xx). In H, furthermore, is included 'perhaps the best representation of the ethics of ancient Israel' (Lev. xix). In this chapter we find among other jewels of price the second of the two commandments on which 'the whole law hangeth and the prophets' (Matt. xxii. 40, R.V.): 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lev. xix. 18).

Few points in the complicated problem of the Pentateuch are more interesting, and at the same time more perplexing, than the history of H. Three conclusions, at least, seem well established. (1) These ten chapters of Leviticus are not a homogeneous corpus of laws, the original product of a single mind. The duplication of laws, with their inevitable discrepancies in detail, which is so prominent a feature of the Pentateuch as a whole, is equally prominent in its smaller constituent (see e. g. the notes on chs. xviii and xx). In other words, H is a composite code compiled from more than one earlier collection of priestly tôrōth, and furnished by its compiler (Rh) with the recurring call to holiness and with the closing hortatory address. (2) H is no longer extant in the form in which it left its compiler's hands. When fitted by Ezra or another into the larger complex of the Priests' Code, which a comparison of Neh. x. 14 ff. with Lev. xxiii. 36 (P) and 39 (H) shows to have taken place before 444 B.C., H must have undergone considerable revision (see the notes passim). In the process some sections were dropped to make room for corresponding sections of Pg, especially in the closing division of the code now represented by chs. xxiii-xxv. Of the discarded sections, one is universally recognized in the law of the tassels, Num. xv. 37-41. Lev.

xi. 43-45 also bears the unmistakable signature of H, which has led to the belief that a large part of this chapter originally had a place in the Law of Holiness (for other suggested fragments of H, see Driver, LOT6, pp. 59, 151, and cf. the notes below on Num. xxxiii. 50-56, and xxxv. 32 ff.). (3) The Holiness Code is older than the ground-work of the Priests' Code (Pg). The grounds on which this conclusion is based emerge from a comparison of the laws common to both. The line of institutional development is from H to Pg, not vice versa. This is particularly evident in the case of the great pilgrimage-festivals, as has been carefully explained in the notes (pp. 149 ff.). In H, again, the High Priest is still primus inter pares, and has not yet acquired the commanding position and dignity accorded to him by P (see the note on Lev. xxi. 10; also those on xxi. 22, xxii. 3, on the absence from H of P's distinction between 'holy' and 'most holy' things).

When we pass from these points of agreement to the question of the more precise date of the compilation of H, and to the problem of the age of its component laws, we meet with a sharp cleavage among our critical authorities. Both problems may be said to hinge upon the interpretation of a literary phenomenon which early attracted the attention of critical students, the intimate relation between H and Ezekiel. The details of this remarkable similarity of thought and expression will be found set forth in C-H. Hex. i. 147-51 (see also Driver, LOT6, pp. 146-8). What is the explanation? Was H compiled under the influence of Ezekiel, or is the prophet saturated with the phraseology of H? To the present writer the latter alternative commends itself as the more probable on several grounds. To adduce but one, based on the impression produced by the study of the remarkable address in ch. xxvi, it seems to us much more likely that a writer of such marked individuality both of thought and expression as the author of this chapter-for, be it noted, it contains not a few striking and vigorous phrases to which there are no

parallels in Ezekiel—has influenced a prophet who, 'in expression, is far from original' (Driver), than that the reverse should be the case.

The view represented in the Commentary, accordingly, is that the Holiness Code is a pre-exilic document, dating probably from near the close of the monarchy. The laws embodied in it, however, are believed to be, for the most part, pre-Deuteronomic tôrōth, representing, in the form in which they lay before the compiler of H, the decisions of the priesthoods of one or more of the famous sanctuaries of the land. Thus, to take but a single illustration, the perplexing phenomena of ch. xvii. 3-7 are best explained on the hypothesis that the original tôrāh, now modified by successive redactors, recognized the legitimacy of the local sanctuaries (see pp. 120 ff.). By an editorial oversight, indeed, a reference to these sanctuaries seems still preserved in xxi. 23 (see the notes there and on verse 12 of this chapter, also on xxiii. 10 ff., &c., and especially Moore's article 'Leviticus,' EBi. iii. sects. 25-30).

# VII. SUPPLEMENTARY CODES (Pt) AND LATER ADDITIONS (Ps).

When the contents of Pg and H are subtracted from the complex of the priestly legislation (P), much of the legislative material, and part even of the narrative, of the Pentateuch still remains unaccounted for. Apart from numerous less extensive sections, three compact masses of ritual, ceremonial, and other laws stand out conspicuously. These are the manual of sacrifice in Lev. i-vii, the body of regulations dealing with uncleanness and purification in Lev. xi-xv; and the miscellaneous chapters, Num. xxviii-xxxvi.

Now with regard to the manual of sacrifice, first of all, the traces are still visible of the alterations which were found necessary to adapt it to the standpoint of Pg with its Aaronic priesthood and wilderness background (see the note on Lev. i. 5 and passim). In truth, these seven

chapters have a somewhat complicated history of their own, the main points of which have been indicated on p. 37 of the Commentary. There the reasons are given for distinguishing the two parts of the manual as distinct in origin, and for believing that in i. I—ii. 3 and iii. I—17, at least, we have genuinely old sacrificial tôrōth—hence the symbol Pt—embodying the ritual usage of the Temple before the fall of the southern kingdom. The same symbol is adopted in the Oxford Hexateuch for the second group of laws above referred to (see the 'conspectus of codes' in C-H. Hex. i. 261 ff., where inter alia the bulk of Num. v-vi, and xix. 14–22 are included). These all lack, or lacked originally, the historical setting which we found to be characteristic of the legislation of Pg.

Returning to Lev. i-vii, we there meet for the first time with ritual enactments which, while conceived entirely in the spirit of the history of Israel's theocratic institutions (Pg), cannot have had a place in that work, but must belong to secondary strata of the Priests' Code (hence the symbol Ps). It is important that the student should know some of the grounds on which this symbol appears so frequently in the notes. 1 In many cases this distinction between Pg and Ps is based upon the evidence of the development of certain rites and institutions within the (1) Such evidence is found in the case of Priests' Code. the rite of the priestly unction. In certain passages clearly belonging to Pg (Exod. xxix. 7, 29, &c.), Aaron alone receives 'the consecration of the anointing oil of his God' (Lev. viii. 12; cf. xxi. 10, 12); hence the expression 'the anointed priest' (iv. 3, 5, vi. 22) is sufficient to distinguish the High Priest. In other passages the rank and file of the priesthood are anointed (Exod. xxviii. 41, xxx. 30; Lev. x. 7; Num. iii. 3, &c.)—an extension of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It has only occasionally been thought necessary to introduce P<sup>3</sup> into the text of R.V. (see *e. g.* Num, xvi).

rite which suggests that the latter passages belong to a later stratum, Ps.

(2) A similar advance is seen in the more intense application of the blood of the sin-offering. In Pg (Exod. xxix. 12) the blood of the High Priest's sin-offering is merely smeared on the horns of the altar of burnt-offering; in Lev. iv. 6 f. it is sprinkled within the sanctuary, 'before the veil' (see also the note on iv. 25). (3) The presence in this chapter, and in other passages, of a special 'altar of sweet incense,' which is unknown to Pg in Exod. xxvii-xxix, is also recognized as a mark of later date (see on Lev. iv. 7). The right to refer the ritual of the sin-offering, as now formulated in ch. iv, to Ps is confirmed by the presence in Num. xv. 22-31 of an earlier and simpler form of the ritual. Similarly we find extensions of earlier requirements in Lev. xxv. 8-13 (the Jubilee), xxvii. 30-33 (the tithe of cattle), and elsewhere.

But there are many other clues no less convincing (see C-H. Hex. i. 154 f.). Such are the 'incongruities of fact and representation' within a narrative belonging as a whole to P, of which an illustration will be found in Num, xvi; a fondness for the elaboration of details and for unnecessary repetitions, of which Lev. vii is the classical example; laws at variance with some fundamental principle of Pg, such as are found in Num. xxxv (the Levitical cities); and narratives which do not fit into the plan of the ground-work of P, such as Num. xxviii-xxxvi (see the note on p. 347), or which have the appearance of having been specially composed to provide a required precedent, as Num. xxxi. To these indications of Ps may be added 'a number of peculiarities in phrase and formula,' a list of which will be found in C-H. Hex. i. 155. As is there emphasized, however, 'the secondary elements represented by Ps are so plainly diverse in age that their addition to the great law-book may naturally be conceived rather as a literary process than as a specific editorial act.'

Enough has now been said to give the student of Leviticus and Numbers an idea of the exceedingly complicated character of their literary history, as unravelled by modern scholars, and of the wide diversity in origin and age of the materials of which they are composed. Both books-Leviticus in particular-lead us to the very heart of the religion and sacrificial worship of the old covenant. But in order to be rightly understood it is essential that the worship, and the religion of which it is the expression, should be studied, as has been attempted in the following pages, in the light of their historical development. 'For it is no slight matter that is herein involved—nothing less than this: whether it is to be made possible for us at all to understand the religious history of Israel, whether God, who always and everywhere reveals Himself and works in history, has also revealed Himself and worked in the same way in history's greatest and most significant phase, the history of Israel's religion' (Cornill, Introduction to . . . the Old Testament, p. 115f.).

SYMBOLS OF THE LITERARY SOURCES INSERTED IN THE TEXT AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN THE NOTES.

- J-the early Judean history of Israel's origins (see p. 15).
- E-the Ephraimite or North Israelite history (p. 15).
- JE—the historical work formed by the amalgamation of J and E (pp. 15 ff.).
- D—the Book of Deuteronomy, only Num. xxi. 33-35.
- **H**—the **H**oliness Code (p. 25), compiled from earlier written collections by a **R**edactor (**R**<sup>h</sup>).
- P—the comprehensive symbol for the mass of legislative and historical material of various date which has emanated from Priestly circles. For the various strata, Pz, Pt, Ps, see the preceding Introduction, pp. 14 f., 20-31.
- R—without further qualification, such as  $\mathbb{R}^{j_e}$ , &c., generally stands for the editor or redactor who united the main body of P with JED (p. 15 f.).
- DB. Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible. Five vols.
- EBi. Cheyne and Black's Encyclopaedia Biblica. Four vols.
- PRE3. Hauck's Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie, &c., 3rd edit.
- C-H. Hex. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version, &c.
- LOT. S. R. Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.
- OTJC<sup>2</sup>. and Rel. Sem<sup>2</sup>. W. Robertson Smith's Old Test. in the Jewish Church, and Religion of the Semites, 2nd eds.
- SBOT. Paul Haupt's Sacred Books of the Old [and New] Tests.
- J. Q. R. The Jewish Quarterly Review.
- PEFSt. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
- ZATW. Zeitschrift für d. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- KAT<sup>3</sup>. Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und d. alte Testament, 3rd ed. by Winckler and Zimmern.
- M.T. The Massoretic or received Hebrew text.
- LXX. The Septuagint, i. e. the O. T. in Greek.
- A. V., R. V. The Authorized and Revised English Versions.

# THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

.



## THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS

First Division. CHAPTERS I-VII.

LAWS RELATING TO SACRIFICE.

THE Book of Leviticus opens with a section of the priestly legislation devoted to the important subject of sacrifice and offering. The point of view from which to approach the study of these chapters will best be reached by a brief survey of the spirit and aim of the developed sacrificial system of the Priests' Code as a whole. The period of the Babylonian exile marks an epoch in the history of the religion of the Hebrews, and in particular in the history of sacrifice. The extinction of the state and the destruction of the temple had awakened a new feeling of national and individual guilt. The discipline of the exile further developed this conviction of the need of purification and propitiation. Alongside of the deepening sense of sin went a heightened conception of the Divine holiness, due in large measure to the teaching of Ezekiel. The exiled priest-prophet and those like-minded, such as the author of the Holiness Code, insisted that a holy God required a holy people: 'Ye shall be holy: for I Yahweh your God am holy '(Lev. xix. 2).

These words may be taken as the master-key to the whole ceremonial legislation of the Pentateuch. God's all-devouring holiness requires that His people shall keep themselves free not only from moral transgressions—this is more frequently assumed than explicitly stated—but also from every ceremonial defilement that would interrupt the relations between them and their God. To maintain these relations unimpaired, or if interrupted to restore them, is, according to the teaching of the Priests' Code, the object of sacrifice and offering. Sacrifice, in short, may be described as the divinely appointed means for the preservation and restoration of that holiness in virtue of which alone the theoretic community of

Israel can realize its true ideal as the people of a holy God.

The sacrificial system of the priestly writers is chiefly characterized by the sombre earnestness which takes the place of the joyousness of the pre-exilic worship. This is largely due to the greater emphasis laid upon the sacrifices as piacula, as the means of expiation and propitiation. Another characteristic feature is the importance which is now attached to the technique of sacrifice. As compared with the comparative freedom of earlier days every detail of the ritual is now prescribed. To deviate therefrom is to render the sacrifice invalid. The result is seen in the heightened status of the priest. In the earlier period the head of the family

or of the clan offered his sacrifice without the intervention of the priest. Henceforth the layman's part in the rite was quite

subordinate (see below).

The most convenient classification of the Jewish sacrifices is that suggested by Josephus, who divides them into two classes, those 'offered for private persons' and those offered 'for the people in general' (Antiquities, III. ix. 1), a classification corresponding to the sacra privata and sacra publica of the Romans. The public sacrifices were either stated or occasional, the former and more important group comprising the daily burnt-offering, and the additional sacrifices at the stated festivals, viz. sabbath, new moon,

the three great annual feasts, &c.

In the systematic manual of sacrifice which occupies the following seven chapters, five distinct varieties of sacrifice are enumerated. Of these three are attested from the earliest times, viz.: (1) the burnt-offering, (2) the meal-offering, and (3) the peace-offering; the other two, (4) the sin-offering and (5) the guilt-offering, the special expiatory sacrifices, are first met with in Ezekiel (see ch. iv), and were apparently unknown in the earlier period, Apart from the cereal or meal-offering, which has now fallen to a secondary place as for the most part an accompaniment of the burnt-offering, and the minor drink-offering, the material of the sacrifices consisted of ceremonially clean animals 'of the herd and of the flock' (Lev. i. 2 and often), the latter term including both sheep and goats. The victims, save in exceptional instances, were yearling males without blemish. Non-domesticated animals, such as the deer and the gazelle, although clean and therefore admissible as ordinary food (Deut. xii. 22), were not admitted to the altar. As wild creatures they were already the property of God, and could not therefore be received as a gift from man (2 Sam. xxiv. 24).

The ritual of sacrifice, as has been said, is now minutely regulated. Although certain of the details may be new, the ritual as a whole undoubtedly represents the practice of the temple at the close of the pre-exilic period. As will be more fully explained in the sequel, the typical procedure comprised the following actions: (i) the formal presentation of the victim to the officiating priest; (ii) the 'laying on of hands,' for which see on i. 4 below: (iii) the immolation of the victim on the north side of the altar (see on i. II', which in the case of private or family sacrifices was done by the person presenting them; (iv) the manipulation of the blood by the priest—the central action of the rite—which varied with the different sacrifices (see on i. 5, iv. 6, &c.); (v) the skinning and dismemberment of the animal, including the removal of the internal fat (see iii. 3 f.); (vi) the arrangement of all the pieces upon the altar in the case of the burnt-offering or of the specified portions of the 'inwards' in the case of the other sacrifices; and finally (vii) the burning of these upon the 'altar of

#### [P] AND the LORD called unto Moses, and spake 1

burnt-offering'. Of these seven actions, iv, vi, and vii, as requiring a near approach to, and even contact with, the altar, represent the priest's share, the others the layman's share in the rite of sacrifice.

Arrangement and sources. The laws brought together in

chs. i-vii fall into two distinct groups:-

A. i. 1—vi. 7, the ritual of the five principal kinds of offerings, addressed to the community as a whole ('the children of Israel,' i. 2).

B. vi. 8-vii. 38, supplementary directions (tôrôth) addressed to

the priests ('Aaron and his sons,' vi. 9).

That the final editor intended these seven chapters to form a distinct section of the book is evident from the colophon, vii. 37, 38, which stands at the close. Originally, however, it belonged to the second subdivision only, as is clear (1) from the repetition of the formula 'this is the law of'—see on vi. 8 ff.—and (2) from the discrepancy in the locus of the revelation: vii. 38 says Mount Sinai, while i. I has 'the tent of meeting.' These facts are sufficient to prove that chs. i—vii are not a homogeneous whole.

But even the first group of chapters, i—vi. 7 (in the Heb. text i—v), cannot be so described. From numerous indications, to some of which attention is called in the notes, it appears that the oldest portions of the sacrificial legislation are those contained in i. i—ii. 3, and iii. i—i7. These, there is every reason to believe, are composed of genuinely old sacrificial tôrôth—hence the symbol Pt—embodying the ritual usage of the temple before the fall of the southern kingdom, and now adapted editorially to the standpoint of the Priests' Code (see on i. 1, 5). The bulk of chs. iv and v, dealing with the new piacular sacrifices, was probably first elaborated at the close of the exile or later. In their present form they are at least later than the groundwork (Pg) of the Priests' Code, hence the symbol Ps, i.e. belonging to the secondary strata of P (see on iv. 7, 25).

The special directions to the priests in chs. vi and vii presuppose the laws of i—iii, to which they are supplementary and therefore later. Interspersed with these are various novellae, expansions of existing laws, such as ii. 4-16, some of which betray their separate origin by a somewhat different theory of sacrifice from that found

in the main strata (e.g. v. 1-6).

It has not been considered necessary to register these various strata of P in the text of R.V.

#### A. i. I-vi. 7. THE FIVE PRINCIPAL OFFERINGS.

This subdivision of Leviticus has been described as a 'manual for worshippers, revised and enlarged from various sources, and

- 2 unto him out of the tent of meeting, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When any man of you offereth an oblation unto the LORD, ye shall offer your oblation of the cattle, even of the herd and of the flock.
- 3 If his oblation be a burnt offering of the herd, he shall offer it a male without blemish: he shall offer it at the door of the tent of meeting, that he may be accepted 4 before the LORD. And he shall lay his hand upon the

in part re-written.' It comprises five sections, each dealing with one of the five principal types of sacrifice and offering above enumerated.

1. out of the tent of meeting: A.V. inaccurately, 'the tabernacle of the congregation.' This verse has been prefixed by an editor in order to connect the manual of sacrifice with the situation described in Exod. xl. 34 ff. For the discrepancy thereby caused with Lev. vii. 38, see above, and for the 'tent of meeting' see

Bennett, Cent. Bible, on Exod. xxv ff.

2. an oblation: Heb. korbān, a term peculiar to Ezekiel and P. It means something 'brought near,' viz. to God at the sanctuary, hence Mark vii. 11, 'Corban, that is to say, Given to God.' In P's terminology it replaces the older term minhah, which is now confined to the cereal oblation or 'meal-offering.' For these and other sacrificial terms see the sections headed 'Terminology of Sacrifice' in the writer's article 'Sacrifice and Offering' in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible (1909).

(a) i. 3-17. The ritual of the burnt-offering1. Cf. vi. 8-13,

Exod. xxix. 15-18, &c.

3. a burnt offering: Heb. 'olah, that which goes up (on the altar), with reference to the distinguishing feature of this offering, the burning of the whole victim upon the altar. It also bears the more distinctive name kālîl, 'whole burnt offering' (Deut. xxxiii. 10, R.V.), or holocaust. The victims here prescribed are an ox, a ram, or a he-goat (verses 10-13), each entire and without blemish (cf. Lev. xxii. 19 ff.), failing which a turtledove or a young pigeon (14-17).

4. he shall lay his hand upon the head of the burnt offer-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Since the names of the sacrifices represent single words in the original, the method of the American Revised Version, standard edition, which employs the hyphen, is followed by preference in the notes. Coverdale has 'burntofferynge,' 'meatofferynge,' &c., in one word.

head of the burnt offering; and it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him. And he shall kill the 5 bullock before the LORD: and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall present the blood, and sprinkle the blood round about upon the altar that is at the door of the tent of meeting. And he shall flay the burnt offering, and cut 6 it into its pieces. And the sons of Aaron the priest shall 7 put fire upon the altar, and lay wood in order upon the fire: and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall lay the pieces, 8 the head, and the fat, in order upon the wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar: but its inwards and its 9 legs shall he wash with water: and the priest shall burn

ing. The significance of this 'action' of the ritual of sacrifice (for other offerings see iii. 2, 8, 13, iv. 4) has been much discussed. The act in all probability symbolizes the withdrawal of the animal from the sphere of the 'common' or profane, and its transference to the sphere of 'holy' things—so termed from their close relation to the deity (see I Sam. xxi. 4)—as well as the offerer's personal assignation of it to God. The traditional explanation, based on the outwardly similar but essentially different rite in Lev. xvi. 21, that by the 'laying on of hands' the animal is made the substitute, in a penal sense, of the offerer, is without foundation. For the untenableness of this view, see art. 'Sacrifice' &c., op. cit., 817 f.

5. and Aaron's sons, the priests: almost certainly an editorial substitution for 'the priest' of the original law, who still appears in verses 9, 12, 13, &c. The change was made in order to adapt this older torah to the standpoint of Pg, in which the

priests are always termed the 'sons of Aaron.'

and sprinkle the blood: rather 'dash' or 'toss' the blood, so verse 11, iii. 2, 8, and oft. The blood was caught by the priest in a large bason as it spurted from the severed arteries, and was dashed against the sides of the altar. For sprinkling in the proper sense see iv. 6.

7. shall put fire upon the altar. This points to an earlier stage of the ritual than that represented by vi. 13, according to which the fire was 'kept burning upon the altar continually.'

9. the priest shall burn the whole. The word here rendered 'burn' is a technical sacrificial term meaning to 'make to smoke,' and is quite distinct from the ordinary word for burning, used in iv. 12, 21, vii. 17, 19. Driver renders 'shall consume the whole in sweet smoke.'

the whole on the altar, for a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

- And if his oblation be of the flock, of the sheep, or of the goats, for a burnt offering; he shall offer it a male II without blemish. And he shall kill it on the side of the altar northward before the LORD: and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall sprinkle its blood upon the altar round 12 about. And he shall cut it into its pieces, with its head and its fat: and the priest shall lay them in order on the 13 wood that is on the fire which is upon the altar: but the inwards and the legs shall he wash with water: and the priest shall offer the whole, and burn it upon the altar: it is a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet sayour unto the LORD.
- And if his oblation to the Lord be a burnt offering of fowls, then he shall offer his oblation of turtledoves, or 15 of young pigeons. And the priest shall bring it unto the altar, and awring off its head, and burn it on the

### a Or, binch

12. with its head and its fat: this clause belongs to the next sentence after the word 'order'; cf. verse 8, where 'with' should be read before 'the head.' For the fat, see iii. 3 f.

a sweet savour: literally an 'odour of soothing,' a favourite expression in P. Like the term 'food,' still applied to sacrifice (iii. 11, xxi. 6), it is a survival of a more primitive conception of sacrifice as affording physical pleasure to the deity. Cf. the early passage, I Sam. xxvi. 19, 'let him accept (lit. 'smell') an offering.' An interesting parallel occurs in the Babylonian epic of the flood: 'The gods smelt the savour, the gods smelt the goodly savour, the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer.'

<sup>11.</sup> on the side of the altar northward: i.e. in the court to the north of the altar. The choice of the north side is supposed to be connected with a Babylonian and North-Semitic myth of an abode of the gods, a Babylonian Olympus, in the north (see Whitehouse. Cent. Bible, on Isaiah, xiv. 13).

<sup>14-17.</sup> The law also makes provision for those too poor to provide one of the normal victims, ox, sheep, or goat, as is expressly stated in the case of the sin-offering, v. 7 ff.

altar; and the blood thereof shall be drained out on the side of the altar: and he shall take away its crop with 16 the afilth thereof, and cast it beside the altar on the east part, in the place of the ashes: and he shall rend it by 17 the wings thereof, but shall not divide it asunder: and the priest shall burn it upon the altar, upon the wood that is upon the fire: it is a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

And when any one offereth an oblation of a meal 2 offering unto the LORD, his oblation shall be of fine flour; and he shall pour oil upon it, and put frankincense thereon: and he shall bring it to Aaron's sons the 2 priests: and he shall take thereout his handful of the fine flour thereof, and of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; and the priest shall burn it as the memorial thereof upon the altar, an offering made by

<sup>a</sup> Or, feathers

<sup>16.</sup> with the filth thereof: rather, with the Versions (VSS), A.V. and R.V. marg., 'with the feathers thereof.'

<sup>(</sup>b) ii. 1-16. The ritual of the meal-offering. Cf. vi. 14-23, Num. xv. 1-16.

The meal-offering—better, cereal offering (A.V. 'meat offering')—is here treated as an independent offering like the other four, but in the actual usage of the post-exilic period it generally appears as an accompaniment of the burnt-offering, as prescribed in Num. xv, or of the peace-offering, as contemplated in Lev. vii. 11 ff. The original term is minhah, which denotes a gift or present made to secure the goodwill of a friend (Gen. xxxii. 13, 18) or of a sovereign (1 Sam. x. 27). In the older literature it is used as a comprehensive term for all offerings to Yahweh, whether animal or cereal (so Gen. iv. 3 ff and often). In P, however, minhah is restricted to the cereal offerings. The material of the typical cereal oblation consisted of fine flour, cooked or uncooked, with the addition of olive oil, salt, and frankincense. The bulk of the offering went to the priests.

<sup>2.</sup> the memorial thereof: Heb. 'askārah, a term peculiar to P, here applied to the handful of paste (flour mixed with oil), with the frankincense—a fragrant gum-resin exuding from trees of the

- 3 fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD: and that which is left of the meal offering shall be Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of the LORD made by fire.
- And when thou offerest an oblation of a meal offering baken in the oven, it shall be unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, or unleavened wafers anointed with oil. And if thy oblation be a meal offering of the abaking pan, it shall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil. Thou shalt part it in pieces, and pour oil thereon: it is a meal offering. And if thy oblation be a meal offering of the frying pan, it shall be made of fine

#### a Or, flat plate

8 flour with oil. And thou shalt bring the meal offering

genus Boswellia—which the priest burned upon the altar. The object of this 'memorial' offering is supposed to have been to bring the offerer to Yahweh's remembrance, but the etymology

and original significance of the term are obscure.

3. a thing most holy, &c.: the remainder of the flour is a perquisite of the priests. The priestly legislation distinguishes between such priests' dues as are 'holy' merely, and such as are 'most holy'; among the latter was included the flesh of the guilt-offerings and of the second grade of sin-offerings (see below). One practical result of this distinction was that 'the most holy things' could be eaten only by the priests, and by them only within the sanctuary precincts (vi. 16, 26), whereas the 'holy things' might be consumed by the priests and their households, if ceremonially clean, in any 'clean place,' i.e. in actual practice, in Jerusalem (x. 14, xxii. 3, 10-16, &c.). For the dangerous contagion of holiness, see on vi. 18.

4-16. The detailed instructions of this section give the impression of being a later elaboration of the general law in verses 1-3, a view confirmed by the use of the second person as compared with the third person in chs. i. and iii. Verses 4-7 specify certain varieties of the cooked meal-offering, according as the material is cooked (1) in the baking-oven in the form of thick or thin wafer-like cakes, or (2) upon a griddle as pastry, or (3) in a

cooking-pan as a pudding.

5. the baking pan: rather, with marg., the convex iron plate or griddle, still in use among the Bedouin.

that is made of these things unto the LORD: and it shall be presented unto the priest, and he shall bring it unto the altar. And the priest shall take up from the meal 9 offering the memorial thereof, and shall burn it upon the altar: an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD. And that which is left of the meal offering 10 shall be Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of the LORD made by fire. No meal offering, 11 which ye shall offer unto the LORD, shall be made with leaven: for ye shall burn no leaven, nor any honey, as an offering made by fire unto the LORD. As an oblation 12 of first fruits ye shall offer them unto the LORD: but they shall not come up for a sweet sayour on the altar. And 13 every oblation of thy meal offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meal offering: with all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt.

And if thou offer a meal offering of firstfruits unto the 14 LORD, thou shalt offer for the meal offering of thy first-fruits corn in the ear parched with fire, bruised corn of the fresh ear. And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay 15

14-16. In this cereal offering of firstfruits we have undoubtedly

<sup>11</sup> f. The exclusion of leaven, i.e. of leavened flour or cakes, from the altar is to be explained on the ground that fermentation, to which honey was also liable, implied a process of corruption in the dough. Though not admitted to the altar, leaven and honey might be presented at the sanctuary and handed over to the priests, as were the ordinary firstfruits (verse 12; see also xxiii. 17).

<sup>13.</sup> Here only is salt expressly prescribed, but from Ezek. xliii. 21 and later usage, reflected in Mark ix. 49 (A. V. and R. V. marg.), it may be safely inferred that it was provided with every sacrifice. The custom goes back to the antique conception of sacrifice, above referred to, as a meal for the deity, for which the usual condiment was indispensable. For the school of P, however, the salt of the sacrifice has become a symbol of the irrevocable character of Yahweh's covenant with Israel. For this view and for the salt of the covenant of thy God, see on Num. xviii. 19.

- 16 frankincense thereon: it is a meal offering. And the priest shall burn the memorial of it, part of the bruised corn thereof, and part of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof: it is an offering made by fire unto the LORD.
  - 3 And if his oblation be a sacrifice of a peace offerings; if he offer of the herd, whether male or female, he shall 2 offer it without blemish before the LORD. And he shall lay his hand upon the head of his oblation, and kill it at the door of the tent of meeting: and Aaron's sons the priests shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar round 3 about. And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace offerings an offering made by fire unto the LORD; the

Oi, mank openings

one of the oldest varieties of the minhah (Gen. iv. 3; Exod. xxii. 29). The shewbread is another of great antiquity (Lev. xxiv. 5 ff.).

(c) iii. 1-17. The ritual of the peace-offering. Cf. vii. 11-21, 28-

34, xxii. 21-23.

The third place in this manual of sacrifice is occupied by the sacrifice which, in the earlier period at least, was the typical altar offering, and accordingly is often designated 'sacrifice' par excellence. The full designation is that here given-' a sacrifice of peace offerings' (marg. 'thank offerings'). The precise signification of the original (shèlāmīm) is uncertain. The current rendering 'peace offerings' is based on the cognate noun signifying 'peace,' and regards the sacrifice as the means of establishing harmonious relations with the deity. It is probable, however, that in ancient times the majority of the ordinary sacrifices were made in fulfilment of a vow, or in gratitude for benefits received or expected, so that shčlāmīm is rather to be connected with the cognate verb meaning 'to recompense, repay,' and specially 'to pay one's vows' (see Prov. vii, 14). On this view 'recompense-offering' or 'sacrifice of requital' would be the best rendering, leaving 'thank offering' for the name of one of its varieties, mentioned with others in Lev. vii. 12f., 16, and as an independent sacrifice in xxii. 29.

The ritual agrees in the main with that of the burnt-offering; only certain specified portions of the victim, however, were burned, the bulk of the flesh going to provide the sacrificial meal which was the distinguishing feature of the peace-offering.

3. the fat that covereth the inwards: i.c. the entrails; see

fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on 4 them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, a with the kidneys, shall he take away. And Aaron's 5 sons shall burn it on the altar upon the burnt offering, which is upon the wood that is on the fire: it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD.

And if his oblation for a sacrifice of peace offerings 6 unto the LORD be of the flock; male or female, he shall offer it without blemish. If he offer a lamb for his 7 oblation, then shall he offer it before the LORD: and he g shall lay his hand upon the head of his oblation, and kill it before the tent of meeting: and Aaron's sons shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about. And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace offerings an o offering made by fire unto the LORD; the fat thereof, the fat tail entire, he shall take it away hard by the backbone; and the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, and the two kidneys, 10 and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, b with the kidneys, shall he take away. And the priest shall burn it upon the altar: it is II the c food of the offering made by fire unto the LORD.

the coloured diagrams in Driver and White, Leviticus, in Haupt's Sacred Books of the O.T. (SBOT), opposite p. 4.

a Or, which he shall take away by the kidneys.
• Heb. bread. b See ver 4.

<sup>4.</sup> the caul upon the liver: according to G. F. Moore (Orient. Studien Th. Noeldeke gewidnet (1906), 761 ff.), the part intended is the caudate lobe (lobus caudatus) of the liver. This lobe played a prominent part in the favourite mode of divination by the liver (hepatoscopy) among the Babylonians and other ancient nations; for this reason probably it is here expressly claimed for the altar. See Jastrow, Die Religion Babyloniens, &c., ii. 220, 231 f.
9. the fat tail entire: in former times this was freely admitted

to the table as a delicacy; see Cent. Bible on I Sam. ix. 24.

<sup>11.</sup> the food of the offering made by fire: lit. 'food offered

And if his oblation be a goat, then he shall offer it before the LORD: and he shall lay his hand upon the

head of it, and kill it before the tent of meeting: and the sons of Aaron shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon

14 the altar round about. And he shall offer thereof his oblation, even an offering made by fire unto the LORD; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is

15 upon the inwards, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon

- the liver, a with the kidneys, shall he take away. And the priest shall burn them upon the altar: it is the food of the offering made by fire, for a sweet savour: all the
- out your generations in all your dwellings, that ye shall eat neither fat nor blood.
- 4 2 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If any one shall sin b una See ver. 4. b Or, through error

by fire,' see on i. 9 and xxi. 6. The introduction of fire to etherealize the offerings, so to say, marks a more advanced stage in the history of Semitic sacrifice than the primitive practice of placing the offering upon a rock-altar, the earliest 'table of the Lord' (Mal. i. 7, 12). See Kittel, Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie, 96-108.

17. ye shall eat neither fat nor blood: the former prohibition is repeated at greater length in vii. 23 f. The blood taboo is common to all the law-codes; its raison d'être in relation to sacrifice is given in the important passage, xvii. 11, which see.

(d) iv. 1-v. 13. The ritual of the sin-offering. Cf. vi. 24-30,

ix. 8 ff., 15; Exod. xxix. 11-14; Num. xv. 22-29, &c.

While it is true that piacular efficacy was conceived as inherent in all the varieties of sacrifice and offering, the later sacrificial system developed two new varieties of offering as special expiatory sacrifices, the sin-offering and the guilt-offering. They probably made their appearance in the dark days which preceded the fall of the Jewish state, although Ezekiel is the first to differentiate them by name from the older types of offering (xl. 39, xlii. 13).

wittingly, in any of the things which the LORD hath commanded not to be done, and shall do any one of

Of the two the sin-offering was much the more important. It was the prescribed medium for the expiation of two main classes of offences, viz. (1) sins committed in ignorance or by inadvertence (see on verse 2), and (2) cases of ceremonial defilement or uncleanness, contracted in various ways and having no connexion with sin as a breach of the moral law, such as the defilement of childbirth and of leprosy, the uncleanness of the altar, and the like. The special features in the ritual of the sin-offering by which it is distinguished from the ritual of the older animal sacrifices are these: (1) the victim varies according to the rank of the offender in the theocratic community, and (2) the application of the blood, as the medium of expiation, varies in intensity on the same principle. The underlying idea of this graduated scale of atonement is found in the characteristic priestly view of sin as uncleanness; the 'sins' above enumerated, even the 'sin' of a woman in her discharge of the—to us holy—function of motherhood, were viewed as not only defiling in themselves, but as sources of further impurity and defilement for the whole community. The higher the theocratic rank of the offender, the greater, according to the antique and now resuscitated conception of the contagion both of holiness and uncleanness, was his power of contamination (see verse 3, 'bring guilt upon the people'), and the more potent therefore the cathartic required for his purification.

2. If any one shall sin unwittingly: the original of the last word is a technical term of P, and denotes sins committed in ignorance or by inadvertence (cf. Num. xv. 24-29), as opposed to sins committed 'with an high hand' (ibid. 30 f.), that is, in wilful defiance of the Divine law. For such sins no sacrifice could make expiation (cf. note on xvi. 21). Moreover, in the sphere of morals only unwitting sins are contemplated, for these are the only offences of which the holy people of the priestly ideal would be guilty.

3-12. The High Priest's sin-offering.

Four varieties of sin-offering are prescribed in iv. 3 ff., two of which are sin-offerings of the first grade, and two of the second. The former class includes the sacrifice for the High Priest (verses 3–12), and that for the community as a whole, in which the rank and file of the priesthood are included (verses 13–21); in the second grade fall the sin-offerings for a secular chief (verses 22–26) and for an ordinary layman (verses 27–35). The sin-offerings of the first grade are distinguished from those of the second by the greater intensity of the blood-ritual, as indicated above, and by the sacrosanct character of the flesh of the victim, as will be more fully explained in the notes.

3 them: if the anointed priest shall sin so as to bring guilt on the people; then let him offer for his sin, which he hath sinned, a young bullock without blemish unto the 4 LORD for a sin offering. And he shall bring the bullock unto the door of the tent of meeting before the LORD; and he shall lay his hand upon the head of the bullock, 5 and kill the bullock before the LORD. And the anointed priest shall take of the blood of the bullock, and bring it 6 to the tent of meeting: and the priest shall dip his finger

3. the anointed priest: so verses 5, 16 and vi. 22 to designate the High Priest, the theocratic head of the post-exilic community. In the earlier strata of the Priests' Code, the High Priest alone receives 'the consecration of the anointing oil of his God' (viii. 12; cf. Exod. xxix. 7); in the latest strata the whole body of the priesthood, 'the sons of Aaron,' receive this consecration

(Exod. xxviii. 41, xxx. 30, xl. 15). See note on viii. 30.

a sin offering: Heb. hattāth. The word in the original is that usually rendered 'sin.' The intensive stem of the root-verb, however, is continually used in P in the privative sense of cleansing from defilement, to purify, to 'un-sin,' as in viii. 15: 'Moses . . . purified (lit. un-sinned) the altar.' Cf. Ps. li. 7, EVV 'purge'; Ezek. xliii. 20, EVV 'cleanse.' As used to designate this new species of sacrifice, therefore, hattath seems primarily to express its efficacy as a medium of purification or purgation, a meaning which the word undoubtedly has in Num. viii. 7 and xix. 9, 17 (see there). Sin, both moral and ceremonial—for, as was shown above, the two spheres are confused by the priestly writers—is conceived by the latter as belonging to the comprehensive category of uncleanness. It is a defilement affecting not only the individual, but, by its contagious potency, the whole community, and ipso facto interrupting the ideal relation of God to His people.

This idea of sin as something that can be washed away like a physical stain is really, like so much else in the priestly codes, a survival of a primitive and widely spread conception common to many religions (see Farnell, The Evolution of Religion, Lecture iii:

The Ritual of Purification and the Conception of Purity).

In short, both etymology and comparative religion suggest that the literal sense of hattath is not sin-offering, but 'un-sin' offering, and its proper rendering therefore 'purification' or 'purgation' offering.

<sup>4,</sup> he shall lay his hand, &c. See on i. 4.

in the blood, and sprinkle of the blood seven times before the LORD, before the veil of the sanctuary. And the 7 priest shall put of the blood upon the horns of the altar of sweet incense before the LORD, which is in the tent of meeting; and all the blood of the bullock shall he pour out at the base of the altar of burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. And all the fat of 8 the bullock of the sin offering he shall take off from it; the fat that covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards, and the two kidneys, and the fat that 9 is upon them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, a with the kidneys, shall he take away, as it is 10 taken off from the ox of the sacrifice of peace offerings:

a See ch. iii. 4.

6. and sprinkle of the blood: a different term in the original

from that wrongly so rendered in i. 5, which see.

before the veil of the sanctuary. In the first grade of sinofferings the blood is brought into the Holy Place of the Tabernacle (or Temple), which was divided by the veil (Exod. xxvi. 33) from the Most Holy Place. The greater the defilement, the nearer the cleansing blood was brought to the sacred presence of Yahweh. In the rite of the Day of Atonement we have a still more potent application of the blood (Lev. xvi. 14).

7. the altar of sweet incense: called in verse 18 'the altar which is before Yahweh'-contrast xvi. 18, where the altar of burnt-offering is so designated. The altar of incense, as it is more usually termed, is found only in the later strata of P (P3); see Bennett, Exodus, p. 235 f., and Hastings' DB, iv. 664. Even in the directions for the Day of Atonement (xvi. 12) the 'sweet

incense' is still offered in a censer.

the altar of burnt offering: so in Ps (Exod. xxx. 28, &c.), to distinguish it from the altar of incense. In the older strata of P it is designated simply 'the altar' (Exod. xxvii. 1 ff.; Lev. ix. 7, 8, &c.-all Pg; i. 6 ff., ii. 2, iii. 2 ff., &c.-all Pt). The references in this chapter to the two altars on the one hand, and to the anointed priest on the other, bring home to one the fact that the laws embodied in the completed priestly legislation, as it now lies before us in the Pentateuch, represent a long course of development. This chapter, for example, must be younger than the groundwork of P (Pg), represented by chs. ix and x, still

and the priest shall burn them upon the altar of burnt offering. And the skin of the bullock, and all its flesh, with its head, and with its legs, and its inwards, and its dung, even the whole bullock shall he carry forth without the camp unto a clean place, where the ashes are poured out, and burn it on wood with fire: where the ashes are poured out shall it be burnt.

And if the whole congregation of Israel shall err, and the thing be hid from the eyes of the assembly, and they have done any of the things which the LORD hath commanded not to be done, and are guilty; when the sin wherein they have sinned is known, then the assembly shall offer a young bullock for a sin offering, and bring it before the tent of meeting. And the elders of the congregation shall lay their hands upon the head of the

younger therefore than the bulk of chs. i-iii, yet not so recent as those parts which assume the anointing of the ordinary priests

bullock before the LORD; and the bullock shall be killed

(see on verses 3, 25).

11 f. Note the distinction as regards the disposal of the flesh between the sin-offerings of the first grade, where it is burned outside the camp, and those of the second grade, the flesh of which falls to the priests to be eaten within the sacred precincts (compare vi. 26, 29 with 30). This is explained by the fact that in the former case the priests are excluded from partaking of the flesh, both as sharing in some measure in the defilement of their representative the High Priest, and as members of 'the congregation of Israel.' The disposal of the flesh was an essential part of the rite, and until it was accomplished the priests were still in their sin. In the case of the second-grade offerings the priests, on the contrary, were in the normal condition of purity.

iv. 13-21. The sin-offering of the congregation.

<sup>13.</sup> congregation . . . assembly: the former is P's favourite designation of the theocratic community of Israel as a whole, but the latter is not unfrequently employed as here, verse 21 and Num. xvi. 3, as a synonym. For the very significant history of the corresponding Greek (LXX) terms, see art. 'Congregation' in Hastings's DB (1909).

before the LORD. And the anointed priest shall bring 16 of the blood of the bullock to the tent of meeting: and 17 the priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before the LORD, before the veil. And he 18 shall put of the blood upon the horns of the altar which is before the LORD, that is in the tent of meeting, and all the blood shall he pour out at the base of the altar of burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. And all the fat thereof shall he take off from it, and burn 19 it upon the altar. Thus shall he do with the bullock; 20 as he did with the bullock of the sin offering, so shall he do with this: and the priest shall make atonement for

How, then, may this special connotation of kipper in the sacrificial terminology be adequately expressed in English? In the fairly numerous cases in which the rite is performed on behalf of an inanimate object, where the sin or defilement is to our way of thinking purely physical, as in viii. 15, xiv. 53, xvi. 16, the old

<sup>20.</sup> the priest shall make atonement for them. To atone, which now means to 'make amends,' originally meant to 'set at one' (Acts vii. 26), to reconcile persons at variance. Atonement, formerly 'at onement,' is in our English Bible accordingly a synonym of reconciliation. These, however, are not the ideas inherent in the Hebrew verb kipper, here and elsewhere rendered 'to make atonement.' The original meaning of the root is still in dispute, but in the sacrificial terminology kipper has acquired a very special signification, for which there is no single equivalent in English. Even the construction of the verb is altered, for whereas in the earlier extra-legal writers, when it is used in connexion with sin, God is frequently the subject, in Ezekiel and P the subject is almost invariably the priest, and the verb is used as the summary expression for the performance by the priest of certain rites by which sin, viewed as uncleanness or defilement (see above on verse 3), is removed and the way opened for the 'cancelling' would imply too ethical a conception of sin in this connexion—is effected is sometimes said to be the sacrificial victim, as in i. 4; but this it is only in virtue of its blood, which is the real cathartic or expiatory medium, as expressly stated in the cardinal passage xvii. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Babylonian takpirtu, from the corresponding verb; see Zimmern, Die Keilinschriften u. d. alte Test. 3rd ed. (KAT<sup>3</sup>), 601 f.

them, and they shall be forgiven. And he shall carry forth the bullock without the camp, and burn it as he

A. V. rendering 'purge' seems fairly adequate (see, e.g., Ezek. xliii. 20, where the command is given to 'unsin and purge' (kipper) the altar, and verse 26 where, in the reverse order, it is to be purged and cleansed—R.V. here, as elsewhere, 'make atonement for'). In the case of persons, also, when the rite is said to kipper the sinner from his sin (iv. 26, v. 6, 10, &c.), it is difficult not to think that the idea of 'purging from' was clearly in the writer's mind. On the other hand, this rendering fails to do justice to the ethical moment in sin, even as defilement, viewed in its relation to the divine holiness. The expression we seem to require is one that is constantly associated by Greek and Roman writers with rites of purgation or purification, namely expiare 1, to expiate, make expiation for.

The revisers have introduced 'to make expiation for' as the rendering of kipper in two passages, Num. xxxv. 33 and Deut. xxxii. 43—in both cases 'the land' is the object—and elsewhere in their margins. Strictly speaking, it is the blood of the sacrifice that 'makes expiation'; the priest 'performs the rite of expiation on behalf of' the sinner; but the latter is too cumbrous, and the shorter, though less accurate, expression may, in the writer's opinion, be accepted as on the whole the most adequate rendering of this much discussed term. 'To make propitiation for' is further from the special significance of the word in P; still further is 'to make atonement for' in the sense of 'reconcile.' To 'make expiation for' has the further advantage of being more applicable than these alternatives to material objects, since a uniform rendering is after all desirable <sup>2</sup>.

and they shall be forgiven: the performance of the rite of expiation ensures the pardon of the sinner, but the sequence is properly one of time, not of cause and effect; for the real ground

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Wissowa, Religion der Römer, 327, note 4, where the following quotation is given from Servius, Aen. iii. 279: lustramur, id est purgamur, ut Iovi sacra faciamus; aut certe 'lustramur Iovi' id est expiamur.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Recent discussions of the meaning of kipper will be found in Driver's article, 'Propitiation' in Hastings's DB, iv.128-132, and more briefly in his Deuteronomy, 425 f.; Joh. Hermann, Die Idee der Sühne im alten Testament (1905)—a study of all the O.T. passages; A. B. Davidson, Theology of the Old Test., 327 ff., 348 ff.; H. P. Smith, 'The Old Testament Theory of Atonement' in the Amer. Journal of Theology, July, 1906 (pp. 412-422).

burned the first bullock: it is the sin offering for the assembly.

When a ruler sinneth, and doeth unwittingly any one 22 of all the things which the LORD his God hath commanded not to be done, and is guilty; if his sin, wherein 23 he hath sinned, be made known to him, he shall bring for his oblation a goat, a male without blemish; and he 24 shall lay his hand upon the head of the goat, and kill it in the place where they kill the burnt offering before the LORD: it is a sin offering. And the priest shall take of 25 the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and the blood thereof shall he pour out at the base of the altar

of the forgiveness is the free grace of God who revealed Himself as 'a God full of compassion and gracious... and plenteous in mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression' (Exod. xxxiv. 6; Num. xiv. 18). The sacrifice, in virtue of the cleansing and 'un-sinning' efficacy of the blood, in particular, merely removes the barrier to the action of the divine grace. 'None of the prophets, not even Ezekiel, refers to sacrifice as the means of atonement for the sins of the people; God forgives of His grace and mercy alone' (Davidson, Theology of the O.T., 330). In the Babylonian ritual, the verb corresponding to that here rendered 'forgiven' is frequently found associated, as here, with kuppuru, with the meaning 'to sprinkle' with the sacrificial blood (Zimmern, op. cit., 602).

iv. 22-26. The sin-offering of the secular heads of the community. This and the following (verses 27 ff.) form the sin-offerings of the second or lower grade, distinguished from those of the first grade by the following features: (1) the blood is not brought within the sanctuary; (2) the victim is of less value, a goat or a lamb, and its flesh is eaten by the priests; (3) the officiating priest is one of the ordinary priesthood.

22. a ruler: one of the secular chiefs of the community. The word is that rendered 'prince' in Num. ii, vii, and elsewhere.

25. The application of the blood in this instance is not by sprinkling but by smearing with the finger. It is interesting to note that in the groundwork of P (P<sup>s</sup>) the inferior blood-rite here prescribed is sufficient for the High Priest's sin-offering (Exod. xxix. 12; Lev. viii. 15): another indication, when compared with

26 of burnt offering. And all the fat thereof shall he burn upon the altar, as the fat of the sacrifice of peace offerings: and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin, and he shall be forgiven.

27 And if any one of the a common people sin unwittingly, in doing any of the things which the LORD hath com-

28 manded not to be done, and be guilty; if his sin, which he hath sinned, be made known to him, then he shall bring for his oblation a goat, a female without blemish,

29 for his sin which he hath sinned. And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and kill the sin 30 offering in the place of burnt offering. And the priest

shall take of the blood thereof with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the base of the ar altar. And all the fat thereof shall he take away, as the fat is taken away from off the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet

savour unto the LORD; and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be forgiven.

32 And if he bring a lamb as his oblation for a sin offering, he shall bring it a female without blemish.

33 And he shall lay his hand upon the head of the sin offering, and kill it for a sin offering in the place where they a Heb. people of the land.

verses 6, 7 above, of the gradual development of the ritual, and of the later date of this chapter, which belongs to Ps.

26. as concerning his sin: lit. 'from his sin,' a different preposition from that rendered 'as touching' in verse 35. The meaning of the original may be thus expressed: 'the priest shall perform the rites of expiation on his behalf, and he shall be purged from his sin, and so made capable of receiving, as he shall receive, the divine forgiveness.'

iv. 27-35. The ordinary layman's sin-offering.

The only difference from the foregoing sacrifice is in the inferior sex of the victim and the alternative of a lamb.

kill the burnt offering. And the priest shall take of the 34 blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and all the blood thereof shall he pour out at the base of the altar: and all the fat thereof shall he take away, as the fat of 35 the lamb is taken away from the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall burn them on the altar, a upon the offerings of the LORD made by fire: and the priest shall make atonement for him as touching his sin that he hath sinned, and he shall be forgiven.

And if any one sin, in that he heareth the voice of ad-5 juration, he being a witness, whether he hath seen or known, if he do not utter *it*, then he shall bear his iniquity: or if any one touch any unclean thing, whether 2 it be the carcase of an unclean beast, or the carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of unclean creeping things, and it be hidden from him, and he be unclean, then he

#### <sup>2</sup> Or, after the manner of

v. 1-6. Special cases in which a sin-offering is required.

The original continuation of ch. iv is found in v. 7. The intervening verses are best taken as a later insertion giving a number

of illustrative cases where a sin-offering is required.

1. the voice of adjuration: lit. 'a curse.' The first of the four cases here adduced is the sin of withholding evidence in a court of law. As this can scarcely be described as a sin of inadvertence (iv. 2), the author of this section evidently held a different theory of the sin-offering from that underlying ch. iv. The 'curse' is one pronounced upon a criminal and all concerned, with a view to extracting confession and evidence (Judges xvii. 2; Prov. xxix. 4).

if he do not utter it: compare the unwritten saying (agraphon) of our Lord: 'I say unto you that every good word which men shall not speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of judgement' (Lewis and Gibson, Palestine Syriac Lectionary,

p. xxx).

2. creeping things: rather, 'creatures that swarm'; i.e. are found in large numbers, whether in the sea (xi. 10) or on the land (xi. 29 f.). This and the following category (verse 3) are more fully and somewhat differently dealt with in chs. xi-xv.

3 shall be guilty: or if he touch the uncleanness of man, whatsoever his uncleanness be wherewith he is unclean, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, 4 then he shall be guilty: or if any one swear rashly with his lips to do evil, or to do good, whatsoever it be that a man shall utter rashly with an oath, and it be hid from him; when he knoweth of it, then he shall be guilty in 5 one of these things: and it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that 6 wherein he hath sinned: and he shall bring a his guilt offering unto the LORD for his sin which he hath sinned, a female from the flock, a lamb or a goat, for a sin offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him as concern-7 ing his sin. And if his means suffice not for a lamb, then he shall bring a his guilt offering for that wherein he hath sinned, two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, unto the LORD; one for a sin offering, and the other for a 8 burnt offering. And he shall bring them unto the priest, who shall offer that which is for the sin offering first, and b wring off its head from its neck, but shall not divide it g asunder: and he shall sprinkle of the blood of the sin offering upon the side of the altar; and the rest of the

<sup>a</sup> Or, for his guilt Or, his trespass offering <sup>b</sup> Or, pinch

<sup>5.</sup> and it shall be: insert, as in verses 3, 4, 'when he knoweth of it, then,' &c.

he shall confess: add, with LXX: 'his sin' wherein, &c. Public confession is required only here and Num. v. 7. The case of Lev. xvi. 21 is different.

**<sup>6.</sup>** his guilt offering: render 'as an amend (or penalty) for his sin,' the word 'āshām not having here the technical sense which it has in verses 15 ff.

v. 7-13. The sin-offerings of the poor (continuation of iv. 1-35).
7. a lamb: the original term includes both sheep and goats; see Exod. xii. 5.

his guilt offering: to be explained as in verse 6, or more probably as a copyist's slip for 'his oblation,' as iv. 23, 28, 32.

blood shall be drained out at the base of the altar: it is a sin offering. And he shall a offer the second for a burnt to offering, according to the ordinance: and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin which he hath sinned, and he shall be forgiven.

But if his means suffice not for two turtledoves, or two tryoung pigeons, then he shall bring his oblation for that wherein he hath sinned, the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering; he shall put no oil upon it, neither shall he put any frankincense thereon: for it is a sin offering. And he shall bring it to the priest, and the 12-priest shall take his handful of it as the memorial thereof, and burn it on the altar, b upon the offerings of the Lord made by fire: it is a sin offering. And the priest shall 13 make atonement for him as touching his sin that he hath sinned in any of these things, and he shall be forgiven: and the remnant shall be the priest's, as the meal offering.

a Or, prepare

b Or, after the manner of

11-13 contain a special provision for the very poor of the community. This admission of a bloodless cereal oblation as a sin-offering is of importance as showing the untenableness of the 'life for a life' theory (poena vicaria) of sacrifice; see on i. 4.

11. the tenth part of an ephah: lit. 'an 'issarôn,' the measure

11. the tenth part of an ephah: lit. 'an 'issarôn,' the measure elsewhere termed the omer (see Exod. xvi. 36), and equal to about 7 pints. The absence of oil and frankincense distinguishes this offering from the ordinary meal-offering of ch. ii.

(e) v. 14—vi. 7. The law of the guilt-offering. Cf. vii. 1-7, Num. v. 5-8.

The second of the new piacular sacrifices is termed the 'āshām, the guilt- or trespass- (so A. V. and R. V. marg.) offering. In the earlier literature 'āshām denotes a gift (I Sam. vi. 3 f.) or money payment (2 Kings xii. 16 f.), by which, in addition to restitution, it was sought to make amends for the wrong committed. There is a lack of consistency in the attitude of the various priestly legislators to this piaculum. The leper's guilt-offering (Lev. xiv. 12 ff.), for example, is indistinguishable from an ordinary sin-offering. In the cardinal passage now before us, however, the guilt-offering is plainly prescribed for offences involving the mis-

- And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, If any one to commit a trespass, and sin unwittingly, in the holy things of the Lord; then he shall bring his guilt offering unto the Lord, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy estimation in silver by shekels, after the
- shekel of the sanctuary, for a guilt offering: and he shall make restitution for that which he hath done amiss in the holy thing, and shall add the fifth part thereto, and give it unto the priest: and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering, and he shall be forgiven.
- And if any one sin, and do any of the things which the LORD hath commanded not to be done; though he

appropriation of the property of another (vi. 2), especially of the sacred dues, 'the holy things of the Lord' (v. 15). Its characteristic feature is the restitution of the property or due withheld, together with a fine amounting to one-fifth of its value as compensation for the loss sustained. The ritual of the sacrifice is more fully given in vii. 1-7, where the points of divergence from the ritual of the ordinary sin-offering will be noted.

15. If any one commit a trespass: rather 'a breach of faith,' a technical expression in Ezekiel and P especially for breaking faith with God; in Num. v. 12, 27 it is used of a wife breaking

faith with her husband.

and sin unwittingly: see on iv. 2. The cases enumerated in vi. 2 f. hardly come under this category; the same difficulty

emerged in connexion with the sin-offering in verse 1.

in the holy things of the LORD: the reference is to the withholding or incomplete rendering of the firstfruits and other dues of the sanctuary, and to sacrilegious partaking of the flesh of such sacrificial victims as were the perquisite of the priests (xxii. 14-16).

after the shekel of the sanctuary: the so-called Phoenician silver shekel of 224 grains, value about 2s. 9d. The extant Jewish shekels weigh a little less than this, circa 215-220 grains. For this identification see the writer's art. 'Money' in Hastings's

DB, iii. 422.

17-19 are a later insertion, breaking the connexion between v. 16 and vi. 1, and probably dating from a time when the distinction between the two expiatory sacrifices was becoming

knew it not, yet is he guilty, and shall bear his iniquity. And he shall bring a ram without blemish out of the 18 flock, according to thy estimation, for a guilt offering, unto the priest: and the priest shall make atonement for him concerning the thing wherein he erred unwittingly and knew it not, and he shall be forgiven. It is a guilt 19 offering: he is certainly guilty before the LORD.

<sup>a</sup> And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, If any one sin, 6 and commit a trespass against the Lord, and deal falsely with his neighbour in a matter of deposit, or of <sup>b</sup> bargain, or of robbery, or have oppressed his neighbour; or have 3 found that which was lost, and deal falsely therein, and swear to a lie; in any of all these that a man doeth, sinning therein: then it shall be, if he hath sinned, and is 4 guilty, that he shall restore that which he took by robbery,

<sup>a</sup> [Ch. v. 20 in Heb.] <sup>b</sup> Or, pledge

confused or was not clearly understood. Although the sacrifice here required is expressly termed a guilt-offering in verse 19, and the victim is the usual ram, there is no mention of the characteristic fine of one-fifth, and verse 17 is practically identical with iv. 2 (sin-offering).

vi. 1-7. Guilt-offering for breach of trust towards members of the

community.

The cases of embezzlement, breach of trust, and misappropriation of property here enumerated strike one, at first sight, as matter for the criminal courts, as provided for by the early law-code, Exod. xxii. I-I4. The point of view adopted by the author appears to be that the guilty person makes voluntary confession of his offence without the intervention of the law (see on verse 5). It is important, however, to observe that mere restitution, even when accompanied by a public confession, is not sufficient. The majesty of the divine holiness must be vindicated by a guilt-offering, for in wronging his neighbour the offender has also broken faith with God, the supreme Guardian of morality.

2. with his neighbour: a fellow-member of the theocratic community, a term almost confined to the Law of Holiness.

bargain: better, as marg., pledge; property left as security for a loan or the like.

or the thing which he hath gotten by oppression, or the deposit which was committed to him, or the lost thing 5 which he found, or any thing about which he hath sworn falsely; he shall even restore it in full, and shall add the fifth part more thereto: unto him to whom it appertaineth shall he give it, in the day of his being found 6 guilty. And he shall bring his guilt offering unto the LORD, a ram without blemish out of the flock, according to thy estimation, for a guilt offering, unto the priest: 7 and the priest shall make atonement for him before the LORD, and he shall be forgiven; concerning whatsoever he doeth so as to be guilty thereby.

<sup>8</sup> And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Command Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the law of the burnt offering: the burnt offering shall be b on the hearth upon

a [Ch. vi. 1 in Heb.] b Or, on its firewood

The 'manual for worshippers' is followed by 'a manual for priests, edited afresh with several additions,' but derived in the main from the same circle of priestly tôrôth as chs. i-iii. The order of treatment is the same as in the preceding chapters, except that 'the law of the sacrifice of peace offerings' comes last (vii. 11 ff.). The characteristic introductory formula—'this is the law (tôrah) of'—and the special colophon at the close are indications that the original contents of this subdivision once formed an independent manual (see p. 37).

9. Aaron and his sons: the same editorial adaptation as in i. 5; note especially the change of persons in verses 14 f. below.

<sup>5.</sup> in the day of his being found guilty: lit. 'in the day of his guilt,' i.e. when he makes voluntary acknowledgement of his guilt, or in the day when he offers his guilt-offering. The R. V. rendering suggests unfairly the intervention of the authorities.

B. vi. 8-vii. 38. Supplementary Directions for the Ritual of Sacrifice, addressed to the Priests.

<sup>(</sup>a) vi. 8-13, the law of the burnt-offering. This law has reference only to the ritual of the public burnt-offering, which was offered daily, morning and evening; hence its later name, the *Tamûd*, i.e. the perpetual (offering). See Exod. xxix. 38-42; Num. xxviii. 3-8.

the altar all night unto the morning; and the fire of the altar shall be kept burning thereon. And the priest shall 10 put on his linen garment, and his linen breeches shall he put upon his flesh; and he shall take up the ashes whereto the fire hath consumed the burnt offering on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar. And he 11 shall put off his garments, and put on other garments, and carry forth the ashes without the camp unto a clean place. And the fire upon the altar shall be kept burning 12 thereon, it shall not go out; and the priest shall burn wood on it every morning: and he shall lay the burnt offering in order upon it, and shall burn thereon the fat of the peace offerings. Fire shall be kept burning upon the 13 altar continually; it shall not go out.

And this is the law of the meal offering: the sons of 14 Aaron shall offer it before the Lord, before the altar. And he shall take up therefrom his handful, of the fine 15 flour of the meal offering, and of the oil thereof, and all the frankincense which is upon the meal offering, and shall burn it upon the altar for a sweet savour, as the memorial thereof, unto the Lord. And that which is 16 left thereof shall Aaron and his sons eat: it shall be eaten without leaven in a holy place; in the court of the tent

<sup>11.</sup> he shall put off his garments: cf. Ezek. xliv. 19, where the reason is given: 'that (the priests) sanctify not the people with their garments.' The garments worn by the officiating priests in the sanctuary were charged with a contagious 'holiness,' and so became 'a conducting vehicle of a spiritual electricity,' dangerous to all unconsecrated persons. For this characteristic feature of primitive religious thought see Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 2nd ed. (Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup>), 446 ff.

<sup>(</sup>b) 14-18, the law of the meal offering, supplementing the regulations for the private offerings in ch. ii, and having specially in view the daily meal-offering which accompanied the Tamûd (Exod. xxix. 41 f.).

- 17 of meeting they shall eat it. It shall not be baken with leaven. I have given it as their portion of my offerings made by fire; it is most holy, as the sin offering, and as
- 18 the guilt offering. Every male among the children of Aaron shall eat of it, as a due for ever throughout your generations, from the offerings of the LORD made by fire: whosoever toucheth them shall be holy.
- 19 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, This is the
- oblation of Aaron and of his sons, which they shall offer unto the LORD in the day when he is anointed; the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering perpetually, half of it in the morning, and half thereof in the evening.
- On a a baking pan it shall be made with oil; when it is soaked, thou shalt bring it in: in b baken pieces shalt thou offer the meal offering for a sweet savour unto the
- 22 LORD. And the anointed priest that shall be in his stead from among his sons shall offer it: by a statute for
- 23 ever it shall be wholly burnt unto the LORD. And every meal offering of the priest shall be wholly burnt: it shall not be eaten.
- <sup>24</sup> And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto <sup>25</sup> Aaron and to his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin offering: in the place where the burnt offering is killed shall the sin offering be killed before the LORD: it is <sup>26</sup> most holy. The priest that offereth it for sin shall eat
  - <sup>a</sup> See ch. ii. 5.

    <sup>b</sup> The meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain.

18. whosoever toucheth them shall be holy: in modern phrase, 'shall be taboo,' and his life forfeited, though doubtless a ransom was provided. The underlying idea is the same as in verse 11.

<sup>19-23</sup> deal with the special meal-offering which was presented every morning and evening by the High Priest, or at least at his expense (Josephus, Antiq. III. x. 7). In verse 20 the words 'in the day when he is anointed' are a gloss due to a confusion of this meal-offering with that prescribed in viii. 26, ix. 4.

it: in a holy place shall it be eaten, in the court of the tent of meeting. <sup>a</sup> Whatsoever shall touch the flesh <sup>27</sup> thereof shall be holy: and when there is sprinkled of the blood thereof upon any garment, thou shalt wash that whereon it was sprinkled in a holy place. But the <sup>28</sup> earthen vessel wherein it is sodden shall be broken: and if it be sodden in a brasen vessel, it shall be scoured, and rinsed in water: Every male among the priests shall <sup>29</sup> eat thereof: it is most holy. And no sin offering, <sup>30</sup> whereof any of the blood is brought into the tent of meeting to make atonement in the holy place, shall be eaten: it shall be burnt with fire.

And this is the law of the guilt offering: it is most 7

a Or, Whosoever

(c) 24-30, the law of the sin-offering, with special reference, however, to sin-offerings of the second grade, the flesh of which

might be eaten by the priests (see above, p. 50).

<sup>27.</sup> We should render probably, with LXX and R.V. margin: 'Whosoever shall touch,' &c., as in verse 18. Verses 27, 28 afford an illustration of the fundamental unity of the ideas underlying the antique conceptions of 'holiness' and 'uncleanness.' The blood of the sin-offering, the most potent medium of expiation, is sacrosanct in the highest degree, yet its holiness is here and elsewhere treated as a stain that requires to be, and is capable of being, washed off. In the case of a porous earthen vessel, the infection was so great that it had to be destroyed. The Jews in our Lord's day even spoke of the holy scriptures as 'defiling the hands,' which had therefore to be washed after contact with a roll of the Law or other canonical book. Hag. ii. 12 f. shows that the contagion of uncleanness was regarded as more powerful than the contagion of holiness. For the whole subject, see Robertson Smith, op. cit., and Lagrange, Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques, ch. iv: Sainteté et Impureté.

<sup>(</sup>d) vii. 1-10, the law of the guilt-offering, containing the ritual instructions omitted from v. 14 ff. The ritual of the guilt-offering differs from that of the allied sin-offering chiefly in two respects.

(1) The victim does not vary with the rank of the offender but is uniformly a ram (v. 15, vi. 6), the 'expiation ram' of Num. v. 8;

(2) similarly the manipulation of the blood agrees with that

2 holy. In the place where they kill the burnt offering shall they kill the guilt offering: and the blood thereof 3 shall he sprinkle upon the altar round about. And he shall offer of it all the fat thereof; the fat tail, and the 4 fat that covereth the inwards, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is by the loins, and the caul upon the liver, a with the kidneys, shall he take 5 away; and the priest shall burn them upon the altar for an offering made by fire unto the LORD: it is a guilt 6 offering. Every male among the priests shall eat thereof: 7 it shall be eaten in a holy place: it is most holy. As is the sin offering, so is the guilt offering: there is one law for them: the priest that maketh atonement therewith, 8 he shall have it. And the priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest shall have to himself the 9 skin of the burnt offering which he hath offered. And every meal offering that is baken in the oven, and all that is dressed in the frying pan, and on the baking 10 pan, shall be the priest's that offereth it. And every

a See ch. iii. 4.

meal offering, mingled with oil, or dry shall all the sons

of Aaron have, one as well as another.

prescribed for the older sacrifices—'sprinkle upon' in vii. 2 should be 'dash against' (see on i. 5)—as compared with the more intense and complicated blood-rite of the sin-offering. As regards the disposal of the flesh, the guilt-offering agrees with the sin-offerings of the second grade. In both cases it is 'most holy.' For verses 3 f. see the notes on iii. 9 f.

<sup>7-10.</sup> An appendix regulating the priest's share in the several offerings (cf. verses 31-34).

<sup>(</sup>e) 11-21, 28-36. The law of the peace-offering, or sacrifice of requital (see p. 44). Its contents are now split into two sections by the intrusion of verses 22 27. Important is the information here given as to the various kinds of recompense offerings, viz. the thank-offering properly so called, the votive offering, and the free-will offering.

And this is the law of the sacrifice of peace offerings, 11 which one shall offer unto the Lord. If he offer it for 12 a thanksgiving, then he shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and cakes mingled with oil, of fine flour soaked. With cakes of leavened 13 bread he shall offer his oblation with the sacrifice of his peace offerings for thanksgiving. And of it he shall offer 14 one out of each oblation for an heave offering unto the Lord; it shall be the priest's that sprinkleth the blood of the peace offerings. And the flesh of the sacrifice of 15 his peace offerings for thanksgiving shall be eaten on the day of his oblation; he shall not leave any of it until the morning. But if the sacrifice of his oblation be a 16

<sup>12.</sup> for a thanksgiving: lit. 'for a thank-offering'; it is the 'sacrifice of thanksgiving' of xxii. 29 and Amos iv. 5 (cf. Ps. lvi. 12, R. V.). The regulations deal first with the accompanying cereal oblation, and then with the disposal of the flesh.

<sup>14.</sup> for an heave offering: an unfortunate rendering, suggestive of heaving or throwing, whereas the original, terûmah, denotes something 'lifted off' from a large whole, and dedicated either to God directly, or to His representatives the priests. Here it is applied to the priest's share of the cereal offering which accompanied the thank-offering; in verse 32, to 'the right thigh' of the sacrificial victim which likewise fell to the priest. Accordingly, 'as an oblation to the Lord,' 'as a selected portion,' as a contribution,' have all been recently suggested as renderings here (cf. verse 34).

<sup>15.</sup> The position of the thank-offering proper at the head of the several varieties of recompense offerings is shown by the special precaution taken to guard against the flesh becoming putrid. It had to be eaten on the day on which it was offered; compare the early law, Exod. xxiii. 18, and contrast the laxer provisions in the verses here following. See also on xix. 5 ff., xxii. 17 ff., 29 f.

verses here following. See also on xix. 5 ff., xxii. 17 ff., 29 f.

16. if the sacrifice... be a vow: rather, 'be a votive offering', i. e. a sacrifice in fulfilment of a vow. For this sacrifice in early times, see Judges xi. 30, 34 ff. (Jephthah), and 2 Sam. xv. 7, 12 (Absalom). Special legislation on the important subject of vows is found in xxvii. 1-13 below, and Num. xxx. 1-16. The freewill offering, named along with 'vows' also Lev. xxii. 18 ff., Deut.

vow, or a freewill offering, it shall be eaten on the day that he offereth his sacrifice; and on the morrow that 17 which remaineth of it shall be eaten: but that which remaineth of the flesh of the sacrifice on the third day 18 shall be burnt with fire. And if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings be eaten on the third day, it shall not be accepted, neither shall it be imputed unto him that offereth it: it shall be an abomination, and the 19 soul that eateth of it shall bear his iniquity. And the flesh that toucheth any unclean thing shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire. And as for the flesh, every 20 one that is clean shall eat thereof: but the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, that pertain unto the LORD, having his uncleanness upon 21 him; that soul shall be cut off from his people. when any one shall touch any unclean thing, the uncleanness of man, or an unclean beast, or any unclean abomination, and eat of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, which pertain unto the LORD, that soul shall be cut off from his people.

xii. 6, was a spontaneous expression of the worshipper's gratitude to the Giver of all. For it alone were blemished victims accepted (Lev. xxii. 23).

18. an abomination: the original (piggûl) is a technical term for putrid sacrificial flesh. 'Abomination,' as applied to unclean creatures in verse 21, xi. 11 ff. and elsewhere, represents an entirely different word in the original.

<sup>19</sup> f. The sacrificial meal was so essential a part of the rite of sacrifice that only those ceremonially clean could be allowed to share in it. The penalty for a breach of this fundamental principle of worship, which is common to all early religions, is expressed by the words

<sup>20.</sup> that soul shall be cut off from his people: more precisely, 'from his kinsfolk,' It has been much discussed whether death or excommunication is the penalty intended by this characteristic expression of P (see the ingenious presentation of the case by Gunkel, quoted by G. B. Gray, Commentary on Num. ix. 13).

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall eat no fat, of ox, or sheep, or goat. And the fat of that which dieth of 24 itself, and the fat of that which is torn of beasts, may be used for any other service: but ye shall in no wise eat of it. For whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of 25 which men offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord, even the soul that eateth it shall be cut off from his people. And ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether 26 it be of fowl or of beast, in any of your dwellings. Whosoever it be that eateth any blood, that soul shall be 27 cut off from his people.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace offerings unto the LORD shall bring his oblation unto the LORD out of the sacrifice

The milder penalty is the more probable, for the use of the term 'from his kinsfolk' suggests that the phrase is a survival of tribal jurisprudence, according to which, as among the Bedouin Arabs of the present day', a sentence of outlawry was the penalty for certain heinous offences (cf. the case of Cain, Gen. iv. 14, and the Code of Hammurabi, sects. 154, 158). The authors of the Priests' Code doubtless regarded the offender as handed over to 'the judgement of God.'

22-27, an intrusive and later section expanding the general prohibition of fat and blood given in iii. 17. The fat 'of the omentum and the organs that lie in and near it,' which 'according to Semitic ideas were a not less important seat of life' than the blood itself (see W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup>, 379 f.), is here associated with the blood as a food taboo. As distinguished from blood, however, which was universally interdicted, the fat taboo was restricted to animals actually offered in sacrifice. It does not apply, besides, to the muscular fat of any class of clean animal. For the highly technical distinction in verse 24 see on xvii. 15.

28-36. The ritual of the peace-offering is here resumed in con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes (1908), 226 ff.; Musil, Arabia Petræa (1908), iii. 60, 335.

30 of his peace offerings: his own hands shall bring the offerings of the LORD made by fire; the fat with the breast shall he bring, that the breast may be waved for 31 a wave offering before the LORD. And the priest shall

burn the fat upon the altar: but the breast shall be

32 Aaron's and his sons'. And the right a thigh shall ye give unto the priest for an heave offering out of the 33 sacrifices of your peace offerings. He among the sons

of Aaron, that offereth the blood of the peace offerings, and the fat, shall have the right a thigh for a portion.

34 For the wave breast and the heave a thigh have I taken of the children of Israel out of the sacrifices of their peace offerings, and have given them unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons as a due for ever from the children of Israel.

### a Or, shoulder

tinuation of verse 21. The section deals with the portions of the sacrificial victim falling to the officiating priest. The important and intricate subject of the priests' dues from this source is dealt with in several parts of the Pentateuchal legislation. A study of these reveals a gradual increase in the amount of the priestly perquisites. In the early period represented by I Sam. ii. 13-16, 'what was due to the priest from the people' was apparently left to the worshipper's discretion (see Cent. Bible in loc.). Deut. xviii. 3 assigns to the priest 'the shoulder, and the two cheeks, and the maw.' In this section the priests' dues are stated to be the more valuable breast and right thigh or hind quarter (so x. 14 f., Exod. xxix. 27 f.). On this discrepancy see the discussion by Driver, Deuteronomy, p. 215 f. The corresponding dues exacted by the Babylonian priesthood are discussed by Haupt in the Journ. of Bib. Literature, xix. 59 f., 75. See further on Num. xviii. 8 ff.

30. waved for a wave offering: the original term (tënûphah) denotes a movement to and fro, the priest taking up the breast and 'waving' it to and fro in the direction of the altar, thus symbolizing its presentation to God and His return of it to His representative.

34. wave breast . . . heave thigh: 'the breast that is waved and the thigh that is set apart' (Addis). For the latter see verse 14.

This is the anointing-portion of Aaron, and the 35 anointing-portion of his sons, out of the offerings of the Lord made by fire, in the day when he presented them to minister unto the Lord in the priest's office; which the Lord commanded to be given them of the 36 children of Israel, in the day that he anointed them. It is a due for ever throughout their generations. This 37 is the law of the burnt offering, of the meal offering, and of the sin offering, and of the guilt offering, and of the consecration, and of the sacrifice of peace offerings; which the Lord commanded Moses in mount Sinai, in 38 the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations unto the Lord, in the wilderness of Sinai.

b And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take 8 2

a Or, portion

b See Ex. xxix.

35. the anointing-portion (cf. A. V.): on etymological grounds the rendering of the margin is alone admissible. Moreover, neither Aaron nor his sons have yet been anointed, a fact which compels us to regard the last clause of verse 36 as a later gloss (cf. vi. 20).

37 f., originally the colophon of the present subdivision (vi. 8—vii. 36), not of chaps. i-vii as a whole. This is evident from the words 'in mount Sinai' as compared with 'the tent of meeting' in i. I. Note also the similarity of the introductory formulae, verse 37 and vi. 8, 14, &c., above referred to, and the identity of the order of the several entries, with the exception of the intrusive entry 'and of the consecration' which does not belong here.

### Second Division. CHAPTERS VIII-X.

THE CONSECRATION AND INSTALLATION OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD.

In these chapters we are brought back to the main stream of the priestly History of Israel's Religious Institutions  $(P^g)$ . They record the carrying out of the divine instructions, given in Exod. xxix, regarding the installation of Aaron and his sons as the only legitimate priests of the wilderness sanctuary. This restriction of

Aaron and his sons with him, and the garments, and the anointing oil, and the bullock of the sin offering, and the two rams, and the basket of unleavened bread; and assemble thou all the congregation at the door of the tent of meeting. And Moses did as the Lord commanded him; and the congregation was assembled at the door of the tent of meeting. And Moses said unto the congregation, This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded to be done. And Moses brought Aaron and his sons, and washed them with water. And he put upon him the coat, and girded him with the girdle, and clothed him with the robe, and put the ephod upon him, and he girded him with the cunningly woven band of the ephod, and bound it unto him therewith.

the priestly office to an exclusive hereditary caste represents the

final stage in the history of priesthood in Israel.

Chs. viii-x seem, on the whole, as has been said, to have formed part of the groundwork of the Priests' Code (Pg). In several passages, however, where the ritual is more elaborate, the work of later hands may be detected (see the notes below). The sections correspond to the several chapters.

(a) viii. Consecration of Aaron and his sons.

The consecration of the future High Priest—the most prominent element in the narrative—was accomplished in three stages: (1) the washing; (2) the vesting; (3) the special consecration rite, consisting of the following 'actions': the anointing or 'sacring' of the High Priest, the consecration of his person by a peculiar blood-rite, and finally (in the present text) the sprinkling of himself and his garments with, probably, a mixture of oil and blood—all accompanied by the offering of prescribed sacrifices, a sin offering, a burnt-offering, and a special consecration offering.

2. See Exod. xxix, the notes on which in Bennett, Cent. Bible,

should be consulted throughout.

7-9. The vesting of Aaron with the robes of his office. For the several items, see op. cit. on Exod. xxviii. The presence should be noted of two of the insignia of kingship in antiquity, the purple robe  $(m\ddot{e}'il)$ , for which a new identification will be found in the writer's art. 'Dress' in Hastings's DB, 1909), and the 'holy crown' or diadem. The High Priest combines in his person the civil as

And he placed the breastplate upon him: and in the 8 breastplate he put a the Urim and the Thummim. And 9 he set the b mitre upon his head; and upon the b mitre, in front, did he set the golden plate, the holy crown; as the LORD commanded Moses. And Moses took the 10 anointing oil, and anointed the tabernacle and all that was therein, and sanctified them. And he sprinkled II thereof upon the altar seven times, and anointed the altar and all its vessels, and the laver and its base, to sanctify them. And he poured of the anointing oil 12 upon Aaron's head, and anointed him, to sanctify him. And Moses brought Aaron's sons, and clothed them 13 with coats, and girded them with girdles, and bound headtires upon them; as the LORD commanded Moses. And he brought the bullock of the sin offering: and 14 Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the bullock of the sin offering. And he slew it; and 15 Moses took the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about with his finger, and purified the altar, and poured out the blood at the base of the altar, and sanctified it, to make atonement for it. And he took all 16

<sup>a</sup> That is, the Lights and the Perfections. <sup>b</sup> Or, turban

well as the religious headship of the theocratic community. The anointing, a rite in the earlier literature associated only with kings, is to be viewed in the same light.

8 f. See the corresponding arts. in Hastings's DB.

10. The first clause of this verse was originally part of verse 12, the intervening words being an insertion which interrupts the ceremony and is without warrant in Exod. xxix.

13. Neither here nor in Exod. xxix is there any mention of the

anointing of Aaron's sons, the ordinary priests. See on iv. 3.

15. Comparison with Exod. xxix. 12 shows that the latter half of this verse has received considerable and inappropriate additions. Note that the blood of the High Priest's sin-offering is applied as prescribed by Exod., loc. cit., as compared with the more intense application required by iv. 6; cf. note on iv. 25.

the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and Moses 17 burned it upon the altar. But the bullock, and its skin, and its flesh, and its dung, he burnt with fire without 18 the camp; as the LORD commanded Moses. And he presented the ram of the burnt offering: and Aaron and his sons laid their hands upon the head of the ram. 10 And he killed it: and Moses sprinkled the blood upon 20 the altar round about. And he cut the ram into its pieces; and Moses burnt the head, and the pieces, and 21 the fat. And he washed the inwards and the legs with water; and Moses burnt the whole ram upon the altar; it was a burnt offering for a sweet savour: it was an offering made by fire unto the LORD; as the LORD 22 commanded Moses. And he presented the other ram, the ram of consecration: and Aaron and his sons laid 23 their hands upon the head of the ram. And he slew it; and Moses took of the blood thereof, and put it upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot. 24 And he brought Aaron's sons, and Moses put of the blood upon the tip of their right ear, and upon the thumb of their right hand, and upon the great toe of

22. the ram of consecration: rather, 'of installation'; see

their right foot: and Moses sprinkled the blood upon

note on verse 33.

<sup>23</sup> f. Further consecration of Aaron and his sons by a graphic symbolic action, the anointing of the extremities with the sacrificial blood to represent the consecration of the whole body. This explanation suits the only other instance of this blood-rite, xiv. 14, 25, and is to be preferred to that which lays stress on the parts anointed, ear, hand, foot. Thus Dillman says: 'the priest must have consecrated ears to hear always God's holy voice, consecrated hands at all times to do holy works, and consecrated feet to walk evermore in holy ways.'

the altar round about. And he took the fat, and the 25 fat tail, and all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and the right a thigh: and out of the basket of unleavened 26 bread, that was before the LORD, he took one unleavened cake, and one cake of oiled bread, and one wafer, and placed them on the fat, and upon the right thigh: and 27 he put the whole upon the hands of Aaron, and upon the hands of his sons, and waved them for a wave offering before the LORD. And Moses took them from 28 off their hands, and burnt them on the altar upon the burnt offering: they were a consecration for a sweet savour: it was an offering made by fire unto the LORD. And Moses took the breast, and waved it for a wave 29 offering before the LORD: it was Moses' portion of the ram of consecration; as the LORD commanded Moses. And Moses took of the anointing oil, and of the blood 30 which was upon the altar, and sprinkled it upon Aaron, upon his garments, and upon his sons, and upon his sons' garments with him; and sanctified Aaron, his garments, and his sons, and his sons' garments with him. And Moses said unto Aaron and to his sons, Boil the 31 flesh at the door of the tent of meeting: and there eat it and the bread that is in the basket of consecration. has I commanded, saying, Aaron and his sons shall eat

a Or, shoulder b The Sept., Onkelos and Syr. read, as I am commanded. See ver. 35, ch. x. 13.

<sup>25</sup> f. See on iii. 3 f. and ii. 4 ff. respectively.
29. it was Moses' portion: in virtue of his being, on this occasion, the officiating priest.

<sup>30.</sup> Most recent critics regard this third 'action' as a later addition.

<sup>31.</sup> Read as in the margin, and as in verse 35.

32 it. And that which remaineth of the flesh and of the
33 bread shall ye burn with fire. And ye shall not go out
from the door of the tent of meeting seven days, until
the days of your consecration be fulfilled: for he shall
34 a consecrate you seven days. As hath been done this
day, so the Lord hath commanded to do, to make
35 atonement for you. And at the door of the tent of
meeting shall ye abide day and night seven days, and
keep the charge of the Lord, that ye die not: for so
36 I am commanded. And Aaron and his sons did all the
things which the Lord commanded by the hand of

Moses.

And it came to pass on the eighth day, that Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel; and he said unto Aaron, Take thee a bull calf for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering, without blemish, and offer them before the LORD. And unto the children of Israel thou shalt speak, saying, Take ye a he-goat for a sin offering; and a calf and a lamb, both of the first year, without blemish, for a burnt offering; and an ox heb. fill your hand.

(b) ix. Aaron and his sons enter upon their office.

<sup>33.</sup> he shall consecrate you seven days: lit. 'your hand shall be filled for seven days'; i.e. the installation ceremony is to extend over this period, the sacrifices being probably repeated each day. The origin of the expression 'to fill the hand,' used here and elsewhere for 'to instal one in an office,' is uncertain. It may have been borrowed from the similar Babylonian phrase.

On the expiry of the period above referred to, Aaron and his sons enter solemnly upon their office as priests of Yahweh. Assisted by his sons, the new High Priest first offers the sacrifices prescribed for himself and his house, and thereafter those for the whole congregation. It is characteristic of the author of Pg to embody his legislation in concrete examples as historical precedents for the future. In this chapter, accordingly, we have a condensed ritual of sacrifice—all the principal varieties except the guilt-offering being represented.

and a ram for peace offerings, to sacrifice before the LORD; and a meal offering mingled with oil: for to-day the LORD appeareth unto you. And they brought that 5 which Moses commanded before the tent of meeting: and all the congregation drew near and stood before the LORD. And Moses said, This is the thing which the 6 LORD commanded that ye should do: and the glory of the LORD shall appear unto you. And Moses said unto 7 Aaron, Draw near unto the altar, and offer thy sin offering, and thy burnt offering, and make atonement for thyself, and for the people: and offer the oblation of the people, and make atonement for them; as the LORD commanded. So Aaron drew near unto the altar, and 8 slew the calf of the sin offering, which was for himself. And the sons of Aaron presented the blood unto him:9 and he dipped his finger in the blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar, and poured out the blood at the base of the altar: but the fat, and the kidneys, and the 10 caul from the liver of the sin offering, he burnt upon the altar; as the LORD commanded Moses. And the flesh II and the skin he burnt with fire without the camp. And 12 he slew the burnt offering; and Aaron's sons delivered unto him the blood, and he sprinkled it upon the altar round about. And they delivered the burnt offering 13 unto him, piece by piece, and the head: and he burnt them upon the altar. And he washed the inwards and 14

<sup>6.</sup> the glory of the LORD: a manifestation of the Deity likened in Exod. xxiv. 17 to the appearance of a 'devouring fire.' See the art. 'Glory,' by G. B. Gray, in Hastings's DB., ii; cf. Kautzsch, ibid., v. 639 f.

<sup>7-14.</sup> The sacrifices, a sin offering and a burnt-offering, for the priesthood. For 'and for the people' read with LXX, 'and for thy house,' as the context requires.

<sup>3.</sup> the altar: here, as always in the oldest stratum of P, the altar of burnt-offering.

the legs, and burnt them upon the burnt offering on the 15 altar. And he presented the people's oblation, and took the goat of the sin offering which was for the people, 16 and slew it, and offered it for sin, as the first. And he presented the burnt offering, and offered it according 17 to the ordinance. And he presented the meal offering, and filled his hand therefrom, and burnt it upon the 18 altar, besides the burnt offering of the morning. He slew also the ox and the ram, the sacrifice of peace offerings, which was for the people: and Aaron's sons delivered unto him the blood, and he sprinkled it upon 10 the altar round about, and the fat of the ox; and of the ram, the fat tail, and that which covereth the inwards, 20 and the kidneys, and the caul of the liver: and they put the fat upon the breasts, and he burnt the fat upon the 21 altar: and the breasts and the right thigh Aaron waved for a wave offering before the LORD; as Moses com-22 manded. And Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people, and blessed them; and he came down from offering the sin offering, and the burnt offering, and the

23 peace offerings. And Moses and Aaron went into the tent of meeting, and came out, and blessed the people:

<sup>15-21.</sup> The priests, having offered sacrifices of expiation and worship on their own behalf, now proceed to offer on behalf of the people the sacrifice for the removal of the barrier which their sins have raised between them and a holy God, and thereafter those by which their covenant relation to Him is renewed.

<sup>15.</sup> as the first: i.e. in the same manner as his (Aaron's) own sin-offering. The last clause of verse 17 is regarded by Kautzsch as 'an unintelligible gloss.'

<sup>21.</sup> and the right thigh: this was a 'heave,' not a 'wave,' offering; see vii. 32. The words have been inserted under the influence of vii. 34; so also in x. 14 f.

<sup>22</sup> f. The people twice receive the priestly benediction (Num. vi. 24-26), first from Aaron alone at the close of the sacrificial service, and again from Moses and Aaron jointly.

and the glory of the LORD appeared unto all the people. And there came forth fire from before the LORD, and 24 consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat: and when all the people saw it, they shouted, and fell on their faces.

And Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took each 10 of them his censer, and put fire therein, and laid incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the LORD, which he had not commanded them. And there came forth 2 fire from before the LORD, and devoured them, and they died before the LORD. Then Moses said unto Aaron, 3 This is it that the LORD spake, saying, I will be sanctified

24. In view of the sacrifices already offered, the text can scarcely mean that the altar fire was first kindled by fire issuing from the Tabernacle, as in the cases recorded in Judges vi. 21, 1 Kings xviii. 38, but rather that the portions of sacrificial flesh still upon the altar hearth were suddenly consumed by the divine fire. The people 'shouted' for joy, seeing in this incident a sure sign of Yahweh's acceptance of their offerings.

(c) x. The death of Nadab and Abihu, with sundry regulations for

the priests.

For a breach of the sacrificial ritual the two elder sons of Λaron (Exod. vi. 23) are punished by death (1-5). Phere incorporates a tradition current in priestly circles, which emphasizes a principle common to all ancient rituals, viz. the need for the most rigid observance of the prescribed rules; it further explains the absence from the legitimate priesthood of descendants of the elder branches of the Aaronic family (cf. Num. iii. 4). The original continuation of verses 1-5 is found in 12-15. To these sections others of various content and date have been added by later hands. Ch. xvi, in its original form, must once have followed closely on this chapter.

1. As in xvi. 12 f., the incense is offered in a censer, a large metal spoon holding live charcoal on which the incense was burned. The special altar of incense appears only in the secondary strata of P, as Exod. xxx; cf. notes on xvi. 18, Num. iv. 11.

strange fire: the charcoal, it may be conjectured, had not been taken, as prescribed, from the hearth of the consecrated altar of burnt-offering (xvi. 13); cf. 'strange incense' (Exod. xxx. 9), and 'strange worship,' the late Heb. equivalent of 'idolatry.'

in them that a come nigh me, and before all the people 4 I will be glorified. And Aaron held his peace. And Moses called Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron, and said unto them, Draw near, carry your brethren from before the sanctuary out of the 5 camp. So they drew near, and carried them in their 6 coats out of the camp; as Moses had said. And Moses said unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and unto Ithamar, his sons, b Let not the hair of your heads go loose, neither rend your clothes; that ye die not, and that he be not wroth with all the congregation: but let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which the 7 LORD hath kindled. And ye shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting, lest ye die: for the anointing oil of the LORD is upon you. And they did according to the word of Moses.

And the LORD spake unto Aaron, saying, Drink no wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tent of meeting, that ye die not: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations: 10 and 6 that ye may put difference between the holy and

a Or, are nigh render, Uncover not your heads.

<sup>b</sup> Some ancient versions <sup>c</sup> Or, *ye shall* 

6 f. A later hand—note the assumption that the ordinary priests were also anointed—has here extended to the rank and file of the priesthood the prohibition of certain mourning rites, which in xxi. 10 ff. are prescribed only for the High Priest.

8 f. Reinforcement of Ezekiel's demand for abstinence, xliv. 21; the prohibition applies only to the period when the priests are

on duty.

10 f. The function of the Hebrew priest as the instructor (giver of tôrah, 'direction') of the people on points of ceremonial observance is older historically than his exclusive right to serve at the altar. The twofold dichotomy here referred to (cf. Ezek. xxii. 26, xliv. 23) is of the first importance for the understanding of almost all primitive religions, and not least of the ceremonial

the common, and between the unclean and the clean; and a that ye may teach the children of Israel all the II statutes which the LORD hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses.

And Moses spake unto Aaron, and unto Eleazar and 12 unto Ithamar, his sons that were left, Take the meal offering that remaineth of the offerings of the LORD made by fire, and eat it without leaven beside the altar: for it is most holy: and ye shall eat it in a holy place, 13 because it is thy due, and thy sons' due, of the offerings of the LORD made by fire: for so I am commanded. And the wave breast and the heave thigh shall ye eat in 14 a clean place; thou, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee: for they are given as thy due, and thy sons' due, out of the sacrifices of the peace offerings of the children of Israel. The heave thigh and the wave breast 15 shall they bring with the offerings made by fire of the a Or. ve shall

institutions of the Hebrews. Of the first pair of mutually exclusive spheres 'the common' comprises all such things as men may freely use without fear of supernatural penalties; 'the holy' comprises things of which, in virtue of their connexion with a supernatural power or influence, the use is restricted, or altogether forbidden, to men; in other words, things which are temporarily or permanently 'taboo.' Holiness, in short, in its primitive sense is non-moral, being 'essentially a restriction on the licence of man in the use of natural things . . . enforced by dread of supernatural penalties' (Rel. Sem.2, 152 ff., and Additional Note, 446 ff., 'Holiness, Uncleanness, and Taboo'). For the kindred dichotomy, 'the clean' and 'the unclean,' or 'the pure' and 'the impure,' see the introductory remarks to the following chapter.

12-15. Directions based, according to P's manner, on a concrete instance as a precedent, regarding the consumption of the priest's share in the meal- and peace-offerings. We have already met with the later and more detailed instructions in vi. 16, vii. 31 ff. For the distinction between 'holy' and 'most holy' in this

connexion, see on ii. 3.

15. The first three words are to be deleted; note the singular pronoun. 'to wave it,' with reference to the wave breast only.

fat, to wave it for a wave offering before the LORD: and it shall be thine, and thy sons' with thee, as a due for ever; as the LORD hath commanded.

- offering, and, behold, it was burnt: and he was angry with Eleazar and with Ithamar, the sons of Aaron that were left, saying, Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin offering in the place of the sanctuary, seeing it is most holy, and he hath given it you a to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before 18 the LORD? Behold, the blood of it was not brought into the sanctuary within: ye should certainly have eaten
- offering and their burnt offering before the LORD; and there have befallen me such things as these: and if I had eaten the sin offering to-day, would it have been well-pleasing in the sight of the LORD? And when Moses heard that, it was well-pleasing in his sight.

a Or, to take away

<sup>16-20.</sup> A late and perplexing section, the most probable explanation of which is to be sought in the gradual development of the ritual of the sin-offering. According to the later formulation of the rite, only when the blood had been 'brought into the tent of meeting' was the flesh of the sin-offering to be burnt (vi. 30; cf. iv. 16 f.). In the case before us, based on the earlier practice, this had not been done; the flesh, therefore, should have been caten by the priests, as Moses expected (verses 17 f.). Aaron excuses himself—and Moses is represented as accepting the excuse as valid—on the ground of the calamity that had just before overtaken his house in the death of his sons. In reality, we have here an interesting proof that the discrepancies in the ritual of sacrifice were recognized by the post-exilic priesthood, and that attempts, not without their parallels even at the present day, were made to explain them away.

### Third Division .- CHAPTERS XI-XVI.

LAWS RELATING TO UNCLEANNESS AND PURIFICATION, INCLUDING THE SPECIAL RITES OF THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

One of the oldest and most important functions of the Hebrew priesthood was, as we have seen, to 'put difference between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean' (x. 10 f., where see note). This 'difference' is the main subject of the following chapters, in which 'the subject of sacrifice, with which the priesthood is first concerned (chs. i-x), now makes way for the treatment of uncleanness and purification under four heads: animals, xi; childbirth, xii; leprosy, xiii-xiv; issues, xv' (C.—H. Hex. ii. 153). As has been already indicated, ch. xvi in its original form is the natural continuation of ch. x, so that chs. xi-xv are now regarded as forming, like chs. i-vii, a separate collection of tôrōth, originally independent of the historical groundwork Ps.

As regards the subject-matter of this division of Leviticus, it has been truly said that 'among the varied religious acts of man there is probably none that has been so widely prevalent throughout the different races of mankind as the ritual of purification, nor does any idea seem to have possessed so strong a legislative power in the various departments of our life as the concept of

purity' (L. R. Farnell, The Evolution of Religion, p. 88) 1.

The chapters we are about to study represent a relatively late formulation—the final development is found in the Mishna, especially in the treatises comprised in its sixth and last division—of practices which in essentials are as old as the Hebrew race itself. The underlying conceptions, indeed, as the results of comparative anthropology and comparative religion have abundantly proved, go back to the very beginnings of religious development. All over the world it has been found that to primitive thought certain objects and certain conditions and functions of the body are regarded as mysterious, 'uncanny,' and 'not to be lightly handled or approached.' Under a developed animism the uncanniness and danger of these objects and states, such as blood, sexual intercourse, childbirth, a corpse, &c.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There could be no better introduction to the study of the following chapters from the point of view of the evolution of religious thought and practice than the suggestive essay of which the above is the opening sentence. Its full title runs: 'The Ritual of Purification and the Conception of Purity: their Influence on Religion, Morality, and Social Custom.' A shorter study will be found in the excellent article 'Clean und Unclean,' by A. W. F. Blunt, in Hastings's DB. (1909).

## 11 And the LORD spake unto Moses and to Aaron,

are explained as due to the presence of malignant spirits which have to be removed by rites of purgation and purification. Water and fire are everywhere regarded as the two most powerful cathartic media. A third stage is reached when these primitive conceptions of taboo are adjusted to the teachings of the higher religions. Uncleanness is now viewed primarily as a state or condition which excludes from the worship of the deity. From being a quality scarcely distinguishable from holiness, uncleanness becomes a summary description of everything that is opposed thereto; in Hebrew thought it is, before all, the condition which offends and injures the holiness of Yahweh. Hence the characteristic motive for the observance of the Levitical legislation on the subject: a holy God can only be worshipped by a holy people; only a holy people can live in harmonious relations with a holy God (xi. 44, and often in xvii-xxvi).

On the whole subject see the epoch-making exposition by Robertson Smith, Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup> (cf. note on x. 10), also Lagrange as cited on vi. 27 f. An exhaustive bibliography is given in

Harper, The Priestly Element in the O. T., pp. 126-8, 284.

(a) xi. Laws relating chiefly to clean and unclean animals.

Two distinct topics are treated in this chapter: (1) the distinction between clean and unclean as it affects food, and (2) the uncleanness produced by contact with what is itself unclean. Since the colophon in verses 46, 47 refers only to the first of these topics, it seems clear that verses 24-40, which deal with the second, must have been added by a later hand (for further details of the literary analysis, see C.-H. Hex. ii. in loc.). Verses 43-45 so unmistakably contain the characteristic teaching of the Law of Holiness (H), chs. xvii-xxvi, that it is not improbable that the bulk of this chapter originally formed part of H, and may have come ultimately from the same early source as its striking parallel in Deut. xiv (see Driver, Deut. 157 ff., where the texts are given in parallel columns and the differences noted). The systematic grouping of both passages, however, is now regarded as a generalization from pre-existing practice. No agreement has yet been reached as to the original motive or motives which led to these restrictions. One thing at least is clear. All attempts to reduce the various taboos, whether among the Hebrews or elsewhere, to a single principle, be it primitive totemism or what not, are doomed to failure. It is almost certain that more than one principle has been at work. One of the best established of these is the principle that every animal that played a part in the cults of the heathen nations around, or to which popular superstition attributed demonic powers, was branded as unclean for the

saying unto them, Speak unto the children of Israel, <sup>2</sup> saying, These are the living things which ye shall eat among all the beasts that are on the earth. Whatsoever 3 parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted, and <sup>a</sup> cheweth the cud, among the beasts, that shall ye eat. Nevertheless 4 these shall ye not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that part the hoof: the camel, because he <sup>a</sup> cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you. And the <sup>b</sup> coney, because he <sup>a</sup> cheweth the cud but 5 parteth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you. And the <sup>6</sup> hare, because she <sup>a</sup> cheweth the cud but parteth not the

a Heb. bringeth up.

b Heb. shaphan, the Hyrax Syriacus or rockbadger.

Hebrews (see the instances collected by Bertholet, Leviticus, 33 ff.). In the case of flesh-eating animals and birds of prey, whose food contained blood, the motive is equally obvious. Analogy or fancied resemblance doubtless played a considerable part; this would account for the taboo of eels and scaleless fishes which resemble the universally abhorred serpent, the demonic creature par excellence. Probably the earliest attempt to find and expound moral and religious motives in these food taboos is that by the Alexandrian apologist known as the Pseudo-Aristeas in the second century B. c. (see Thackeray's translation, J.Q.R., xv, 1903, §§ 143-66). As in the case of sacrifice, the O. T. writers themselves nowhere offer a rationale of the several prohibitions. For them it is sufficient that Yahweh has so willed. The motive of this, as of all the laws relating to uncleanness, is the preservation of the ideal holiness of the people of Yahweh. The time had not yet come when Jews and Gentiles were to learn that 'not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man' (Matt. xv. 11; cf. Mark vii. 15 ff., Acts x, 12-15).

2-8. In the case of quadrupeds the clean group is distinguished by the presence in the same animal of two criteria, a completely cleft hoof and chewing the cud. If only one of these is present, as in the camel or the pig, the animal is unclean. Deut. xiv. 4 f. goes beyond the general definition here given, and names ten species of clean quadrupeds.

5. the coney: see margin. Neither the rock-badger nor the hare, however, is a true ruminant; the popular notion that they chewed the cud was based on the characteristic movements of the

upper lip.

- 7 hoof, she is unclean unto you. And the swine, because he parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted, but a cheweth 8 not the cud, he is unclean unto you. Of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcases ye shall not touch; they are unclean unto you.
- are unclean unto you.

  These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat. And all that have not fins and scales in the seas, and in the rivers, of all that move in the waters, and of all the living creatures that are in the waters, they are an abomination unto you, and they shall be an abomination unto you; ye shall not eat of their flesh, and their carcases ye shall have in abomination. Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters, that is an abomination unto you.
- And these ye shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they are an abomination:

  14 the beagle, and the gier eagle, and the ospray; and the 15 kite, and the falcon after its kind; every raven after its kind; and the ostrich, and the enight hawk, and the 17 seamew, and the hawk after its kind; and the little owl, 18 and the cormorant, and the great owl; and the d horned 19 owl, and the pelican, and the vulture; and the stork, the eheron after its kind, and the hoopoe, and the bat.

a Heb. bringeth up.

b Or, great vulture
c Heb. tahmas, of
d Or, swan
c Or, ibis

9-12. The criterion of cleanness in fishes is the possession of both fins and scales. No single fish is mentioned by name in O.T.

<sup>7.</sup> swine: the typical case of a taboo having its origin in the veneration in which an animal was held in forbidden cults (Isa. lxv. 4, lxvi. 3, 17; cf. Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup>, index).

<sup>13-19.</sup> A list of unclean birds. Instead of general criteria, as in the two preceding groups, the various forbidden species are named individually. The identification of several of these is uncertain. More precise information must be sought in the larger Bible Dictionaries. Cf. margin throughout.

All winged creeping things that go upon all four are 20 an abomination unto you. Yet these may ye eat of all 21 winged creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth; even 22 these of them ye may eat; the a locust after its kind, and the a bald locust after its kind, and the a cricket after its kind, and the a grasshopper after its kind. But 23 all winged creeping things, which have four feet, are an abomination unto you.

And by these ye shall become unclean: whosoever 24 toucheth the carcase of them shall be unclean until the even: and whosoever beareth aught of the carcase of 25 them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even. Every beast which parteth the hoof, and is not 26 clovenfooted, nor cheweth the cud, is unclean unto you: every one that toucheth them shall be unclean. And 27

<sup>a</sup> Four kinds of locusts or grasshoppers, which are not certainly known.

<sup>20-23. &#</sup>x27;All winged creeping things,' really winged insects, are to be an 'abomination,' i. e. taboo, with the exception of four named, but not certainly identified, species of the locust family. Locusts formed part of the food of John the Baptist, and are still eaten by the Arabs: the head, legs, and wings are removed and the body fried in samn or clarified butter.

<sup>24-40.</sup> An intrusive section (see above), dealing with the uncleanness produced, not by eating, but by contact with the carcases of certain animals. It falls into three parts: (1) 24-28, the uncleanness caused by unclean quadrupeds; (2) 29-38, by 'creeping things'; (3) 39 f., a special case of uncleanness arising from clean heasts.

<sup>24.</sup> shall be unclean until the even: that is, he shall be incapable of taking part in the cultus, or of mixing with his fellows, until the close of the day on which he contracted the uncleanness.

<sup>25.</sup> In the case of one carrying the carcase of an unclean beast, the infection is more intense, and must be removed by washing the clothes. The same procedure was required for removing the contagion of holiness (see vi. 27 and note).

whatsoever goeth upon its paws, among all beasts that go on all four, they are unclean unto you: whoso toucheth their carcase shall be unclean until the even.

- <sup>28</sup> And he that beareth the carcase of them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even: they are unclean unto you.
- 29 And these are they which are unclean unto you among the creeping things that creep upon the earth; the weasel, 30 and the mouse, and the great lizard after its kind, and the a gecko, and the a land-crocodile, and the a lizard,
- 31 and the a sand-lizard, and the chameleon. These are they which are unclean to you among all that creep: whosoever doth touch them, when they are dead, shall
- of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean; whether it be any vessel of wood, or raiment, or skin, or sack, whatsoever vessel it be, wherewith any work is done, it must be put into water, and it shall be
- 33 unclean until the even; then shall it be clean. And every earthen vessel, whereinto any of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean, and it ye shall break.
  - <sup>a</sup> Words of uncertain meaning, but probably denoting four kinds of lizards.

<sup>27.</sup> whatsoever goeth upon its paws: 'as dogs, cats, bears' (Dillmann). Of these the cat was an object of special veneration in Egypt.

<sup>29.</sup> the mouse appears in the forbidden cult described by Isa, lxvi. 17. For the others see the Bible Dictionaries.

<sup>32-38.</sup> In these verses one may note the beginnings of the extreme scrupulosity, not always devoid of casuistry, with which in later times every possible case was noted to which a general Pentateuchal law might apply.

<sup>33.</sup> We have already seen, in vi. 28, that porous earthen vessels were more susceptible to infection than vessels of metal, wood, or leather. The same distinction is found in the purification rites of the Vendidad.

All food therein which may be eaten, that on which 34 water cometh, shall be unclean: and all drink that may be drunk in every such vessel shall be unclean. And 35 every thing whereupon any part of their carcase falleth shall be unclean; whether oven, or a range for pots, it shall be broken in pieces: they are unclean, and shall be unclean unto you. Nevertheless a fountain or a b pit 36 wherein is a gathering of water shall be clean: but c that which toucheth their carcase shall be unclean. And if 37 aught of their carcase fall upon any sowing seed which is to be sown, it is clean. But if water be put upon the 38 seed, and aught of their carcase fall thereon, it is unclean unto you.

And if any beast, of which ye may eat, die; he that 39 toucheth the carcase thereof shall be unclean until the even. And he that eateth of the carcase of it shall wash 40 his clothes, and be unclean until the even: he also that beareth the carcase of it shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even.

a Or, stewpan

b Or, cistern

o Or, he who

**34.** The same absorbent property which made water a cathartic for uncleanness made it also a medium for the spread of infection; hence the phrase, 'that on which water cometh.' Cf. the distinction between dry and wet seed in verse 37 f.

35. oven, or range for pots: the former was the large earthen jar on the inner sides of which, after heating, the flat cakes were baked; the latter, according to the Talmud, was a portable cooking-stove capable of holding two pots (the original is in the dual number).

36. The point here is that the water in a spring-fed well is being constantly renewed; in a large cistern (so read with margin) the infection was perhaps regarded as so diluted as to be in-

nocuous

39 f. Up to this point only the dead bodies of creatures in themselves unclean have been considered. Here the principle is extended to the carcases of such clean beasts as had not been

- And every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth 42 is an abomination; it shall not be eaten. Whatsoever
- 42 is an abomination; it shall not be eaten. Whatsoever goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth upon all four, or whatsoever hath many feet, even all creeping things that creep upon the earth, them ye shall not eat;
- 43 for they are an abomination. Ye shall not make yourselves abominable with any creeping thing that creepeth, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean with them,
- that ye should be defiled thereby. For I am the LORD your God: sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy; for I am holy: neither shall ye defile yourselves with any manner of creeping thing that moveth upon the earth.
- 45 For I am the LORD that brought you up out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy.
- This is the law of the beast, and of the fowl, and of every living creature that moveth in the waters, and of the every creature that creepeth upon the earth: to make a difference between the unclean and the clean, and between the living thing that may be eaten and the living thing that may not be eaten.

ritually slaughtered; cf. xvii. 15, where the further purification of a bath is prescribed for 'every soul that eateth that which dieth of itself.'

44 f. For the significance of the motive here alleged, see above,

p. 82.

<sup>41-45.</sup> Here the treatment of uncleanness from eating tabooed flesh is continued from verse 23. To the preceding classes of mammals, fishes, birds, and insects, is added a fourth class comprising reptiles. Members of this section of the animal world have always been held in peculiar awe by the Semites on account of their supposed connexion with demonic spirits. That this belief was current in certain circles even among the Hebrews is shown by the description of the secret cult in Ezek. viii. 10 t.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 12 2 the children of Israel, saying, If a woman conceive seed, and bear a man child, then she shall be unclean seven days; as in the days of the a impurity of her sickness shall she be unclean. And in the eighth day the flesh 3 of his foreskin shall be circumcised. And she shall con-4 tinue in the blood of her purifying three and thirty days; she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be fulfilled. But if she bear a maid child, then she shall be unclean 5 two weeks, as in her a impurity: and she shall continue in the blood of her purifying threescore and six days.

a Or, separation

### (b) xii. The law of the purification of women after child-birth.

In this chapter we are still on ground that, in Emerson's phrase, is 'washed by antediluvian spray.' Among all primitive peoples a woman in child-birth is regarded as 'a nidus of impurity,' a source of mysterious dangers to all about her. Even among the higher races, Greeks and Romans as well as Hebrews, similar views prevailed. In the island of Delos, for example, no woman was allowed to be confined lest its sacred soil should be polluted. In the passage before us all such animistic conceptions are left far behind, but the impurity of child-birth is shown by the exclusion of the mother from the cultus, and from social intercourse for a period which varied according to the sex of the child (see below). The reason for the separation of this chapter from chap. xv, to which it naturally belongs, is not apparent.

2. The latter half of the verse has reference to xv. 19 ff.

4. The period of impurity extends in the case of a male child to forty days in all, divided into two stages of decreasing stringency of seven and thirty-three days respectively. Parallels to this period of forty days are found among many races, ancient and modern.

5. In the case of a female child, each of these stages is twice as long, making eighty days in all. This difference also has its analogies elsewhere. It was a popular belief that a confinement in this case was attended by greater risks than in the other, which originally meant that more powerful demonic influences were at work causing a longer period of impurity. The practice was retained long after this belief was outgrown.

- 6 And when the days of her purifying are fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter, she shall bring a lamb of the first year for a burnt offering, and a young pigeon, or a turtledove, for a sin offering, unto the door of the tent 7 of meeting, unto the priest: and he shall offer it before the LORD, and make atonement for her; and she shall be cleansed from the fountain of her blood. This is the law for her that beareth, whether a male or a female.
- 8 And if her means suffice not for a lamb, then she shall take two turtledoves, or two young pigeons; the one for a burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering: and the priest shall make atonement for her, and she shall be clean.

# 13 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron,

6 f. for a sin offering...and make atonement for her. To interpret these terms in what may be called the traditional dogmatic sense would compel us to believe that the Hebrews regarded the exercise of the sacred function of motherhood as a 'sin,' for which 'atonement' was required as a preliminary to the divine forgiveness. The true explanation will be found in the notes on iv. 3 and 20. Both expressions, it is contended, belonged originally to the terminology of the ritual of purification, and this passage helps to show that 'sin' was thought of as something physical and non-moral before it acquired a purely ethical content.

8. Cf. the similar concession, v. 7, and the N.T. instance, Luke ii. 24. Although the burnt-offering is mentioned in these verses before the sin-offering, the latter for obvious reasons was

always the first to be offered (v. 8; cf. viii. 14, 18).

(c) xiii-xiv. Laws concerning leprosy and the necessary purifications.

In this section various skin diseases, to which the generic term zara'ath, 'leprosy,' is applied, are treated as a third special source of ceremonial impurity (xiii. 1-46), and the necessary rites of purification prescribed (xiv. 1-32). The same term is also applied by analogy to two cases of 'leprosy' in garments (xiii. 47-59) and houses (xiv. 33-53). A comprehensive colophon closes the section (54-57). The discrepant details of the purgation rites show that these chapters reflect the ideas and embody the practices of different

saying, When a man shall have in the skin of his flesh a 2 rising, or a scab, or a bright spot, and it become in the skin of his flesh the plague of leprosy, then he shall be brought unto Aaron the priest, or unto one of his sons

epochs, some of them bearing marks of extreme antiquity (see

Apart from its application to houses and wearing apparel, it is evident that the 'leprosy' of this section included more than one specific disease, but the existing uncertainty as to the precise meaning of several of the diagnostic terms makes it impossible to reach more than a probable identification. This at least may be said: if true leprosy (elephantiasis Graecorum) is here included, the reference must be to its earliest stages; even so, one would expect to find somewhere in these chapters a reference to its characteristic symptoms at a later stage. As a recent authority has said, 'it may be doubted if any one would ever have discovered true leprosy in these chapters but for the translation of saraath [by lepra], in LXX and Vulgate' (Creighton, art. 'Leprosy in E.Bi, vol. iii).

The standpoint from which leprosy 1 is treated in the priestly legislation is the religious and ceremonial. Its various forms exclude the patient from the cultus, and from the sacred community of Israel (xiii. 45 f.). It is the priest accordingly, as the representative of Yahweh, whose holiness is injured, that decides as to the nature of the disease, and on its disappearance pronounces the patient 'clean.' Sanitary considerations do not appear, for 'leprosy' was not considered contagious in the modern sense its contagion was of the more primitive and dangerous sort explained above (p. 81 f.)—as we see from the statement in the Mishna that the provisions here laid down did not extend to foreigners and sojourners (Negaim, i. e. Leprosy, iii. 1; this treatise, translated in Barclay, The Talmud, 267 ff., gives the later legislation on the subject, with interesting details of the modus operandi of inspection, quarantine, &c.).

1-8. The first of seven suspected cases described.

2. and it become . . . the plague of leprosy : i.e. either of which is likely to develop into a leprous patch; 'plague' has here its original sense of 'stroke' (plaga, cf. a 'stroke' of paralysis), which is the literal rendering of the original. Driver throughout adopts 'mark,' as left by a stroke, as a better modern rendering.

The received rendering of zaraath is here retained in the generic sense of the original; 'leper' is used in the same comprehensive sense.

3 the priests: and the priest shall look on the plague in the skin of the flesh: and if the hair in the plague be turned white, and the appearance of the plague be deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is the plague of leprosy: and the priest shall look on him, and pro-4 nounce him unclean. And if the bright spot be white in the skin of his flesh, and the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin, and the hair thereof be not turned white, then the priest shall shut up him that hath 5 the plague seven days: and the priest shall look on him the seventh day: and, behold, if in his eyes the plague be at a stay, and the plague be not spread in the skin, 6 then the priest shall shut him up seven days more: and the priest shall look on him again the seventh day: and, behold, if the plague be dim, and the plague be not spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him clean: it is a scab: and he shall wash his clothes, and , be clean. But if the scab spread abroad in the skin, after that he hath shewn himself to the priest for his

<sup>3</sup> ff. In his diagnosis of the disease the priest is to begin by applying a double test: (1) has the body-hair on the affected patch turned white? (2) does the pathological condition extend beneath the cuticle? (For this interpretation of 3 b, see Münch, Die Zaraath (Lepra) der hebr. Bibel, pp. 110-114; cf. Macalister, DB. iii. 96 a). If both these marks are present it is a case of 'leprosy.' If they are not decisively present, the suspect is put in quarantine for seven days, after which the priest shall apply a third test—has the affected area spread?

<sup>5.</sup> if in his eyes, &c.: read, by omitting a letter, as in verse 55, 'if in its appearance (R.V. colour) the patch is unchanged' (so in verse 37).

<sup>6.</sup> it is a scab: rather 'an eruption' of a harmless nature, and the suspect, after a minor purification, is ceremonially clean.

<sup>7</sup> f. If after a week the patch under observation appears to have spread, and this is confirmed after a second week's quarantine, the suspect is unclean; 'it is leprosy.' The symptoms here described have been identified by Münch, op. cit., as those of vitiligo (cf. E.Bi. iii. col. 2765).

cleansing, he shall shew himself to the priest again: and 8 the priest shall look, and, behold, if the scab be spread in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is leprosy.

When the plague of leprosy is in a man, then he shall 9 be brought unto the priest; and the priest shall look, 10 and, behold, if there be a white rising in the skin, and it have turned the hair white, and there be quick raw flesh in the rising, it is an old leprosy in the skin of his flesh, it and the priest shall pronounce him unclean: he shall not shut him up; for he is unclean. And if the leprosy 12 break out abroad in the skin, and the leprosy cover all. the skin of him that hath the plague from his head even to his feet, as far as appeareth to the priest; then the 13 priest shall look: and, behold, if the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague: it is all turned white: he is clean. But 14 whensoever raw flesh appeareth in him, he shall be unclean. And the priest shall look on the raw flesh, and 15 pronounce him unclean: the raw flesh is unclean: it is leprosy. Or if the raw flesh turn again, and be changed 16 unto white, then he shall come unto the priest, and the 17 priest shall look on him: and, behold, if the plague be turned into white, then the priest shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague: he is clean.

<sup>9-17</sup> give the diagnostics of a second (or second and third) case, the identification of which is more difficult owing chiefly to the uncertainty attaching to a new mark, here rendered 'quick raw flesh' (verse 10), and described by Macalister as 'red granulation tissue' (DB. iii. 96 a). The most remarkable feature in the ceremonial treatment of this form of 'leprosy' is that the patient ceased to be unclean, although still probably reckoned as a leper (cf. Naaman's case, 2 Kings v. 1 fl), when his skin had 'all turned white . . . from his head even to his feet.' Here at least there can be no question of tubercular elephantiasis, but rather of

- And when the flesh hath in the skin thereof a boil, and it is healed, and in the place of the boil there is
- a white rising, or a bright spot, reddish-white, then it
- 20 shall be shewed to the priest; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the appearance thereof be lower than the skin, and the hair thereof be turned white, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of
- look on it, and, behold, there be no white hairs therein, and it be not lower than the skin, but be dim, then the
- 22 priest shall shut him up seven days: and if it spread abroad in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him
- 23 unclean: it is a plague. But if the bright spot stay in its place, and be not spread, it is the scar of the boil; and the priest shall pronounce him clean.
- Or when the flesh hath in the skin thereof a burning by fire, and the quick *flesh* of the burning become
- 25 a bright spot, reddish-white, or white; then the priest shall look upon it: and, behold, if the hair in the bright spot be turned white, and the appearance thereof be deeper than the skin; it is leprosy, it hath broken out in the burning: and the priest shall pronounce him un-
- on it, and, behold, there be no white hair in the bright spot, and it be no lower than the skin, but be dim; then
- 27 the priest shall shut him up seven days: and the priest shall look upon him the seventh day: if it spread abroad

psoriasis or English leprosy. It has been suggested that a complication of this disease with eczema would explain the reference to the 'raw flesh' which was reckoned 'unclean: it is leprosy' (verse 15).

<sup>18-23, 24-28.</sup> Two other cases in which the nidus of the suspected disease is the scar left by a boil or a burn respectively. The procedure follows closely that prescribed for the first case.

in the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is the plague of leprosy. And if the bright spot stay 28 in its place, and be not spread in the skin, but be dim; it is the rising of the burning, and the priest shall pronounce him clean: for it is the scar of the burning.

And when a man or woman hath a plague upon the 29 head or upon the beard, then the priest shall look on 30 the plague: and, behold, if the appearance thereof be deeper than the skin, and there be in it yellow thin hair, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a scall, it is leprosy of the head or of the beard. And if 31 the priest look on the plague of the scall, and, behold, the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin, and there be no black hair in it, then the priest shall shut up him that hath the plague of the scall seven days: and in 32 the seventh day the priest shall look on the plague: and, behold, if the scall be not spread, and there be in it no yellow hair, and the appearance of the scall be not deeper than the skin, then he shall be shaven, but the 33 scall shall he not shave; and the priest shall shut up him that hath the scall seven days more: and in the 34 seventh day the priest shall look on the scall: and, behold, if the scall be not spread in the skin, and the appearance thereof be not deeper than the skin; then the priest shall pronounce him clean: and he shall wash his clothes, and be clean. But if the scall spread abroad 35 in the skin after his cleansing; then the priest shall look 36 on him: and, behold, if the scall be spread in the skin,

<sup>29-37.</sup> A disease of the head-hair and beard, the *nethek* or scall verse 30). Its special diagnostic is the presence of thin yellow hairs on the affected parts. It is generally agreed that the 'scall' of this section is a species of ringworm. 'which is a very contagious disease, due to the presence of a fungus.'

the priest shall not seek for the yellow hair; he is un-37 clean. But if in his eyes the scall be at a stay, and black hair be grown up therein; the scall is healed, he is clean: and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

And when a man or a woman hath in the skin of their 39 flesh bright spots, even white bright spots; then the priest shall look: and, behold, if the bright spots in the skin of their flesh be of a dull white; it is a tetter, it hath broken out in the skin; he is clean.

And if a man's hair be fallen off his head, he is bald;

41 yet is he clean. And if his hair be fallen off from the
front part of his head, he is forehead bald; yet is he

42 clean. But if there be in the bald head, or the bald
forehead, a reddish-white plague; it is leprosy breaking

43 out in his bald head, or his bald forehead. Then the
priest shall look upon him: and, behold, if the rising of
the plague be reddish-white in his bald head, or in his

44 of the flesh; he is a leprous man, he is unclean: the priest shall surely pronounce him unclean; his plague is in his head.

bald forehead, as the appearance of leprosy in the skin

And the leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be rent, and a the hair of his head shall go loose, and he shall cover his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean.

<sup>a</sup> See ch. x. 6.

**<sup>38</sup> f.** A less serious and 'clean' skin affection termed bohak, EV 'tetter', which, like scall, denotes an eruption of the skin. In parts of Arabia and Syria 'a common eczematous skin disease' is still known as bahak.

<sup>40-44.</sup> The last of the skin diseases here included under leprosy. No penalty, it is comforting to know, attached to natural baldness, but when attacked on scalp or forehead by ringworm or scaldhead, the patient was treated as a leper.

<sup>45</sup> f. All persons pronounced by a priest to be suffering from any of the above diseases are to be removed outside their town or vil-

All the days wherein the plague is in him he shall be un-46 clean; he is unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his dwelling be.

The garment also that the plague of leprosy is in, 47 whether it be a woollen garment, or a linen garment; whether it be in a warp, or woof; of linen, or of woollen; 48 whether in a skin, or in any thing made of skin; if the 49 plague be greenish or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, or in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin; it is the plague of leprosy, and shall be shewed unto the priest: and the priest shall look upon the 50 plague, and shut up that which hath the plague seven days: and he shall look on the plague on the seventh 51 day: if the plague be spread in the garment, either in

a Or, woven or knitted stuff (and in vv. 49, &c.)

lage, not, as we have seen, on account of the contagious nature of the disease, but as a consequence of the antique conception of the contagion of uncleanness. Their condition is to be made known to all by the prescriptions in the text, which are those elsewhere applied to mourners for the dead. The covering of the upper lip is doubtless to be explained by some primitive idea or practice, as yet obscure. Bertholet remarks here on the incapacity of 'the antique religion to afford comfort and effective help to the sick; this power is first found in Christianity' (Kurzer Hand-commentar in loc.).

47 59. This section, dealing with 'leprosy' in garments, has now little more than an antiquarian interest. Not only are woollen and linen garments affected but 'anything made of skin.' 'There are various moulds and mildews, as well as deposits of the eggs of moths, which would produce the appearances and effects, and would call for the remedial measures of the text' (Creighton, E. Bi. iii., col. 2764). As the section interrupts the natural connexion between the preceding verses and chap. xiv, and has its own colophon (verse 59), it is probably an independent tôrah, inserted here by a later hand. Its later elaboration will be found in the treatise Negaim, chap. xi.

48. whether it be in warp, or woof: for the accuracy of this rendering as compared with the margin, with its curious anachronism re knitting, see the writer's art. 'Weaving,' E. Bi. iv., col. 5282.

the warp, or in the woof, or in the skin, whatever service skin is used for; the plague is a fretting leprosy; it is 52 unclean. And he shall burn the garment, whether the warp or the woof, in woollen or in linen, or any thing of skin, wherein the plague is: for it is a fretting leprosy; 53 it shall be burnt in the fire. And if the priest shall look, and, behold, the plague be not spread in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of 54 skin; then the priest shall command that they wash the thing wherein the plague is, and he shall shut it up 55 seven days more: and the priest shall look, after that the plague is washed: and, behold, if the plague have not changed its colour, and the plague be not spread, it is unclean; thou shalt burn it in the fire: it is a fret, 56 a whether the bareness be within or without. And if the priest look, and, behold, the plague be dim after the washing thereof, then he shall rend it out of the garment, or out of the skin, or out of the warp, or out of the woof: 57 and if it appear still in the garment, either in the warp, or in the woof, or in any thing of skin, it is breaking out: thou shalt burn that wherein the plague is with fire. 58 And the garment, either the warp, or the woof, or whatsoever thing of skin it be, which thou shalt wash, if the plague be departed from them, then it shall be washed 59 the second time, and shall be clean. This is the law of the plague of leprosy in a garment of woollen or linen,

<sup>a</sup> Heb. whether it be bald in the head thereof, or in the forehead thereof.

<sup>51.</sup> a fretting leprosy: 'fret' here, as in verse 55, means 'to eat into'; cf. P.B. Version of Ps. xxxix. 12, 'like as it were a moth fretting a garment.' A more modern equivalent is 'malignant'.

<sup>55.</sup> it is a fret: 'it has eaten into the cloth.'

either in the warp, or the woof, or any thing of skin, to pronounce it clean, or to pronounce it unclean.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, This shall 142 be the law of the leper in the day of his cleansing: he shall be brought unto the priest: and the priest shall go 3 forth out of the camp; and the priest shall look, and, behold, if the plague of leprosy be healed in the leper; then shall the priest command to take for him that is to 4 be cleansed two living clean birds, and cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop: and the priest shall command to 5

Chap. xiv. The serious view taken by the later priestly legislators of the danger to the theocratic community arising from the various forms of uncleanness dealt with in xiii. 1-46, is evidenced by the unique series of purgation rites which follow in xiv. 1-32. As these are now arranged, the purification of the leper is carried through in two stages, the first consisting of the antique rite described in verses 3-8<sup>a</sup>, a purgation rite in the fullest sense; the second embracing the elaborate consecration rites detailed in

verses 9-20, and again in verses 21-32.

It needs no great penetration to see that we have here two originally independent ceremonies of purification, dating from very different epochs. The two are now artificially united by the editorial clause forming the latter half of verse 8, in which the terms 'camp' and 'tent' are introduced, as is done elsewhere, to adapt the whole to the situation in the wilderness. By this means the older rite is reduced to a mere partial purification, preliminary to the final and more elaborate ceremony that follows. In support of this, the modern critical view, the student is asked to note (1) that the older rite is complete in itself, at the end the leper is clean (verse 8a); (2) that the section 14-20 betrays its later origin by the more distinctly religious motives apparent throughout, by the application to laymen of a peculiar rite originally confined to the priesthood (see on verses 14 ff.), and by the abundance of detail generally.

1-8<sup>a</sup>. The older rite of purification, combining the two universal cathartic media, blood and 'living' water.

<sup>4.</sup> cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop: these were also employed in another purgation ritual retaining several primitive features, Num. xix. 6 (which see). Cedar, here probably a species of juniper, cypress, and tamarisk, in virtue of their

kill one of the birds in an earthen vessel over a running 6 water: as for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood of the bird 7 that was killed over the a running water: and he shall sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean, and shall 8 let go the living bird into the open field. And he that is to be cleansed shall wash his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and bathe himself in water, and he shall be a Heb. living.

aromatic properties, were added by the Babylonians to water used for purposes of purification (Jastrow, Die Religion Babyloniens, ii. 202). Red frequently figures in lustration ceremonies (see notes on Num., l.c.). Hyssop was probably a species of marjoram, the whole intended to provide a sprinkler for the application of the blood. As the procedure is described in the Mishna (Negain xiv), the cedar rod, a cubit long, the hyssop and one end of the 'tongue' or strip of 'scarlet cloth were laid together, then bound round by the latter, with which 'the tips of the wings and the end of the tail' of the living bird were also bound.

5. over the running water: lit. as margin, 'living' water from a spring or running stream, not from a cistern or pool. According to Negaim, one quarter log—about a quarter of a pint—of

water was put into the vessel.

7. and shall let go the living bird into the open field: cf. verse 53. The nearest O.T. analogy is the scapegoat, or goat 'for Azazel,' in the ritual of the Day of Atonement (xvi. 10, 21 f.). In both cases we have interesting examples of the retention in the priestly ritual of the primitive ceremony known as sin-transference and found all over the world in ancient and modern times, as students of modern works like Frazer's Golden Bough are aware. The idea underlying it is that 'the sin can be extracted as if it were a substance from the person of the sinner, and transferred into another man or animal, or even an inanimate object' (Farnell, Evolution of Religion, 116). An exact parallel to the case before us is supplied by the 'Arabian custom, when a widow before remarriage makes a bird fly away with the uncleanness of her widowhood' (Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup>, 422).

8a. It is a widespread belief among primitive races that the hair specially harbours impurity, and its removal in similar cases is

clean: and after that he shall come into the camp, but shall dwell outside his tent seven days. And it shall be 9 on the seventh day, that he shall shave all his hair off his head and his beard and his eyebrows, even all his hair he shall shave off: and he shall wash his clothes, and he shall bathe his flesh in water, and he shall be clean. And on the eighth day he shall take two he-10 lambs without blemish, and one ewe-lamb of the first year without blemish, and three tenth parts of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, and one log of oil. And the priest that cleanseth him shall set 11 the man that is to be cleansed, and those things, before the LORD, at the door of the tent of meeting: and the 12 priest shall take one of the he-lambs, and offer him for a guilt offering, and the log of oil, and wave them for

a world-wide practice. The origin and purpose of  $8^{\rm b}$  has been already explained.

9. The absence here of any reference to the identical ceremony

in 8ª shows the independent origin of this section.

10. three tenth parts of an ephah: in all about 1½ pecks (see on v. 11). The log was a liquid measure, containing about a pint

(DB., iv. 911 f.).

12. Two points in the ritual here prescribed are noteworthy:
(1) the occurrence of a guilt-offering when there is no question of misappropriation of property (see on v. 14 ff.), suggesting a similar confusion to that found in v. 17 ff.—here only is the victim of a guilt-offering other than a ram; (2) the introduction of the rite of waving (cf. verses 21, 24) in an entirely different sense from vii. 30 (see note there). The oil at least did not fall to the priest.

<sup>9-20.</sup> The older rite, originally complete in itself—note especially the last words of 8<sup>a</sup>, 'and he shall be clean'—has now become a mere preliminary to a much more elaborate and solemn ceremony, inspired with the theocratic conceptions of the priestly legislators, by which the leper is reconsecrated a member of the theocratic community. All the chief varieties of offerings, with the exception of the peace-offering, are prescribed: viz. one helamb for a guilt-offering, another for a burnt-offering, and a yearling ewe-lamb for a sin-offering (iv. 32), with a quantity of fine flour as a meal-offering to accompany the burnt-offering.

13 a wave offering before the LORD: and he shall kill the he-lamb in the place where they kill the sin offering and the burnt offering, in the place of the sanctuary: for as the sin offering is the priest's, so is the guilt offering: it

14 is most holy: and the priest shall take of the blood of the guilt offering, and the priest shall put it upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great

15 toe of his right foot: and the priest shall take of the log of oil, and pour it into the palm of his own left hand:

16 and the priest shall dip his right finger in the oil that is in his left hand, and shall sprinkle of the oil with his

17 finger seven times before the LORD: and of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the blood of the guilt offering:

18 and the rest of the oil that is in the priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed: and the priest shall make atonement for him before the

19 LORD. And the priest shall offer the sin offering, and make atonement for him that is to be cleansed because of his uncleanness; and afterward he shall kill the burnt 20 offering: and the priest shall offer the burnt offering and

14. See on viii. 23 f. This imitation of the consecration rite of the priesthood is perhaps intended to emphasize the fact that the chosen people were called to be 'a kingdom of priests and an holy nation' (Exod. xix. 6).

<sup>15-17.</sup> If the blood-rite effects the leper's reconsecration, the more complex procedure with the oil, recalling as it does the ancient covenant rite at Sinai (Exod. xxiv. 6-8), is intended to restore him to his covenant relation with God. The intimate association, here and in the following verses, of 'atonement' with cleansing is further evidence that the idea of purification from sin, in the antique sense of uncleanness, lies at the basis of the O.T. doctrine of atonement (see above, p 51).

the meal offering upon the altar: and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be clean.

And if he be poor, and cannot get so much, then he 21 shall take one he-lamb for a guilt offering to be waved, to make atonement for him, and one tenth part of an ephah of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering, and a log of oil; and two turtledoves, or two young 22 pigeons, such as he is able to get; and the one shall be a sin offering, and the other a burnt offering. And on 23 the eighth day he shall bring them for his cleansing unto the priest, unto the door of the tent of meeting, before the LORD. And the priest shall take the lamb 24 of the guilt offering, and the log of oil, and the priest shall wave them for a wave offering before the LORD: and he shall kill the lamb of the guilt offering, and the 25 priest shall take of the blood of the guilt offering, and put it upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot: and the priest shall 26 pour of the oil into the palm of his own left hand: and 27 the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger some of the oil that is in his left hand seven times before the LORD: and the priest shall put of the oil that is in his hand 28 upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the place of the blood of the guilt offering: and the rest of the oil that is in the 29 priest's hand he shall put upon the head of him that is to be cleansed, to make atonement for him before the

<sup>21-32.</sup> Provision for less costly offerings in the case of the poor, similar to the provisions of v. 7 ff. and xii. 8. The demand for a he-lamb as a guilt offering remains, but the other two animal sacrifices are reduced, as in the passages cited, to 'two turtle-doves or two young pigeons,' while the amount of the meal-offering

3º LORD. And he shall offer one of the turtledoves, or of 31 the young pigeons, such as he is able to get; even such as he is able to get, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, with the meal offering: and the priest shall make atonement for him that is to be 32 cleansed before the LORD. This is the law of him in whom is the plague of leprosy, who is not able to get

whom is the plague of leprosy, who is not able to get that which pertaineth to his cleansing.

And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, When ye be come into the land of Canaan, which I give to you for a possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house of the land of your possession; then he that owneth the house shall come and tell the

as then he that owneth the house shall come and tell the priest, saying, There seemeth to me to be as it were

36 a plague in the house: and the priest shall command that they empty the house, before the priest go in to see the plague, that all that is in the house be not made unclean: and afterward the priest shall go in to see the

37 house: and he shall look on the plague, and, behold, if the plague be in the walls of the house with hollow strakes, greenish or reddish, and the appearance thereof

is reduced to one-tenth of an ephah, say half a peck. Otherwise the procedure is the same. The section has its own colophon (verse 32), and its separate history. The first clause of verse 31 is a repetition, due to the slip of a copyist, of the last clause of verse 30.

33-35. Leprosy in houses, a section with a similar history to that dealing with the leprosy of garments. The disease, if it may be so called, was evidently caused by some parasitic fungus akin to that which causes our dry rot. The relative chapters, xii, xiii, of Negaim should be consulted.

35. be not made unclean: as a result of the contagion of ceremonial uncleanness, as in verses 46 f. There is no thought of the leprosy 'infecting,' in the modern sense, the occupants of

the house.

37. This difficult verse may be freely rendered thus: 'if the suspected patches on the walls of the house show greenish or

be lower than the wall; then the priest shall go out of 38 the house to the door of the house, and shut up the house seven days: and the priest shall come again the 39 seventh day, and shall look: and, behold, if the plague be spread in the walls of the house; then the priest 40 shall command that they take out the stones in which the plague is, and cast them into an unclean place without the city: and he shall cause the house to be scraped 41 within round about, and they shall pour out the mortar that they scrape off without the city into an unclean place: and they shall take other stones, and put them in 42 the place of those stones; and he shall take other mortar, and shall plaister the house. And if the plague come 43 again, and break out in the house, after that he hath taken out the stones, and after he hath scraped the house, and after it is plaistered; then the priest shall come in 44 and look, and, behold, if the plague be spread in the house, it is a fretting leprosy in the house: it is unclean. And he shall break down the house, the stones of it, and 45 the timber thereof, and all the mortar of the house; and he shall carry them forth out of the city into an unclean place. Moreover he that goeth into the house all the 46 while that it is shut up shall be unclean until the even. And he that lieth in the house shall wash his clothes; 47 and he that eateth in the house shall wash his clothes. And if the priest shall come in, and look, and, behold, 48 the plague hath not spread in the house, after the house was plaistered; then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague is healed. And he shall take 49

reddish depressions,'—cf. the description of the mould in xiii. 49,—'and if the discoloration is found to have penetrated beneath the surface of the plaster (cf. xiii. 3), then the priest,' &c.

44. For 'fretting,' or malignant, leprosy, see on xiii. 51.

to cleanse the house two birds, and cedar wood, and 50 scarlet, and hyssop: and he shall kill one of the birds in 51 an earthen vessel over a running water: and he shall take the cedar wood, and the hyssop, and the scarlet, and the living bird, and dip them in the blood of the slain bird, and in the a running water, and sprinkle the house seven 52 times: and he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird, and with the arunning water, and with the living bird, and with the cedar wood, and with the hyssop, and 53 with the scarlet: but he shall let go the living bird out of the city into the open field: so shall he make atonement for the house: and it shall be clean.

This is the law for all manner of plague of leprosy, 55 and for a scall; and for the leprosy of a garment, and 56 for a house; and for a rising, and for a scab, and for 57 a bright spot: to teach when it is unclean, and when it is clean: this is the law of leprosy.

15 And the LORD spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying,
<sup>2</sup> Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,
<sup>a</sup> Heb. living.

49-53. A ceremony of purification similar to that with which the chapter opened.

54-57. A comprehensive colophon giving a summary of the contents of chaps, xiii—xiv in their present form.

(d) xv. Laws concerning the uncleanness of issues.

The last of the sources of ceremonial impurity embraced in this manual of purification (xi—xv) deals with secretions and discharges, both normal and diseased, from the sexual organs of man (verses 1–18) and woman (19–30), with a summary conclusion (31–33). The remarks prefixed to the notes on chaps. xi and xii apply equally to the contents of this chapter. Modern anthropological research has shown that we have here to do with an attitude towards the sexual functions that is world-wide.

1-15. Uncleanness caused by discharges from the urethra of males; 'his flesh' is a well-understood euphemism (cf. vi. 3).

When any man hath an issue out of his flesh, because of his issue he is unclean. And this shall be his unclean- 3 ness in his issue: whether his flesh run with his issue, or his flesh be stopped from his issue, it is his uncleanness. Every bed whereon he that hath the issue lieth 4 shall be unclean: and every thing whereon he sitteth shall be unclean. And whosoever toucheth his bed 5 shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. And he that sitteth on any 6 thing whereon he that hath the issue sat shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. And he that toucheth the flesh of him that 7 hath the issue shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. And if he that 8 hath the issue spit upon him that is clean; then he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. And what a saddle soever he 9 that hath the issue rideth upon shall be unclean. And 10 whosoever toucheth any thing that was under him shall be unclean until the even; and he that beareth those things shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. And whomsoever he in that hath the issue toucheth, without having rinsed his hands in water, he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. And 12 the earthen vessel, which he that hath the issue toucheth, shall be broken: and every vessel of wood shall be rinsed in water. And when he that hath an issue is 13

a Or, carriage

The contagion of such uncleanness—so also that of verses 25-30—occupies a position as to intensity midway between minor states of impurity which were removed by bathing and the culminating impurity of 'leprosy' (see verses 14 f. compared with xiv. 10 ff.).

cleansed of his issue, then he shall number to himself seven days for his cleansing, and wash his clothes; and he shall bathe his flesh in a running water, and shall be 14 clean. And on the eighth day he shall take to him two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and come before the LORD unto the door of the tent of meeting, and give 15 them unto the priest: and the priest shall offer them, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him before the LORD for his issue.

- And if any man's seed of copulation go out from him, then he shall bathe all his flesh in water, and be unclean 17 until the even. And every garment, and every skin, whereon is the seed of copulation, shall be washed with 18 water, and be unclean until the even. The woman also with whom a man shall lie with seed of copulation, they shall both bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the even.
- And if a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be in her b impurity seven days: and whosoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the 20 even. And every thing that she lieth upon in her b impurity shall be unclean: every thing also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean. And whosoever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in 22 water, and be unclean until the even. And whosoever

<sup>a</sup> Heb. living. <sup>b</sup> Or, separation

<sup>16-18.</sup> Not only does an involuntary emissio seminis pollute (cf. Deut. xxiii. 10), but also the exercise of conjugal rights (for the latter see Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup>, 158, 454 ff.). Verse 18 should run: 'if a man lie with a woman,' &c.

<sup>19-24.</sup> Uncleanness caused by the menstrual discharge. In this condition, as in childbirth, women were, and among primitive races still are, regarded as 'charged with a mysterious baneful

toucheth any thing that she sitteth upon shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. And if it be on the bed, or on any thing 23 whereon she sitteth, when he toucheth it, he shall be unclean until the even. And if any man lie with her, 24 and her impurity be upon him, he shall be unclean seven days; and every bed whereon he lieth shall be

And if a woman have an issue of her blood many days 25 not in the time of her impurity, or if she have an issue beyond the time of her impurity; all the days of the issue of her uncleanness she shall be as in the days of her impurity: she is unclean. Every bed whereon she 26 lieth all the days of her issue shall be unto her as the bed of her impurity: and every thing whereon she sitteth shall be unclean, as the uncleanness of her impurity. And whosoever toucheth those things shall 27 be unclean, and shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even. But if she 28 be cleansed of her issue, then she shall number to herself seven days, and after that she shall be clean. And 29 on the eighth day she shall take unto her two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, and bring them unto the priest, to the door of the tent of meeting. And the priest shall 30 offer the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt

25-30. Uncleanness caused by an abnormal 'issue of blood' (cf. Matt. ix. 20, Luke viii. 43). The purification required is of the same degree as for the major impurity of males.

energy' and the centre of 'the action of superhuman agencies of a dangerous kind' (see Rel. Sem.2, 447 ff.; Frazer, Golden Bough, i. 325 ff., iii. 222 ff.). Proof of the early existence in South Arabia of the almost universal taboo specified in verse 24 (cf. xviii. 19, xx. 18, both H) has recently been found in the shape of tablets set up in sanctuaries recording confessions of its breach; they are quoted in extenso by Nielsen, Altarab. Mondreligion, 206 f.

offering; and the priest shall make atonement for her before the LORD for the issue of her uncleanness.

- Thus shall ye separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness; that they die not in their uncleanness, when they defile my tabernacle that is in the midst of them.
- This is the law of him that hath an issue, and of him whose seed of copulation goeth from him, so that he is unclean thereby; and of her that is sick with her impurity, and of him that hath an issue, of the man, and of the woman, and of him that lieth with her that is unclean.

## 16 And the LORD spake unto Moses, after the death of

31. Thus shall ye separate: read with the Versions, 'thus

shall ye warn . . . as regards their uncleanness.'

when they defile my tabernacle: lit. 'my dwelling,' cf. Num. xix. 13, 20. The uncleanness of the people injures the holiness of Yahweh, who dwells among them (Exod. xxv. 8), and the consequence of His injured holiness is death. This idea of the infection of the sanctuary is prominent in the following chapter, and is characteristic both of the Law of Holiness and of Ezekiel.

(e) xvi. The Day of Atonement.

To the preceding laws of uncleanness and purification there has appropriately been appended the ritual of the most solemn and most intense of all the purification ceremonies of the Jewish law. The day on which it fell, the tenth of the seventh month (Tishri), received the name of 'the day of (purification and) expiation' (xxiii. 27 f., xxv. 9—for this rendering, see note on iv. 20), shortened in later times to  $Y\hat{o}m\bar{a}$ , 'the day' par excellence. The unique and impressive ritual of the day of atonement, to retain the current designation, is the culmination and crown of the sacrificial worship of the Old Testament.

The problems which this chapter presents to the modern student are both literary and historical. The importance of the chapter from both these points of view demands a fuller treatment than can be given here, and accordingly a note has been appended at the end of the volume in which the literary analysis and the history and significance of the rite are more adequately discussed the two sons of Aaron, when they drew near before the LORD, and died; and the LORD said unto Moses, Speak 2 unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place within the veil, before the mercy-seat which is upon the ark; that he die not: for I will appear

in the light of recent investigation. (See Additional Note A., The Day of Atonement.) With regard to the former, the literary history of the chapter, it must suffice here to note the four distinct elements of which it is now composed: (1) the original kernel, which probably stood in Pg immediately after x. 1-5, 12-15, giving special directions as to the occasions on which, with due precautions, Aaron is to be permitted to enter the most holy place (see on verse 2 below); (2) this kernel is now reduced to verses 1-3<sup>a</sup>, and perhaps 4, 12 f. 34<sup>b</sup>, the greater part having been suppressed by a later hand to make way for an ancient purgation rite, which, it may be conjectured, formerly obtained at the local sanctuaries (3<sup>b</sup>, 5-10); (3) this rite was expanded by still another hand into the form now given in verses 11-28, the earlier form being retained as a summary introduction (cf. the analogous procedure in chap. xiv); (4) verses 29-34, a section independent of all the foregoing (see below). Further regulations for the observance of 'the day' are found in xxiii. 26-32, xxv. 9, Exod. xxx. 10, and Num. xxix. 7-11.

1 f. The death of Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, in the circumstances narrated in x. 1 f., gives occasion for instructions as to the times at which, and the manner in which, the High Priest is to enter the immediate presence of Yahweh, represented by the mystic 'cloud upon the mercy seat' (cf. Exod. xxv. 22, xl. 34).

that he come not at all times: i.e. not at any and every time, as may seem good to him. The majesty and almost unapproachable holiness of Yahweh require that even His earthly representative shall approach His presence only at such times and with such precautions as the divine Sovereign shall appoint (Exod. xxxiii. 20). The similarity of the precautions to those adopted for the annual expiation ceremony in the sequel has led to the fusion of the two originally independent rituals, while the necessary specification of the proper time or times has been dropped as inconsistent with the single entry of the later rite (verse 34).

into the holy place within the veil: the inner sanctuary of the Tent of Meeting, see Exod. xxvi. 33, where, however, it is termed 'the most holy place,' the outer sanctuary being 'the holy place.' This chapter is unique in applying the latter term to the inner shrine (verses 3, 16, 20), and in using the inexact term 'tent of

meeting' for the outer (16, 20, and 33, where see note).

3 in the cloud upon the mercy-seat. Herewith shall Aaron come into the holy place: with a young bullock for a sin 4 offering, and a ram for a burnt offering. He shall put on the holy linen coat, and he shall have the linen breeches upon his flesh, and shall be girded with the linen girdle, and with the linen a mitre shall he be attired: they are the holy garments; and he shall bathe 5 his flesh in water, and put them on. And he shall take of the congregation of the children of Israel two he-goats 6 for a sin offering, and one ram for a burnt offering. And Aaron shall present the bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and make atonement for himself, and for 7 his house. And he shall take the two goats, and set

a Or, turban

<sup>3-28.</sup> The ritual of the annual ceremony of purification and expiation. These verses, as has been briefly indicated, include two parallel and independent descriptions of this ceremony, each originally complete in itself, and now corresponding in the main to verses 3<sup>b</sup>, 5-10, and verses 11-28 respectively.

<sup>4.</sup> This verse breaks the connexion between 3<sup>b</sup> and 5 ff., and may have belonged originally to Pg's directions as to the High Priest's entry (cf. 12f.). The latter is to lay aside on this occasion his ornate and semi-regal vestments (viii. 7 ff.), and to put on 'the holy garments' of white linen, the symbol of purity. He is to enter the presence of the Deity as a humble suppliant.

<sup>5-10.</sup> Read by itself, without regard to the rest of the chapter, this section will be found to give a complete, if summary, description of a simple and antique purgation ceremony. The latter consists of three parts: (1) the sacrifice of a bullock as a sinoffering for the priesthood—how could Aaron be said 'to make atonement for himself and for his house' without slaying and offering the victim?—(2) the sacrifice of a goat, determined by lot, as a sin-offering for the people (note the explicit words of 9<sup>b</sup>); (3) the sending away, after certain rites had been performed over him, of a second, live, goat to 'Azazel, into the wilderness.' As has been already pointed out, the verses have been retained by the final editor as giving a summary of the more detailed ritual of verses 11-28, a purpose clearly foreign to the intention of their author.

them before the LORD at the door of the tent of meeting. And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; 8 one lot for the LORD, and the other lot for a Azazel. And Aaron shall present the goat upon which the lot 9 fell for the LORD, and offer him for a sin offering. But 10 the goat, on which the lot fell for Azazel, shall be set alive before the LORD, to make atonement b for him, to send him away for Azazel into the wilderness. And 11 Aaron shall present the bullock of the sin offering, which is for himself, and shall make atonement for himself, and for his house, and shall kill the bullock of the sin

<sup>a</sup> Or, dismissal

b Or, over

8. the other lot for Azazel: a mysterious demon or spirit of the desert (cf. xvii. 7), of which the name, origin, and significance are alike matters of conjecture. In later Jewish literature (Bcok of Enoch) Azazel appears as the prince of the fallen angels, the offspring of the unions described in Gen. vi. 1 ff. The familiar rendering 'scapegoat,' i.e. the goat which is allowed to escape, goes back to the caper emissarius of the Vulgate, and is based on an untenable etymology. The same applies to the marginal rendering 'dismissal.'

10. to make atonement for him: render, 'to perform over him (so margin) the expiatory rites'; these were probably similar to those described in verse 21, but here they are assumed to be known by tradition to the officiating priest. This fact, together with the presence of the antique rite of sin-transference (see on xiv. 7), suggests that we have to do here not with a late post-exilic innovation, as is the current critical view, but with the reintroduction of an early purification rite, in use in former days at the local sanctuaries, to which, as it happens, no reference has been preserved in the pre-exilic literature. Have we here, then, a fresh illustration of the paradox that there are no inventions in ritual, only survivals? See the more detailed treatment of the origin and history of the rite in Note A.

11-28. With verse 11 we enter the full stream of the later and more developed ritual of the Day of Atonement. That we have here a parallel to the older rite above described is seen from the verbatim repetition of verse 6. By the addition of the words the shall kill, &c., in 11<sup>b</sup> and 15<sup>a</sup>, the previous instructions of verse 6 and the still more explicit command of 9<sup>b</sup> are made to appear as

- 12 offering which is for himself: and he shall take a censer full of coals of fire from off the altar before the LORD, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small, and
- 13 bring it within the veil: and he shall put the incense upon the fire before the LORD, that the cloud of the incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testi-
- of the bullock, and sprinkle it with his finger upon the mercy-seat on the east; and before the mercy-seat shall he sprinkle of the blood with his finger seven times.
- 15 Then shall he kill the goat of the sin offering, that is for the people, and bring his blood within the veil, and do

merely pointing forward to the section we have now reached. Here, too, the expiatory rites, in the strict sense, are accomplished by three stages, detailed in verses 11-14, 15-19, 20-22 respectively, which are followed by certain concluding ceremonies (23-28). The first stage embraces three separate 'actions,' the slaughter of the priests' sin-offering, the incensing of the inner sanctuary, and the manipulation of the blood, likewise 'within the veil.'

12 f. The High Priest's first entry into the inner sanctuary. The mercy-seat, or propitiatory (see Bennett, Cent. Bible, Exod. xxv. 17 ff.), as the earthly throne of the divine King (Exod. xxv. 22), whom to see is death (ib., xxxiii. 20), must be veiled with a cloud of incense before the blood is brought in. 'The testimony' is here, as Num. xvii. 4, the 'ark of the testimony,' so called because it contained 'the tables of the testimony,' as the decalogue is

termed by P.

14. The High Priest's second entry with the blood of his sinoffering. The unique character of the Day of Atonement is
nowhere more significantly expressed than by the provision, confined to its solemn ritual, that the blood of the sin-offerings (see
verse 15) is to be brought into the immediate presence of God,
and sprinkled upon His throne. Even in the case of the higher
grade of the ordinary sin-offering, the blood is brought no farther
than the outer sanctuary 'before the veil' (iv. 6, 17); on the great
day of national expiation alone is it brought 'within the veil.'

15-19. The second stage of the ceremony, in which by means of the blood of the people's sin-offering, the goat on which the 'lot for Yahweh' had fallen, the inner sanctuary—here termed 'the holy place,'—the outer sanctuary—here termed 'the tent of

with his blood as he did with the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it upon the mercy-seat, and before the mercy-seat: and he shall make atonement for the holy 16 place, because of the uncleannesses of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions, even all their sins: and so shall he do for the tent of meeting, that dwelleth with them in the midst of their uncleannesses. And there shall be no man in the tent of meeting when 17 he goeth in to make atonement in the holy place, until he come out, and have made atonement for himself, and for his household, and for all the assembly of Israel. And he shall go out unto the altar that is before the 18 LORD, and make atonement for it; and shall take of the blood of the bullock, and of the blood of the goat, and put it upon the horns of the altar round about.

meeting' (see above),—and the altar of burnt-offering are in succession cleansed and hallowed 'from the uncleannesses of the children of Israel' (verse 19). Underlying this stage of the ritual we have the now familiar conception of the physical contagion of sin and uncleanness. The infection has passed to the sanctuary from the people among whom it dwelt (verse 16), and the resulting defilement has to be annually removed by the application of the most potent cathartic of the Jewish ritual, the blood of the special sin-offering. The lustration ceremonies of the Greek and Roman religions offer many parallels. For the idea of cleansing and purification—the expiatio of the Vulgate—here conveyed by the verb (kipper) rendered 'make atonement for,' see the note on iv. 20 note esp. Ezek. xliii. 20, 26, A.V., there cited). Ezekiel has two days of 'atonement,' that is, two purification ceremonies, for his temple, one in the first and the other in the seventh month (xlv. 18 ff.).

15. The High Priest's third entry 'within the veil.'

<sup>18.</sup> He shall go out unto the altar that is before the LORD: this can be no other than the altar of burnt-offering, as in verse 12; its purification carried with it that of the court of the Tabernacle in which it stood. For harmonistic reasons this verse has been wrongly supposed to refer to the similar rite which Exod. xxx. 10 prescribes for the altar of incense; this altar, however, is mentioned only in the latest strata of P (see art. 'Tabernacle' in DB., iv. 664<sup>b</sup>, and note that in verse 12 a censer is still used).

- 19 And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and hallow it from 20 the uncleannesses of the children of Israel. And when he hath made an end of atoning for the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar, he shall present the 21 live goat: and Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, even all their sins; and he shall put them upon the head
- of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a 22 man a that is in readiness into the wilderness: and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a solitary land: and he shall let go the goat in the wilder-<sup>a</sup> Or, appointed

20-22. The third stage of the ritual of expiation, the confession by the High Priest of the people's sins and their solemn transference to the head of a living goat—that on which the 'lot for Azazel' had fallen—by which they are carried away 'unto a solitary land.'

21. and confess over him all the iniquities, &c.: opinion is divided as to the interpretation of these words, some taking them in their literal sense and maintaining that the sacrifices of this day made atonement for all sins of every kind, whether done involuntarily or deliberately; others with more reason hold that the words must be interpreted in the light of 'the general theory of the priestly legislation,' according to which the sin-offering made expiation only for sins committed 'unwittingly,' not for those committed 'with a high hand' (for this distinction see note on iv. 2, and more fully Driver's art. Atonement, Day of, in DB., i. 201 f.). The words of the High Priest's confession at a later date are given in the Mishna treatise Yômā, vi. 2 (quoted by Driver, op. cit.),

he shall put them upon the head of the goat: for this widely spread conception of sin-transference, see the authorities cited in the note on xiv. 7, where we find the closest analogy to

the rite of the 'scapegoat.'

22. the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities into a solitary land: in later times the goat was led to a lofty precipice in the wilderness about 12 miles east of Jerusalem, over which it was thrown backwards, to be dashed in pieces on the rocks below (Yômā, vi, 6 ff.). The idea here is that the uncleanness caused by

ness. And Aaron shall come into the tent of meeting, 23 and shall put off the linen garments, which he put on when he went into the holy place, and shall leave them there: and he shall bathe his flesh in water in a holy 24 place, and put on his garments, and come forth, and offer his burnt offering and the burnt offering of the people, and make atonement for himself and for the people. And the fat of the sin offering shall he burn 25 upon the altar. And he that letteth go the goat for 26 Azazel shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp. And 27 the bullock of the sin offering, and the goat of the sin offering, whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy place, shall be carried forth without the camp; and they shall burn in the fire their skins, and their flesh, and their dung. And he that burneth them 28 shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp.

And it shall be a statute for ever unto you: in the 29 seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall

the sins of the year was not merely symbolically but physically conveyed from the holy land of Yahweh into a land unclean and the habitation of the spirits of uncleanness.

23-25. That the essential expiatory rites have now been accomplished—verse 25 and the last clause of verse 24 are later glosses—is seen in the removal by the High Priest of 'the holy garments,' which remained permanently in the tent of meeting. The motive for this procedure is that given by Ezek. xliv. 19: it is a precaution against the dangerous contagion of holiness (for Arabian parallels, see *Rel. Sem.*<sup>2</sup>, 451 f.), which also explains the ritual of the bath prescribed in verses 4 and 24; cf. also 28.

26. On precisely the same line of primitive thought identical precautions are prescribed against the contagion of uncleanness.

29-34. An entirely independent law, addressed to the people, fixing the date and containing other important provisions for the observance of the Day of Atonement (cf. xxiii. 26-32).

29. in the seventh month: reckoning from Nisan (Exod. xii. 2)

afflict your souls, and shall do no manner of work, the homeborn, or the stranger that sojourneth among 30 you: for on this day shall atonement be made for you. to cleanse you; from all your sins shall ye be clean at before the LORD. It is a sabbath of solemn rest unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls; it is a statute for 32 ever. And the priest, who shall be anointed and who shall be consecrated to be priest in his father's stead, shall make the atonement, and shall put on the linen 33 garments, even the holy garments: and he shall make atonement for the holy sanctuary, and he shall make atonement for the tent of meeting and for the altar: and he shall make atonement for the priests and for 34 all the people of the assembly. And this shall be an everlasting statute unto you, to make atonement for the children of Israel because of all their sins once in the vear. And he did as the LORD commanded Moses.

the seventh month is Tishri, corresponding approximately to

October, according to the phases of the moon.

ye shall afflict your souls: 'the phrase denotes the self-denial and abstention accompanying a fast' (Driver). This is the only fast commanded in the Pentateuch, hence in N.T. times the Day of Atonement was also termed 'the Fast' (Acts xxvii. 9).

30. A striking confirmation of the view advocated in this commentary that the idea of purification from sin, conceived as unclean-

ness, gives the key to the priestly theory of 'atonement.'

31. a sabbath of solemn rest: Heb. shabbath shabbāthōn, 'a sabbath of sabbatical observance,' an expression peculiar to the priestly writings, and applied originally to the weekly Sabbath (Exod. xxxi. 15; Lev. xxiii. 3, &c.). Cf. xxiii. 32, as here of 'the Day,' also xxv. 4, of the sabbatical year.

33. the holy sanctuary: a unique designation of the most holy place of the Tabernacle (see on verse 2), explained by the difference

of source

34. The closing sentence has no relevance here. It may have

been the close of the original kernel from Pg.

For the importance of the Day of Atonement for the religious life of Judaism, see the additional Note A at the end of the volume.

## Fourth Division. CHAPTERS XVII—XXVI.

## THE HOLINESS CODE.

Ir has long been recognized that the contents of these ten chapters are distinguished from the main body of P by peculiarities of expression, by differences in the formulation of the laws, and by certain characteristic ideas, which together give this section an individuality of its own, and mark it out as an independent law-code. From the stress laid on the holiness of Yahweh as the motive for the attainment of holiness, moral and ceremonial, on the part of His people, the appropriate name of the Holiness Code, or Law of Holiness, is now given to this division of Leviticus.

The leading features of the Holiness Code (symbol H), and the problems which it presents to the student of the Pentateuch, have been discussed in some detail in the Introduction. The conclusions there adopted may be thus summarized: (1) the author of H was a priest living probably in the closing decades of the monarchy, at a time when the reform movement inaugurated by the publication of D had spent its force; (2) the code was compiled largely from pre-existing literary material derived from more than one source, as is shown by the duplication of several enactments (cf. especially chaps xviii and xx); (3) H was incorporated, with modifications and additions, into the main body of the priestly legislation (Pg) by a redactor (Rp) working from the standpoint of the latter. While the three stages thus indicated afford the most probable solution of the literary problems presented by chapters xvii—xxvi, it is no longer possible, in every case, to distinguish with certainty the several strata.

A logical subdivision of the contents of these chapters is impracticable, owing to the great variety of topics dealt with and the lack of systematic arrangement. In the notes the following sections—the contents of which are summarized below—have been adopted for convenience: (a) xvii, (b) xviii—xx, (c) xxi—

xxii, (d) xxiii-xxv, (e) xxvi.

(a) xvii. Laws relating to sacrifice and kindred topics.

Like the earier legislative codes, the Book of the Covenant and D, the Holiness Code opens with a section devoted to sacrifice, and closes with an address (chap. xxvi) urging obedience to the preceding laws (cf. Exod. xx. 24-26, and xxiii. 20-33; Deut. xii and xxviii). This opening section of H now contains five distinct enactments, of which four are introduced by the formula, 'whatsoever man there be of the house (children) of Israel that...' (verses 3, 8, 10, 13). The fifth has an entirely different formulation, and on other grounds as well must have had a different origin. Of the preceding four, the first enactment (3-7), as will presently

172 [H] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them; This is the thing which the 3 LORD hath commanded, saying, What man soever there be of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or

appear, has been considerably expanded from the form in which

it was originally formulated.

1f. An introduction partly at least, if not wholly, from the hand of the editor who incorporated H with Pg; note P's characteristic phrase 'Aaron and his sons'—in H the rank and file of the priesthood are the 'brethren' of the High Priest (xxi. 10)—and the unusual 'association of priesthood and laity in legislative address' (cf. xxii. 18).

3-7. The first of the five enactments above referred to, in which it is laid down (1) that every act of slaughtering a domestic animal for food is a sacrificial act; (2) that sacrifice must be offered to Yahweh alone; and (3) that only at the one central sanctuary can such sacrifice be legitimately offered. The last two requirements, it will be observed, are the special subject of the second enactment in verses 8 and 9. This fact, together with the presumption that the latter verses in their concise formulation approach more nearly to the original form of the laws of this section, suggests that the preceding verses have undergone considerable editorial expansion. Originally, in all probability, the law merely embodied in juristic form the antique Semitic conception that all slaughter was sacrifice, and may have run as follows: 'Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel that killeth (for food) an ox or a lamb or a goat, and hath not brought it before Yahweh, blood shall be imputed to that man . . . his people.' The observance of such a law, the existence of which as a part of the customary law of the Hebrews is vouched for by the early narrative I Sam. xiv. 32-35, was only possible under the monarchy so long as the village sanctuaries or 'high places' were recognized as legitimate places of sacrificial worship (cf. the early law of Exod. xx. 24).

For the compiler of H, however, these latter were illegitimate (see xxvi. 30), and he seems to have given the law a new application by taking the verb 'to kill' in the sense of sacrificial slaughter, by limiting the place of worship to the temple through the insertion of 'the dwelling of' before Yahweh in verse 4, and by adding the new motive in verses 5 and 7 (for which see notes below). The result, as has been said, has been to anticipate the provisions of the second enactment (verses 8 f.). It must be added

goat, in the camp, or that killeth it without the camp, and 4 hath not brought it unto the door of the tent of meeting, to offer it as an oblation unto the LORD before the tabernacle of the LORD: blood shall be imputed unto that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people: to the end that the children of 5 Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they sacrifice in the open field, even that they may bring them unto the LORD, unto the door of the tent of meeting, unto the priest, and sacrifice them for sacrifices of peace offerings unto the LORD. And the priest shall sprinkle the blood 6 upon the altar of the Lord at the door of the tent of meeting, and burn the fat for a sweet savour unto the LORD. And they shall no more sacrifice their sacrifices 7 unto the a he-goats, after whom they go a whoring. This

a Or, satyrs

that other explanations have been given of the history and meaning of these difficult verses.

All critical scholars, however, recognize that the law as formulated in H received considerable additions from the priestly editor (Rp) with a view to accommodate the law more completely to the presuppositions of P's legislation. Such are the references to the wilderness camp (verse 3), 'the door of the tent of meeting' (4 ff., cf. 9), and the everlasting statute of 7<sup>b</sup>—all well-known characteristics of P. The ritual directions of verse 6 are also more in the style of P than of H.

4. blood shall be imputed: 'blood' is here used in the sense of 'the guilt of blood,' as in Deut. xxi. 8, 'and the blood shall be forgiven them,' and Psalm li. 14, 'deliver us from blood-guiltiness' 0 34 10 00 7/6 0

(literally 'from blood').

cut off from among his people: see note on vii. 20.

5. The result of editorial expansion is very evident in the awkward construction of this verse-that the children of Israel may bring . . . even that they may bring . . . tent of meeting'; the latter clause from R<sup>p</sup> (see above).

7. the he-goats: margin 'satyrs,' as in the text of Isa. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14, goat-shaped demons of the desert, the Hebrew counterparts of the Arabian jinn, and of the satyrs and fauns of classical mythology. According to the original text of 2 Kings xxiii. 8 (see Skinner, Cent. Bible in loc.), these satyrs were publicly shall be a statute for ever unto them throughout their generations.

- 8 And thou shalt say unto them, Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among them, that offereth a burnt offering or sacrifice. and bringeth it not unto the door of the tent of meeting,
- to sacrifice it unto the LORD; even that man shall be cut off from his people.
- 10 And whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among them, that eateth any manner of blood; I will set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among
- In his people. For the a life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh
- 12 atonement by reason of the a life. Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, a Heb. soul.

worshipped in Jerusalem in the days of Josiah. From the references in Jeremiah and Ezekiel—see especially the classical passage Ezek. viii—it is evident that there was a vigorous recrudescence of forbidden cults in the closing years of the Jewish monarchy (cf. on xx. 2 below), the period to which the compilation of the Holiness Code probably belongs.

after whom they go a whoring: this strong expression is frequently employed by Hebrew writers, from Exod. xxxiv. 15 f. onwards, in the sense of religious infidelity, the worship of other

deities than Yahweh.

8 f. Yahweh is the sole object of worship both for the native Israelite and for 'the strangers (lit. 'sojourners') that sojourn among them.' The ger or sojourner was a non-Israelite admitted to a modified civil and religious status, with corresponding rights and duties. In the original torah verse 9 probably ran: 'and bringeth it not to sacrifice it unto Yahweh,' &c.

10-12. The third enactment reinforces the universal prohibition of the eating of blood (iii. 17, vii. 26 f.), so frequently emphasized by the Hebrew legislators, see Gen. ix. 4 (P); Deut. xii. 16, 23-25, xv. 23 (D); Lev. xix. 26 (also H). Down to the present day this prohibition has been scrupulously observed by the Jews. neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood.

And whatsoever man there be of the children of Israel, 13 or of the strangers that sojourn among them, which taketh in hunting any beast or fowl that may be eaten; he shall pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust. For as to the life of all flesh, the blood thereof is 14 all one with the life thereof: therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: whosoever eateth it shall be cut off. And every soul 15 that eateth a that which dieth of itself, or that which is

<sup>9</sup> Heb. a carcase.

who take elaborate precautions to secure that all flesh intended for human food shall be thoroughly drained of its blood.

The interest of this passage, however, centres in the explanation of the universal blood taboo given in verse 11. The blood which contains 'the life,' literally 'the soul' or principle of life (cf. Gen. ix. 4; Deut. xii. 23, and verse 14 of this chapter), is withdrawn from ordinary use as an article of food, because it has been reserved by God for a special and sacred purpose. By divine appointment blood is the medium for the expiation of the sins of men. It 'makes atonement,' however, not quâ blood, but 'by reason of the life,' i. e. in virtue of the life that is in it (contrast the false rendering of A.V. here). The Hebrew lawgiver does not take the final step and explain how the life that is in the blood makes expiation; in other words the so-called substitutionary theory of the atonement, the principle of a life for a life, is not explicitly taught in this passage, although the thought lies near (see further the discussion on pp. 51-53 above, and the writer's art. 'Sacrifice' in Hastings's DB. (1909), 816-818).

13 f. The fourth enactment is merely a special application of the preceding to the case of clean beasts and birds caught in hunting, but inadmissible as sacrificial victims (see p. 36). The blood in this case is to be allowed to flow away freely, and then to be covered with earth, the latter an additional prescription to

the parallel command in Deut. xii. 16, 24.

14. The text of the first clause is improved by omitting a single word with LXX and Vulg. and reading: 'for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof'; cf. verse 11.

15 f. The closing enactment, probably from Rp-note the dif-

torn of beasts, whether he be homeborn or a stranger, he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and 16 be unclean until the even: then shall he be clean. But if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh, then he shall bear his iniquity.

182 And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto

ferent introduction, 'every soul that . . .'-deals with two varieties of forbidden flesh, for which the technical terms are něbhēlah and terephah. The former corresponds to the Scots 'braxy,' applied to sheep, and denotes the flesh of an animal that has succumbed to organic disease and died a natural death. The latter is 'torn flesh,' as explained in the text. Both categories are here tabooed, clearly on the ground that in neither case was the flesh properly drained of its blood. The legislator, however, seems not to intend an absolute prohibition, provided the eater timeously removes the uncleanness he has contracted. In any case, the law as here formulated is more stringent than in Deut. xiv. 21, which limits the prohibition of 'braxy' to the native Israelite. See Driver's Deuteronomy 164 ff., where the mutual relation of the various laws on this subject is discussed, and cf. xi. 39 f. above.

(b) xviii—xx. Laws relating chiefly to social morality.
In this section of the Holiness Code the legislator passes from the laws of the cultus to the foundation principles of social morality. The first place among these is given to the institution of marriage, and the degrees within which it is to be permitted. Chastity and other religious and moral duties are enforced, the latter particularly in chap. xix. The method adopted by the author of the code  $(R^h)$  is best seen in chaps. xviii and xx. In these, two originally independent but parallel series of tôrōth, whose comparative antiquity is reflected in their terse formulation and in the use of the second person singular, have been taken up by Rh and fitted each with an introductory exhortation and a concluding admonition (see below), distinguished from the earlier laws by the plural form of address. In these parenetic passages the ideas and expressions which give so distinctive a character to the Holiness Code are specially prominent. The hand of Rp is much less in evidence in chaps. xviii-xx than in chap, xvii; the opening verses of each chapter are in whole or in part from his pen (note especially 'the congregation of the children of Israel' in xix. 2, a characteristic of P).

xviii. 1-5. An exhortation introductory to the main body of the laws (6-23). As framed by Rh it began and ended with the the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am the LORD your God. After the doings of the land of Egypt, 3 wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye walk in their statutes. My judge-4 ments shall ye do, and my statutes shall ye keep, to walk therein: I am the LORD your God. Ye shall therefore 5 keep my statutes, and my judgements: which if a man do, he shall live a in them: I am the LORD.

None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin 6

<sup>a</sup> Or, by

solemn reminder, 'I (am) Yahweh.' This expression is found about fifty times in ali in the Holiness Code, sometimes alone, as in verses 5, 21 of this chapter, and eight times in chap. xix; more frequently with a qualifying addition, such as 'I (am) Yahweh, your (their) God' (xviii. 2, 4, 30, and elsewhere); or 'I (am) Yahweh who sanctifieth you' (xx. 8, and xxi. 8, &c.); or again in the form 'I, Yahweh (your God), am holy' (xix. 2, xx. 26). This continually recurring emphasis of the name and attributes of Israel's covenant God gives a peculiar solemnity to the demands of the Holiness Code. These may be 'summarily comprehended' in the words of xix. 2: 'Ye shall be holy: for I Yahweh your God am holy.' The converse of this demand is the summons to abjure the abominations of the heathen neighbours of Israel, and in particular those of the former inhabitants of Canaan, whom Yahweh had 'cast out from before' His people (xviii. 3, 24 ff., xx. 22 f.).

5. he shall live in them: rather, as margin, 'by them'; cf.

Ezek. xx. 11, 13, 21.

6-23. The main body of ancient laws (tôrōth) adopted by Rh. The greater number have their parallels in xx. 10-21, where specific penalties are attached. (For the mutual relation of the two series see the introductory note to chap. xx.) The simplest division is into two groups, viz.: (1) verses 6-18, the so-called 'forbidden degrees,' or the relationships within which marriage is condemned; and (2) verses 19-23, other breaches of sexual morality. A more elaborate arrangement in two decalogues has been proposed (L. B. Paton, 'The original form of Leviticus xvii-xix, in Jour. of Bib. Lit., xvi. [1897], pp. 45-52), each decalogue consisting of two pentades, thus:

to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am the LORD.
7 The nakedness of thy father, even the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover: she is thy mother; thou 8 shalt not uncover her nakedness. The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: it is thy father's 9 nakedness. The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter

First decalogue: Purity in those related through parents and children. First pentade: Kinship of the first degree, xviii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Second pentade: Kinship of the second degree, xviii. 11, 12,

Second decalogue: Purity in remoter relationship.

First pentade: Relationship through marriage, xviii. 16, 17<sup>a</sup>, 17<sup>b</sup>, 18, 19.

Second pentade: Outside the family, xviii. 20, 21, 22, 238, 23b.

This arrangement, however, breaks up the homogeneous group with identical formulation, comprised in verses 6-18, and is open to other objections.

6. to uncover their nakedness: a common euphemism for sexual intercourse, both licit and illicit. Here the marriage relation is in view, and the following laws are directed against incestuous marriages. In modern English the verse may be paraphrased thus: 'No Hebrew shall contract a marriage with a woman who is a blood relation' (literally, 'flesh of his flesh').

7-18. The female relatives with whom a man may not contract a lawful marriage are now enumerated one by one. They are his mother (verse 7), step-mother (8), full sister and half-sister (9, 11), granddaughter (10), aunt on the father's side (12), aunt on the mother's side (13), aunt by marriage on the father's side (14), daughter in-law (15), sister-in-law (16), step-daughter and step-granddaughter (17), and finally two sisters at the same time (18). The most striking omission is that of a man's own daughter, but this is almost certainly due to a slip of a copyist in verse 10, where we should read: 'The nakedness of thy daughter and of thy son's daughter,' &c.

It is important to note that male Israelites are addressed throughout, and that accordingly the 'nakedness' of the text is primarily that of the opposite sex. But inasmuch as by marriage husband and wife become 'one flesh' (Gen. ii. 24), the nakedness of the latter is identified with that of the former. This is seen especially in the formulation of verse 7, where the context supports the

rendering 'even' of R. V. as against the 'or' of A. V.

9. There is good evidence that this verse should run: 'The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy mother, . . . even her

of thy father, or the daughter of thy mother, whether born at home, or born abroad, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover. The nakedness of thy son's 10 daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover: for theirs is thine own nakedness. The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, 11 begotten of thy father, she is thy sister, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. Thou shalt not uncover the 12 nakedness of thy father's sister: she is thy father's near kinswoman. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness 13 of thy mother's sister: for she is thy mother's near kinswoman. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of 14 thy father's brother, thou shalt not approach to his wife: she is thine aunt. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness 15 of thy daughter in law: she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. Thou shalt not uncover 16 the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of 17 a woman and her daughter; thou shalt not take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover

nakedness,' &c. The reference is thus to uterine sisters only; the half-sister by a different mother is the subject of verse 11.

whether born at home, or born abroad: the former phrase indicates a full sister, the latter a half-sister by the same mother but a different father.

<sup>14.</sup> The corresponding case of the aunt by marriage on the mother's side is passed over, probably by inadvertence. On the other hand, from the legislator's silence as to uncle and niece, it is to be inferred that such marriages were permitted. The parents of Moses, according to Num. xxvi. 59, were related as nephew and aunt.

<sup>16.</sup> Here the prohibition of marriage with a deceased brother's wife is absolute. The law of Deut. xxv. 5-10, on the contrary, sanctions the old Hebrew custom (see Gen. xxxviii), which required the brother of a man who had died without issue to marry his widow, the so-called 'levirate' marriage (from Lat. levir, a husband's brother). See Ruth i. 11 ff., Matt. xxii. 23 ff.

her nakedness; they are near kinswomen: it is a wicked 18 ness. And thou shalt not take a woman to her sister, to be a rival to her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the

other in her life time. And thou shalt not approach unto a woman to uncover her nakedness, as long as she

- 20 is b impure by her uncleanness. And thou shalt not lie carnally with thy neighbour's wife, to defile thyself with
- her. And thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make them pass through the fire to Molech, neither shalt thou
- profane the name of thy God: I am the LORD. Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is
- abomination. And thou shalt not lie with any beast to defile thyself therewith: neither shall any woman stand before a beast, to lie down thereto: it is confusion.
- Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things: for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out from
- 25 before you: and the land is defiled: therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land vomiteth out 26 her inhabitants. Ye therefore shall keep my statutes

<sup>a</sup> Or, enormity Dor, separated for Cor, to set them apart to Molech

18. to be a rival to her: rather, 'as a fellow-wife.' It is now illegitimate for a man to have two sisters in marriage at the same time, as in the familiar case of the patriarch Jacob from an earlier age. This verse, accordingly, has no bearing on the deceased wife's sister controversy.

21. On this prohibition of Molech worship see on xx. 2 f.

22 f. The penalty for the unnatural crimes of sodomy (Gen. xix. 5; Rom. i. 27) and bestiality was death to all concerned (Lev. xx. 13, 15 f.; cf. Exod. xxii. 19).

23. it is confusion: 'a violation of nature or of the divine order' (Dillmann), an unnatural crime; only here and xx. 12.

24-30. The compiler's parenetic conclusion to the preceding laws, in the form of an exhortation to lay to heart the fate of the former inhabitants of Canaan, whose 'abominable customs' (verse 30) brought about their utter annihilation.

25. the land vomiteth out her inhabitants: this figurative use of the verb is peculiar to H (cf. xx. 22). The verbs of this

and my judgements, and shall not do any of these abominations; neither the homeborn, nor the stranger that sojourneth among you: (for all these abominations 27 have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled;) that the land vomit not you out 28 also, when ye defile it, as it vomited out the nation that was before you. For whosoever shall do any of these 29 abominations, even the souls that do them shall be cut off from among their people. Therefore shall ye keep 30 my charge, that ye do not any of these abominable customs, which were done before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein: I am the LORD your God.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 19 2 all the congregation of the children of Israel, and say unto them, Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy. Ye shall fear every man his mother, and his 3 father, and ye shall keep my sabbaths: I am the Lord

verse are really in the past tense: 'therefore I visited . . . and the land vomited out,' &c., an interesting 'anachronism of the compiler' (Driver).

3 f. a condensed reproduction of the first, second, fourth, and fifth commands of the Decalogue in inverted order. An ingenious

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Chap. xix contains a brief manual of moral instruction, perhaps the best representation of the ethics of ancient Israel' (Moore). Parallels to most of its contents are found elsewhere in the Pentateuch, as in the Decalogue, Exod. xx, Deut. v (verses 3 f. recall the precepts of piety of the first table, 11–18 the precepts of probity of the second table), in the Book of the Covenant (cf. Exod. xxii. 18 ff., xxiii. 1–19), and in Deut. xxii–xxv. Verse 2, prefixed by Rh, gives the underlying motive of the whole (see above, p. 119). The holiness of God's people is to be manifested both positively and negatively; positively by a wholesome fear of Yahweh (verses 14, 32) and by humane treatment, culminating in whole-hearted love, of the fellow-members of the theocratic community (9 ff. and esp. 17 f.); negatively by the abhorrence of idols and idol-worship (4), and of all other heathen practices (esp. 26-29).

4 your God. Turn ye not unto a idols, nor make to your 5 selves molten gods: I am the LORD your God. And when ye offer a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the

when ye offer a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the 6 Lord, ye shall offer it that ye may be accepted. It shall be eaten the same day ye offer it, and on the morrow: and if aught remain until the third day, it shall be burnt 7 with fire. And if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is 8 an abomination; it shall not be accepted: but every one that eateth it shall bear his iniquity, because he hath profaned the holy thing of the Lord: and that soul shall

be cut off from his people.

9 And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou sather the gleaning of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather the fallen fruit of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and for the stranger: I am the LORD your God. Ye

a Heb. things of nought. See Jer. xiv. 14.

attempt has been made by Paton (Journ. of Bibl. Lit. xvi. [1897], 52 ff.) to supplement these verses from xxvi. 1 f., which he regards 'as exhibiting the original form of the opening of this set of laws,' and to bring the whole into greater conformity, both in order and

subject-matter, with the first table of the Decalogue.

5-8. A ritual section, which can scarcely have had a place originally in this summary of Israel's religious and moral duties. A more appropriate place would have been in connexion with xxii. 29 f., the two sections being complementary. It is worthy of note that in H the thank-offering, or 'sacrifice of thanksgiving' (see on vii. 12), is regarded as of co-ordinate rank with the peace-offering or sacrifice of requital, while in the passage cited (from Pt) it is reckoned as one of the three varieties of the latter.

9 f. The share of the poor and the landless in the corn and grape harvests, an extension of xxiii. 22, cf. Deut. xxiv. 19 ff. In all these 'a humanitarian motive has replaced a primitive superstition,' found all the world over and not yet extinct (see P. Sébillot, Le Paganisme contemporain, 243), which regarded a part of the produce as due to the genii loci. Cf. S. A. Cook, The Laws

of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi, 196 f.

shall not steal; neither shall ye deal falsely, nor lie one to another. And ye shall not swear by my name falsely, 12 so that thou profane the name of thy God: I am the LORD. Thou shalt not oppress thy neighbour, nor rob 13 him: the wages of a hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. Thou shalt not curse 14 the deaf, nor put a stumblingblock before the blind, but thou shalt fear thy God: I am the LORD. Ye shall do 15 no unrighteousness in judgement: thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour. Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer 16 among thy people: neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour: I am the LORD. Thou shalt 17 not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour, and not bear sin because of him.

in the second table of the Decalogue. The counterpart of the seventh commandment, here lacking, has been given in a greatly expanded form in chap. xviii; by nothing, according to Budde (Geschichte der althebr. Litteratur, 190), is the intimate connexion of the two chapters 'so clearly demonstrated.'

<sup>14.</sup> thou shalt fear thy God, who is the avenger of the helpless; the deaf man cannot protect himself from the curse which he has not heard, nor can the blind man avoid the stumblingblock which he does not see.

<sup>16.</sup> as a talebearer: or 'with slanders,' as the original is rendered in Jer. vi. 28. 'Of no sin and wickedness are there so many complaints in the Old Testament as of slander and false accusation—whereof the Psalms are witness' (Cornill, Jeremia, 89). Cf. Psalm ci. 5 and Cook op. cit. 102, 107 f.

neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour: i.e. thou shalt not bring a capital charge against him, especially, so the context implies, by means of a false and slanderous accusation.

<sup>17.</sup> and not bear sin because of him: thou shalt not incur guilt on his account, either, as the preceding clauses show, by cherishing hatred against him, or by omitting to point out his faults.

- 18 Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love
- thy neighbour as thyself: I am the LORD. Ye shall keep my statutes. Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with two kinds of seed: neither shall there come upon thee
- <sup>20</sup> a garment of two kinds of stuff mingled together. And whosoever lieth carnally with a woman, that is a bondmaid, betrothed to an husband, and not at all redeemed, nor freedom given her; <sup>a</sup> they shall be punished; they shall not be put to death, because she was not free.
- And he shall bring his guilt offering unto the LORD, unto Heb. there shall be inquisition.
  - 18. thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: throughout this section the terms 'brother,' 'people' (lit. 'kinsfolk'), 'the children of thy people,' 'neighbour' are used synonymously; it is thus the love of a fellow-Hebrew that is here enjoined. Even the extension of the precept in verse 34 to include the gēr scarcely alters its limitation, for the gēr was a fellow-worshipper of Israel's God. It was Jesus who first gave the command a universal application (Luke x. 29 ff.). Nevertheless it is universally admitted that in Lev. xix. 17, 18 we have reached the high-water mark of Old Testament ethics.
  - 19. The ideas underlying the threefold prohibition of this verse are obscure (see Driver, Intern. Crit. Comm., and Robinson. Cent. Bible, on the parallel passage, Deut. xxii. 9-11). The use of mules for riding (2 Sam. xiii. 29, xviii. 9; 1 Kings i. 33, &c.) shows that the first of the prohibitions was disregarded in early times. The word rendered 'mingled together' is found only here and in Deut. xxii. 11, where it is defined as 'wool and linen together,' probably a warp of flax with a weft of wool. This combination, according to Goldziher, was used by the Arabs for magical purposes. A similar usage probably accounts for its prohibition here. See further Cook, op. cit., 195 f.

20. The contents and different formulation of this law suggest that it belongs properly to chap. xx, from which it was perhaps inadvertently omitted by a copyist, who placed it in the margin between the columns of his MS., whence it was wrongly transferred to its present position.

21 f. are regarded by most commentators on internal grounds

as a later addition in the spirit of RP.

the door of the tent of meeting, even a ram for a guilt offering. And the priest shall make atonement for him 22 with the ram of the guilt offering before the LORD for his sin which he hath sinned: and he shall be forgiven for his sin which he hath sinned. And when ye shall come 23 into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food, then ye shall count the fruit thereof as their uncircumcision: three years shall they be as uncircumcised unto you; it shall not be eaten. But in the fourth 24 year all the fruit thereof shall be holy, for giving praise unto the LORD. And in the fifth year shall ye eat of 25 the fruit thereof, that it may yield unto you the increase thereof: I am the LORD your God. Ye shall not eat 26 any thing with the blood: neither shall ye use enchant-

23-25. The produce of a fruit-tree is taboo for the first three years; the produce of the fourth year is to be dedicated to Yahweh; from the fifth year onwards the fruit is available for food (cf. *Hammurabi*, § 60). Here we have another of the numerous cases where an ancient custom is given a religious motive, and thereby brought into harmony with the higher religious thought of the time, as was the case, for example, with the antique practice of attaching tassels to the four corners of the upper garment (see note on Num. xv. 37-41, originally in H).

23. shall they be as uncircumcised unto you: i.e. unclean, and therefore taboo. The analogy of similar practices elsewhere suggests that originally the fruit was taboo out of regard for the tutelary genius of the field (cf. on verses 9 f.). It is worth noting that the metaphorical use of uncircumcised here and elsewhere shows the untenableness of the view that the practice of circumcision was of comparatively late introduction among the Hebrews

(cf. 'the uncircumcised heart' of xxvi. 41.

24. for giving praise: rather for a praise-offering to Yahweh (Driver).

26-31. A series of prohibitions directed mainly against the

adoption of Canaanite practices.

<sup>26.</sup> For the first half of this verse see the notes on xvii. 10 ff. The second half should rather be rendered: 'ye shall not observe omens nor practice divination.' Augury, in the strict sense of taking omens from the flight of birds, does not seem to have been

- 27 ments, nor practise augury. Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners
- 28 of thy beard. Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am
- 29 the LORD. Profane not thy daughter, to make her a harlot; lest the land fall to whoredom, and the land
- 30 become full of a wickedness. Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the LORD.

#### a Or, enormity

practised in Palestine. The attitude of the orthodox Jews to this mode of divination, which played so important a part in the life of the Greeks and Romans, is well illustrated by the story of the Jewish archer, Meshullam, recorded by Josephus on the authority of Hecataeus (Contra Apionem, i. 22 [§§ 201 ff.]). For the various forms of divination and sorcery mentioned in the O. T. see the classical study of the subject by W. R. Smith in the Cambridge Journal of Philology, xiii. 273 ff., xiv. 113 ff., Driver's Deuteronomy, pp. 223-226, and the relevant articles in the recent Bible Dictionaries.

27 f. Prohibition of certain mourning customs, adopted by the Hebrews from the Canaanites. In their origin associated with the worship of the dead, these rites were incompatible with loyalty to Yahweh and his worship. The hair is not to be shaved from the temples (see Jer. ix. 26, R.V.) nor the beard to be clipped at the corners. For the widespread custom of hair-offerings see W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup>, 325 ff. The hair, from its constant growth, was regarded as the seat of life.

In Jer. xvi. 6, xlviii. 37, as here, the custom of cutting or gashing the body and hands to the effusion of blood is associated as a mourning rite with shaving the head and clipping the beard. For the underlying motive of the former custom and the reasons for its prohibition see 'Cuttings in the Flesh' in Hastings's DB.

(1909), 172.

28. nor print any marks upon you: a prohibition of the custom of tattooing some part of the body with a mark to denote the deity whose worship the bearer specially affected. Cf. S. Paul's

figurative use of the term, Gal. vi. 17, R. V.

29. to make her a harlot: better 'a votary,' with allusion to the shocking custom of dedicating a daughter as a temple prostitute. For the O.T. references to these votaries, male and female, of the Canaanite nature-religion, see Driver's notes on Deut. xxiii. 17 f., in *Intern. Crit. Comm.* 

Turn ye not unto them that have familiar spirits, nor 31 unto the wizards; seek them not out, to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God. Thou shalt rise up 32 before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and thou shalt fear thy God: I am the Lord. And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall 33 not do him wrong. The stranger that sojourneth with 34 you shall be unto you as the homeborn among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God. Ye shall 35 do no unrighteousness in judgement, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure. Just balances, just weights, a just 36 ephah, and a just hin, shall ye have: I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt.

<sup>31.</sup> them that have familiar spirits: a single word in the original, the precise meaning of which is uncertain; the same remark applies to the word rendered 'wizard,' which is always associated with the former. 'Familiar' in this connexion denotes 'attendant' (from Latin famulus), the necromancer—for such is the most probable modern equivalent, cf. I Sam. xxviii. 7, 'a woman that is a necromancer'—being supposed to have a daimon or spirit in attendance upon him or even residing within him (cf. xx. 27 below). See further the references in the note on verse 26, to which add Hoonacker's study of the terms employed in this verse in the Expository Times, ix. 157 ff.

34. Extension of the command of 18b to the ger (see above).

<sup>34.</sup> Extension of the command of 18<sup>b</sup> to the ger (see above). The ground for this humane treatment of the alien settler is as old as the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9).

<sup>35</sup> f. demand honesty in commercial transactions (cf. Deut. xxv. 13-16). A 'meteyard' is a measuring rod, the modern foot-rule, but the original scarcely admits of this concrete rendering; 'nor in regard to measures of length, weight, or capacity' is the sense intended.

<sup>36.</sup> a just ephah, and a just hin: the former, rather larger than our bushel, was the standard for dry measures, and had the same cubic content as the 'bath' for liquids. The 'hin' was a sixth of the 'bath,' equal therefore to  $1\frac{1}{4}-1\frac{1}{2}$  gallons (see the writer's 'Weights and Measures' in Hastings's DB. iv. 910-913). The 'hin' is mentioned almost exclusively in connexion with the offerings of oil and wine (see Num. xxviii).

37 And ye shall observe all my statutes, and all my judgements, and do them: I am the Lord.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Moreover, thou shalt say to the children of Israel, Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth of his seed unto Molech; he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall stone 3 him with stones. I also will set my face against that man, and will cut him off from among his people; because he hath given of his seed unto Molech, to defile 4 my sanctuary, and to profane my holy name. And if the people of the land do any ways hide their eyes from that man, when he giveth of his seed unto Molech, and put 5 him not to death: then I will set my face against that

Chap, xx deals in the main with the penalties attaching to the offences against sexual morality enumerated in chap. xviii. The mutual relation of these two chapters has been the subject of much discussion. The older view that ch. xx was originally composed for the express purpose of enacting penalties for the offences of ch. xviii is untenable. For (1) if xx be from the same hand or hands as xviii, no valid reason can be adduced for separating the crimes from their punishments in this way; (2) the contents of xx do not completely correspond to those of xviii-at least four offences mentioned in the latter chapter, viz. xviii. 7, 10, 17<sup>b</sup>, 18, are not dealt with in xx; (3) the order of the topics differs considerably in the two chapters; and (4) the various offences are frequently expressed in different phraseology. The evidence for these statements must be sought in the larger commentaries. In short, the compiler of the Holiness Code (Rh) must have had access to a collection of ancient toroth, closely allied to, but independent of, those forming the basis of chs. xviii-xix. This collection he has taken up and fitted, as his manner is, with a short introduction (xx. 7 f.) and a longer hortatory conclusion (22-26), prefacing the whole by a special section on Molech worship (2-5).

<sup>1-5.</sup> The penalties of Molech worship. The section is not homogeneous. The original law prescribes death by stoning (verse 2); an alternative punishment by divine judgement has been introduced later (3), which has led to the harmonizing addition now contained in verses 4, 5. The name Molech is a purely

man, and against his family, and will cut him off, and all that go a whoring after him, to commit whoredom with Molech, from among their people. And the soul that 6 turneth unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto the wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people. Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be 7 ye holy: for I am the Lord your God. And ye shall 8 keep my statutes, and do them: I am the Lord which sanctify you. For every one that curseth his father or 9 his mother shall surely be put to death: he hath cursed his father or his mother; his blood shall be upon him. And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall

artificial combination of the consonants of the Hebrew word for king (Melek) with the vowels of the word for shame (bōsheth; cf. Ish-baal and Ish-bosheth, with note on the latter, in Cent. Bible, 2 Sam. ii. 8). Indeed, the name is not a proper name at all, but an appellative, with the article, meaning 'the King.' What deity was denoted by this title is still uncertain; El-Kronos-Saturn of the Phoenicians, the Babylonian Nergal, and others have been suggested. The principal seat of his worship was the Valley of Hinnom, where children, especially firstborn males, were burned in his honour. From Jer. vii. 31 and Micah vi. 7 it would appear that in popular imagination this King-deity was identified with Yahweh, to whom parents sacrificed 'the fruit of' their 'body' with the horrid rites of 'Molech.' See Moore's article 'Molech' in EBi., and the exhaustive study by Baudissin in Hauck's Protest. Real-Encyclopädie<sup>3</sup>, vol. xiii., art. Moloch.

a whoring . . . whoredom: see on xvii. 7.

6 is generally regarded as a substitution for the original law now appended in verse 27. Note the same divergence as to the punishment as in verses 2 f. See further the note on xix. 31.

7 f. contain the unmistakeable signature of Rh.

9. his blood shall be upon him: i.e. on the criminal alone; the law of blood-revenge shall not be operative against those who have put him to death. The expression is confined to this chapter (cf. 11-13, 16, 27) and to Ezek. xviii. 13; contrast Num. xxxv. 27.

10. A copyist has inadvertently repeated a few words in this

- 11 surely be put to death. And the man that lieth with his father's wife hath uncovered his father's nakedness: both of them shall surely be put to death; their blood shall
- 12 be upon them. And if a man lie with his daughter in law, both of them shall surely be put to death: they have wrought confusion; their blood shall be upon them.
- 13 And if a man lie with mankind, as with womankind, both of them have committed abomination: they shall surely
- 14 be put to death; their blood shall be upon them. And if a man take a wife and her mother, it is a wickedness: they shall be burnt with fire, both he and they; that
- 15 there be no wickedness among you. And if a man lie with a beast, he shall surely be put to death: and ye
- 16 shall slay the beast. And if a woman approach unto any beast, and lie down thereto, thou shalt kill the woman, and the beast: they shall surely be put to death;
- 17 their blood shall be upon them. And if a man shall take his sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter, and see her nakedness, and she see his nakedness; it is a shameful thing; and they shall be cut off in the sight of the children of their people: he hath uncovered his sister's nakedness; he shall bear his iniquity.
- 18 And if a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness,

#### Or, enormity ales to more as a postion of

verse, which should run thus: 'and the man that committeth

adultery with his neighbour's wife,' &c.

14. The usual mode of executing the death penalty among the Hebrews was by stoning; for the aggravated case of incest here. dealt with and for the case mentioned in xxi. 9, and for these alone, is death by burning prescribed. It is uncertain, however, whether the offender was burned alive, as seems to be contemplated in the case of Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 24), or was first done to death by stoning and then burned, as in Joshua vii. 15, 25.

18. With the death penalty here prescribed compare the mild

treatment of the offence in xv. 24.

and shall uncover her nakedness; he hath made naked her fountain, and she hath uncovered the fountain of her blood: and both of them shall be cut off from among their people. And thou shalt not uncover the nakedness 19 of thy mother's sister, nor of thy father's sister: for he hath made naked his near kin: they shall bear their iniquity. And if a man shall lie with his uncle's wife, he 20 hath uncovered his uncle's nakedness: they shall bear their sin; they shall die childless. And if a man shall 21 take his brother's wife, it is impurity: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.

Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes, and all my 22 judgements, and do them: that the land, whither I bring you to dwell therein, vomit you not out. And ye shall 23 not walk in the customs of the nation, which I cast out before you: for they did all these things, and therefore I abhorred them. But I have said unto you, Ye shall 24 inherit their land, and I will give it unto you to possess it, a land flowing with milk and honey: I am the LORD your God, which have separated you from the peoples. Ye shall therefore separate between the clean beast and 25 the unclean, and between the unclean fowl and the clean: and ye shall not make your souls abominable by beast, or by fowl, or by any thing wherewith the ground a teemeth, which I have separated from you as unclean. And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the 26 a Heb. creepeth.

<sup>22-26.</sup> A concluding exhortation to the observance of the divine 'statutes and judgements' from the hand of the compiler (cf. the similar exhortation, xviii. 24 ff.). The closing words of verse 25 show that in 24<sup>b</sup>-26 we have the original conclusion of a legislative section dealing with clean and unclean beasts and birds similar to chap. xi. Many scholars, indeed, hold that the latter chapter originally formed part of the Holiness Code.

26. Sums up the whole end and aim of the priestly legislation.

LORD am holy, and have separated you from the peoples, that ye should be mine.

A man also or a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall stone them with stones: their blood shall be upon them.

## 21 And the LORD said unto Moses, Speak unto the

The people whom a holy God has chosen for His own must, like Him, be holy. The priestly conception of holiness differs from the prophetic in the emphasis which it lays on ceremonial purity, not in opposition, but in addition, to moral purity.

27. See on verse 6 and on xix. 31.

(c) xxi-xxii. Laws relating to priesthood and sacrifice.

These two chapters together constitute a distinct section of the Holiness Code. Five sub-sections are easily distinguished, the contents of which may be thus summarized: (1) the priests, and especially the High Priest, must avoid ceremonial defilement (xxi. 1-15); (2) specification of bodily defects that disqualify for the office of priest (16-24); (3) restrictions with regard to participation in 'the holy things' (xxii. 1-16); (4) the sacrificial victims must be free from physical blemish (17-25); (5) three supplementary sacrificial tōrōth (26-30), with a concluding exhortation

(31-33).

From the critical point of view this section has had a similar history to those we have already studied. 'Old tōrōth concerning the priesthood have been glossed, revised, and supplemented by successive editors. Some of the glosses were probably made upon the tōrōth themselves before they were incorporated in H; many additions were made by Rh, or by later editors in imitation of him; others, finally, by Rh and scribes of that school' (Moore, EBi. iii. col. 2785, where an attempt is made to distinguish the earlier from the later elements). The hand of the editor (Rp) who incorporated H with the main body of the priestly legislation is seen more particularly in the superscriptions of the two chapters (e.g. 'the sons of Aaron,' xxi. 1; cf. 24, xxii. 2, 18). Note also the discrepancy which has resulted in ch. xxi, in the superscription to which the priests are addressed, while in the body of the laws they are referred to in the third person, the laws being addressed to the people (see verse 8).

1-9. Precautions against ceremonial defilement to be observed by the rank and file of the priesthood, particularly in connexion

priests the sons of Aaron, and say unto them, There shall none defile himself for the dead among his people; except for his kin, that is near unto him, for his mother, 2 and for his father, and for his son, and for his daughter, and for his brother; and for his sister a virgin, that is 3 near unto him, which hath had no husband, for her may he defile himself. He shall not defile himself, a being 4 a chief man among his people, to profane himself. They 5 shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard, nor make any cuttings in their flesh. They shall be holy unto their 6 God, and not profane the name of their God: for the offerings of the Lord made by fire, the bread of their God, they do offer: therefore they shall be holy. They 7 shall not take a woman that is a harlot, or b profane;

a Or, as a husband The Sept. has, on a sudden. b Or, polluted

with mourning ceremonies for the dead. For the defilement caused by contact with a dead body, see esp. Num. xix. The laws relating to this form of uncleanness applied a fortiori to the priesthood, engaged in the holy ministry of the altar of Yahweh.

<sup>3.</sup> for his sister a virgin: the point here is that a woman after marriage was no longer a member of her father's family, but belonged to that of her husband. A priest, therefore, might not 'defile himself' for a married sister. With the contents of 2 f. compare Ezek. xliv. 25-27, where, as here, no mention is made of a priest's wife; the exceptions include only those allied to him by blood. See further Cook, Moscs and Hammurabi, 94 f.

<sup>4.</sup> a chief man among his people: the original is here corrupt, and no satisfactory emendation has yet been proposed.

<sup>5.</sup> See on xix. 27 f.

<sup>6.</sup> the bread of their God: better, 'the food of their God.' The description of the sacrifices as the food of Yahweh, which is characteristic of this section (xxi. 8, 17, 21, xxii. 25), is a survival 'in the ancient technical language of the priestly ritual' of the primitive conception that the deity worshipped actually partook of the sacrificial flesh and blood. Cf. Judges ix. 13 and the similar antique conception in Lev. i. 9 (p. 40). The Babylonians also spoke of sacrifice as the food of their gods (KAT.<sup>3</sup> 594 f.).

<sup>7.</sup> or profane: i.e. dishonoured (Driver); in other words

neither shall they take a woman put away from her hus-8 band: for he is holy unto his God. Thou shalt sanctify him therefore: for he offereth the bread of thy God: he shall be holy unto thee: for I the LORD, which sanctify 9 you, am holy. And the daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the harlot, she profaneth her

father: she shall be burnt with fire.

And he that is the high priest among his brethren, upon whose head the anointing oil is poured, and a that is consecrated to put on the garments, shall not let the hair of his head go loose, nor rend his clothes; neither shall he go in to any dead body, nor defile himself for his father, or for his mother; neither shall he go out of the sanctuary, nor profane the sanctuary of his God;

a Heb. whose hand is filled.

a priest must marry a virgo intacta, cf. verse 14, 'a virgin of his own people.'

9. For the punishment here prescribed, see on xx. 14.

10-15. Increased restrictions in the case of the High Priest.

10. he that is the high priest among his brethren: the expression is unique in the original, which is more literally rendered the priest that is chief among his brethren.' The High Priest in this early tōrāh is still primus inter pares. In P, it is scarcely necessary to add, his position has advanced to that of a father among his sons. The reference to the anointing oil and the sacred garments is probably an addition to the original tōrāh, based on the contents of ch. viii. With the tokens of mourning, forbidden at the close of this verse, cf. x. 6, where the prohibitions apply to the whole priesthood.

12. The High Priest is forbidden to leave the sanctuary or sacred enclosure (temenos) on any pretext, lest he might unwittingly contract defilement and on his return defile the sanctuary through the contagion of his uncleanness. This tōrāh clearly implies that the High Priest lived within the sacred precincts, as did Eli at the sanctuary of Shiloh (I Sam. iii. 2 ff.). It may therefore be assigned to the period before the Deuteronomic reform, when each of the more important sanctuaries had its body of priests under a single head, as we know was the case at Nob (I Sam. xxii. II-I8), and at Beth-el (Amos vii. 10 ff.).

for the a crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him: I am the LORD. And he shall take a wife in her 13 virginity. A widow, or one divorced, or a b profane 14 woman, an harlot, these shall he not take: but a virgin of his own people shall he take to wife. And he shall 15 not profane his seed among his people: for I am the LORD which sanctify him.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 16 Aaron, saying, Whosoever he be of thy seed throughout their generations that hath a blemish, let him not approach to offer the bread of his God. For whatsoever man he 18 be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a c flat nose, or any thing superfluous, or a man that is brokenfooted, or broken-19

<sup>a</sup> Or, consecration

b Or, polluted c Or, slit

18. or he that hath a flat nose, or any thing superfluous: a better rendering is: 'or that is mutilated (in the face), or is too long in a limb.' The word rendered 'mutilated' seems to denote disfigurement of the face by the common oriental practice of slitting the ears, nose, or lips (cf. R.V. margin).

the crown: render, with margin, 'the consecration' (see

<sup>14.</sup> a virgin of his own people: lit. 'of his kinsfolk.' It is uncertain whether the legislator intends to limit the choice to members of the priestly families (so LXX and Philo), or merely to virgins of pure Hebrew blood.

<sup>16-24.</sup> Enumeration of the various bodily defects that disqualify members of the priestly caste for the priestly office. A close parallel to this section of H is found in a Babylonian tablet of an early king of Sippar. There it is laid down, with reference to the section of the priesthood that occupied themselves with divination, that 'the son of a diviner who is not of pure descent, or is not perfect in stature and in the members of his body, who has cataract in the eyes, broken teeth, or a mutilated finger, who suffers from disease of the stones or of the skin,' is not permitted to exercise the office of a soothsayer (see KAT.<sup>3</sup> 534; Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntniss d. Babylon. Religion, 116 ff.); Haupt, Journ. of Bib. Lit. xix. 57, 64 f.).

- 20 handed, or crookbackt, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or is scurvy, or scabbed, or hath his stones
- broken; no man of the seed of Aaron the priest, that hath a blemish, shall come nigh to offer the offerings of the LORD made by fire: he hath a blemish; he shall not
  - 22 come nigh to offer the bread of his God. He shall eat the bread of his God, both of the most holy, and of the
  - 23 holy. Only he shall not go in unto the veil, nor come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish; that he profane not my sanctuaries: for I am the LORD which
  - 24 sanctify them. So Moses spake unto Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel.
  - 22 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto

20. or a dwarf: a doubtful rendering; the word means, 'thin, shrunken,' and is used to describe the 'leanfleshed' kine of Gen. xli. 3 f. Hence Kautzsch renders '(abnormally) emaciated,' Baentsch 'consumptive.' Note the correspondence of the defects that follow with those specified in the Babylonian list above quoted.

22. He shall eat the bread of his God: although debarred by his physical defect from officiating at the altar, he is still a priest by birth, and as such is entitled to his share of the sacrificial flesh

and other priestly dues.

both of the most holy, and of the holy: for this distinction see the note on ii. 3. As it is elsewhere unknown in H (see e.g. xxii. 3 f.), we have here probably the hand of R<sup>p</sup>, who has also

added the reference to the veil in the following verse.

23. my sanctuaries: the plural is usually explained as including the temple and the altar, but it seems better to take the word in its natural sense as denoting the local sanctuaries of Yahweh, which may be assumed to have been still in use when this tōràh was framed (cf. note on verse 12). It will then have been inadvertently left uncorrected when the tōràh was taken over by the compiler of H, who certainly in this section and elsewhere admits the legitimacy of but one sanctuary, the temple.

xxii. I-16 deal with the restrictions imposed upon the priests in their enjoyment of their share of the offerings. Only priests and the members of their family are to partake of 'the holy things,' and then only when in a condition of ceremonial purity.

Aaron and to his sons, that they separate themselves from the holy things of the children of Israel, which they hallow unto me, and that they profane not my holy name: I am the LORD. Say unto them, Whosoever he 3 be of all your seed throughout your generations, that approacheth unto the holy things, which the children of Israel hallow unto the LORD, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be cut off from before me: I am the LORD. What man soever of the seed of Aaron is a leper, 4 or hath an issue; he shall not eat of the holy things, until he be clean. And whoso toucheth a any thing that is unclean by the dead, or a man whose seed goeth from him; or whosoever toucheth any creeping thing, whereby 5 he may be made unclean, or a man of whom he may take uncleanness, whatsoever uncleanness he hath; the soul 6 which toucheth any such shall be unclean until the even, and shall not eat of the holy things, unless he bathe his

a Or, any one

<sup>2.</sup> that they separate themselves from. The root idea of the original is abstinence from something, as in Zech. vii. 3, where 'separating myself' means 'abstaining from food,' 'fasting;' in the present context the thought of the writer may, in our idiom, be expressed by the converse: 'that they partake reverently and with self-restraint of the holy things.'

the holy things of the children of Israel: a comprehensive expression for offerings of all sorts presented at the altar; in addition to the priest's share of the cereal offerings and of the flesh of the peace-offerings which the legislator may have here chiefly in view—H is silent as to sin- and guilt-offerings—the term 'holy things' includes the offerings of the firstlings of cattle, the firstfruits of field and vineyard, the various tithes, &c. P's distinction between 'holy' and 'most holy' things, for which see the note on ii. 3 (cf. on xxi. 22), is unknown to H.

3. that approacheth unto, &c. The context shows that these

<sup>3.</sup> that approacheth unto, &c. The context shows that these words refer to partaking of the sacred dues, not to offering at the altar.

<sup>4-7.</sup> See chs. xi-xv for the various forms of ceremonial uncleanness here specified, and the means prescribed for the removal of the same.

7 flesh in water. And when the sun is down, he shall be clean; and afterward he shall eat of the holy things,

8 because it is his bread. That which dieth of itself, or is torn of beasts, he shall not eat to defile himself there-

9 with: I am the LORD. They shall therefore keep my charge, lest they bear sin for it, and die therein, if they

- shall no stranger eat of the holy thing: a sojourner of the priest's, or an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy
- thing. But if a priest buy any soul, the purchase of his money, he shall eat of it; and such as are born in his
- 12 house, they shall eat of his bread. And if a priest's daughter be married unto a stranger, she shall not eat of
- daughter be a widow, or divorced, and have no child, and is returned unto her father's house, as in her youth, she shall eat of her father's bread: but there shall no stranger

8. See note on xvii. 15.

11. A Hebrew slave, on the contrary, whether purchased or born in his house (cf. Gen. xiv. 14, xv. 3), was regarded as a member of the priest's family, sharing in its worship and therefore allowed, like the other members of the family, to partake of the

holy things.

12 f. A daughter of a priest, married into a layman's family, belongs to the latter, and is excluded from sharing in the priest's dues (cf. the similar case, xxi. 3); if she becomes a widow with children, she and they still belong to the husband's and father's kin, but if she is childless, she may resume her position in her father's family with its privileges.

<sup>10.</sup> no stranger. Here and in verses 12 f. 'stranger' (zār'), denotes one who is not a member of a priestly family, in other words a layman cf. Deut. xxv. 5, where 'stranger' is a man outside the family of the deceased husband). The zār must be carefully distinguished both from the 'stranger' of verse 18, who is the gēr, or resident alien with certain civil and religious rights (see on xvii. 8), and from a sojourner of the priest's (Heb. tôshābh), apparently an alien only temporarily settled in a Hebrew family, and in a position of greater dependence on his patron than the gēr.

eat thereof. And if a man eat of the holy thing un-14 wittingly, then he shall put the fifth part thereof unto it, and shall give unto the priest the holy thing. And they 15 shall not profane the holy things of the children of Israel, which they offer unto the LORD; and so cause them to 16 bear the iniquity that bringeth guilt, when they eat their holy things; for I am the LORD which sanctify them.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 17 Aaron, and to his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them, Whosoever he be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers in Israel, that offereth his oblation, whether it be any of their vows, or any of their freewill offerings, which they offer unto the Lord for a burnt offering; that ye may be accepted, ye shall offer 19 a male without blemish, of the beeves, of the sheep, or of the goats. But whatsoever hath a blemish, that shall 20 ye not offer: for it shall not be acceptable for you. And 21 whosoever offereth a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the

<sup>14.</sup> The penalty here prescribed, restoration of the 'holy thing' with a fine equal to one-fifth of its value, is so far identical with that of the later law, v. 14-16 (which see); here, however, no mention is made of an accompanying guilt-offering. As compared with P, more especially in its later strata, H represents an earlier stage in the history of sacrifice.

<sup>15.</sup> The subject is the priests; the profanation is caused by the admission of unqualified persons to partake of the sacred dues.

<sup>17-25.</sup> Animals destined for the altar must, as a rule, be free from physical blemish (for the single exception see below). The chief points of interest are: (1) only two classes of animal sacrifices are contemplated, the burnt- or whole-offering, and the peace-offering or sacrifice of requital (or recompense). As has been already pointed out, H is silent as to the sin- and guilt-offerings. (2) Both the former classes comprise two varieties, the votive-offering (E.V. 'vow') and the freewill-offering, for which see note on vii. 16. This is the only passage where burnt-offerings are so distinguished, although Ezekiel (xlvi. 12) speaks of a freewill burnt-offering—the votive and freewill-offerings belonging more naturally to the category of the recompense-

LORD to a accomplish a vow, or for a freewill offering, of the herd or of the flock, it shall be perfect to be accepted;

- there shall be no blemish therein. Blind, or broken, or maimed, or having b a wen, or scurvy, or scabbed, ye shall not offer these unto the LORD, nor make an offering
- 23 by fire of them upon the altar unto the LORD. Either a bullock or a lamb that hath any thing superfluous or lacking in his parts, that mayest thou offer for a freewill
- 24 offering; but for a vow it shall not be accepted. That which hath its stones bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut, ye shall not offer unto the LORD; neither shall ye
- codo thus in your land. Neither from the hand of a foreigner shall ye offer the bread of your God of any of these; because their corruption is in them, there is a blemish in them: they shall not be accepted for you.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, When a bullock, or a sheep, or a goat, is brought forth, then it shall be seven days under the dam; and from the eighth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Or, make a special vow <sup>b</sup> Or, sores <sup>c</sup> Or, sacrifice them

offering. (3) The thank-offering proper does not appear here as a third variety of the latter, as it does in vii. 11 f. (P), but appears later (verses 29 f.) as an independent sacrifice (cf. note on xix. 5-8). (4) The admission of imperfect victims in the case of the freewill-offering (verse 23).

<sup>22.</sup> having a wen: render as margin, 'having (running) sores.'

<sup>23.</sup> that hath any thing superfluous or lacking, &c.: rather 'that hath any of its members too long or too short,' cf. xxi. 18.

<sup>24.</sup> Only entire males are admissible. The last clause of the verse has been interpreted either as a general prohibition of castration by any of the four methods specified (so text of R.V.), or as a special prohibition against offering castrated animals in sacrifice (so R.V. margin and text of A.V.). The tenor of the section as a whole favours the latter interpretation.

<sup>24.</sup> Such blemished victims are inadmissible even when purchased from a non-Israelite.

<sup>26-31.</sup> Three supplementary laws relating to sacrifice and offering.

day and thenceforth it shall be accepted for the oblation of an offering made by fire unto the LORD. And whether 28 it be cow or cwe, ye shall not kill it and her young both in one day. And when ye sacrifice a sacrifice of thanks- 20 giving unto the LORD, ye shall sacrifice it that ye may be accepted. On the same day it shall be eaten; ye shall 30 leave none of it until the morning: I am the LORD. Therefore shall ye keep my commandments, and do 31 them: I am the LORD. And ye shall not profane my 32 holy name; but I will be hallowed among the children of Israel: I am the LORD which hallow you, that brought 33 you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the LORD.

## [P] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak 23 2

27 repeats the older torah, Exod. xxii. 30; the latter, however, in its present context has a special reference to the sacrifice of the firstlings of the flock and of the herd.

29 f. deal with the 'sacrifice of thanksgiving' as an independent

offering; see notes on vii. 15 and xix. 5-8.

31-33. The concluding exhortation, addressed to the people, from the compiler of H; cf. the similar passages xviii. 26-30, xix. 37, xx. 20-26, from the same hand.

(d) xxiii-xxv. The cycle of sacred seasons and other matters.

The most characteristic part of the Holiness Code is now at an end, apart from the concluding exhortation in ch. xxvi. In the three chapters here taken, for convenience of treatment, as forming a separate section, H has been combined with legislative material from P, and glossed by later priestly hands to an extent greatly beyond anything in the preceding chapters.

xxiii. A calendar of the festivals of the ecclesiastical year. These comprise the Sabbath (verses 1-3), the feast of Passover (4 f.), the feast of Unleavened Cakes (mazzōth), including the ceremony of the wave-sheaf 6-14), the feast of Weeks (15-22). New Year's Day (23-25), the Day of Atonement (26-32), the feast of Booths (33-36, 39-43), with an original colophon now divided into two parts (37 f., 44). Cf. throughout Num. xxviii f.

The calendar in its present form has been compiled from H and P with editorial additions by RP, the editor who combined H with

unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, The a set feasts of the LORD, which ye shall proclaim to be holy 3 convocations, even these are my set feasts. Six days shall work be done: but on the seventh day is a sabbath

a Or, appointed seasons

the main body of P, and by other hands (Ps) in the spirit of P. The standpoint and phraseology of the latter are easily detected in verses 1-8, 23-38, while the characteristics of H are not less evident in verses 9-22, 39-43. Closer inspection, however, shows that these groups are not entirely homogeneous. Thus the phrase 'beside the sabbaths of Yahweh' in the colophon of P (verse 38), shows that the law on the observance of the sabbath was not originally contained in the compiler's extract from this source, a conclusion confirmed by the fresh heading in verse 4. The legislation of H has also been expanded by priestly additions. The literary analysis may be represented as follows:

10h-12 14a 15-17 18-20 (in part) 22 39-43. H 4-8

R<sup>p</sup> and P<sup>s</sup> 1-3 9-10<sup>a</sup> 13 14<sup>b</sup> 18-19 (parts) 39 (part).

There is a significant difference in the attitude of H and P respectively to the three great pilgrimage feasts of Unleavened Cakes, Weeks, and Booths. In the former source these still retain their original intimate connexion with agriculture, more precisely with the grain and fruit harvests, whereas in P they are entirely divorced therefrom and have become fixed ecclesiastical festivals. Very full lists of recent studies of the Hebrew feasts are given by W. R. Harper, The Priestly Element in the O. T., 1905, pp. 104-6. 283 f., and a convenient classification of the data of the Hexateuch in C-H. i. 243-7.

1-3. The first place in the calendar, as now arranged, is occupied by the Sabbath. The secondary character of the section has been already explained.

2. set feasts: the marginal rendering, 'appointed (i.e. fixed) seasons,' is preferable; cf. the non-technical use of the word at

the close of verse 4.

holy convocations: meetings 'convoked' or summoned for public worship at the sanctuary; 'holy religious meetings' is Driver's rendering. That the whole community should be expected to assemble at the Temple every Sabbath is, as Kautzsch remarks, 'exceedingly strange.' The explanation may be that the late editor, to whom we owe this section, had the post-exilic institution of the synagogue in view.

3. a sabbath of solemn rest: for this emphatic expression see on xvi. 31. In H the observation of the Sabbath is enjoined in of solemn rest, an holy convocation; ye shall do no manner of work: it is a sabbath unto the LORD in all your dwellings.

These are the set feasts of the LORD, even holy con-4 vocations, which ye shall proclaim in their appointed season. In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the 5 month at even, is the LORD's passover. And on the 6 a Heb. between the two evenings.

xix. 2, 30, xxvi. 2. No agreement has yet been reached by scholars as regards either the etymological significance of the word shabbāth, or the origin and early history of the institution. To the copious literature on the Sabbath in Harper, op. cit. 114-7, 284—from which Driver's article in Hastings's DB. iv. may be singled out—there fall to be added the more recent German monographs by Meinhold and Hehn, Benzinger's Heb. Archäologie<sup>2</sup>

[1908], 389 f., and McNeile, The Book of Exodus, 121 ff.

4 f. The Passover feast from P, who has already dealt with it in detail. Exod. xii. 1-13, 43-50; see Bennett, Cent. Bible, in loc., also Robinson on Deut. xvi. 1-7 in the same series. This feast was regarded by Hebrew writers as deriving its name (pesah), as cloes its English equivalent, from the circumstance that Yahweh 'passed over,' in the sense of 'spared' (pāṣaḥ), the Hebrews on the night of its institution (see Exod. xii. 27), but this etymology is doubtful in the extreme. Unfortunately the remark made above regarding the name and the institution of the Sabbath applies equally to Passover. It is generally agreed, however, that the Passover is the descendant of a very ancient spring festival observed by the nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews, and standing in some connexion with the protection of their tents and flocks. This at least is certain, that Passover was originally entirely distinct from the feast of Unleavened Cakes with which it afterwards became joined. Of the more recent discussions may be mentioned Benzinger's article, 'Passover and Unleavened Bread,' in EBi. (cf. this scholar's later views in his Heb. Archäologie 2 [1908] 392 ff.), and the excursus in McNeile's Exodus, 62-68).

5. the first month: of the ecclesiastical year, as in P throughout (see Exod. xii. 2), the old name of which was Abib (Deut. xvi. 1), corresponding roughly to April. The Hebrew year originally began for all purposes in autumn with P's seventh month (see on verses 23 ff.), and the Jewish civil year still continues to be so reckoned. In the post-exilic period the Babylonian names for the months were adopted, and Abib became Nisan

(Neh. ii. 1).

fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto the LORD: seven days ye shall eat 7 unleavened bread. In the first day ye shall have an holy 8 convocation: ye shall do no a servile work. But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD seven days: in the seventh day is an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, [H] When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring the sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest unto the priest: and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, to be accepted for "Heb. work of labour."

7. ye shall do no servile work: lit. 'work of tillage,' work in the fields.

10. unto the priest: in the old tōrah, taken up by H, the reference was doubtless to the priest of the local sanctuary, as elsewhere in H (xvii. 5, xx. 10, &c.).

11. he shall wave the sheaf. For the nature of the action here prescribed, see note on vii. 30, and cf. verses 17, 20 of this chapter.

<sup>6-8.</sup> The feast of Unleavened Cakes—such is the more exact rendering of the Heb. maszāth—lasting seven days, the first and last of which were days of 'holy convocation.' Mazzoth is also dealt with in later strata of P, viz., Exod. xii. 14-20 and Num. xxviii. 17-25, where the special daily sacrifices are prescribed (cf. verse 13 below).

<sup>9-14.</sup> The parallel ordinance from H now considerably expanded (see the analysis above). Here the distinguishing feature of the festival is an interesting ceremony, which shows that Mazzoth, like its complement, the feast of Weeks, was a harvest festival. At the beginning of the barley harvest—barley ripens two or three weeks before the wheat—the husbandman presented to God's representative at the local sanctuary (see the next note) the first sheaf in token of his dependence upon, and gratitude to, the Lord of the harvest. In early times the date of the festival, which we have seen to have had originally no connexion with the Passover, will have varied with the date of the ripening of the crops in the different districts of Palestine.

you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it. And in the day when ye wave the sheaf, ye 12 shall offer a he-lamb without blemish of the first year for a burnt offering unto the Lord. And the meal offering 13 thereof shall be two tenth parts of an ephah of fine flour mingled with oil, an offering made by fire unto the Lord for a sweet savour: and the drink offering thereof shall be of wine, the fourth part of an hin. And ye shall eat 14 neither bread, nor parched corn, nor fresh ears, until this selfsame day, until ye have brought the oblation of your God: it is a statute for ever throughout your generations in all your dwellings.

on the morrow after the sabbath. The best authorities, Jewish and Christian alike, differ widely in their understanding of this expression (see the various sets of opinions in Dillmann, Exodus and Leviticus<sup>3</sup>, 641 ff.) There seems to be two clues to the probable interpretation: (1) the nature of the case requires that the ceremony of the wave-sheaf, by which the harvest was consecrated to man's use, should take place on the first day of the harvest; (2) the mention of 'the seventh sabbath' in verse 16 shows that the 'sabbath' of verses 11 and 15 must also be understood in its ordinary signification of the weekly day of rest, the seventh of the week. This being so, we must assume that at the time when this torah was first written down, it was customary to begin harvest operations on the first day of the week, a practice which has its analogies elsewhere, as Bertholet shows in his commentary. By this interpretation, furthermore, the date from which the count is made for fixing Pentecost in verses 15 f. agrees with that given in Deut. xvi. 9: 'from the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn, shalt thou begin to number seven weeks.'

12-14. Of these verses only 12 and 14<sup>a</sup> (to 'fresh ears') belong to the original legislation of H; the rest is a later addition in the spirit and phraseology of P (R<sup>p</sup>). H requires (1) that the presentation of the wave-sheaf shall be accompanied by the sacrifice of a yearling he-lamb, and (2) that the new harvest shall not be partaken of in any form until 'the sheaf of the firstfruits' has been presented at the altar.

two tenth parts of an ephah: lit. 'two 'issarons of fine flour,' see note on v. 11, also on xix. 36 for the ephah and the hin. Cf. the more elaborate prescriptions in Num. xxviii. 19 ff. (Ps).

- And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall there be com-
- 16 plete: even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new
- 17 meal offering unto the LORD. Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave loaves of two tenth parts of an ephah: they shall be of fine flour, they shall be baken
- 18 with leaven, for firstfruits unto the Lord. And ye shall present with the bread seven lambs without blemish of the first year, and one young bullock, and two rams: they shall be a burnt offering unto the Lord, with their meal offering, and their drink offerings, even an offering
- 19 made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD. And ye shall offer one he-goat for a sin offering, and two helambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace offerings.
  20 And the priest shall wave them with the bread of the

<sup>15-21.</sup> The feast of Weeks (Exod. xxxiv. 22), also termed 'the feast of harvest' (xxiii. 16). It was also originally a harvest festival to celebrate the close of the wheat harvest, and fell on the fiftieth day after the beginning of the feast of Mazzoth, hence the later name Pentecost, the Greek word for fiftieth.

<sup>15.</sup> seven sabbaths shall there be complete: here and xxv. 8 shabbāth seems to signify 'week;' render 'seven full weeks shall there be.' For the starting-point of the count see note on verse 11.

<sup>16.</sup> a new meal offering: a cereal-offering of the produce of the new wheat harvest, cf. Exod. xxxiv. 22 where the feast is described as the feast 'of the firstfruits of wheat harvest.'

<sup>17.</sup> they shall be baken with leaven. This is not inconsistent with the prohibition of ii. 11, since the wave-loaves were not consumed upon the altar but became the perquisite of the priest (verse 20).

<sup>18-20.</sup> The original provisions of H have again been greatly, and not quite correctly, expanded on the basis of Num. xxviii. 26 ff. The former probably contained only the following (cf. verse 12): 'And ye shall present with the bread two he-lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of requital (E.V. peace-offerings),' for God's good gift of the harvest. Its commencement had been hallowed by a burnt-offering of a single lamb (verse 12).

firstfruits for a wave offering before the LORD, with the two lambs: they shall be holy to the LORD for the priest.

[P] And ye shall make proclamation on the selfsame day; 21 there shall be an holy convocation unto you: ye shall do no servile work: it is a statute for ever in all your dwellings throughout your generations.

[H] And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou 22 shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleaning of thy harvest: thou shalt leave them for the poor, and for the stranger: I am the LORD your God.

[P] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak <sup>23</sup><sub>24</sub> unto the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall be a solemn rest unto you, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, an holy convocation. Ye shall do no servile work: and ye shall offer <sup>25</sup><sub>25</sub> an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Howbeit on the tenth day of this seventh month is the day of atonement: it shall be an holy convocation unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls; and ye shall offer an offering

<sup>22. =</sup> xix.9 f. slightly modified (H).

<sup>23-25.</sup> The first day of the seventh month (Tishri), counting from Nisan, is to be observed as a day of sabbatical rest (see note on xvi. 31) and public worship. It is to be ushered in, like the year of Jubilee (xxv. 9), with a blast of trumpets; hence the day is termed 'the day of the trumpet-blast' (Num. xxix. 1), and is sometimes described as the feast of Trumpets. In reality—though this is not stated here—the day in question is the New Year's Day of the civil year (see above on verse 5). From Ezek. xl. 1 it would appear that at one time New Year's Day fell on the tenth of Tishri, but was afterwards moved to the first of that month (cf. note on xxv. 9).

<sup>26-32.</sup> A supplementary ordinance on the Day of Atonement (cf. esp. xvi. 29-31, 34) emphasizing in particular (1) the suspension of all manner of work, as on the weekly Sabbath (verse 3),

- 28 made by fire unto the LORD. And ye shall do no manner of work in that same day: for it is a day of atonement, to make atonement for you before the LORD
- 29 your God. For whatsoever soul it be that shall not be afflicted in that same day, he shall be cut off from his
- people. And whatsoever soul it be that doeth any manner of work in that same day, that soul will I destroy
- 31 from among his people. Ye shall do no manner of work: it is a statute for ever throughout your generations
- 32 in all your dwellings. It shall be unto you a sabbath of solemn rest, and ye shall afflict your souls: in the ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye keep your sabbath.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, On the fifteenth day of

not merely of all 'servile work' as on the other festival-days (7, 21, 35), and (2) the observance of a twenty-four hours' fast. For this meaning of 'afflicting' the soul, see note on xvi. 29.

32. from even unto even: the usual mode of reckoning in the O.T. The fast began, as it still does, with the sunset which closed the ninth of Tishri, and ended at sunset on the following day.

33-36. The date and duration of the feast of Booths (from P). This, the third and last, and apparently the most popular, of the agricultural festivals, is named in the oldest legislation 'the feast of ingathering' ('āsîph¹, Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22). It marked the close of the labours of the year in field, vineyard and oliveyard (see the passages just cited, and cf. Deut. xvi. 13, 'after that thou hast gathered in from thy threshing-floor and from thy winepress'). In D and H (verses 40 ff. below) the duration of the festival is given as seven days, and so here originally (verse 34). The addition of an eighth day looks like the work of a later hand.

This word, which in O. T. occurs only in the two passages cited, has been found on a limestone tablet recently (1908) unearthed at Gezer, which is evidently a sort of farmer's calendar. For the contents of this interesting document and its illustrative value for the O. T. student, see *PEFSt*. 1909, and Marti in *ZATW*. xxix (1909), 222 ff.

this seventh month is the feast of a tabernacles for seven days unto the LORD. On the first day shall be an holy 35 convocation: ye shall do no servile work. Seven days 36 ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD: on the eighth day shall be an holy convocation unto you; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD: it is a b solemn assembly; ye shall do no servile work. The state of the state of

These are the set feasts of the LORD, which ye shall 37 proclaim to be holy convocations, to offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD, a burnt offering, and a meal offering, a sacrifice, and drink offerings, each on its own day: beside the sabbaths of the LORD, and beside 38 your gifts, and beside all your vows, and beside all your freewill offerings, which ye give unto the LORD.

Howbeit on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, 39 [H] when ye have gathered in the fruits of the land, ye shall keep the feast of the LORD seven days: on the first

a Heb. booths. b Or, closing festival

On this point a comparison of 1 Kings viii. 66 with 2 Chron. vii. 9 f. is instructive. The eighth day became ultimately 'the great day of the feast' (John vii. 37). In the O. T. also, the feast of Booths is frequently referred to as 'the feast' par excellence (cf. 'the feast of Yahweh,' verse 39), and is probably to be identified with the festive gatherings recorded in such passages as Judges xxi. 21 ff., 1 Sam. i. 3 ff., 21, &c. See further Num. xxix. 12-38.

34. the feast of tabernacles. The marginal rendering 'booths'

is to be preferred throughout, see on verses 40-42 below.

36. it is a solemn assembly: a technical term of the cultus applied also in Deut. xvi. 8 to the seventh day of Mazzoth (see Driver, Commentary, in loc.). The alternative rendering in the margin is based on a mistaken etymology.

37 f. Part of the colophon or subscription to P's festal calendar, now separated from its proper close, verse 44, by the insertion of

39-43, the celebration of the feast of Booths from the calendar of H. H has here, as in the previous extract, been supplemented with a view to secure greater harmony with P. This explains the

day shall be a solemn rest, and on the eighth day shall be to a solemn rest. And ye shall take you on the first day the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the LORD your God seven days.

41 And ye shall keep it a feast unto the LORD seven days in the year: it is a statute for ever in your generations:

42 ye shall keep it in the seventh month. Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are homeborn in Israel 43 shall dwell in booths: that your generations may know

that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am

precise dating at the beginning of verse 39, which now precedes the more general terms of H; 'when ye have gathered in the fruits,' &c. (cf. D's similar phraseology in Deut. xvi. 13 given above, and verse 10 of this chapter). Since the feast lasts only seven days according to H (40 ff.)—so also in D—the 'eighth day' of 39 is also editorial and harmonistic; cf. Num. xxix. 35 ff.

40. boughs of thick trees: probably rather 'of leafy trees,' trees with thick, intertwining foliage, and so giving protection against the sun's heat. The purpose in view is the construction of booths in which the worshippers lived during the feast, as is evident from the narrative of Neh. viii. 15 ff. This custom doubtless had its origin in the habit of living during the vintage season in extemporized erections such as are here contemplated. In the Greek period it became the custom for the male worshippers at this feast to carry in one hand a 'bouquet' (Heb. lûlāb) composed of a palm leaf with twigs of myrtle and willow, and in the other a citron (cf. the description of the ceremony in 2 Macc. x. 7).

The *lùlāb* and citron were adopted as a type on coins of the second revolt (see plate of illustrations to the writer's article

'Money' in Hastings's DB. iii. No. 20).

42. The feast of Booths, which, like the other two harvest festivals, was presumably adopted from the Canaanites after the conquest, here receives a new significance as a festival commemorating Israel's sojourn in the wilderness. The feast of Mazzoth had already been associated with the Exodus (Exod. xiii. 3, Deut. xvi. 3); it only remained for the Jews in the postbiblical period to associate the feast of Weeks with the giving of the law on Sinai.

the LORD your God. [P] And Moses declared unto 44 the children of Israel the set feasts of the LORD.

[P] <sup>a</sup> And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Command the children of Israel, that they bring unto thee pure olive oil beaten for the light, <sup>b</sup> to cause a lamp to burn continually. Without the veil of the testimony, in the 3 tent of meeting, shall Aaron order it from evening to morning before the LORD continually: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations. He shall 4 order the lamps upon the pure candlestick before the LORD continually.

And thou shalt take fine flour, and bake twelve cakes 5

<sup>8</sup> See Ex. xxvii. 20, 21. <sup>b</sup> Or, to set up a lamp continually

xxiv. consists of two distinct parts. In the first part we have regulations regarding the lamps of the tabernacle (verses 1-4), and the shewbread (5-9); in the second part laws directed against the crimes of blasphemy and assault (10-23). The reasons which led to the insertion of these laws and regulations at this point can only be conjectured. The bulk of the chapter shows the closest affinity to P; but in verses 15-22 we have, in the main, an extract with the distinctive phraseology of H.

1-4. The seven lamps of the tabernacle lampstand are to be fed with the finest olive oil and attended to by the High Priest in

person-an almost exact parallel to Exod. xxvii. 20, 21.

4. the pure candlestick: properly 'lampstand,' as minutely described in Exod. xxv. 31-40 (see the illustration prepared for the writer's art. 'Tabernacle' in Hastings's DB., iv. 663). It is here and elsewhere termed 'pure,' because made of pure gold, cf. 'the pure table' of shewbread, verse 6 below.

5-9. Directions for the preparation of the shewbread, literally the presence-bread, as Exod. xxv. 30, R.V. margin, of which verse this section is the supplement. For the history and significance of this interesting part of the Hebrew ritual see the art. 'Shewbread,' op. cit. iv. 495 ff. The number of cakes, which has its exact counterpart in the presence-bread  $ak\bar{a}l$   $p\hat{a}nu$ ) of the Babylonian temple ritual ( $KAT^3$ , 600) had no doubt a reference to the twelve

thereof: two tenth parts of an ephah shall be in one cake.

6 And thou shalt set them in a two rows, six on a row, upon the pure table before the Lord. And thou shalt put pure frankincense upon each b row, that it may be to the bread for a memorial, even an offering made by fire unto the Lord. Every sabbath day he shall set it in order before the Lord continually; it is on the behalf of the children of Israel, an everlasting covenant. And it shall be for Aaron and his sons; and they shall eat it in a holy place: for it is most holy unto him of the offerings of the Lord made by fire by a perpetual statute.

And the son of an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, went out among the children of Israel: and the son of the Israelitish woman and a man of Israel strove together in the camp; and the son of the Israelitish

a Or, two piles, six in a pile b Or, pile c Or, from

tribes of Israel, on behalf of whom (verse 8) the shewbread was presented, from Sabbath to Sabbath, as a symbolical expression of the nation's gratitude to God as the continual source of every material blessing.

5. two tenth parts of an ephah: 'two 'issarons,' for which

6. in two rows: the margin, 'in two piles,' is probably to be preferred.

7. pure frankincense . . . memorial. See note on ii. 2.

9. in a holy place . . . most holy. See note on ii. 3.

10-23. The kernel of this section is contained in verses 15-22, an extract from the Holiness Code—note the signature of H at the end of 22—dealing with the crime of blasphemy and with the penalties to be inflicted on those causing injury to man or beast. This extract has been fitted by a late priestly redactor into a framework intended to illustrate by a concrete case the punishment to be meted out to the blasphemer. The narrative of the sabbath-breaker in Num. xv. 32 ff. is an exact parallel.

woman blasphemed the Name, and cursed: and they brought him unto Moses. And his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan. And they put him in ward, that it might be declared 12 unto them at the mouth of the LORD.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Bring forth 13 him that hath cursed without the camp; and let all that 14 heard him lay their hands upon his head, and let all the congregation stone him. [H] And thou shalt speak unto 15 the children of Israel, saying, Whosoever curseth his God shall bear his sin. And he that blasphemeth the name 16 of the LORD, he shall surely be put to death; all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the stranger, as the homeborn, when he blasphemeth the name of the LORD, shall be put to death. And he that 17 smiteth any man mortally shall surely be put to death; and he that smiteth a beast mortally shall make it good: 18 life for life. And if a man cause a blemish in his 19 neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be done to him; breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he 20 hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be rendered unto him. And he that killeth a beast shall make it 21 good: and he that killeth a man shall be put to death.

<sup>11.</sup> blasphemed the Name. This substitute for the Divine proper name, although continually used in later Jewish writings, can scarcely be original here; read either 'Yahweh' alone, or as in 16<sup>a</sup> 'the name of Yahweh,' which the LXX also reads in 16<sup>b</sup> (note the italics of R.V.).

<sup>15.</sup> Whosoever . . . shall bear his sin. Both the formulation and the phraseology have numerous parallels in the preceding sections of H.

<sup>17-21.</sup> A series of illustrations of the ancient jus talionis, or law of retaliation, 'life for life,' 'eye for eye,' &c.; see the earlier tōrōth of the Book of the Covenant, Exod. xxi. 23-25; and cf. Deut. xix. 21; Matt. v. 38. The jus talionis plays a large part in the criminal code of Hammurabi (Cook, op. cit., 249 f.).

- 22 Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for the homeborn: for I am the LORD your God.
- 23 [P] And Moses spake to the children of Israel, and they brought forth him that had cursed out of the camp, and stoned him with stones. And the children of Israel did as the Lord commanded Moses.

# 25 [H] And the LORD spake unto Moses in mount Sinai,

22. Cf. Exod. xii. 49; Num. ix. 14, xv. 15, 29.

23. The original close of P's narrative in verses 10-14.

Chapter xxv is the natural continuation of xxiii. The cycle of sacred seasons is here completed by the addition of the seventh year, usually termed the sabbatical year, and of the fiftieth or year of Jubilee. With the latter is connected a series of provisions

dealing with the land and with slaves.

The chapter, as it now stands, presents numerous difficulties, literary and historical, which cannot be kept apart, and of which only a probable solution can at best be offered. As regards the literary problems, all critics are agreed in recognizing the legislation of H in verses 2b-7 (note the introductory phrase characteristic of H: 'when ye come into the land,' &c.; cf. xix. 23, xxiii. 10). These verses find their natural continuation in 17-22. The humanitarian spirit of the Holiness Code may also be recognized in 35-40 and in other isolated verses. There is likewise unanimity in the allocation of verses 26-34 and of 48-52, at least, to a secondary stratum of the priestly legislation (Ps). The chief difficulty is met with in verses 8-13, and here the literary criteria are not, in the present writer's opinion, decisive. All turns on the crucial question, did the year of Jubilee have a place in the Holiness Code? The balance of probability seems to be in favour of the negative view. The subject is too large and complicated for adequate discussion here.1 There is much force, however, in the argument advanced by Paton (Journ. of Bib. Lit. xviii. 46) that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For further information on the literary and historical problems raised by this chapter, the student is referred to the larger commentaries of Dillmann-Ryssel, Bertholet, and Baentsch; Driver and White's Leviticus (translation and notes), in loc.; C-H. i. 54f., ii. 177f.; Wellhausen, Composition d. Hexat.<sup>3</sup> 164ff.; Harford-Battersby's art. 'Sabbatical Year (including Jubile Year and land laws),' in Hastings's DB. iv.; Nowack's Heb. Archäologie, ii. 165ff.; Paton, in Journ. of Bib. Lit. xviii. 43 ff.; Fenton, Early Hebrew Life, 66-74.

saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto 2 them, When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the LORD. Six 3 years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruits thereof; but 4 in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of solemn rest for the land, a sabbath unto the LORD: thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. That which 5 groweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy undressed vine thou shalt not gather: it shall be a year of solemn rest for the land. And the 6 sabbath of the land shall be for food for you; for thee, and for thy servant and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant and for thy stranger that sojourn with thee; and 7

if the author of H had given the Jubilee a place in his code, he would surely have referred to it in verses 18-22 of this chapter (see notes on these and on verses 11 f.). In the analysis of the text, accordingly, verses 8-13 are assigned wholly to P (Ps).

4. a sabbath of solemn rest. See on xvi. 31.

<sup>1-7.</sup> The law of the sabbatical year (H). In the Book of the Covenant we have the beginnings of the Hebrew poor law in the provision that a field must lie fallow every seventh year, 'that the poor of thy people may eat' (Exod. xxiii. 11). It is not required that all the fields on a holding, still less that all the fields on all the holdings in Palestine, shall lie fallow simultaneously. This, however, is what the law of this section requires. The motive, also, is entirely different from that underlying the older custom of the seventh year fallow. Religion here takes the place of humane consideration for the poor. The land must be afforded an opportunity of keeping God's holy sabbath; 'the land shall keep a sabbath unto Yahweh.' From xxvi. 34 f. it is evident that no such sabbath was observed under the monarchy. In the post-exilic literature it is first mentioned in connexion with Ezra's reform (Neh. x. 31). From the time of the Maccabees, however, the sabbatical year was a recognized institution of Judaism.

<sup>6.</sup> the sabbath of the land: an unique expression denoting the natural produce of the land in the 'sabbath' year. Of this the farmer, with his household and cattle, is to be allowed full use; no mention is made of the rights of the poor. For the 'stranger' (tōshābh) of this verse, see on xxii. 10.

for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be for food.

- [P] And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and there shall be unto thee the days of seven sabbaths of years, even forty 9 and nine years. Then shalt thou send abroad the loud trumpet on the tenth day of the seventh month; in the day of atonement shall ye send abroad the trumpet throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, It and ye shall return every man unto his family. A jubile
  - 8-13. The main law of the year of Jubilee (P<sup>8</sup>). The probability is, as has been explained above, that we have here the ideal of a later legislator; in which the sabbath principle is carried to its extreme limit. Even Jewish tradition admits that the provisions of this and allied sections were never carried out as here detailed.

8. thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years: render 'seven weeks of years' (cf. the sense of 'sabbath' in xxiii. 15). As Pentecost fell upon the day after a week of weeks—hence its name 'the feast of Weeks'—so the Jubilee year was the (fiftieth)

year following seven weeks of years.

9. The Jubilee is to be ushered in by a blast on a ram's horn, the 'trumpet' of the text, on the old New Year's Day, the tenth of Tishri (see for this the note on xxiii. 23 ff.). Afterwards, when the year began on the first of Tishri, the tenth was appropriated for the new festival of the Day of Atonement (xvi. 29, xxiii. 27). This explains the mistaken gloss in the second part of the verse. The joy of Jubilee is altogether incompatible with the austerity of the 'great fast.'

10. it shall be a jubile unto you: more explicitly 'a year of jubile,' as in verses 13, 28, &c. The English word is derived ultimately from the Hebrew original, yôbēl, a ram's horn (see Josh. vi. 4 and R. V. marg.). The year was so named from the

blast by which it was announced.

ye shall return ... family: here we have the two outstanding features of the Jubilee—the restoration of land that has been alienated, and the restitution of liberty to those in servitude (see further verses 13, 28, 40 ff.).

11 f. The prohibitions of H's sabbatical year (4 f. above) are

shall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of the undressed vines. For it is a jubile; 12 it shall be holy unto you: ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field. In this year of jubile ye shall 13 return every man unto his possession. [H] And if thou 14 sell aught unto thy neighbour, or buy of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not wrong one another: [P] according 15 to the number of years after the jubile thou shalt buy of thy neighbour, and according unto the number of years of the crops he shall sell unto thee. According to the 16 multitude of the years thou shalt increase the price thereof, and according to the fewness of the years thou shalt diminish the price of it; for the number of the crops doth he sell unto thee. [H] And ye shall not wrong 17 one another; but thou shalt fear thy God: for I am the LORD your God. Wherefore ye shall do my statutes, 18 and keep my judgements and do them; and ye shall dwell in the land in safety. And the land shall yield 19

transferred by P8 to his year of jubilee. Since every forty-ninth year was a sabbatical year, this means that the whole land was to lie fallow for two consecutive years. Was this ever practicable? See the objection which the author of H anticipates in verse 20 to the universal fallow of every seventh year alone. What appears to be the legitimate inference from his silence as to the very much greater inconvenience of two fallow years in succession has been already stated.

15 f. In the buying and selling of land it is laid down that what is really conveyed to the purchaser is not the land, but the crops it will produce between the date of the transaction and the

next Jubilee when the land reverts to the seller.

17, repeating the moral precept of verse 14, bears at its close the signature of H.

<sup>18-22.</sup> The continuation of the law of the sabbatical year (2b-7), intended to meet the natural objection to the new demand for a simultaneous fallow of the whole agricultural land.

ber fruit, and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell therein in 20 safety. And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? behold, we shall not sow, nor gather in

our increase: then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for

- 22 the three years. And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat of the fruits, the old store; until the ninth year, until
- 23 her fruits come in, ye shall eat the old store. [P] And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine: for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.
- 24 [H] And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.
- 25 If thy brother be waxen poor, and sell some of his possession, then shall his kinsman that is next unto him

21 f. By the Divine blessing upon it, the land, in the sixth year, will produce sufficient for the needs of 'the three years.' Which three? The experience of the present day in Syria shows that, after lying fallow for a year, a field requires several ploughings before it can be sown. The consequence is that sowing cannot be begun till the following spring—the eighth year of verse 22—and the crop is not available till late autumn, when 'the ninth year' has begun.

23. the land is mine: a characteristic thought of the Priests' Code. Palestine is Yahweh's land; His people hold their lands in fee from Him. 'The idea that the Israelites are Jehovah's clients, sojourning in a land where they have no rights of their own, but are absolutely dependent on His bounty, is one of the most characteristic notes of the new and more timid type of piety that distinguishes post-exilic Judaism from the religion of old

Israel' (W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem.2 78).

24-25. Provision for the redemption of land, a fragment of H's land laws, entirely independent of the institution of the Jubilee.

25. his kinsman...shall redeem, &c.: 'kinsman' renders the Heb. goël (lit. 'one who vindicates a claim'), an important term of Hebrew jurisprudence. Of the duty here incumbent on the goel, or next of kin, the classical illustrations in O.T. are found in Jeremiah xxxii. 8-12, and Ruth iv. 1 ff. For a similar duty see below, verses 48 f., and for others the arts. 'Goel' in DB. and EBi.

come, and shall redeem that which his brother hath sold. [P] And if a man have no one to redeem it, and he be <sup>26</sup> waxen rich and find sufficient to redeem it; then let <sup>27</sup> him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; and he shall return unto his possession. But if he be not able to get <sup>28</sup> it back for himself, then that which he hath sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubile: and in the jubile it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

And if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, 29 then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; for a full year shall he have the right of redemption. And if it be not redeemed within the space of 30 a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be made sure in perpetuity to him that bought it, throughout his generations: it shall not go out in the jubile. But the houses of the villages which have no 31 wall round about them shall be reckoned with the fields of the country: they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubile. Nevertheless the cities of the 32 Levites, the houses of the cities of their possession, may

<sup>26-28.</sup> With the preceding extract from H, the editor has combined another from P. In modern phrase, the original vendor buys back his property by refunding to the purchaser the proportion of the price corresponding to the years that had still to

run of the jubilee period (cf. verses 15, 50 ff.).

29-34. The law requiring the universal restitution of alienated property in the fiftieth year is not to apply to houses in walled cities. In these, however, the vendor retains the right of redemption for a whole year after the sale. In the case of the Levitical cities (for these see Num. xxxv) again, the vendor has a perpetual right of redemption, but if this right is not exercised, his property returns to him at the jubilee. Levitical property, even in a city, is as inalienable as real estate in the country.

33 the Levites redeem at any time. And if a one of the Levites b redeem, then the house that was sold, and the city of his possession, shall go out in the jubile: for the houses of the cities of the Levites are their possession 34 among the children of Israel. But the field of the

c suburbs of their cities may not be sold: for it is their perpetual possession.

35 [H] And if thy brother be waxen poor, and his hand fail with thee; then thou shalt duphold him: as a stranger 36 and a sojourner shall he live with thee. Take thou no

usury of him or increase; but fear thy God: that thy 37 brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him

thy money upon usury, nor give him thy victuals for 38 increase. I am'the LORD your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, to give you the land

of Canaan, to be your God.

39 And if thy brother be waxen poor with thee, and sell himself unto thee; thou shalt not make him to serve as 40 a bondservant: as an hired servant, and as a sojourner,

<sup>a</sup> Or, a man redeem from the Levites b Or, after the Vulgate, redeem not c Or, pasture lands d Or, relieve

33. Read as in the margin: 'if one of the Levites do not redeem it'; the negative has fallen out.

34. the field of the suburbs: render, but fields in the pasture lands,' as R.V. margin. For these 'suburbs' or pasture lands see on Num. xxv. 2 ff.

35-38. The practical love of one's 'neighbour' in the sense of

xix. 18 (which see), also from H.

36. Take thou no usury of him or increase: the terms of the original both denote interest, the former interest on loans of money, the latter interest on other advances such as food-stuffs (see verse 37), seed corn and the like, which was paid in kind. This species of loan played a large part in the economics of Babylonia (see Johns, Bab. and Assyr. Laws, ch. xxiii). Parallels from earlier codes in Exod. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiii. 10 f.

39-46. Differential treatment of slaves of Hebrew and non-Hebrew nationality, based on the dignity of even the poorest

he shall be with thee; [P] he shall serve with thee unto the year of jubile: then shall he go out from thee, he 41 and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants, which I brought 42 forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen. [H] Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour; 43 but shalt fear thy God. [P] And as for thy bondmen, 44 and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have; of the nations that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover of the children of 45 the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they have begotten in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall make them an inheritance for 46 your children after you, to hold for a possession; of them shall ye take your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel ye shall not rule, one over another, with rigour.

[H] And if a stranger or sojourner with thee be waxen 47 rich, and thy brother be waxen poor beside him, and sell himself unto the stranger or sojourner with thee, or to the stock of the stranger's family: [P] after that he 48 is sold he may be redeemed; one of his brethren may redeem him: or his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem 49 him, or any that is nigh of kin unto him of his family may redeem him; or if he be waxen rich, he may redeem

Hebrew as a member of Yahweh's 'peculiar people' (cf. also verse 55). Kindness based on religion, the fear of God (verse 43), is the keynote of this section of the law. The terms with which the extract from P opens in verse 40 silently abrogate the more humane provisions of the earlier codes, by which a slave went free after six full years' servitude (Exod. xxi. 2; Deut. xv. 12).

47-55. Provision for the redemption of a Hebrew compelled

- 50 himself. And he shall reckon with him that bought him from the year that he sold himself to him unto the year of jubile: and the price of his sale shall be according unto the number of years; according to the time of
- 51 an hired servant shall he be with him. If there be yet many years, according unto them he shall give back the price of his redemption out of the money that he was
- 52 bought for. And if there remain but few years unto the year of jubile, then he shall reckon with him; according unto his years shall he give back the price of his re-
- 53 demption. [H] As a servant hired year by year shall he be with him: he shall not rule with rigour over him in
- 54 thy sight. [P] And if he be not redeemed a by these means, then he shall go out in the year of jubile, he, and
- 55 his children with him. [H] For unto me the children of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: I am the LORD your God.
- 26 [H] Ye shall make you no bidols, neither shall ye rear

or, in these years b See ch. xix. 4.

to sell himself as a slave to a neighbouring alien. As in the similar situation in 25-28, the duty of redeeming him falls upon his next of kin in succession, as in the case of Ruth (iii. 12 f., iv. 4). The redemption price is to be calculated on the same principle as before. This section also is pervaded by the thought that a Hebrew can never be more than nominally a slave to any human master, since God has chosen him for His servant.

(e) xxvi. The close of the Holiness Code in the form of a hortatory address.

'On the inculcation of two fundamental commands of the theocracy, the avoidance of image-worship (cf. xix. 4), and the observance of the Sabbaths with reverence for the sanctuary (xix. 30), follows a recital of the material and spiritual blessings which will be Israel's portion in case of obedience (verses 3-13), then five severe threatenings for the case of disobedience (14-19). Only the penitent confession of their sins and the expiation of their guilt in the land of their enemies will induce Yahweh to

you up a graven image, or a pillar, neither shall ye place any figured stone in your land, to bow down bunto it: for I am the LORD your God. Ye shall keep my sab- 2 baths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the LORD.

If ye walk in my statutes, and keep my command-3 ments, and do them; then I will give your rains in their 4

<sup>a</sup> Or, an obelisk Or, thereon

remember His covenant with them and to restore them once more

to His favour' (Kautzsch).

The Holiness Code closes with an impressive address in which the Divine Lawgiver with promise and threat exhorts His covenant people to observe its requirements. In the same manner the earlier Book of the Covenant and the Deuteronomic Code had been brought to a close (see Exod. xxiii. 20-33; Deut. xxviii. 1-68). On the latter passage, more particularly, the compiler of H has modelled his address. The most remarkable literary feature of this chapter, however, is the extraordinary number of expressions which it has in common with the book of Ezekiel. Lists of these parallels are given by Driver, LOT.6 147 f., by the editors of the Oxford Hexateuch (C-H. i. 150 f.), and in all the larger commentaries (the chapter should be studied with the help of a good reference Bible). The main point at issue is the question as to which of the two, Ezekiel or H, is dependent on the other, as on the answer depends the date of the compilation of the Holiness Code. This subject has been discussed in its place in the Introduction, and the conclusion come to that the dependence is on the part of Ezekiel, on the ground mainly that there are expressions in Lev. xxvi, not found in Ezekiel, that show we have here to do with an author of marked originality both in thought and expression.

1 f. The discourse opens with a brief summary of the fundamental principles of the Hebrew religion, containing 'the quintessence of the foregoing legislation '(Baentsch). Cf. note

or a pillar: the massēbah, or standing stone, so frequently mentioned in the O. T. among the appurtenances of the 'high

any figured stone: also Num. xxxiii. 52, a stone with some

idolatrous image or symbol carved upon it.

3-13. Promise of blessings, material and spiritual, in case of obedience. The parallel promises of Deut. xxviii. 1-14 should be compared.

season, and the land shall yield her increase, and the 5 trees of the field shall yield their fruit. And your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time: and ye shall eat your bread 6 to the full, and dwell in your land safely. And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid: and I will cause evil beasts to cease out of the land, neither shall the sword go through 7 your land. And ye shall chase your enemies, and they 8 shall fall before you by the sword. And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall chase ten thousand: and your enemies shall fall before 9 you by the sword. And I will have respect unto you, and make you fruitful, and multiply you; and will estab-10 lish my covenant with you. And ye shall eat old store long kept, and ye shall bring forth the old a because of 11 the new. And I will set my tabernacle among you: and 12 my soul shall not abhor you. And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people. 13 I am the LORD your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that ye should not be their bondmen; and I have broken the bars of your yoke, and made you go upright.

But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all Or, from before

<sup>5.</sup> With the promise of the first half of the verse, cf. Amos ix. 13. 7 f. Cf. Joshua xxiii. 10, 'for Yahweh your God, he it is that fighteth for you.'

<sup>10.</sup> because of the new: i.e. to make room for the new (Driver, Kautzsch). This verse interrupts the recital of the religious blessings in 9<sup>b</sup>, 11 f., and has perhaps become displaced from its original position after 5.

<sup>14-39.</sup> The punishments that will follow disobedience. These are arranged in five groups of increasing severity, viz.: (1) sick-

these commandments; and if ye shall reject my statutes, 15 and if your soul abhor my judgements, so that ye will not do all my commandments, but break my covenant; I also will do this unto you; I will appoint terror over 16 you, even consumption and fever, that shall consume the eves, and make the soul to pine away: and ye shall sow your seed in vain, for your enemies shall eat it. And I 17 will set my face against you, and ye shall be smitten before your enemies: they that hate you shall rule over you; and ye shall flee when none pursueth you. And if 18 ve will not yet for these things hearken unto me, then I will chastise you seven times more for your sins. And 19 I will break the pride of your power; and I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass: and your 20 strength shall be spent in vain: for your land shall not yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruit. And if ye walk contrary unto me, and 21 will not hearken unto me; I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins. And I will 22 send the beast of the field among you, which shall rob you of your children, and destroy your cattle, and make you few in number; and your ways shall become

ness and defeat (verses 16 f.), (2) famine (19 f.), (3) wild beasts (21 f.), (4) a siege with its accompanying privations and disease (23-26), and finally (5) the crowning disaster of national destruction and exile (27-39). In the literary treatment of these topics there are numerous reminiscences of Deut. xxviii. 15 ff.; cf. also Ezek. v. 11-17.

<sup>19.</sup> the pride of your power: the power or strength of which ye are proud, a favourite expression of Ezekiel (xxiv. 21, xxx. 6, 18, xxxiii. 28).

<sup>21.</sup> if ye walk contrary unto me: in defiant opposition to the Divine will, a strong expression peculiar to this chapter, cf. verses 23, 27, 40, and in the converse sense of Yahweh, 24, 28, 41. 'Plague' in this verse is to be understood in its etymological sense of 'stroke' (see on xiii. 2), 'I will further smite you sevenfold.'

- <sup>23</sup> desolate. And if by these things ye will not be reformed <sup>24</sup> unto me, but will walk contrary unto me; then will I also walk contrary unto you; and I will smite you,
- <sup>25</sup> even I, seven times for your sins. And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall execute the vengeance of the covenant; and ye shall be gathered together within your cities: and I will send the pestilence among you; and ye shall be delivered into the hand of the enemy.
- <sup>26</sup> When I break your staff of bread, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven, and they shall deliver your bread again by weight: and ye shall eat, and not be satisfied.
- And if ye will not for all this hearken unto me, but walk contrary unto me; then I will walk contrary unto you in fury; and I also will chastise you seven times for your sins. And ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye cat. And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your sun-images,

## a Or, by

25. the vengeance of the covenant: the punishment for the

broken covenant.

26. An illustration of the privations of a state of siege. Instead of each housewife firing the family bread in her own oven, a single oven suffices for the meagre siege allowance of ten families, and that doled out by weight.

27-39. The culmination of the Divine threatenings; Yahweh's forbearance is now at an end, He will chastise His unfaithful

people 'in fury.'

30. I will destroy your high places (bāmōth): only here and Num. xxxiii. 52 in the Pentateuch is reference made by name to the local sanctuaries so frequently mentioned in the historical books. Taken over by the Hebrews from the Canaanites, they

<sup>23.</sup> if ... ye will not be reformed unto me: more literally, 'if ye will not let yourselves be disciplined by me' (cf. margin); the original is the reflexive of the verb rendered 'chastise' in verses 18, 28. The purpose of God's chastisements is the moral discipline of His people.

and cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols; and my soul shall abhor you. And I will make your 31 cities a waste, and will bring your sanctuaries unto desolation, and I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours. And I will bring the land into desolation: and 32 your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it. And you will I scatter among the nations, and I will 33 draw out the sword after you: and your land shall be a desolation, and your cities shall be a waste. Then 34 shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths. As long as 35 it lieth desolate it shall have rest; even the rest which it had not in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it. And as for them that are left of you, I will send a faint- 36 ness into their heart in the lands of their enemies: and the sound of a driven leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee, as one fleeth from the sword; and they shall fall when none pursueth. And they shall stumble one 37 upon another, as it were before the sword, when none

became sources of contamination for the purer worship of Yahweh.

See the writer's art. 'High Place' in Hastings's DB. (1909).

your sun-images (hammānin): rather 'sun-pillars' associated, as inscriptions show, with the worship of Baal-hammān, the Syrian sun-god. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4; Ezek. vi. 4 ff.

34 f. For the thought see xxv. 2. This passage shows that the law of the sabbatical year was unknown, or at least that it

was not observed in the writer's day.

shall the land enjoy her sabbaths: the verb here, and in verse 43, rendered 'enjoy' seems to have been 'used technically in connexion with the settlement of an account' (Driver); the idea is that in the exile the land, here personified (cf. xxv. 2), will receive payment of an overdue account in the long sabbath-rest which it will then enjoy, but which had been withheld from it hitherto.

36 f. show that the author possessed the imagination of a poet as well as the eloquence of an orator.

pursueth: and ye shall have no power to stand before 38 your enemies. And ye shall perish among the nations, 39 and the land of your enemies shall eat you up. And they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity in your enemies' lands; and also in the iniquities of their 40 fathers shall they pine away with them. And they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, in their trespass which they trespassed against me, and also that because they have walked contrary unto me, 41 I also walked contrary unto them, and brought them into the land of their enemies: if then their uncircumcised heart be humbled, and they then accept of the 42 punishment of their iniquity; then will I remember my covenant with Jacob; and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember; 43 and I will remember the land. The land also shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her sabbaths, while she lieth desolate without them; and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity: because, even because they rejected my judgements, and their soul abhorred my 44 statutes. And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my 45 covenant with them: for I am the LORD their God: but I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought forth out of the land of

<sup>40-45.</sup> A good commentary on Psalm ciii. 8 f. But penitence and confession must precede forgiveness (cf. I John i. 9) and restoration. The thought that the Divine discipline is for moral ends is again prominent, and in truth the exile proved to be Israel's greatest school of discipline. Note also the prominence given to the covenant relation between God and Israel through the patriarchs (verse 42), the heroes of the Exodus (45).

41. their uncircumcised heart: cf. Jer. iv. 4; Deut. x. 16.

Egypt in the sight of the nations, that I might be their God: I am the LORD.

These are the statutes and judgements and laws, 46 which the LORD made between him and the children of Israel in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses.

[P] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak 27 2 unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When a man shall accomplish a vow, b the persons shall be

<sup>a</sup> Or, make a special vow <sup>b</sup> Or, according to thy estimation of persons unto the LORD, then thy estimation &c.

46. The colophon or subscription to the Holiness Code. The latter is Mosaic in so far as it is the reformulation and expansion of the legislative principles first laid down by Moses.

## Appendix .- CHAPTER XXVII.

On the Commutation of Votive Offerings and Tithes.

As is suggested by its colophon (verse 34) modelled on xxvi. 46, the last chapter of Leviticus is of the nature of an appendix to H rather than to the whole preceding legislation. The contents belong to a late stratum of the priestly legislation, since acquaintance with the institution of the Jubilee is assumed. This association with the latter and with the rights of redemption (both in ch. xxv) may explain the present position of the chapter.

r-8 deal with the procedure to be followed when the object vowed is a person. The case of Jephthah's daughter (Judges xi. 30 ff.) shows that in early times a human being might actually be sacrificed in fulfilment of a vow, while the story of Samuel illustrates another form of dedication, viz. lifelong service at a sanctuary of Yahweh. When this chapter was written human sacrifice had long been disavowed, and laymen were no longer permitted to minister at the altar. If, therefore, a Hebrew vowed a member of his family to the deity, he must afterwards commute his offering for a sum of money according to the scale here provided. The valuation was apparently made on the basis of what may be called the market value of the individual's labour. The money was, of course, paid to the priests.

2 f. Render: 'When a man makes to Yahweh a special vow (cf. margin) involving persons according to thy valuation, then

thy valuation shall be for a male,' &c.

3 for the LORD by thy estimation. And thy estimation shall be of the male from twenty years old even unto sixty years old, even thy estimation shall be fifty shekels 4 of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary. And if it be a female, then thy estimation shall be thirty shekels. 5 And if it be from five years old even unto twenty years old, then thy estimation shall be of the male twenty 6 shekels, and for the female ten shekels. And if it be from a month old even unto five years old, then thy estimation shall be of the male five shekels of silver, and for the female thy estimation shall be three shekels of silver. And if it be from sixty years old and upward; if it be a male, then thy estimation shall be fifteen g shekels, and for the female ten shekels. But if he be poorer than thy estimation, then he shall be set before the priest, and the priest shall value him; according to the ability of him that vowed shall the priest value him.

And if it be a beast, whereof men offer an oblation unto the Lord, all that any man giveth of such unto the Lord shall be holy. He shall not alter it, nor change it, a good for a bad, or a bad for a good: and if he shall at all change beast for beast, then both it and that for which

<sup>3.</sup> after the shekel of the sanctuary. See the note on v. 15. Fifty silver shekels would represent a little under £7 of our money, but their true value in purchasing power would probably be nearer £20.

<sup>8.</sup> Render: 'But if he (the person making the vow) be too poor to pay thy valuation, then he shall set him (the person vowed) before the priest,' &c.

<sup>9-13.</sup> Votive offerings of animals. Here the law distinguishes between 'clean' animals, admissible for a sacrifice, and unclean. Only in the case of the latter is commutation permitted. 'Holy' at the end of verse 9 is exactly expressed by the modern term 'taboo'; the animal has become the property of the deity, and accordingly all profane use of it is interdicted (cf. the same expression in vi. 18 with note).

it is changed shall be holy. And if it be any unclean 11 beast, of which they do not offer an oblation unto the LORD, then he shall set the beast before the priest: and 12 the priest shall value it, whether it be good or bad: as thou the priest valuest it, so shall it be. But if he will 13 indeed redeem it, then he shall add the fifth part thereof unto thy estimation.

And when a man shall sanctify his house to be holy 14 unto the LORD, then the priest shall estimate it, whether it be good or bad: as the priest shall estimate it, so shall it stand. And if he that sanctified it will redeem his 15 house, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of thy estimation unto it, and it shall be his.

And if a man shall sanctify unto the LORD part of the 16 field of his possession, then thy estimation shall be according to the sowing thereof: the sowing of a homer of barley shall be valued at fifty shekels of silver. If he 17 sanctify his field from the year of jubile, according to thy

<sup>13.</sup> From verse 27 we learn that two alternatives were open to him who vowed an unclean animal; either he might sell it and hand over the proceeds to the temple treasury—we are dealing here with post-exilic legislation—or he might redeem it by paying the priest's valuation with a fifth part additional (cf. xxii. 14).

<sup>14</sup> f. A house which had been vowed might be redeemed in the same way for a sum exceeding its valuation by 20 per cent.

<sup>16-25.</sup> The commutation and redemption of land. Here, again, the law distinguishes between a field which a man has inherited (16-21), and one which he has himself bought (22-25).

the sowing of a homer of barley: i.e. the amount of land which could be sown with a homer of barley-seed. The homer contained 10 ephahs or 30 seahs, roughly 11 bushels. In the Mishna 'the house of two seahs,' as it is termed, is a field equal in area to the court of the Tabernacle, viz. 100 cubits by 50, circa 1,195 square yards. A homer field, on this reckoning, would contain about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  acres (for these estimates see 'Weights and Measures' Kennedy in Hastings's DB. iv. 910 ff.). The valuation, it will be noted, is at the rate of one shekel for each year of the Jubilce period.

- 18 estimation it shall stand. But if he sanctify his field after the jubile, then the priest shall reckon unto him the money according to the years that remain unto the year of jubile, and an abatement shall be made from thy
- 19 estimation. And if he that sanctified the field will indeed redeem it, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of thy estimation unto it, and it shall be assured
- 20 to him. And if he will not redeem the field, or if he have sold the field to another man, it shall not be re-
- deemed any more: but the field, when it goeth out in the jubile, shall be holy unto the LORD, as a field devoted; the possession thereof shall be the priest's.
- 22 And if he sanctify unto the LORD a field which he hath
- 23 bought, which is not of the field of his possession; then the priest shall reckon unto him the worth of thy estimation unto the year of jubile: and he shall give thine estimation in that day, as a holy thing unto the LORD.
- 24 In the year of jubile the field shall return unto him of whom it was bought, even to him to whom the posses-
- 25 sion of the land belongeth. And all thy estimations shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary: twenty gerahs shall be the shekel.

18. The principle of abatement is that already met with in

xxv. 50 ff.

21-24. In the case of a field which a man has bought, the preceding considerations do not apply, for the author of the vow has only the usufruct of the field till the next Jubilee, when it reverts

to its original owner.

<sup>19</sup> f. So far the author of the vow has only commuted it. The temple authorities, apparently, are still *de jure* the owners of the field, and if the former wishes to regain the rights of ownership he must redeem his field on the same terms as in the previous cases of redemption. If he fails to redeem, or has meanwhile sold it, the right of redemption lapses, and the field, at the next Jubilee, does not revert to him but becomes 'devoted' to, i. e. the inalienable property of, Yahweh (see on verse 28).

Only the firstling among beasts, which is made a first- 26 ling to the LORD, no man shall sanctify it; whether it be ox or sheep, it is the LORD's. And if it be of an unclean 27 beast, then he shall ransom it according to thine estimation, and shall add unto it the fifth part thereof: or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to thy estimation.

Notwithstanding, no devoted thing, that a man shall 28 devote unto the LORD of all that he hath, whether of man or beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the LORD. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, 29 shall be ransomed; he shall surely be put to death.

And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of 30 the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the LORD's: it is holy unto the LORD. And if a man will redeem aught 31

<sup>26</sup> f. The firstlings of the herd and of the flock cannot be the object of a vow, for they already belong to Yahweh, see Exod. xiii. 2, 12, xxxiv. 19. But the firstlings of unclean animals have to be redeemed, as required by the older legislation (Exod. xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20), or sold and the price handed to the priests, an alternative not contemplated in the passages cited.

<sup>28</sup> f. The law of the ban (Heb. herem, R.V. devoted thing). In his article 'Ban' in Hastings's DB. (1909), the present writer has traced the history of this antique institution, of which he distinguishes three varieties in the O.T., the war ban of three degrees of stringency, the justice ban, and the private ban. In verse 28 the legislator deals with objects of the private ban which are declared to be irredeemable (cf. the practice of 'Corban' in N.T. times, Mark vii. 11). In verse 29, on the other hand, the reference must be to the justice ban, in other words, to the judicial sentence by the proper authorities on such malefactors as the idolater (see Exod. xxii. 20, where note R.V. margin) and the blasphemer.

<sup>30-33.</sup> The law of tithe, with which compare the legislation of D (Deut. xiv. 22-29, xxvi. 12 15), and elsewhere in P (Num. xviii. 21-32). The chief point of interest here is the demand for the tithe of cattle, of which there is no mention elsewhere in the O.T.

of his tithe, he shall add unto it the fifth part thereof.

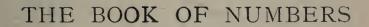
32 And all the tithe of the herd or the flock, whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the

- 33 LORD. He shall not search whether it be good or bad, neither shall he change it: and if he change it at all, then both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy; it shall not be redeemed.
- These are the commandments, which the LORD commanded Moses for the children of Israel in mount Sinai.

On this and other grounds most critics are inclined to regard verses 32 f. as a later addition to the original law of the vegetable tithe (for the tithes of the O.T. see, besides the articles in the recent Dictionaries of the Bible, Driver's *Deuteronomy* (Intern.

Crit. Series), pp. 166-73).

32. whatsoever passeth under the rod. As they pass under the rod 'of him that telleth them' (Jer. xxxiii. 13), every tenth animal—it and no other (verse 33)—is to be the Lord's. By a people in whose philosophy of life mere chance had no place, and for whom the lot was the recognized means of the Divine arbitrament, to do otherwise would have been regarded as an infringement of Yahweh's freedom of choice.



REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

## THE BOOK OF NUMBERS

First Division. CHAPTERS I-X. 10.

LAWS AND REGULATIONS GIVEN AT SINAI.

THE first of the three divisions of the Book of Numbers (for these see sect. ii of the Introduction) brings to a provisional close the mass of priestly legislation, from different sources and of varying age, which was introduced in Exod. xix and continued throughout the whole of Leviticus. Since the erection of the Tabernacle, or rather of the 'Dwelling,' in which, as the name denotes, God has condescended to take up His carthly abode as a sanctifying Presence in the midst of His chosen people, a complete month has elapsed (Num. i. I compared with Exod. xl. I, 17). To this period we must assign, according to P's chronology, the consecration and installation of Aaron and his sons as the priests of the wilderness sanctuary (Lev. viii-x). But the ideal organization of the sanctuary is not yet complete. To aid them in the subordinate duties of their office, the priests are to have attached to them (xviii, 2) their kinsmen of the tribe of Levi, forming a religious caste of lower theocratic rank than themselves, but distinct from the main body of the laity.

Further, the whole 'congregation,' priests, Levites, and secular tribes, have still to receive their places in the camp. The scheme of allocation, as will be more fully shown in due course (p. 194 f.), affords a striking illustration of the religious idealism of the author of the history of Israel's sacred institutions (Pg), for whom the Hebrew camp is a veritable city of God in the wilderness

of Sinai.

The arrangement of the camp and the installation of the Levites, then, are the main themes of the first division of this book. To these a good deal of legislative material has been added. The present arrangement of the whole is, to the western mind at least, confused and illogical. This lack of orderly arrangement is no doubt due in part to various amplifications which the original account (Pg) has received at the hands of later priestly writers (Ps). The more important of such later passages will be pointed out in the notes, but quite apart from the impossibility of distinguishing with certainty in all cases what is from Pg and what from later hands, it has not been thought advisable to occupy the limited space with details of the critical analysis. Accordingly the whole of this division has been entered as simply the product of the priestly school of legislators, i. e. as P without further qualification. The contents may be conveniently arranged in six sections,

## [P] AND the LORD spake unto Moses in the wilderness

for which see the Introduction, section ii, 'Arrangement and Contents.

(a) i-ii. The first census and the disposition of the camp.

Moses is commanded to number all the males of the twelve secular tribes above twenty years of age, and to assign to each tribe its position in the camp relative to the sanctuary in the centre, as also its place in the line of march. The results of a similar census taken thirty-eight years later are given in ch. xxvi. In this connexion one recalls the very different attitude to censustaking reflected in the early narrative of David's census in 2 Sam. xxiv (see Cent. Bible, in loc.).

1. in the wilderness of Sinai. It is labour lost to attempt to identify with any approach to precision the location of the Hebrew camp to be described in the sequel. It is extremely improbable that the author of Pg, born and brought up in Babylonia, had an accurate knowledge of the geography of the wide tract of country extending from the Negeb (or South-land) of Judah to the extremity of the Sinaitic peninsula, and from the Egyptian frontier and the Gulf of Suez on the west to the Gulf of Akaba and the Arabah on the east. By 500 B.c. it may be assumed that the mount of the lawgiving, to which P gives the traditional name Sinai—in this following J in contrast to E and D who employ the alternative Horeb-was identified with one or other of the mountains of the peninsula which now bears its name. Of the rival peaks Jebel Serbal has the advantage not only of the evidence of the older monkish settlements, but of the neighbourhood of the only place where even a small community could have spent almost a whole year, the famous oasis in the Wady Feiran. the plain of er-Raha, beside Jebel Mūsa and the peak of Ras Safsāfeh, which has so many advocates of repute, the latest investigator emphatically asserts from personal experience that it is impossible for even a few hundred people to remain through a winter 'in so barren and cold a place '(C. T. Curelly, in Flinders Petrie's Researches in Sinai, pp. 247 ff.). The most that can be said, therefore, is that the late Jewish tradition, if based on knowledge of the local conditions, may have intended the Wady Feiran by 'the wilderness of Sinai,' although it still remains a probable inference that for P it was merely the name, without precise geographical location, of the district in the peninsula in which the mount of legislation was situated.

It should be added here that there is a growing inclination on the part of many recent scholars, based on the references in such early poems as the 'Song of Deborah' (see Judges v. 4 f.), and the 'Blessing of Moses' (Deut. xxxiii. 2), to locate the Sinai of the

of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, Take ye the sum of all the con- 2 gregation of the children of Israel, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, every male, by their polls; from twenty years old and 3 upward, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel, thou and Aaron shall number them by their hosts. with you there shall be a man of every tribe; every one head of his fathers' house. And these are the names of 5 the men that shall stand with you: of Reuben; Elizur the son of Shedeur. Of Simeon; Shelumiel the son of 6 Zurishaddai. Of Judah; Nahshon the son of Amminadab. 7 Of Issachar; Nethanel the son of Zuar. Of Zebulun; 8,9 Eliab the son of Helon. Of the children of Joseph: of to Ephraim; Elishama the son of Ammihud: of Manasseh:

oldest Hebrew tradition on the western border of Edom, in the neighbourhood of Kadesh. To the present writer this seems a more probable site than one on the east of the Gulf Akaba, as has also been suggested. For recent literature see the introductory remarks to ch. xxxiii.

2. The association of Aaron with Moses implied in the words 'Take ye,' and expressed in the following verse 'thou and Aaron,' is seen from a comparison with verses 1<sup>a</sup> and 19 to be due to a later hand. This desire to enhance the importance of Aaron is seen even more clearly in ix. 6<sup>b</sup>, the glossator having inadvertently left the original preposition 'him,' i. e. Moses, standing in verse 7.

by their families, by their fathers' houses: more precisely, 'by their clans (and) by their septs,' the usual subdivisions of the larger unit, the tribe (Joshua vii. 16-18; 1 Sam. x. 19-21). Each tribe consisted of a number of clans, each clan of a number of septs. by their polls: lit. 'skulls.' The word poll 'survives in

by their polls: lit. 'skulls.' The word poll 'survives in poll-tax or head money, and the poll at elections, in which voters are counted by their polls or heads' (Wright, The Bible Word-book).

5-16. The names of twelve assessors, one from each tribe, who are to assist Moses in the work of enumeration. With regard to the order in which the tribes are here named, those whose

Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. Of Benjamin; Abidan to the son of Gideoni. Of Dan; Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. Of Asher; Pagiel the son of Ochran. Of Gad; Eliasaph the son of a Deuel. Of Naphtali; Ahira the son of Enan. These are they that were called of the congregation, the princes of the tribes of their fathers; they were the heads of the b thousands of Israel. And Moses and Aaron took these men which are

17 And Moses and Aaron took these men which are 18 expressed by name: and they assembled all the con-

a In ch. ii. 14, Reuel.

b Or, families

eponymous ancestors were reckoned as sons of Jacob's legitimate wives take precedence of the reputed descendants of their handmaids. For some reason, however, the sons of Rachel's maid Bilhah are separated by the insertion of Zilpah's sons, in the order Asher, Gad, between Dan and Naphtali. The chief feature in the order of the census lists, both in i. 24 ff. and in xxvi. 5 ff., is the elevation of Gad to a position between Simeon and Judah (see below). For the special features of the camp order see the

introductory note to ch. ii.

For the sake of those interested in the study of Hebrew proper names as a likely source from which light may be thrown on the history of the religion of the Hebrews, it may be pointed out that of the twenty-four names of the assessors and their fathers, nine contain the Divine name El (= God), three the name Shaddai (see Exod. vi. 3), and the same number the old Divine title Zur (= rock), while six contain as their first element one or other of the Divine relationships, Abi-, the (divine) father, Ahi-, the (divine) brother, and Ammi-, the (divine) kinsman. For the wide range of problems which these names suggest see Buchanan Gray's standard work, Studies in Hebrew Proper Names, and the art. 'Names' in EBi. As regards the twenty-four names before us, none of which, with two exceptions (Ruth iv. 20), is found outside Numbers, Gray concludes that 'several of the names are unquestionably ancient, but the list is certainly unhistorical' (Commentary on Numbers, p. 6).

14. Deuel: a copyist's slip for Reuel, as it is in ii. 14.

16. the thousands of Israel. Parallel to the division of the tribes into clans and septs we find a military organization into thousands, hundreds, and fifties (I Sam. viii. 12, x. 19, &c.). In the passage last cited, 'thousands' is used as a synonym of 'clans'; here it appears to be synonymous with the smaller unit, the sept (cf. verse 4).

gregation together on the first day of the second month, and they declared their pedigrees after their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, by their polls. As the Lord commanded Moses, so he numbered them 19 in the wilderness of Sinai.

And the children of Reuben, Israel's firstborn, their 20 generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were numbered 21 of them, of the tribe of Reuben, were forty and six thousand and five hundred.

Of the children of Simeon, their generations, by their 22 families, by their fathers' houses, those that were numbered thereof, according to the number of the names, by their polls, every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were 23 numbered of them, of the tribe of Simeon, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred.

Of the children of Gad, their generations, by their 24 families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were numbered 25 of them, of the tribe of Gad, were forty and five thousand six hundred and fifty.

<sup>20-46.</sup> Details of the census, the same formula being repeated for each tribe. The peculiar position of Gad in the list is due to the association of this tribe with Reuben and Simeon to form the second or southern division in the location of the tribes around the sanctuary (see ch. ii). Of the totals of the several tribes none goes lower than the hundreds except in the case of Gad (verse 25), and even there the number stops at the tens (45,650). It has often been noted, also, that just six of the tribes exceed the average of 50,000, while the other six fall below that figure.

- Of the children of Judah, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Judah, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six hundred.
- Of the children of Issachar, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Issachar, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred.
- Of the children of Zebulun, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Zebulun, were fifty and seven thousand and four hundred.
- Of the children of Joseph, namely, of the children of Ephraim, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to 33 go forth to war; those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Ephraim, were forty thousand and five hundred.

Further, the tribe of Dan, although consisting of only a single clan, reaches the high total of 62,700. The gross total of the twelve tribes is 603,350 (verse 46, ii. 32; cf. the corresponding total of the second census, 601,730, xxvi. 51). The round number of 600,000, now found in two J passages (xi. 21; Exod. xii. 37), is admitted to be a later insertion based on P's totals. According to modern statistics of vitality, 600,000 males above twenty years of age represent a total population of at least two million souls.

The question must now be faced: Are these figures reliable? Did the Hebrews at their exodus from Egypt really number any-

Of the children of Manasseh, their generations, by 34 their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were 35 numbered of them, of the tribe of Manasseh, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred.

Of the children of Benjamin, their generations, by 36 their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were 37 numbered of them, of the tribe of Benjamin, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred.

Of the children of Dan, their generations, by their 38 families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were numbered 39 of them, of the tribe of Dan, were threescore and two thousand and seven hundred.

Of the children of Asher, their generations, by their 40 families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were numbered 41 of them, of the tribe of Asher, were forty and one thousand and five hundred.

thing approaching to 2,000,000? The answer must be in the negative, for the utter impossibility of such a total can be proved by various considerations, as Bishop Colenso showed long ago in his famous work The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined (cf. Gray, Numbers, 11 ff.). Some of these are the following: (1) The size of the land of Goshen is now known approximately, 'about 60 or 80 square miles,' according to Flinders Petrie, who holds that 'not more than about 5,000 people could be taken out of Goshen or into Sinai' (Researches in Sinai (1906), p. 208). (2) The conditions of life in the Sinaitic peninsula have not varied greatly within historic times, and it is extremely doubtful if the district between the gulfs of Suez and Akaba was

- Of the children of Naphtali, their generations, by their families, by their fathers' houses, according to the number of the names, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war; those that were numbered of them, of the tribe of Naphtali, were fifty and three thousand and four hundred.
- These are they that were numbered, which Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, being twelve the men: they were each one for his fathers' house. So all they that were numbered of the children of Israel by

ever capable of supporting more than its present estimated population of some 6,000, and certainly not more than a fraction of this number if encamped for even a few days at any one spot. (3) The high totals of this chapter are inconsistent with the statements of other Pentateuch passages which represent the Hebrew immigrants as too few in number to occupy effectively the tiny land of Canaan; see, for example, Exod. xxiii. 29 f.; Deut. vii. 7, 22 (cf. Exod. i. 15—only two midwives). And, as a matter of history, only parts here and there were so occupied in the first stages of the conquest (see Judges i). 1

An elaborate but futile attempt has recently been made by the scholar named above (Petrie, op. cit. 209 ff.) to reduce P's numbers to more reasonable dimensions by taking the Hebrew word for 'thousand' in the sense of 'families' or tents, the hundreds alone representing 'the total inhabitants of these tents.' The result is a total of 598 tents and 5,550 people. But the high figures of this chapter do not stand alone in O.T. literature, and Petrie himself has to have recourse to a different theory in order to explain

the numbers of the Levites.

How P obtained the amazing totals of this chapter it is impossible to say. It may be conjectured that they are an adaptation and expansion of some genuine census lists of the period of the

In fairness to the author of this chapter, too much should not be made of the startling results obtained by a comparison of the number of the firstborn males in iii. 43, for the passage iii. 40-43 is from a different hand (see below). Thus, according to the statistics of vitality in modern nations, 22,273 firstborn males in a male population of say 1,110,000 (of whom 600,000 were over 20 years of age) mean an average of 50 sons to a family; or, if taken in another way, they mean that only 1 in 16 women of marriageable age were mothers.

their fathers' houses, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel; even all 46 they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.

But the Levites after the tribe of their fathers were not 47 numbered among them. For the LORD spake unto Moses, 48 saying, Only the tribe of Levi thou shalt not number, 49 neither shalt thou take the sum of them among the children of Israel: but appoint thou the Levites over the 50 tabernacle of the testimony, and over all the furniture thereof, and over all that belongeth to it: they shall bear the tabernacle, and all the furniture thereof; and they shall minister unto it, and shall encamp round about the tabernacle. And when the tabernacle setteth forward, 51 the Levites shall take it down: and when the tabernacle

monarchy, for it is scarcely credible that he had not some data from which to work. But even as reflecting this later period, the numbers could only be accepted for the larger tribes, such as Judah and Ephraim. Mention may be made of Holzinger's ingenious discovery that the numerical value of the Hebrew letters in Běnê Yisrael (children of Israel) is precisely 603, which he believes to be the origin of the same number of thousands in the gross total of the census (cf. Bennett's note on Gen. xiv. 14 in Cent. Bible—Abraham's trained men number 318, the numerical value of the letters of Eliezer).

47-54 contain a belated instruction to exclude the Levites from the census, which is already un fait accompli, with a summary of their duties and their place in the camp, which, on the other hand, anticipates chs. iii-iv. Verse 47 is the natural close of the preceding narrative; what follows is from a later hand (P³) in explanation thereof. Our translators seek to remove the difficulty by rendering, in defiance of Hebrew syntax: 'for the Lord spake' or 'had spoken' (A.V.), in place of 'and Yahweh spake.'

50. the tabernacle of the testimony: lit. 'the dwelling' of the testimony (also verse 53, x. 11, Exod. xxxviii. 21), the latter a name, peculiar to P, for the ark (e.g. xvii. 4, 10), as explained in the note on Lev. xvi. 12 f. The duties of the Levites are more fully given in chs. iii and iv.

is to be pitched, the Levites shall set it up: and the 52 stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death. And the children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own standard, 53 according to their hosts. But the Levites shall pitch round about the tabernacle of the testimony, that there be no wrath upon the congregation of the children of Israel: and the Levites shall keep the charge of the 54 tabernacle of the testimony. Thus did the children of Israel; according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they.

2 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron,

51. the stranger: here practically 'the layman' as opposed

to both priests and Levites, see on Lev. xxii. 10.

53. the Levites—the priests are here overlooked, see iii. 38 are to form a protecting cordon round the sanctuary, lest any of the unsanctified laity might incautiously approach the holy place, and fall a victim to the death-dealing 'wrath' of a holy God (see xvi. 46). Just as the sanctuary was 'taboo' for the layman without due preparation (Exod. xix. 10, 14 f.), so its sacred vessels and altars were 'taboo' for the Levites (iv. 15, 20, xviii. 3).

shall keep the charge of the tabernacle: originally a military term for keeping guard (2 Kings xi. 5 f.), 'to keep the charge, has become in P a comprehensive technical term for performing the multifarious services connected with the sanctuary

(so often in Numbers, iii. 7, 28, 32, 38, xviii. 3-5, &c.).

Ch, ii is entirely occupied with the Divine instructions to Moses (for 'Aaron' of verse 1 see on i. 2 and cf. ii. 34) regarding the arrangement of the camp. As we study it, let us forget the unreality of the numbers and the impossibility of finding, among the wadies of Sinai, the square miles of level ground required for the tents of two or three millions of human beings with 'the flocks and the herds1; (xi. 22). This done, let us try to grasp the religious ideas which filled the mind of the priestly writer as he sketched the plan for his city of God in the wilderness.

Underlying all is the central fact of God's presence in the midst

of His people. Inseparable from this is the idea of worship, for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Herds of large cattle are, and were, an impossibility in the peninsula.

saying, The children of Israel shall pitch every man by 2 his own standard, with the ensigns of their fathers' houses: over against the tent of meeting shall they pitch round about. And those that pitch on the east side toward the 3 sunrising shall be they of the standard of the camp of Judah, according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Judah shall be Nahshon the son of Ammin-

the author finds the highest expression of life in the exercise of public worship, by which the theocratic community maintains unbroken its relation to God. But Yalıweh is a God of ineffable and almost unapproachable holiness, a truth which needs to be impressed even upon the people of the covenant. This is done by arranging that the tents of the secular tribes shall not be pitched in the immediate proximity of the Divine Dwelling—here P is following in the footsteps of Ezekiel—but shall be separated from it by a safety zone occupied by the tents of the consecrated priests and Levites.

Finally, in the balance and symmetry which pervades the arrangement of the camp, we may detect, as in the parallel case of the Tabernacle, an attempt to symbolize the perfection and harmony of the Divine character. Thus the chapter before us, valueless to us as an historical record, has a value of its own as

an exposition of spiritual truths of the first importance.

2. A summary command, of which the rest of the chapter gives the more precise details. It has hitherto been usual to distinguish between the standards and the ensigns by taking the former as the military standards of the larger units, the clans and tribes, and the latter as the standards of the septs or 'fathers' houses.' In the ancient versions, however, the word rendered standard (degel) is understood of a military 'company' (so Gray, Numbers). This meaning is confirmed by the recently discovered Jewish papyri of Elephantine, in which degel repeatedly occurs in the sense of a division, cadre, or the like. Here, therefore, render 'by his own division,' the whole army of 600,000 being divided into four divisions or army corps, each with its own 'camp.'

3-9. The place of honour, on the east of the Tabernacle, is occupied by the 'camp of Judah,' comprising the tribe of Judah flanked by the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun. The whole encampment is to be pictured as forming a quadrilateral lying 'foursquare' like Ezekiel's court (Ezek. xl. 47), and the city of God of a later vision (Rev. xxi. 16). The centre, as we have seen, is occupied by the Tabernacle and its court. Nearest to the sanctuary,

4 adab. And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and fourteen thousand and six 5 hundred. And those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Issachar: and the prince of the children of 6 Issachar shall be Nethanel the son of Zuar: and his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and 7 four thousand and four hundred: and the tribe of Zebulun: and the prince of the children of Zebulun shall be 8 Eliab the son of Helon: and his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and seven thousand 9 and four hundred. All that were numbered of the camp of Judah were an hundred thousand and fourscore thousand and six thousand and four hundred, according to

On the south side shall be the standard of the camp of Reuben according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Reuben shall be Elizur the son of Shedeur.

11 And his host, and those that were numbered thereof,

their hosts. They shall set forth first.

and surrounding it on all four sides as a protecting cordon, are the tents of the priests and Levites, those of the former on the eastern side, opposite the entrance to the Tabernacle (iii. 38), those of the Kohathites, Gershonites, and Merarites on the south, west, and north of the Tabernacle respectively (iii. 23, 29, 35). Beyond these, and enclosing them, stretch the tents of the twelve secular tribes arranged in the four 'divisions' above mentioned. Each division bears the name of its leading tribe, Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, Dan, proceeding from east to north as above. In this order, also, the divisions are to take their places in the line of march (verses 9, 16, 24, 31).

4. This verse and the fifteen verses corresponding (6, 8, 9<sup>a</sup>, 11, 13, 15, &c.), giving the census results of ch. i, must be later insertions, as one can scarcely believe that the author of P<sup>g</sup> has really forgotten that he is professedly reporting a Divine in-

struction to Moses.'

10-16. The next most honourable position, on the south of the Tabernacle, is assigned to the division of 'the camp of Reuben.' With Reuben are associated Simeon and, in place of Levi, Gad, the eldest son of Leah's handmaid.

were forty and six thousand and five hundred. And 12 those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Simeon: and the prince of the children of Simeon shall be Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai; and his host, and 13 those that were numbered of them, were fifty and nine thousand and three hundred: and the tribe of Gad: and 14 the prince of the children of Gad shall be Eliasaph the son of a Reuel: and his host, and those that were num- 15 bered of them, were forty and five thousand and six hundred and fifty. All that were numbered of the camp 16 of Reuben were an hundred thousand and fifty and one thousand and four hundred and fifty, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth second.

Then the tent of meeting shall set forward, with the 17 camp of the Levites in the midst of the camps: as they encamp, so shall they set forward, every man in his place, by their standards.

On the west side shall be the standard of the camp of 18 Ephraim according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Ephraim shall be Elishama the son of Ammihud. And his host, and those that were num- 19 bered of them, were forty thousand and five hundred. And next unto him shall be the tribe of Manasseh: and 20 the prince of the children of Manasseh shall be Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur; and his host, and those that were 21 numbered of them, were thirty and two thousand and two hundred: and the tribe of Benjamin: and the prince 22 of the children of Benjamin shall be Abidan the son of

a In ch. i. 14, Denel.

<sup>17.</sup> An irrelevant and inaccurate gloss (see x. 17-21).
18-24. The west side is occupied by 'the camp of Ephraim,' who here, as elsewhere, takes precedence of his elder brother Manasseh (Gen. xlviii. 13 ff.) With these is naturally associated the tribe of Benjamin, thus completing the descendants of Rachel.

- 23 Gideoni: and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were thirty and five thousand and four hundred.
- <sup>24</sup> All that were numbered of the camp of Ephraim were an hundred thousand and eight thousand and an hundred, according to their hosts. And they shall set forth third.
- of Dan according to their hosts: and the prince of the children of Dan shall be Ahiezer the son of Ammishad-
- 26 dai. And his host, and those that were numbered of them, were threescore and two thousand and seven
- 7 hundred. And those that pitch next unto him shall be the tribe of Asher: and the prince of the children of
- 28 Asher shall be Pagiel the son of Ochran: and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were forty and
- one thousand and five hundred: and the tribe of Naphtali: and the prince of the children of Naphtali shall be
- 30 Ahira the son of Enan: and his host, and those that were numbered of them, were fifty and three thousand
- of Dan were an hundred thousand and fifty and seven thousand and six hundred. They shall set forth hindmost by their standards.
- These are they that were numbered of the children of Israel by their fathers' houses: all that were numbered of the camps according to their hosts were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty.
- 33 But the Levites were not numbered among the children
- 34 of Israel; as the LORD commanded Moses. Thus did the children of Israel; according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so they pitched by their standards,

<sup>25-31.</sup> The 'camp of Dan' on the north of the Tabernacle comprises the tribes descended from Jacob's concubines, with the exception of Gad already allocated.

and so they set forward, every one by their families, according to their fathers' houses.

Now these are the generations of Aaron and Moses in 3

(b) iii-iv. The Levites and their duties.

This important subject is also dealt with in viii. 5-26 and xviii. 1-7. The literary relation of the three sections is difficult to determine. On the one hand, xviii. 1-7 is unquestionably the natural sequel to the story of Korah's rebellion as told by Pg (see the introductory note to ch. xvi), and reads as if the appointment of 'the tribe of Levi' (xviii. 2) for the service of the sanctuary was being mentioned for the first time. In this case iii. 5-10 would have to be regarded as an anticipation of xviii, 1 ff. by a later hand (so Baentsch, Moore, &c.). On the whole, however, it is more probable on various grounds that Pg introduced the appointment of the Levites in close connexion with the nomination (Exod. xxix) and consceration (Lev. viii-x) 1 of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood. If this be so, the rebellion of Korah has been made the occasion of reinforcing the Divine choice of Levi, and of defining anew the relation between the two orders of the hierarchy (xviii. 4 ff.).

In any case it is only in parts of ch. iii that Pg is represented. Ch. iv is regarded by most critics as secondary (Ps) on the ground of certain peculiarities of phraseology (see C-H., Hex., vol. ii, in loc.), and as being little more than a diffuse expansion of parts of ch. iii. For the different point of view in iii. 5-10 compared with 11-13, pointing to a difference of source, see the

notes below.

The existence of the two orders, priests and Levites, from the very foundation of the theocracy is one of the fundamental assumptions of the priestly school of Jewish historians. Modern historical criticism, however, has shown conclusively that there is no certain trace of such a dualism in the history of Israel until the post-exilic period. Originally the offering of sacrifice, the chief of the later priestly prerogatives, was not confined to any caste, although even as early as the days of the Judges, the members of the old secular tribe of Levi (see Gen. xlix. 7) were believed to be specially qualified for the priestly office, in virtue probably of their kinship with Moses (Judges xvii. 7-13, xviii. 30, R.V.). Eventually, however, the members of the various priesthoods became a sacred caste, claiming descent from Levi. Hence in Deuteronomy, 'the priests, the Levites,' is the standing designa-

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that there is almost nothing of P8 in the rest of Leviticus.

the day that the LORD spake with Moses in mount Sinai.

And these are the names of the sons of Aaron; Nadab

the firstborn, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. These are the names of the sons of Aaron, the priests which were anointed, whom he consecrated to minister in the priest's office. And Nadab and Abihu died before the LORD, when they offered strange fire before the LORD, in the wilderness of Sinai, and they had no children: and Eleazar and Ithamar ministered in the priest's office

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Bring the tribe of Levi near, and set them before Aaron the priest, that they may minister unto him. And they shall keep

in the presence of Aaron their father

tion of those who were priests by office and Levites by reputed descent.

According to the modern view, the first to make a cleavage within the ranks of the Levitical priests was Ezekiel, who declared that the priests of the local sanctuaries had forfeited their right to be regarded as legitimate priests of Yahweh. As a punishment for their unfaithfulness they were henceforth to be excluded from the altar, and to be degraded to the position of servants of the Zadokite priesthood at Jerusalem (Ezek. xliv. 10-16, see Cent. Bible, in loc.). The distinction thus created between priests and 'Levites' who are not priests is carried back by P to the days of Moses, with this all-important difference, however, that the idea of degradation has entirely disappeared. On the contrary, the appointment of the Levites is represented by the priestly writers as a gracious act on the part of Yahweh, and their position as one of privilege and honour, inferior only to that of the priests (see further the arts. 'Levi' in the Bible Dicts., and especially Wellhausen's Prolegomena, ch. iv, and Baudissin's art. Priests and Levites' in Hastings's DB. iv, also the full bibliography in W. R. Harper, The Priestly Element in the O.T., pp. 70 f., 282 f.).

1-4. The 'generations,' i. e. the descendants, of Aaron, cf. Exod. vi. 2, also Lev. x. 1, with note. Delete 'and Moses' in verse 1—a slip of a copyist accustomed to the association of

the two brothers. The verses are editorial (R).

5-8. Bring the tribe of Levi near, &c. The tribe of Levi, necessarily as represented by the heads of the subdivisions, is to be formally presented 'unto Aaron and to his sons' as a gift on

his charge, and the charge of the whole congregation before the tent of meeting, to do the service of the tabernacle. And they shall keep all the furniture of the 8 tent of meeting, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service of the tabernacle. And thou shalt 9 give the Levites unto Aaron and to his sons: they are a wholly given unto him b on the behalf of the children of Israel. And thou shalt cappoint Aaron and his sons, to and they shall keep their priesthood: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, And I, 12 behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn that openeth the womb among the children of Israel; and the Levites shall be mine: for all the firstborn are mine; on the 13 day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I hallowed unto me all the firstborn in Israel, both man and beast: mine they shall be; I am the LORD.

a Heb. given, given.

b Or, from

c Or, number

the part of (cf. verse. 9, marg.) the whole community for the subordinate duties of the sanctuary, 'the service of the tabernacle' (verse 7). The source may be assumed to be Pg (see above), since the same point of view—the Levites as a gift—is found in xviii. 1-7, where, however, the idea is more prominent that the gift is made to Yahweh, by whom it is handed over to the priests (xviii. 6).

10. the stranger here is every one, including the Levites,

who is not a priest; contrast i. 51.

11-13. Here a different point of view reveals itself. The Levites are represented as the substitutes of the firstborn males (see verse 43) of the other tribes, whom Yahweh claims as his own (Exod. xxii. 29, on which see Bennett's note in Cent. Bible). The original continuation is found in verses 40-51, all probably P<sup>5</sup>. This explanation of the origin of the Levitical caste seems the product of later reflection, and, as Baentsch points out (Handkommentar, in loc.), is scarcely consistent with the repeated demand of P that the firstborn must be redeemed, 'for if Yahweh takes to Himself the Levites as substitutes for the firstborn, the latter ought by rights to go free.'

- 14 And the Lord spake unto Moses in the wilderness
- 15 of Sinai, saying, Number the children of Levi by their fathers' houses, by their families: every male from a
- 16 month old and upward shalt thou number them. And Moses numbered them according to the word of the
- <sup>17</sup> LORD, as he was commanded. And these were the sons of Levi by their names; Gershon, and Kohath,
- 18 and Merari. And these are the names of the sons of
- 19 Gershon by their families; Libni and Shimei. And the sons of Kohath by their families; Amram, and Izhar,
- <sup>20</sup> Hebron, and Uzziel. And the sons of Merari by their families; Mahli and Mushi. These are the families of the Levites according to their fathers' houses.
- Of Gershon was the family of the Libnites, and the family of the Shimeites: these are the families of the
- <sup>22</sup> Gershonites. Those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, even those that were numbered of
- <sup>23</sup> them were seven thousand and five hundred. The families of the Gershonites shall pitch behind the taber-
- 24 nacle westward. And the prince of the fathers' house of the Gershonites shall be Eliasaph the son of Lael.
- 25 And the charge of the sons of Gershon in the tent of

25 f. Their 'charge' consisted of the curtains and coverings of

<sup>14-39.</sup> Moses is commanded to take a census of the male members of the tribe of Levi from a month old and upwards. This is done in the order of the three divisions of the tribe, the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites, so named from their respective progenitors, the sons of Levi. Into the census scheme is now worked a summary statement of the duties of each division in respect of the Tabernacle and its equipment, together with an indication of the place which each division is to occupy in the camp, for which see the introductory note to ch. ii.

<sup>21-26.</sup> The census of the Gershonites, 7,500, their location on the west of the Tabernacle, and specification of their 'charge in the tent of meeting.'

meeting shall be the tabernacle, and the Tent, the covering thereof, and the screen for the door of the tent of meeting, and the hangings of the court, and 26 the screen for the door of the court, which is by the tabernacle, and by the altar round about, and the cords of it for all the service thereof.

And of Kohath was the family of the Amramites, <sup>27</sup> and the family of the Izharites, and the family of the Hebronites, and the family of the Uzzielites: these are the families of the Kohathites. According to the <sup>28</sup> number of all the males, from a month old and upward, there were eight thousand and six hundred, keeping the charge of the sanctuary. The families of the sons of <sup>29</sup> Kohath shall pitch on the side of the tabernacle south-

the Tabernacle and the screen or portière forming the door thereof, together with the hangings enclosing the court and the portière at the entrance of the latter, as more fully detailed in iv. 24 ff.

the tabernacle, and the Tent, the covering thereof: render, with the versions: 'the Dwelling, and the Tent, and the covering thereof.' The first here denotes the two sets of rich tapestry curtains which formed 'the Dwelling' of Yahweh in the strict sense; the Tent is two sets of goats'-hair curtains which were spread over those of the Dwelling; the covering comprises the two sets of outer coverings, the one of rams' skins, the other made from the skins of, probably, the dugong (see on iv. 6). For the Tabernacle and its furniture see, besides the commentaries on Exodus xxv ff., the present writer's art. in Hastings's DB. iv. (more briefly in the same editor's one-volume dictionary), and McNeile, The Book of Exodus, pp. lxxiii-xcii.

27-32. The census of the Kohathites, 8,600 (really 8,300), their location on the south of the Tabernacle, and their charge. Although second in order according to the birth of their eponym ancestor, the 'sons of Kohath' occupy the place of highest honour (cf. iv. 4 ff.) in the camp after the priests (see verse 38), in virtue of the more honourable charge confided to them.

28. six hundred: for 'six' (שֶשׁ) read 'three' (שֶשׁי, of which the middle letter has been inadvertently dropped), see on verse 39. The word rendered 'those that were numbered of them' has also fallen out at the head of this verse (cf. 22, 34).

- 3º ward. And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of the Kohathites shall be Elizaphan the son of 31 Uzziel. And their charge shall be the ark, and the table, and the candlestick, and the altars, and the vessels of the sanctuary wherewith they minister, and the screen, and 32 all the service thereof. And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be prince of the princes of the Levites, and have the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.
- 33 Of Merari was the family of the Mahlites, and the family of the Mushites: these are the families of Merari.
- 34 And those that were numbered of them, according to the number of all the males, from a month old and
- 35 upward, were six thousand and two hundred. And the prince of the fathers' house of the families of Merari was Zuriel the son of Abihail: they shall pitch on the
- 36 side of the tabernacle northward. And a the appointed charge of the sons of Merari shall be the boards of the tabernacle, and the bars thereof, and the pillars thereof,

## <sup>a</sup> Heb. the office of the charge.

and the screen. Read, as in iv. 5, 'the veil of the screen,' the artistic hanging separating 'the holy of holies' from 'the holy

place' (Exod. xxvi. 31-33).

33-37. The census of the Merarites, 6,200, their location on the

north of the Tabernacle, and their charge.

36. the boards of the tabernacle: the Hebrew word of which 'boards' is the traditional rendering occurs only once outside the Tabernacle passages, viz. Ezek. xxvii. 6, where it seems to signify 'panels' (of ivory inlaid in box-wood). In the article cited above (DB. iv. 659 f.) it is shown that in the construction of the Tabernacle it probably denotes a light wooden frame, the whole forming an open framework over which the curtains were suspended (for illustration see ibid. 660, also Bennett's Exodus,

<sup>31.</sup> The Kohathites had charge of the whole contents of the Dwelling and of the altar of burnt-offering. The brazen laver (Exod. xxx. 18, xxxv. 16) has been overlooked both here and in ch. iv. For the vessels of the sanctuary see iv. 7, 9, 14.

and the sockets thereof, and all the instruments thereof, and all the service thereof; and the pillars of the court 37 round about, and their sockets, and their pins, and their cords. And those that pitch before the tabernacle east-38 ward, before the tent of meeting toward the sunrising, shall be Moses, and Aaron and his sons, keeping the charge of the sanctuary a for the charge of the children of Israel; and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death. All that were numbered of the Levites, 39 which Moses and Aaron numbered at the commandment of the LORD, by their families, all the males from a month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand.

And the LORD said unto Moses, Number all the first-40 born males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward, and take the number of their names. And 41 thou shalt take the Levites for me (I am the LORD) instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel; and the cattle of the Levites instead of all the firstlings among the cattle of the children of Israel. And Moses 42 numbered, as the LORD commanded him, all the firstborn among the children of Israel. And all the firstborn among the children of Israel. And all the firstborn 43 males according to the number of names, from a month old and upward, of those that were numbered of them,

a Or, even

p. 211, and McNeile, op. cit. lxxiv). For the instruments see on iv. 32.

<sup>39.</sup> The grand total as here given is 22,000, while the sum of the separate totals of the divisions will be found to be 22,300. The simplest explanation of the discrepancy, and that usually accepted, is to assume that, by a clerical error, the total of the Kohathites has now been increased by 300 (see on verse 28). The numbers in this chapter are open to the same criticism as those of the chapters preceding (pp. 190 ff.).

<sup>40-51.</sup> The rest of this chapter is closely connected with verses 11-13 (Ps), and contains directions for the working out of the

were twenty and two thousand two hundred and three-score and thirteen.

- And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take the Levites instead of all the firstborn among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle: and the Levites shall be mine; I am the LORD.
- 46 And for a the redemption of the two hundred and threescore and thirteen of the firstborn of the children of Israel, which are over and above the number of the
- 47 Levites, thou shalt take five shekels apiece by the poll; after the shekel of the sanctuary shalt thou take them

  4 Or, those that are to be redeemed, the &c.

principle of substitution there laid down. The first step is a census of the firstborn males of the secular tribes of a month old and upwards, giving a total of 22,273. Since the Levites numbered only 22,000, no substitutes were available for the remaining 273. These accordingly had to be 'redeemed' by a payment of 'five shekels apiece' (verse 47); the whole sum thus realized was paid over by Moses to the priests. How the number 22,273 was reached, only about 1 in 50 of the male population (!), must remain the secret of the writer. The meaning of his curious extension of the substitutionary principle to the cattle (verses 41, 45) is equally obscure. In short, we have here as elsewhere (see, for example, ch. xxxv) a specimen of legal theorizing based on older legislative material; in this case the basis is supplied by xviii. 15 ff. (Pg).

46. for the redemption: better, 'as regards the redemption-price,' or 'ransom,' as in the fuller expression of verses 49, 51.

The marginal alternative is less probable.

47. after the shekel of the sanctuary: see note on Lev. v. 15.

The only substantial addition to the foregoing supplied by the long and late ch. iv is the result of a fourth census, which is taken for the purpose of ascertaining the number of Levites qualified for service. It is remarkable that the O. T. contains no fewer than three different statements of the age at which the Levites entered upon their duties, and still more remarkable that two of these should appear almost side by side in the same book with no attempt at an explanation. In this chapter the age is 30, in viii. 23-26 it is 25, and in Chronicles it is 20 (I Chr. xxiii. 24, 27, &c.). 'The simplest way of accounting for the differences would be to assume that they correspond to actual differences in

(the shekel is twenty gerahs): and thou shalt give the 48 money wherewith the odd number of them is redeemed unto Aaron and to his sons. And Moses took the 49 redemption-money from them that were over and above them that were redeemed by the Levites: from the first-50 born of the children of Israel took he the money; a thousand three hundred and threescore and five *shekels*, after the shekel of the sanctuary: and Moses gave a the 51 redemption-money unto Aaron and to his sons, according to the word of the Lord, as the Lord commanded Moses.

And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, 4 saying, Take the sum of the sons of Kohath from among 2 the sons of Levi, by their families, by their fathers' houses, from thirty years old and upward even until fifty years 3 old, all that enter upon the b service, to do the work in the tent of meeting. This is the c service of the sons 4 of Kohath in the tent of meeting, about the most holy things: when the camp setteth forward, Aaron shall go 5 in, and his sons, and they shall take down the veil of the

or, the money of them that were redeemed or, host (and so in vv. 35, 39, 43). • Heb. warfare, or, work

the age of service at the different periods to which the several references belong' (Gray, Numbers, p. 32, where the problem is more fully discussed). The duties of the Levites here specified have reference, as in ch. iii, only to the transport of the Tabernacle on the march, not to their regular service at the sanctuary.

1-16. The transport duties of the Kohathites (cf. iii. 31 f.).

3. all that enter upon the service: note the margin here, and see Gray's note on the word for 'service' (zābā'), op. cit., in loc.;

cf. verse 23 and margins in both cases.

5 ff. The Levites are forbidden, on pain of death (verse 15, cf. 2 Sam. vi. 6 f.), to touch, or even (verse 20) to look upon, any of the sacred objects within the Tabernacle. These must be handled and packed entirely by the priests, beginning with the most sacrosanct object of all, the sacred ark.

6 screen, and cover the ark of the testimony with it: and shall put thereon a covering of sealskin, and shall spread over it a cloth all of blue, and shall put in the staves 7 thereof. And upon the table of shewbread they shall spread a cloth of blue, and put thereon the dishes, and the spoons, and the bowls, and the cups to pour out 8 withal: and the continual bread shall be thereon: and they shall spread upon them a cloth of scarlet, and cover the same with a covering of sealskin, and shall put in the 9 staves thereof. And they shall take a cloth of blue, and cover the candlestick of the light, and its lamps, and its tongs, and its snuffdishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, 10 wherewith they minister unto it: and they shall put it and all the vessels thereof within a covering of sealskin, 11 and shall put it upon a the frame. And upon the golden a Or, a bar

6. a covering of sealskin: Hebr. tahash-skin, probably the skin of the dugong or sea-cow, of which the Bedouin of Sinai make sandals at the present day (cf. Ezek. xvi. 10, shoes of tahash-skin). It has also been suggested that tahash is a loanword from Egyptian, meaning a special kind of leather.

and shall put in the staves thereof. This seems to imply that the staves had previously been removed, a breach of the express command of Pg in Exod. xxvi. 15. It is difficult, moreover, to see how the staves—or rather, as the weight demands, the 'poles'—could be placed in the rings after the ark had been packed in three coverings. Or does the writer forget the existence of the rings, and think of the poles as passed under the cords with which the packages were tied up? Cf. note on verse 10.

7. the table of shewbread: render literally, 'the table of the Presence,' i. e. of Yahweh. The continual bread is the shewbread, or rather 'the Presence-bread' (Exod. xxv. 30, R.V. marg.), and is so named, but here only, with reference to the commands of Exod., loc. cit., and Lev. xxiv. 8 (see notes, p. 159 f.).

10. the frame: margin 'a bar' (so A.V. text), the usual meaning of the word (môt). If the articles enumerated are to be thought of as carried loose, a 'frame' or platform is indispensable for their transport. But one receives the impression, as already suggested, that the author intends the sacred vessels to be not only wrapped but roped in their coverings for greater

altar they shall spread a cloth of blue, and cover it with a covering of sealskin, and shall put in the staves thereof: and they shall take all the vessels of ministry, wherewith 12 they minister in the sanctuary, and put them in a cloth of blue, and cover them with a covering of sealskin, and shall put them on the frame. And they shall take away 13 the ashes from the altar, and spread a purple cloth thereon: and they shall put upon it all the vessels 14 thereof, wherewith they minister about it, the firepans, the fleshhooks, and the shovels, and the basons, all the vessels of the altar; and they shall spread upon it a covering of sealskin, and put in the staves thereof. And 15 when Aaron and his sons have made an end of covering the sanctuary, and all the furniture of the sanctuary, as the camp is to set forward; after that, the sons of Kohath shall come to bear it: but they shall not touch the a sanctuary, lest they die. These things are the burden of the sons of Kohath in the tent of meeting. And the 16 charge of Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be the oil for the light, and the sweet incense, and the continual meal offering, and the anointing oil, the charge of all the tabernacle, and of all that therein is, the sanctuary, and the furniture thereof.

And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, 17 saying, Cut ye not off the tribe of the families of the 18 Or, holy things

security, in which case the  $m\hat{o}t$  will be the pole from which the package is to be suspended; cf. xiii. 23, 'by means of a pole (R.V. upon a staff,  $m\hat{o}t$ ) between two.'

<sup>11.</sup> the golden altar: in Lev. iv. 7 termed 'the altar of sweet incense' (see note there), to be distinguished from 'the altar' par excellence of verse 13, which is the altar of burnt-offering.

<sup>17-20.</sup> An amplification by a later hand of the command of 15<sup>b</sup>, emphasizing the fact that the contents of the Tabernacle can be handled, or even seen, only by the priests. The penalty for the breach of this taboo is death.

19 Kohathites from among the Levites: but thus do unto them, that they may live, and not die, when they approach unto the most holy things: Aaron and his sons shall go in, and appoint them every one to his 20 service and to his burden: but they shall not go in to see the a sanctuary even for a moment, lest they die.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take the sum of the sons of Gershon also, by their fathers' houses,

- 23 by their families; from thirty years old and upward until fifty years old shalt thou number them; all that enter in to b wait upon the service, to do the work in the tent of
- 24 meeting. This is the service of the families of the
- <sup>25</sup> Gershonites, in serving and in bearing burdens: they shall bear the curtains of the tabernacle, and the tent of meeting, its covering, and the covering of sealskin that is above upon it, and the screen for the door of the
- tent of meeting; and the hangings of the court, and the screen for the door of the gate of the court, which is by the tabernacle and by the altar round about, and their cords, and all the instruments of their service, and whatsoever shall be done with them, therein shall they serve.
- 27 At the commandment of Aaron and his sons shall be all the service of the sons of the Gershonites, in all their burden, and in all their service: and ye shall appoint
- 28 unto them in charge all their burden. This is the service of the families of the sons of the Gershonites in the tent of meeting: and their charge shall be under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

a Or, holy things

b Heb. war the warfare.

<sup>21-28.</sup> The transport duties of the Gershonites (cf. iii. 25 f.).

27. The last clause should be read as in verse 32 (so LXX):

4 and ye shall appoint unto them by name all that is committed to them to carry.

As for the sons of Merari, thou shalt number them by 29 their families, by their fathers' houses; from thirty years 30 old and upward even unto fifty years old shalt thou number them, every one that entereth upon the service, to do the work of the tent of meeting. And this is the 31 charge of their burden, according to all their service in the tent of meeting; the boards of the tabernacle, and the bars thereof, and the pillars thereof, and the sockets thereof; and the pillars of the court round about, and 32 their sockets, and their pins, and their cords, with all their instruments, and with all their service: and by name ye shall a appoint the instruments of the charge of their burden. This is the service of the families of the 33 sons of Merari, according to all their service, in the tent of meeting, under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

And Moses and Aaron and the princes of the congre- 34 gation numbered the sons of the Kohathites by their families, and by their fathers' houses, from thirty years 35 old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered upon the service, for work in the tent of meeting: and those that were numbered of them by their families 36 were two thousand seven hundred and fifty. These are 37 they that were numbered of the families of the Kohathites, all that did serve in the tent of meeting, whom

a Or, number

<sup>29-33.</sup> The transport duties of the Merarites (cf. iii. 36 f.).
31. For the boards, rather 'the frames,' see note on iii. 36.
32. with all their instruments: better 'all their accessories' (Gray), including not only the hooks (Exod. xxvi. 32, xxvii. 10, 17) and rings for the hangings, but also the mallets, &c., required for the erection of the sanctuary.

<sup>34-49.</sup> The totals of the census, first of the divisions separately—Kohathites 2,750, Gershonites 2,630, Merarites 3,200—and then

Moses and Aaron numbered according to the commandment of the LORD by the hand of Moses.

- 38 And those that were numbered of the sons of Gershon,
- 39 by their families, and by their fathers' houses, from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered upon the service, for work in the tent of
- 40 meeting, even those that were numbered of them, by their families, by their fathers' houses, were two thousand
- 41 and six hundred and thirty. These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Gershon, all that did serve in the tent of meeting, whom Moses and Aaron numbered according to the commandment of the LORD.
- 42 And those that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, by their families, by their fathers' houses,
- 43 from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered upon the service, for work in
- 44 the tent of meeting, even those that were numbered of them by their families, were three thousand and two
- 45 hundred. These are they that were numbered of the families of the sons of Merari, whom Moses and Aaron numbered according to the commandment of the LORD by the hand of Moses.
- All those that were numbered of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron and the princes of Israel numbered,
- 47 by their families, and by their fathers' houses, from thirty years old and upward even unto fifty years old, every one that entered in to do the work of service, and the work of
- 48 bearing burdens in the tent of meeting, even those that were numbered of them, were eight thousand and five

of the whole tribe 8,580. all entered with the repetition and diffuseness characteristic of the later priestly writers (cf. ch. vii). For the corrupt text of the last verse, see Gray, in loc. R.V., although 'not a translation' (Gray), gives a sufficient approximation.

hundred and fourscore. According to the commandment 49 of the LORD they were numbered by the hand of Moses, every one according to his service, and a according to his burden: thus were they numbered of him, as the LORD commanded Moses.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Command 5 2 the children of Israel, that they put out of the camp every leper, and every one that hath an issue, and whosoever is unclean by the dead: both male and female shall 3 ye put out, without the camp shall ye put them; that they defile not their camp, in the midst whereof I dwell. And the children of Israel did so, and put them out 4 without the camp: as the Lord spake unto Moses, so did the children of Israel.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 5, 6 the children of Israel, When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a trespass against the LORD, and that soul be guilty; then they 7

\* Or, according to his burden and his duty, as &c.

<sup>(</sup>c) v-vi. Various Laws and Regulations, including the ordeal of

jealousy (v. 11-31) and the law of the Nazirite (vi. 1-21).
v. 1-4. Regulations for safeguarding the ceremonial purity of the wilderness camp, which was hallowed by the presence of Yahweh (verse 3, 'in the midst whereof I dwell,' for which see the introductory remarks to ch. ii). Exclusion from the camp, which the earlier law, Lev. xiii-xiv, prescribed only for the leper, is here extended to other forms of uncleanness. For uncleanness from 'issues' or discharges, see Lev. xv, and for that caused by proximity to or contact with a corpse see especially Num, xix,

<sup>5-10.</sup> A supplement to Lev. vi. 1-7, the law dealing with breach of trust. The special feature of the supplement is the provision for the case of the person wronged having died without leaving any 'next of kin' to whom restitution might be made (verse 8). In such a case the amount due is paid to the priest as the representative of Yahweh, with whom the offender had broken faith (see introductory note to Lev. vi. I ff.). 6. to do a trespass against the LORD : lit 'in breaking faith

shall confess their sin which they have done: and he shall make restitution for his guilt in full, and add unto it the fifth part thereof, and give it unto him in respect 8 of whom he hath been guilty. But if the man have no kinsman to whom restitution may be made for the guilt, the restitution for guilt which is made unto the LORD shall be the priest's; besides the ram of the atonement, 9 whereby atonement shall be made for him. And every heave offering of all the holy things of the children of Israel, which they present unto the priest, shall be his.

10 And every man's hallowed things shall be his: whatsoever any man giveth the priest, it shall be his.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto

with Yahweh,' the Author of the moral law and the Guardian of

morality (see note on Lev. v. 15).

8. the ram of the atonement: the 'expiation ram' prescribed in Lev. vi. 6, 'by means of which he (i. e. the priest) shall perform the rite of expiation on his behalf'; for this rendering see above, p. 52.

9 f. A general statement of the priest's dues, based on the pre-

ceding special case.

every heave offering, &c.: here in the comprehensive sense of 'contribution,' 'oblation,' see note on Lev. vii. 14.

11-31. The ordeal of jealousy. If a husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he may bring her 'before Yahweh'—in post-exilic practice, to the Temple—when the priest shall submit her to a double test, an oath of purgation and a peculiar water ordeal, minutely described in the text. If she is innocent, no injurious effects ensue; if, on the contrary, she is guilty, the combined curse and the water of the ordeal produce certain physical effects which proclaim her guilt to all the world. It is probable that, in its present form, this section combines two originally distinct but closely allied forms of procedure (note, for example, the double nomenclature of the offering prescribed in verse 15, the repetition of the setting of the woman before Yahweh in verses 16 and 18, and especially the curious fact that now the priest is represented as making the woman drink the water twice-see the tabular statement in C-H., Hex. ii. 192, and cf. Stade, ZATW. xv [1895] 166-178). Common to both, however, is the implication that there were no witnesses of the

the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him, and 13

woman's sin, assuming her to have been guilty, and accordingly

that the ordinary judicial procedure was inapplicable.

The passage is noteworthy as being the only explicit illustration in the O. T. of the world-wide institution of the ordeal (see the literature cited by Gray, Numbers, p. 44 f., also the note below on xx. 13, the name Meribah). Among the Semitic peoples, as elsewhere, the favourite ordeals were those of fire and water (Rel. Sem.2 179 ff., S. A. Cook, The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi, 64 f.). The latter Code supplies instructive parallels to both the oath and the ordeal in circumstances similar to those of the Hebrew law. Thus section 131 runs: 'If the wife of a man is accused by her husband, although she has not been caught . . . (in the act), she shall swear by a god; thereafter (i.e. having attested her innocence upon oath) she shall return to her house.' And section 132: 'If the wife of a man has had the finger pointed at her on account of another man, although she has not been caught . . . (in the act), she shall plunge into the sacred river for her husband.' This water ordeal is more fully described in sect. 2 of the Code, from which it is seen that 'if the sacred river (or rather 'the river-god') overcomes' the person plunging or plunged into it, it is a sign that he (or she) is guilty, whereas if the person escapes 'the river-god makes that man innocent and has saved him.' Ordeal by fire and water still survives, as part of the recognized judicial procedure, among the Bedouin of the Sinai peninsula, as may be seen from the interesting account given by Lord Cromer in his Report on Egypt and the Sudan in 1905 (Government Blue-book), pp. 13 ff., 'The Sinai Peninsula.

From another point of view this section has a special interest for the O.T. student, inasmuch as it belongs to a group of laws having their origin in beliefs and practices of remote antiquity, which were taken over and invested with a new significance by the later exponents of the religion of Yahweh. To this group belong also the antique ceremony for the purification of the leper (Lev. xiv. 4 ff.), the kindred rite of 'the goat for Azazel' (xvi. 8, 21 f.), and the 'red heifer' of Num. xix. For the compiler of this chapter—whether we label it Ps, Pt, or Px—the oath and the ordeal are the divinely appointed means by which God, by whom our secret sins are made manifest (Ps. xc. 8, 1 Cor. xiv. 25), clears the innocent and punishes the guilty. For the later development of the law see the Mishna treatise Sōṭah (the

12. and commit a trespass against him: better, 'and break

a man lie with her carnally, and it be hid from the eyes of her husband, and be kept close, and she be defiled, and there be no witness against her, neither she be 14 taken in the act; and the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be 15 jealous of his wife, and she be not defiled: then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest, and shall bring her oblation for her, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon; for it is a meal offering of jealousy, a meal offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance. 16 And the priest shall bring her near, and set her before 17 the LORD: and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is on the floor of the tabernacle the priest shall take, and put it into the water:

faith with him,' the same expression as in verse 5, which perhaps

accounts for this section being placed here.

13. and be kept close, and she be defiled: the subject of both verbs is the woman; render: 'and she be undetected, although she has (in fact) defiled herself.' Verse 14<sup>a</sup> contemplates a case of guilt, as here, while 14<sup>b</sup> provides for the case of unjustified suspicion.

15. and shall bring her oblation for her: the offering is really the husband's, render therefore: 'the oblation required in her case.' For the quantity see on Lev. v. 11, and for the usual oil and frankincense, here absent (cf. loc. cit.), see Lev. ii. 1 ff. a meal offering of memorial: better, 'of remembrance,' as

a meal offering of memorial: better, 'of remembrance,' as explained by the words following. 'When Yahweh forgets, guilt goes unpunished; when He remembers, He visits the sinner' (Gray, in loc., with reff.). For a suggested explanation of the double nomenclature see p. 214, but it may be that the 'remembrance-offering' is the genus of which the 'jealousy-offering' is a species.

17. holy water: an expression found only here in O.T. The Mishna explains it doubtfully as water from the brazen laver (Soṭah, ii. 2). W. R. Smith regarded it as 'an isolated survival,' denoting 'water from a holy spring' (Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup> 181). It is more probable, however, that we should read with the LXX 'living

and the priest shall set the woman before the LORD, and 18 let the hair of the woman's head go loose, and put the meal offering of memorial in her hands, which is the meal offering of jealousy: and the priest shall have in his hand the water of bitterness that causeth the curse: and the priest shall cause her to swear, and shall say 19 unto the woman, If no man have lien with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness, a being under thy husband, be thou free from this water of bitterness that causeth the curse: but if thou hast gone aside, 20

<sup>a</sup> Or, with another instead of thy husband See Ezek. xxiii. 5, Rom. vii. 2.

water' (see note on Lev. xiv. 5), or that the epithet 'holy' is here given by anticipation to water which only became so after it had been mixed with the sacred dust from the floor of the Tabernacle.

18. and let the hair of the woman's head go loose: probably

that she might appear as a mourner, cf. Lev. x. 6, xxi. 10.

the water of bitterness: so called not because it contained bitter ingredients, but as causing 'bitterness' in the sense of physical pain and injury. The peculiar combination of epithets— 'the pain-dealing, curse-bringing water'—may be due to the presumed duplicate sources (so C-H., Hex. ii. 192), or it may be that for 'water of bitterness' we ought to read by a slight change, as in some of the Versions, 'the water that brings (the guilt) to light.' In this case the second epithet may be a gloss (cf. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica, in loc.)

19-22. The priest administers the oath of purgation. The nearest O. T. parallel is found in the early law-code, Exod. xxii. 10 ff. (cf. 1 Kings viii. 31 f.), where the plaintiff and the accused both appear 'before God,' and 'the oath of Yahweh shall be between them both.' A closer parallel has been already cited from the Code of Hammurabi. The oath as a means of detecting guilt is still held in the greatest respect by certain of the Arab tribes (see Jaussen, Coulumes des Arabes (1908), pp. 188 ff., where some curious details are given as to the tenor of the oath and the mode of administering it; cf. PEFSt. 1897, p. 131, an account of a man accused of adultery who attests his innocence by an oath in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem).

19. being under thy husband: and therefore bound to keep faith with him; the alternative rendering of the margin is less

probable,

a being under thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man have lien with thee besides thine husband:

- 21 then the priest shall cause the woman to swear with the oath of bcursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, The Lord make thee a bcurse and an oath among thy people, when the Lord doth make thy thigh to fall away,
- and thy belly to swell; and this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to fall away: and the woman shall
- 23 say, Amen, Amen. And the priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall blot them out into the
- water of bitterness: and he shall make the woman drink the water of bitterness that causeth the curse: and the

21 comes in awkwardly between verse 20 and its logical sequence in verse 22 ('but if... and if... then this water,' &c.). Its presence may be due either to the imperfect assimilation of the sources, or to the desire of a later editor to emphasize the fact that it is Yahweh Himself who is the Author of the physical penalties ensuing. In the antique formula itself (verse 22) these are ascribed to the efficacy of the water of the ordeal. For the euphemisms of the text see Gray, Numbers, pp. 48, 53 f.

The LORD make thee a curse...among thy people: so that a Jew wishing to curse a woman shall say, 'Yahweh make thee like ——' (naming the guilty party), as in the case given in Jer. xxix. 22. Illustrations of the opposite are found in the

blessings recorded in Gen. xlviii. 20; Ruth iv. 11.

- 23. The priest now writes out the words of the curse 'in a book,' i.e. on a piece of parchment (Sotah, ii. 4), and washes off the ink into 'the water of bitterness.' This part of the procedure is frankly magical in its origin, and has its analogies among many peoples, ancient and modern. The woman, it must be understood, drinks the curse with its magical potency in the case of guilt.
- 24 ff. The potion was, of course, administered only once, and that not at this stage of the ordeal (verse 24) but, as stated in 26<sup>b</sup>, after the meal-offering, which the woman had held till now in her hand, had been presented at the altar and its 'memorial' burned (see on Lev. ii. 2—the term in the original is not that of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Or, with another *instead of thy husband* See Ezek. xxiii. 5, Rom. vii. 2. b Or, adjuration

water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter. And the priest shall take the meal offering 25 of jealousy out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the meal offering before the LORD, and bring it unto the altar: and the priest shall take an handful of the meal 26 offering, as the memorial thereof, and burn it upon the altar, and afterward shall make the woman drink the water. And when he hath made her drink the water, 27 then it shall come to pass, if she be defiled, and have committed a trespass against her husband, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall fall away: and the woman shall be a curse among her people. And if the woman be not defiled, but be clean; then she 28 shall be free, and shall conceive seed. This is the law of 29 jealousy, when a wife, a being under her husband, goeth aside, and is defiled; or when the spirit of jealousy 30 cometh upon a man, and he be jealous over his wife; then shall he set the woman before the LORD, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. And the man at shall be free from iniquity, and that woman shall bear her iniquity.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 6 2

a Or, goeth aside with another instead of her husband

verse 15 above). For a probable explanation of the discrepancy see the introductory note.

<sup>24, 27.</sup> the curse shall enter... and become bitter: a better sense would certainly be obtained if we could read: 'shall enter... to bring (the guilt) to light,' see note on verse 19.

<sup>29-31.</sup> A concluding summary, repeating the purpose of 'the law of jealousy.'

Chapter vi is occupied almost entirely with the law of the Nazirite, viz. (1) 1-8, the general contents of the Nazirite vow, probably the kernel from which the rest of this *tôrah* has been developed; (2) 9-12, the interruption of the vow caused by

the children of Israel, and say unto them, When either man or woman shall make a special yow, the yow of 3 a a Nazirite, to b separate himself unto the LORD: he shall separate himself from wine and strong drink; he shall drink no vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, neither shall he drink any liquor of grapes, nor eat fresh

a That is, one separated or consecrated. b Or, consecrate

accidental defilement by a dead body; and (3) 13-21, the procedure to be followed on the expiration of the period of the vow. The points of contact which the law shows with Pg, such as the reference to 'the door of the tent of meeting,' are probably editorial, its real affinity being rather with the older tôroth under-

lying the Holiness Code (Lev. xvii-xxvi).

The Hebrew word nāzîr denotes one 'consecrated' or 'devoted' to Yahweh; hence 'devotee' is the nearest English equivalent. The Nazirite vow was of two kinds, lifelong and temporary. The only certain example of the lifelong devotee in the O.T. is Samson (Judges xiii. 5, 7, 14, xvi. 17), although Samuel is usually reckoned as such. The fact that Amos (ii. 11) mentions the Nazirites in parallelism with prophets suggests that in his day 'young men' took the vow for life. It is probable, however, that from the first the vow was in most cases taken for a short period only (for modern analogies see Rel. Sem. 2 332 f.), and it is for this class of Nazirite alone that the present chapter legislates. Here the obligations imposed by the vow are three in number: (1) the hair must remain unshorn during the validity of the vow: (2) total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors and even from grapes, 'fresh' or 'dried'; (3) rigid avoidance of defilement through contact with a corpse. Of these the first is probably the oldest, as it was the most characteristic, element in the Nazirite vow, as appears from the figurative use of the term nāzîr to denote the undressed vine (Lev. xxv. 5, 11; cf. the remark on a similar metaphor in xix. 23, p. 133). Since the third of the obligations above noted represents a taboo which is shared only with the High Priest (Lev. xxi. 11), Kautzsch concludes that the Priests' Code intends to represent the Nazirites as forming 'a lay priesthood . . . allied to the actual priesthood as a condition of high consecration to God' (Hastings's DB. v. 658).

2. shall make a special vow, &c.: rather, 'would take upon

him or her the vow of a Nazirite.'

3 f. The second of the three special taboos noted above. Strong drink' (shēkār) is here a comprehensive term for all sorts of intoxicating liquors, date-wine, pomegranate-wine (Cant. viii. 2, grapes or dried. All the days of his a separation shall 4 he eat nothing that is made of the grape-vine, from the kernels even to the husk. All the days of his vow of 5 separation there shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled, in the which he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall be holy, he shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow long. All the days 6 that he separateth himself unto the Lord he shall not come near to a dead body. He shall not make himself 7 unclean for his father, or for his mother, for his brother, or for his sister, when they die: because his separation unto God is upon his head. All the days of his separa-8 tion he is holy unto the Lord. And if any man die 9

a Or, consecration Or, Naziriteship

4. from the kernels even to the husk. The real meaning of the words so rendered is unknown: most recent scholars favour 'unripe grapes' and 'tendrils,' the points of the latter

being prized as food by the modern fellahin.

5. For the sacredness of the hair of the head, by many primitive peoples regarded as the seat of the soul, and the religious practices, such as hair-offerings and the like, arising therefrom, see *Rel. Sem.*<sup>2</sup>, 324 ff. Here, however, the unshorn hair is regarded merely as an outward sign that its owner is under this yow of consecration.

6 f. The only parallel to this third taboo, as has been pointed out, is found in Lev. xxi. 11 f., where the High Priest, like the Nazirite, is interdicted from approaching the dead body of even his nearest relative. The interdict is less stringent in the case of the ordinary priest (ibid. 1 ff.).

R.V.) &c., except ordinary grape-wine. Originally shēkār probably meant wine prepared from fermented date-juice. (For the history of the word see the writer's art., 'Wine and Strong Drink,' in EB. iv. col. 5309 f.) Abstinence from wine was one of the features of the Nazirite vow in the days of Amos (ii. 11). Wine and strong drink were also forbidden to the priests when on duty (Lev. x. 9), as they are forbidden by the Koran to all true Muslims. Abstinence from intoxicants was also one of the distinguishing marks of the sect of the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv. 2-8).

<sup>9-12.</sup> Regulations for the case of accidental breach of the last

very suddenly beside him, and he defile the head of his separation; then he shall shave his head in the day of his cleansing, on the seventh day shall he shave it. And on the eighth day he shall bring two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, to the priest, to the door of the tent of meeting: and the priest shall offer one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, and make atonement for him, for that he sinned by reason of the dead, and shall hallow his head that same day. And he shall separate unto the Lord the days of his separation, and shall bring a he-lamb of the first year for a guilt offering: but the former days shall be void, because his separation was defiled.

13 And this is the law of the Nazirite, when the days

taboo, by which a seven days' defilement is incurred. On the seventh day the devotee must shave his head, and on the eighth offer a sin-offering and a burnt-offering; thereafter he must begin

anew his period of separation.

9. the head of his separation: in our idiom, 'his consecrated head' (see note on Lev. xiv. 8). The defilement, even though accidental, is laid to the charge of the Nazirite, 'but unintentional sin plays a large part in the priestly law, as indeed elsewhere' (Gray). According to the Mishna the shorn hair in this case was not burned (cf. verse 18) but buried, a practice familiar to anthropologists.

in the day of his cleansing: this suggests the rites of the eighth day; render, 'in the day when he becomes clean,' his uncleanness having passed away by the close of the seventh day.

10. The modest offerings here required are those prescribed for

similar forms of uncleanness, Lev. xii. 8, xiv. 22, xv. 14.

12. The first and last clauses of this verse go together, and mean that the Nazirite shall renew his vow for the same period as before, the portion of that period already passed having been cancelled by the defilement. The intervening clause requiring a guilt-offering comes too late, and is an inappropriate gloss. The closing words should be read with LXX: 'because he defiled his consecrated head' (cf. verse 9).

13-20. The rites to be performed at the expiration of the vow. These include the offering of all the main types of sacrifice with

of his separation are fulfilled: he shall be brought unto the door of the tent of meeting: and he shall offer his 14 oblation unto the LORD, one he-lamb of the first year without blemish for a burnt offering, and one ewe-lamb of the first year without blemish for a sin offering, and one ram without blemish for peace offerings, and a basket 15 of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and their meal offering, and their drink offerings. And the priest shall 16 present them before the LORD, and shall offer his sin offering, and his burnt offering: and he shall offer the 17 ram for a sacrifice of peace offerings unto the LORD, with the basket of unleavened bread: the priest shall offer also the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof. And the Nazirite shall shave the head of his separation at 18 the door of the tent of meeting, and shall take the hair of the head of his separation, and put it on the fire which

the exception of the guilt-offering, and the shaving off and burning of the devotee's hair.

<sup>13</sup> f. It is difficult to see why the Nazirite should be 'brought' by others; read either, 'he shall come' (the change required is very slight), or 'he shall bring his oblation unto . . . meeting, and he shall offer it,' &c. (Kittel).

<sup>15.</sup> and their meal offering, &c.: 'their' refers back to the burnt- and peace-offerings of the previous verse, which receive an accompanying meal-offering and a libation of wine, as prescribed in xv. 2 ff. The cereal gifts of the first half of the verse are parts of an independent meal-offering, for which see Lev. ii. If, and notes.

<sup>18.</sup> The shorn hair is burnt with the fat of the peace-offering upon the altar of burnt-offering; contrast the procedure indicated in the note on verse 9. Although this part of the ritual may have had its roots in the primitive and wide-spread rite of the hair-offering (see *Rel. Sem.*<sup>2</sup>, cit. supra), no such offering is contemplated by the Hebrew legislator. The burning of the hair 'is rather the simplest way of disposing of that which was consecrated to Yahweh and was therefore holy, and so had to be protected from all risk of profanation' (Kautzsch).

- 19 is under the sacrifice of peace offerings. And the priest shall take the sodden shoulder of the ram, and one unleavened cake out of the basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall put them upon the hands of the Nazirite,
- <sup>20</sup> after he hath shaven the head of his separation: and the priest shall wave them for a wave offering before the LORD; this is holy for the priest, together with the wave breast and heave a thigh: and after that the Nazirite may
- drink wine. This is the law of the Nazirite who voweth, and of his oblation unto the LORD for his separation, beside that which he is able to get: according to his vow which he voweth, so he must do after the law of his separation.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Or, shoulder

19 f. In the case of the Nazirite's offerings, the officiating priest receives in addition to the statutory 'wave breast and heave thigh,' i.e. the breast that has been waved and the thigh that has been set apart (for these see notes on Lev. vii. 14, 30, 34), the contents of an extra wave-offering as described in the text. When the full ceremony has been completed, the interdict on wine is removed.

21. beside that which he is able to get: render 'apart from whatever else he may be able to afford,' over and above the statutory offerings.

22-27. The priestly blessing. Its position here instead of Lev. ix. 23 is another, and not the least striking, illustration of the lack of systematic arrangement which characterizes the legislative portions of the Pentateuch. The Hebrew text is artistically arranged in three short verses (24-26) of three, five, and seven words respectively, each verse divided into two parts, giving a climactic arrangement of 2+1, 3+2, and 4+3 words. The contents of the priestly blessing have been thus happily and tersely summarized by Kautzsch (Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, 3rd ed., p. 194): 'In beautiful climax it leads in three members from the petition for material blessing and protection to that for the favour of Yahweh as spiritual blessing, and finally to the petition for the bestowal of the shālōm, the peace or welfare in which all material and spiritual well-being is comprehended.'

Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel; ye shall say unto them,

The LORD bless thee, and keep thee:

The LORD make his face to shine upon thee, and be 25 gracious unto thee:

The LORD lift up his countenance upon thee, and give 26 thee peace.

So shall they put my name upon the children of Israel; 27 and I will bless them.

And it came to pass on the day that Moses had made 7 an end of setting up the tabernacle, and had anointed it and sanctified it, and all the furniture thereof, and the altar and all the vessels thereof, and had anointed them

Verse 27 shows that the blessing, although couched in the form of a prayer, is to be understood as a real Divine benediction. There are no decisive criteria for determining the age of the blessing, but it may safely be assumed that it was already in use in the Temple before the exile. For details as to its use in the later Temple and in the Synagogues, see Schürer's History of the Jewish People, div. II, vol. ii. 82 f.

27. For the significance attaching to the 'name' of Yahweh in this connexion, see Kautzsch in Hastings's DB. v. 640 f. with reference to Giesebrecht's monograph on this subject.

(d) vii. The offerings of the secular heads of the tribes.

This chapter, said to be the longest in the Bible, is to be classed among the latest elements in the Pentateuch. Its author, in Kuenen's words, 'wishes to introduce the heads of the tribes... as models of liberality towards the sanctuary which his own contemporaries would do well to copy.' The offerings are of two kinds: (1) a gift of six wagons and twelve oxen for the transport of the Tabernacle (contrast ch. iv, where everything is to be carried by the Levites); (2) identical gifts from each of the twelve princes, but offered on twelve successive days, consisting of gold and silver vessels for the service of the sanctuary, with sacrificial animals and other material for the dedication ceremony.

1. The day here specified was the first anniversary of the exodus (see Exod. xl. 17), an exact month, therefore, before the date assigned to the legislation of Num. i-iv, the data of which are nevertheless assumed throughout this chapter, a clear proof of

the late origin of the latter.

- 2 and sanctified them; that the princes of Israel, the heads of their fathers' houses, offered; these were the princes of the tribes, these are they that were over them that
- 3 were numbered: and they brought their oblation before the LORD, six covered wagons, and twelve oxen; a wagon for every two of the princes, and for each one an ox: and
- 4 they presented them before the tabernacle. And the
- 5 LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take it of them, that they may be to do the service of the tent of meeting; and thou shalt give them unto the Levites, to every man
- 6 according to his service. And Moses took the wagons
- 7 and the oxen, and gave them unto the Levites. Two wagons and four oxen he gave unto the sons of Gershon,
- 8 according to their service: and four wagons and eight oxen he gave unto the sons of Merari, according unto their service, under the hand of Ithamar the son of Aaron
- 9 the priest. But unto the sons of Kohath he gave none: because the service of the sanctuary belonged unto them;
- offered a for the dedication of the altar in the day that it was anointed, even the princes offered their oblation

## <sup>2</sup> Or, the dedication-gift

10. for the dedication of the altar: rather, as margin, 'for the dedication-gift of the altar' (so probably verse 11, and certainly verses 84, 88), referring back to the gift of the wagons

and oxen. The paragraph should end here.

<sup>7</sup> ff. To the Gershonites, whose 'charge' consisted chiefly of the curtains and hangings of the Dwelling and the court (iii. 25 f., iv. 24 ff.), only two wagons are assigned, while the Merarites, who were responsible for the transport of the wooden framework of the Dwelling, the heavy silver bases, pillars, &c. (iii. 36 f., iv. 31 f.) receive four. The Kohathites, on the other hand, have still to bear the ark and the other 'most holy things' on their shoulders, as in iii. 31 f., iv. 4-15. David, however, did not scruple to place the ark on a cart (2 Sam. vi. 3, cf. 1 Sam. vi. 8, 11—but see also 2 Sam. xv. 24-27 for the ark carried by the priests).

before the altar. And the LORD said unto Moses, They IT shall offer their oblation, each prince on his day, for the dedication of the altar.

And he that offered his oblation the first day was 12 Nahshon the son of Amminadab, of the tribe of Judah: and his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof 13 was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense; 14 one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first 15 year, for a burnt offering; one male of the goats for a 16 sin offering; and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two 17 oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Nahshon the son of Amminadab.

On the second day Nethanel the son of Zuar, prince 18

on twelve successive days, beginning with the secular head of the tribe of Judah. The names are those already introduced in chs. i and ii. In the twelve sections into which verses 12-83 are divided, 'the circumlocution is carried to the utmost possible extent. Apart from one or two additional variations in the first two sections, the same formula, consisting of 118 English words, is repeated for each of the twelve tribes, with the alteration of only six words for the number of the day and the name and tribe of the prince' (C-H. Hev. ii. 194 f.).

<sup>13.</sup> one silver charger . . . one silver bowl: the former—elsewhere rendered 'dish'—was a large, round dish resembling the catinum of the Romans; the latter, as the etymology shows, was used by the priests to catch the blood of the sacrificial victims, and is frequently rendered 'bason.' Taking 'the shekel of the sanctuary' at 224 grains (see on Lev. v. 15), since 10 Phoenician shekels weighed exactly 43 Troy ounces, the weights of the 'chargers' and the 'bowls' are respectively circa 60 and 33 oz. Troy.

<sup>14.</sup> one golden spoon: rather, as LXX, 'one golden cup'; such incense-cups were formerly visible in the representation of the table of shew-bread on the Arch of Titus.

of Issachar, did offer: he offered for his oblation one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense; one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; one male of the goats for a sin offering; and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Nethanel the son of Zuar.

On the third day Eliab the son of Helon, prince of the to children of Zebulun: his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense; one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb sof the first year, for a burnt offering; one male of the goats for a sin offering; and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Eliab the son of Helon.

30 On the fourth day Elizur the son of Shedeur, prince 31 of the children of Reuben: his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour 32 mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon 33 of ten shekels, full of incense; one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering;

one male of the goats for a sin offering; and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-

goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Elizur the son of Shedeur.

On the fifth day Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai, 36 prince of the children of Simeon: his oblation was one 37 silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden 38 spoon of ten shekels, full of incense; one young bullock, 39 one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; one male of the goats for a sin offering; 40 and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five 41 rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

On the sixth day Eliasaph the son of Deuel, prince of 42 the children of Gad: his oblation was one silver charger, 43 the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon of ten shekels, 44 full of incense; one young bullock, one ram, one he-45 lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; one male of 46 the goats for a sin offering; and for the sacrifice of peace 47 offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

On the seventh day Elishama the son of Ammihud, 48 prince of the children of Ephraim: his oblation was one 49 silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon 50

51 of ten *shekels*, full of incense; one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering;
52 one male of the goats for a sin offering; and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Elishama the son of Ammihud.

On the eighth day Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur, 55 prince of the children of Manasseh: his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of 56 fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one 57 golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense; one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a 58 burnt offering; one male of the goats for a sin offering; 59 and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

On the ninth day Abidan the son of Gideoni, prince of the children of Benjamin: his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon of ten shekels, full of incense; one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; one male of the goats for a sin offering; and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Abidan the son of Gideoni.

66 On the tenth day Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai, 67 prince of the children of Dan: his oblation was one silver charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and

thirty *shekels*, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon 68 of ten *shekels*, full of incense; one young bullock, one 69 ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; one male of the goats for a sin offering; and for the racifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

On the eleventh day Pagiel the son of Ochran, prince 72 of the children of Asher: his oblation was one silver 73 charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon 74 of ten shekels, full of incense; one young bullock, one 75 ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; one male of the goats for a sin offering; and for the 77 sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Pagiel the son of Ochran.

On the twelfth day Ahira the son of Enan, prince of 78 the children of Naphtali: his oblation was one silver 79 charger, the weight thereof was an hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; both of them full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering; one golden spoon 80 of ten shekels, full of incense; one young bullock, one 81 ram, one he-lamb of the first year, for a burnt offering; one male of the goats for a sin offering; and for the sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs of the first year: this was the oblation of Ahira the son of Enan.

84 This was the a dedication of the altar, in the day when it was anointed, b by the princes of Israel: twelve silver 85 chargers, twelve silver bowls, twelve golden spoons: each

silver charger weighing an hundred and thirty shekels, and each bowl seventy: all the silver of the vessels two thousand and four hundred shekels, after the shekel of

86 the sanctuary; the twelve golden spoons, full of incense, weighing ten shekels apiece, after the shekel of the sanctuary: all the gold of the spoons an hundred and

87 twenty shekels: all the oxen for the burnt offering twelve bullocks, the rams twelve, the he-lambs of the first year twelve, and their meal offering; and the males of the

88 goats for a sin offering twelve: and all the oxen for the sacrifice of peace offerings twenty and four bullocks. the rams sixty, the he-goats sixty, the he-lambs of the first year sixty. This was the a dedication of the altar,

89 after that it was anointed. And when Moses went into the tent of meeting to speak with him, then he heard the Voice speaking unto him from above the mercy-seat that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim: and he spake unto him.

8 2 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto a Or, dedication-gift b Or, at the hands of

84-88. Concluding summary of the whole contents of 'the

dedication-gift.'

89. A curious fragment having no connexion with what now precedes or follows. The words 'with him' presuppose a reference to Yahweh immediately before, which is now missing. Note also the abrupt ending of the verse, where one expects 'saying . . ' to follow. The representation of 'the Voice' accords with Exod. xxx. 22 (Pg), and it has been conjectured that the sequel contained the command to set forward from Sinai referred to in x. 13 below (also Pg).

(e) viii. The dedication of the Levites (cf. iii. 5-13). This, the main subject of the chapter, is prefaced by a brief instruction to Aaron with regard to the lamps of the golden Aaron, and say unto him, When thou a lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall give light in front of the candlestick. And Aaron did so; he blighted the lamps thereof 3 so as to give light in front of the candlestick, as the LORD commanded Moses. And this was the work of the 4 candlestick, a beaten work of gold; unto the base thereof, and unto the flowers thereof, it was beaten work: according unto the pattern which the LORD had shewed Moses, so he made the candlestick.

a Or, settest up b Or, set up c Or, turned

'candlestick' (1-4), and followed by a new regulation of the agelimit of active service for the Levites (23-26). The rest of the chapter (5-22) deals with the purification of the Levites and with their presentation 'for a wave offering unto Yahweh,' as a solemn dedication of their order for the service of the Tabernacle. This section is not homogeneous for, to mention but one of several features, the command to 'wave' the Levites is first given to Aaron (verse 11) but thereafter twice to Moses (verses 13, 15). The generally accepted view is that the first draft of the section is from the hand of one who wished to provide the Levites with a consecration ceremony analogous to that recorded in Lev. viii for the priests. In it Moses took the leading part. A later student of the law expanded this account mainly by giving greater prominence to Aaron throughout. Even the first draft may be later than P<sup>g</sup>.

1-4. The gist of this *tôrah* is contained in verse 2<sup>b</sup>, a mere variation of Exod. xxv. 37. As there is no record of compliance with this earlier command in Exod. xxxvii. 17-24, the verses before us may have been inserted here by some one who desired to make good the omission. The oil for the lamps is also the subject of a special *tôrah* (Lev. xxiv. 1-4).

2. When thou lightest the lamps: the margin 'when thou

settest up the lamps is decidedly to be preferred.

in front of the candlestick: the lampstand was placed on the south side of the Holy Place, opposite the table of shewbread on the north side; Aaron is to place the lamps with their spouts pointing northwards, the position in which naturally their illuminating capacity would be greatest.

4. On the contents of this verse see Hastings's DB, iv. 663 f. with illustration (Kennedy). An attempt has been made by the same writer to trace the evolution of the lamp in Palestine in the

art. 'Lamp' in Hastings's DB. (1909).

- 5,6 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take the Levites from among the children of Israel, and cleanse 7 them. And thus shalt thou do unto them, to cleanse them: sprinkle the water of expiation upon them, and let them cause a razor to pass over all their flesh, and
  - 8 Then let them take a young bullock, and its meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, and another young

let them wash their clothes, and cleanse themselves.

9 bullock shalt thou take for a sin offering. And thou shalt present the Levites before the tent of meeting: and thou shalt assemble the whole congregation of the chilton of Israel: and thou shalt present the Levites before

5-22. Directions for the purification and dedication of the Levites and the carrying out of the same. The essential part of the section is contained in verses 6-13; 'the rest consists of variants on parts of' these verses, 'a resetting of iii. 5-13, and stereotyped formulae' (Gray).

6. and cleanse them: Heb. tahēr, denoting 'the negative process' of purification from ceremonial uncleanness. The priests, on the other hand, underwent also 'the positive process of receiving the qualities of holiness' (see Exod. xxix. 1, Lev. viii. 12, 'to sanctify them'). The Levites, in short, were dedicated, the

priests consecrated for their respective offices.

- 7. the water of expiation: A.V. 'water of purifying,' literally, if one may coin an English term on the model of at-one-ment, 'water of un-sin-ment,' for the removal of sin conceived in the antique manner as a physical stain that can be washed away (see the notes on the original term hattāth, p. 48, and cf. verse 21 below). The water of 'un-sin-ment' or purification was most probably pure water (contrast Lev. xiv. 4 ff.) as in the case of the priests (ibid. viii. 6). The latter, however, were not merely sprinkled therewith but thoroughly washed, a detail which also points to the higher consecration of the priests. This gradation, further, underlies the direction that the Levites are to wash their ordinary clothes (cf. Exod. xix. 10, 14), while the priests at their consecration were clothed with the new priestly garments (Lev. viii. 13).
- 10. How the author of this verse thought the laying on of hands on the part of half a million people was accomplished it is impossible to say. To suppose that he means only the tribal heads or other representatives is a mere makeshift. It is of

the LORD: and the children of Israel shall lay their hands upon the Levites: and Aaron shall a offer the 11 Levites before the LORD for a wave offering, b on the behalf of the children of Israel, that they may be to do the service of the LORD. And the Levites shall lay their 12 hands upon the heads of the bullocks: and offer thou the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering, unto the LORD, to make atonement for the Levites. And thou shalt set the Levites before Aaron, and before 13 his sons, and offer them for a wave offering unto the LORD. Thus shalt thou separate the Levites from among 14 the children of Israel: and the Levites shall be mine. And after that shall the Levites go in to do the service 15

\* Heb. wave, and in vv. 13, 15, 21. b Or, from

more importance to note that the idea of substitution is not embodied in the rite, otherwise the firstborn only would have laid their hands upon the Levites. As in the similar case of the animal sacrifices (verse 12), the action is to be understood as expressing the withdrawal of the Levites from the ranks of 'common' men, and their transference to the ranks of those who are henceforth 'holy' in virtue of their intimate relations with

Yahweh (see the note on Lev. i. 4).

11. and Aaron shall offer the Levites: there is no reason for departing from the usual meaning of the verb, viz. to 'wave,' as noted in the margin. But how was the 'waving' of 20,000 men to be done? Even so conservative a scholar as Baudissin admits that the ceremony 'cannot be thought of as literally performed, but simply gives expression to a theory' (art. 'Priests and Levites,' DB. iv. 85b). Just as the 'wave breast' of the sacrifice was presented to Yahweh at the altar, and returned by Him to His representatives the priests (see on Lev. vii. 30), so the Levites, the gift of the theocratic community to Yahweh (verse 16), are handed over by Him to the priests 'to do the service of the children of Israel in the tent of meeting' (verse 19). Note that in verses 13, 15, it is Moses who is to 'wave' the Levites (see introductory note above).

15. The earlier directions, apart from the intrusive verse 11, closed appropriately with the words of 15<sup>a</sup>. The greater part, if not the whole, of 15<sup>b</sup>-22 seems due to the later writer who drew his inspiration from iii. 5-13, and has combined the two divergent

theories of the Levitical order (see above, p. 201).

of the tent of meeting: and thou shalt cleanse them, and 16 offer them for a wave offering. For they are a wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel; instead of all that openeth the womb, even the firstborn of all the children of Israel, have I taken them unto me.

17 For all the firstborn among the children of Israel are mine, both man and beast: on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I sanctified them for 18 myself. And I have taken the Levites instead of all

19 the firstborn among the children of Israel. And I have given the Levites as ba gift to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to do the service of the children of Israel in the tent of meeting, and to make atonement for the children of Israel: that there be no plague among the children of Israel, c when the children

Moses, and Aaron, and all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the Levites: according unto all that the Lord commanded Moses touching the Levites, so did the children of Israel unto them. And the Levites

21 did the children of Israel unto them. And the Levites purified themselves from sin, and they washed their

See ch. iii. 9. b Heb. Nethunim, given. c Or, through the children of Israel coming nigh

21. purified themselves from sin: the single word of the original means 'unsinned themselves,' or 'had themselves unsinned,' in the sense explained in the note on verse 7.

<sup>19.</sup> to make atonement, &c. The Hebrew verb (kipper) cannot here have the sense which it usually bears in the priestly writings (see pp. 51 f.); the context requires 'to provide a protection,' or 'to act as a covering (or screen) for the children of Israel,'—an idea which many scholars believe to be inherent in the root. The last clause should preferably be rendered as in the margin; the Levites are to form a protecting cordon or screen for the sanctuary, lest any person without due ceremonial preparation should approach the holy place, and so incur the wrath and judgement of God (see i. 53).

clothes; and Aaron offered them for a wave offering before the Lord; and Aaron made atonement for them to cleanse them. And after that went the Levites in to 22 do their service in the tent of meeting before Aaron, and before his sons: as the Lord had commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so did they unto them.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, This is that which belongeth unto the Levites: from twenty and five years old and upward they shall go in a to wait upon the service in the work of the tent of meeting: and from the 25 age of fifty years they shall b cease waiting upon the work, and shall serve no more; but shall minister with 26 their brethren in the tent of meeting, to keep the charge, and shall do no service. Thus shalt thou do unto the Levites touching their charges.

And the LORD spake unto Moses in the wilderness of 9 Sinai, in the first month of the second year after they

<sup>a</sup> Heb. to war the warfare in the work.

b Heb. return
from the warfare of the work.

<sup>23-26.</sup> By this  $t\partial r\bar{a}h$  the age of the Levite's entry upon service is reduced from thirty (iv. 3) to twenty-five years. The upward limit of active service remains unchanged, but Levites above fifty years of age are here allowed to give voluntary assistance to their younger and more responsible brethren.

<sup>24.</sup> to wait upon the service: cf. marg. and note on iv. 3.

<sup>(</sup>f) ix. 1—x. 10. A supplementary Passover law and other matters,

ix. 1-14. To persons prevented by ceremonial uncleanness, or by absence from their homes, from taking part in the ordinary Passover service on the fourteenth of the first month (Nisan), permission is here given to hold a supplementary service on the same day of the second month. The section is by most critics 'regarded as in one piece P<sup>3</sup>, showing acquaintance with the usage of both P<sup>h</sup> and P<sup>g</sup>' (C-H. Hex. ii. 199).

<sup>1.</sup> The date, like that of ch. vii, is earlier than the date assigned to chs. i-iv (see i. 1). The day of the month is not specified, but it must have been before the tenth (Exod xii. 3).

2 were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, Moreover let the children of Israel keep the passover in its ap-3 pointed season. In the fourteenth day of this month, at even, ye shall keep it in its appointed season: according to all the statutes of it, and according to all the 4 ordinances thereof, shall ye keep it. And Moses spake unto the children of Israel, that they should keep the 5 passover. And they kept the passover in the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, a at even, in the wilderness of Sinai: according to all that the LORD com-6 manded Moses, so did the children of Israel. And there were certain men, who were unclean by the dead body of a man, so that they could not keep the passover on that day: and they came before Moses and before Aaron 7 on that day: and those men said unto him, We are unclean by the dead body of a man: wherefore are we kept back, that we may not offer the oblation of the LORD in 8 its appointed season among the children of Israel? And Moses said unto them, Stay ye; that I may hear what the LORD will command concerning you.

a Heb. between the two evenings.

3. at even: lit., as margin, 'between the two evenings.' The precise time intended is not clear, see Bennett (Cent. Bible) and

McNeile, The Book of Exodus, on Exod. xii. 6.

according to all the statutes..and..ordinances thereof. Here we seem to have an indication of the late date of the section, the author having in mind the numerous references to the Passover in the Pentateuchal law-codes, e.g. Exod. xii. 21-27, xxxiv. 25 (J); Deut. xvi. 1-7 (D); Exod. xii. 1-13, 43-50 (Pg), &c.

6. before Moses and before Aaron: the latter is here an

6. before Moses and before Aaron: the latter is here an intruder, as the singular pronoun ('unto him') of the next clause clearly shows (cf. note on i. 2). For the uncleanness here

specified see especially ch. xix.

8. Cf. the analogous cases, xv. 34 f., Lev. xxiv. 12 f., the assumption being that Moses would repair to the 'tent of meeting' to receive the Divine instructions (Exod. xxv. 22, cf. vii. 89 above).

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 9 the children of Israel, saying, If any man of you or of your generations shall be unclean by reason of a dead body, or be in a journey afar off, yet he shall keep the passover unto the LORD: in the second month on the II fourteenth day a at even they shall keep it; they shall eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs: they shall 12 leave none of it unto the morning, nor break a bone thereof: according to all the statute of the passover they shall keep it. But the man that is clean, and is not 13 in a journey, and forbeareth to keep the passover, that soul shall be cut off from his people: because he offered not the oblation of the LORD in its appointed season, that man shall bear his sin. And if a stranger shall 14 sojourn among you, and will keep the passover unto the LORD; according to the statute of the passover, and according to the ordinance thereof, so shall he do: ye shall have one statute, both for the stranger, and for him that is born in the land.

And on the day that the tabernacle was reared up the 15 a Heb. between the two evenings.

<sup>11</sup> f. A summary of the chief provisions of the earlier Passover laws, cf. Exod. xii. 8, 10, 46.

13. For this penalty for non-observance of the Passover ordin-

ance see note on Lev. vii. 20.

<sup>14.</sup> A summary of Exod. xii. 48 f.

<sup>15-23.</sup> The fiery cloud which rested upor the Tabernacle from the day on which it was set up (so Ps, Exod. xl. 34 ff.), regulates the movements of the children of Israel in the march from Sinai and throughout the later wilderness wanderings. The cloud is common to the traditions of all the Pentateuch sources, but these vary considerably in their conceptions of it as an indication of the Divine presence (see Gray's art. 'Pillar of Cloud and Fire,' EBi. iii. col. 3775 ff.; M°Neile, The Book of Exodus, p. 81 f.). The latter writes, 'It is not impossible that the traditions of a guiding cloud may have had a natural basis. The custom is frequently

cloud covered the tabernacle, even the tent of the testimony: and at even it was upon the tabernacle as it were

- 16 the appearance of fire, until morning. So it was alway: the cloud covered it, and the appearance of fire by night.
- 17 And whenever the cloud was taken up from over the Tent, then after that the children of Israel journeyed: and in the place where the cloud abode, there the chil-
- 18 dren of Israel encamped. At the commandment of the LORD the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of the LORD they encamped: as long as the cloud abode upon the tabernacle they remained
- 19 encamped. And when the cloud tarried upon the tabernacle many days, then the children of Israel kept the
- the cloud was a few days upon the tabernacle; then according to the commandment of the Lord they remained encamped, and according to the commandment
- of the Lord they journeyed. And sometimes the cloud was from evening until morning; and when the cloud was taken up in the morning, they journeyed: or if it continued by day and by night, when the cloud was taken

noted in early times of carrying braziers containing burning wood at the head of an army or caravan, and the fire indicated, by night, the line of march [references follow] . . . But, as so often, a natural custom or phenomenon rises, in the Hebrew traditions, to a beautiful and spiritual conception, of which all thought of the origin is lost' (ibid. p. 82).

15. even the tent of the testimony: only here and xvii. 7 f., xviii. 2; cf. 'the tabernacle (lit. 'dwelling') of the testimony,' i. 50,

53, x. 11, and see the note on Lev. xvi. 12 f.

16. the cloud covered it: add, with the Versions, 'by day.'

<sup>19.</sup> It may be uncertain whether the preceding verses should be ascribed to Pg or to a later hand, but from this point onwards it is agreed that we have a secondary expansion of verse 18. The author clearly wishes to impress upon his contemporaries with what scrupulous care their 'pious fathers followed the directions of Yahweh' (Baentsch).

up, they journeyed. Whether it were two days, or a 23 month, or a year, that the cloud tarried upon the tabernacle, abiding thereon, the children of Israel remained encamped, and journeyed not: but when it was taken up, they journeyed. At the commandment of the LORD 23 they encamped, and at the commandment of the LORD they journeyed: they kept the charge of the LORD, at the commandment of the LORD by the hand of Moses.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Make thee 10 2 two trumpets of silver; of a beaten work shalt thou make them: and thou shalt use them for the calling of the congregation, and for the journeying of the camps. And 3 when they shall blow with them, all the congregation shall gather themselves unto thee at the door of the tent of meeting. And if they blow but with one, then the 4 a Or, turned

22. or a year: render, 'or for a longer period.'

x. 1-10. A command to Moses to make two silver trumpets, with specification of the uses to which they are to be put. These are three in number: (1) to summon the whole congregation to the sanctuary, or the princes only if one trumpet is sounded alone; (2) to give the signal for the march; and (3) to remind Yahweh of the need of His help in battle and of His presence at certain religious festivals. The first two apply only to the period of the sojourn in the wilderness, the last to the subsequent occupation of the holy land. This divergence, and the fact that verse 8<sup>b</sup> is the standing formula in P for the close of a separate *tôrah*, have suggested that verses 9 and 10 are derived from a separate source (H, according to C-H. Hex. ii. 200 and others).

These trumpets or clarions are known to have been 'long, straight, slender metal tubes, with flaring ends' from their representation on Jewish coins (see no. 18 of the plate accompanying the art. 'Money,' in DB. vol. iii), and especially on the Arch of Titus. To judge from the relative proportions of the trumpets and the table of shewbread against which they lean, the former must have been from three to four feet long (illustration in Driver, Joel and Amos, p. 145, where see for the distinction between the metal trumpet and the shophar, or ram's horn, also rendered

'trumpet' in our versions, e.g. Lev. xxv. 9).

princes, the heads of the thousands of Israel, shall gather themselves unto thee. And when ye blow an alarm, the camps that lie on the east side shall take their journey.

6 And when ye blow an alarm the second time, the camps that lie on the south side shall take their journey: they

- 7 shall blow an alarm for their journeys. But when the assembly is to be gathered together, ye shall blow, but
- 8 ye shall not sound an alarm. And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets; and they shall be to you for a statute for ever throughout your genera-
- 9 tions. And when ye go to war in your land against the adversary that oppresseth you, then ye shall sound an alarm with the trumpets; and ye shall be remembered before the LORD your God, and ye shall be saved from your enemies. Also in the day of your gladness, and in
- your set feasts, and in the beginnings of your months, ye shall blow with the trumpets over your burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; and they shall be to you for a memorial before your God: I am the LORD your God.

<sup>5.</sup> when ye blow an alarm. Here, and more explicitly in verse 7, a distinction, no longer clear to us, is made between simple blowing and blowing or sounding an alarm. It is usually supposed that the former denotes a succession of single notes, the latter a continuous blast. 'Alarm' is the Italian call, all' arme, 'to arms!'

<sup>9</sup> f. Here an entirely new idea is introduced; after the conquest of Canaan the trumpets are to serve as 'the Lord's remembrancers' (Isa. lxii. 6, R.V.) in the day of battle and on the occasion of the high festivals of His worship. Their use in war is attested by 2 Chron. xiii. 12-16 and especially by 1 Macc. iv. 40, v. 33, and in various religious services frequently by the Chronicler and other late writers, e. g. Ps. xcviii. 6; Ecclus. 1. 16.

and other late writers, e.g. Ps. xcviii. 6; Ecclus. 1. 16.

10. for a memorial before your God: rather 'for a remembrance' or 'a reminder;' a similar 'reminder before the Lord' was the High Priest's breastplate, the jewels of which are termed 'stones of remembrance' (Exod. xxviii. 12, 29).

[P] And it came to pass in the second year, in the 11

## Second Division. CHAPTERS X. 11-XX. 13.

TRADITIONS OF THE WILDERNESS PERIOD, WITH ACCOMPANYING LEGISLATION.

In this division of Numbers is contained all that the compilers of the Pentateuch have seen fit to preserve of the early Hebrew traditions regarding the period which elapsed from the departure of the Israelites from Sinai until they were ready to undertake the invasion of the country east of the Jordan, a period roundly given as forty years. The origin and value of these traditions have been discussed in the Introduction. It is remarkable that they should be so few in number, and that these few should deal almost exclusively with defections and murmurings either of the whole 'congregation,' or of some of its members. Here, for the first time since Exod. xxxiv, we meet with the two oldest Pentateuch sources (J and E) in addition to P, to whose scheme of chronology

the final narrative is in the main adjusted.

While the characteristic vocabulary, style, and dominant interests of the priestly writers render it comparatively easy to distinguish the contributions of this school, those of the so-called 'prophetic' history (JE) cannot always be so satisfactorily analysed. In the notation of the sources inserted in the text, accordingly, the usual composite symbol (JE) will be employed where the details of the literary analysis are, in the writer's opinion, uncertain. Reference will be made from time to time in the notes to the more probable indications of the separate sources, but fuller guidance (see Bennett's remarks on the 'stubborn problem' of the analysis of JE in Exodus, Cent. Bible, p. 28) must be sought in such standard works as B. W. Bacon's Triple Tradition of the Exodus, Carpenter and Harford's Hexateuch, the English translation of Kuenen's Hexateuch, and the larger commentaries. The contents of x. 11xx. 13 may be conveniently arranged in six sections, as given in sect. ii of the Introduction, Arrangement and Contents.

(a) x. 11-xii. 16. From Sinai to Kadesh-Barnea.

As now arranged, the incidents recorded in this section are all episodes of the march from 'the mount of Yahweh' (x. 33) to the oasis of Kadesh, which in the oldest sources is the scene of the sending out of the spies, the subject of the next section (xiii-xiv). The marks of P are found only in x. 11-28, the rest is from JE.

x. 11-28. The departure from Sinai according to P, after a stay of rather less than twelve months (Exod. xix. 1; Num. i. 1, x. 11). The signal for the march is given by the lifting of the fiery cloud (cf. ix. 17).

second month, on the twentieth day of the month, that the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle of the

- 12 testimony. And the children of Israel set forward according to their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai;
- 13 and the cloud abode in the wilderness of Paran. And they first took their journey according to the command-
- 14 ment of the LORD by the hand of Moses. And in the first place the standard of the camp of the children of Judah set forward according to their hosts: and over his
- the host of the tribe of the children of Issachar was
- 16 Nethanel the son of Zuar. And over the host of the tribe of the children of Zebulun was Eliab the son of
- 17 Helon. And the tabernacle was taken down; and the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari, who bare the
- 18 tabernacle, set forward. And the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward according to their hosts: and

<sup>12.</sup> the wilderness of Paran: its boundaries cannot be precisely determined; it certainly lay to the west of the Arabah, i.e. the continuation of the Jordan valley between the Dead Sea and the gulf of Akabah, and to the south of 'the Negeb' of Judah (see on xiii. 17), and may be regarded as corresponding roughly to the eastern part of the desert plateau now known as et-Tih.

<sup>13-28.</sup> A later expansion (P\*) of the two preceding verses, merely repeating 'the imperatives' of it' 3ff. 'in the past indicative' (Bacon). The verbs are properly to be rendered as frequentatives, since they are intended to describe the practice of the tribes throughout the period of the wanderings.

14. the standard of the camp, &c.: rather 'the division' of

<sup>14.</sup> the standard of the camp, &c.: rather 'the division' of the tribes grouped under the leadership of Judah; see on ii. 2ff.

<sup>17</sup> ff. The two groups of the Levites named from Gershon and Merari here march together between the first and second divisions of the secular tribes, the third group, the Kohathites, taking their place between the second and third divisions. The idea seems to be that the Tabernacle should be set up before the arrival of the sons of Kohath with its sacred furniture. In ii. 17, on the other hand, it is implied that the Levites marched in a body in the place here assigned to the Kohathites.

over his host was Elizur the son of Shedeur. And over 10 the host of the tribe of the children of Simeon was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. And over the host 20 of the tribe of the children of Gad was Eliasaph the son of Deuel. And the Kohathites set forward, bearing the 21 sanctuary: and the other did set up the tabernacle against they came. And the standard of the camp of the chil- 22 dren of Ephraim set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Elishama the son of Ammihud. And over the host of the tribe of the children of Manasseh 23 was Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. And over the host 24 of the tribe of the children of Benjamin was Abidan the son of Gideoni. And the standard of the camp of the 25 children of Dan, which was the rearward of all the camps, set forward according to their hosts: and over his host was Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. And over the 26 host of the tribe of the children of Asher was Pagiel the son of Ochran. And over the host of the tribe of 27 the children of Naphtali was Ahira the son of Enan. Thus were the journeyings of the children of Israel 28 according to their hosts; and they set forward.

[J] And Moses said unto Hobab, the son of Reuel 29

21. bearing the sanctuary: consistency requires that we should read either 'bearing the furniture of the sanctuary,' or, by dropping a letter, 'bearing the holy things,' as in iv. 15, margin.

29-32 (J). Moses requests his father-in-law, Hobab, to act as

<sup>29-32 (</sup>J). Moses requests his father-in-law, Hobab, to act as guide to the camping-places in the wilderness. The verses are a fragment from J, opening abruptly and closing without giving Hobab's final reply to Moses' appeal. From Judges i. 16 (note R.V. margin) and other indications, it is more than probable that J represented Hobab as consenting. This was doubtless suppressed by the editor of the 'prophetic' history (R<sup>ja</sup>) in favour of the tradition given in E (verse 33). The fragment is secured for J by the fact that in E, who gives Jethro as the name of Moses' father-in-law, the latter has already returned home (Exod. xviii. 27). His designation here as 'the Midianite' is also probably editorial

the Midianite, Moses' father in law, We are journeying unto the place of which the LORD said, I will give it you:

- 30 come thou with us, and we will do thee good: for the LORD hath spoken good concerning Israel. And he
  - 31 said unto him, I will not go; but I will depart to mine own land, and to my kindred. And he said, Leave us not, I pray thee; forasmuch as thou knowest how we are
  - 32 to encamp in the wilderness, and thou shalt be to us instead of eyes. And it shall be, if thou go with us, yea, it shall be, that what good soever the LORD shall do unto us, the same will we do unto thee.
  - 33 [E] And they set forward from the mount of the LORD three days' journey; and the ark of the covenant of the LORD went before them three days' journey, to

(following E), for there are good grounds for believing that in J Hobab was a Kenite (Judges i. 16, iv. 11; see note on Exod. ii. 18). 33-36 (E). The march begun under the supernatural guidance of the ark.

33. the mount of the LORD: the expression 'mount of Yahweh' is not found elsewhere, and has here probably displaced E's usual designation, 'the mount of God (Elohim).'

the ark of the covenant of the LORD: since this is the title of the ark characteristic of the Deuteronomic historians (see Samuel, Cent. Bible, p. 321f.), we may assume that the older title

'the ark of Elohim' originally stood here.

went before them three days' journey: the last three words must have slipped in from the preceding clause, for it is impossible to conceive how an object three days' march away could have served as a guide to each day's camping-ground. It is not easy, however, to say how E pictured the situation. He can scarcely, as Baentsch and Gray suppose, have thought of the ark as moving of its own accord! It is more probable, as was first suggested by Klostermann, that the ark was placed on a cart (see on vii. 7ff.), the oxen of which were believed to move forward and to come to a halt in obedience to a Divine impulse, as in the parallel case recorded in 1. Sam. vi. 7-14 (so Holzinger and Kautzsch). In any case the picture of the march presented by E is very different from that of P, as sketched above in verses 13-28. Verse 34 is an editorial insertion for the purpose of bringing the march more into harmony with P's representation.

seek out a resting place for them. And the cloud of 34 the LORD was over them by day, when they set forward from the camp.

And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that 35 Moses said, Rise up, O LORD, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee. And when it rested, he said, Return, O LORD, unto the 36 ten thousands of the thousands of Israel.

And the people were as murmurers, a speaking evil in 11 the ears of the LORD: and when the LORD heard it, his

Or, which was evil

Rise up, O LORD: 'Yahweh' 'arose' when He gave His people victory' (Gray); cf. Pss. lxviii. 1, cxxxii. 8, the latter with an interesting variation to escape the identification of the ark with Yahweh.

36. Budde's emendation of this verse is now generally accepted (Actes du divième Congr. Orient., 1894, iii. 18-21). He proposes a slight alteration of the opening word—shēbāh (lit. 'sit down') for shābāh—and the addition of a middle clause to make this verse metrically uniform with the preceding: 'Alight, O Yahweh—and do thou bless—the myriad claus (see on i. 16) of Israel.'

xi. 1-3 (E). The first of several incidents, of which the placename is in all probability older than the tradition which explains it (see the Introduction for a statement of the modern attitude to these 'aetiological' legends). Here the place called Taberah or Burning (site unknown and named again only Deut. ix. 22) is said to have received its name from a portion of the people having been burned by 'the fire of Yahweh' as a punishment for their murmuring.

1. were as murmurers . . . LORD: more idiomatically, 'began

to complain loudly to Yahweh of their hard fate.'

<sup>35</sup> f. have preserved two small but precious poetical fragments, which were evidently addressed in early times to the ark as the embodiment of 'the Presence of Yahweh' (for this conception see Samuel in this series, p. 324 f.)—the one when it headed the march as the Hebrew 'host' fared forth to fight 'the battles of Yahweh' (I Sam. iv. 3ff.; 2 Sam. xi. II: cf. Num. xiv. 42, 44; Joshua vi. 6ff.), the other when it returned, say to Shiloh or to Jerusalem, at the close of the campaign. The verses may have been taken by E from 'the book of the Wars of Yahweh' cited below, xxi. I4.

anger was kindled; and the fire of the LORD burnt among them, and devoured in the uttermost part of the camp. And the people cried unto Moses; and Moses prayed unto the LORD, and the fire abated. And the name of that place was called a Taberah: because the fire of the LORD burnt among them.

4 [JE] And the mixed multitude that was among them
<sup>a</sup> That is, *Burning*.

in the uttermost part of the camp: since the 'tent of meeting,' according to E, was pitched outside the camp (Exod. xxxiii. 7ff.), this phrase suggests that the 'fire of Yahweh' was conceived as issuing from the sacred tent.

2. and Moses prayed: cf. xxi. 7, also E, who loves to repre-

sent his heroes as men of prayer (Gen. xx. 7, 17).

The remainder of this chapter (4-35) now consists of a combination of two loosely connected traditions: (1) the provision of quails in response to another 'murmuring,' and (2) the appointment and equipment of seventy elders to share with Moses 'the burden of the people.' Of these narratives it is agreed that the first stood originally in J, the second in E. The further literary history of this chapter, however, is by no means clear, but there is much to be said in favour of the acute suggestion of B. W. Bacon that verses 10° ('and Moses was displeased'), 11 f., and 14 f. originally stood in Exod. xxxiii between 1-3 and 12 ff. (all J), and that the appointment of the elders originally followed verses 7-11 (E) of the same chapter (Bacon, The Triple Tradition, &c., pp. 108, 141 f., 168; cf. the reconstructed sources, pp. 200, 336 f.). The result is to provide 'a perfectly uniform, consistent, and characteristic narrative' of the quails (J) in verses 4-6 (for 7-9 see notes), 10, 13, 18-24<sup>a</sup>, 31-35; leaving 16 f., 24<sup>b</sup>-30 (E) for the appointment of the seventy elders. See further the note on verse 10.

4. the mixed multitude: the rabble; cf. Exod. xii. 38 (J), where, however, a different word is used. The question with which the verse ends should remind the student of Israel's early history that there were various cycles of traditions regarding this period in the wilderness, and that the compilers and successive editors of these traditions either did not attempt to remove their divergent elements, or did not succeed in doing so. Thus, apart from the abundant supply of sacrificial animals required by the assumptions underlying the Priests' Code, we find repeated references in J to the Hebrews' 'flocks and herds' (Exod. xii. 38, xvii. 3. xxxiv. 3; cf. Num. xiv. 33 R.V. margin, xxxii. 1 [P]).

fell a lusting: and the children of Israel also wept again, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat? We remember 5 the fish, which we did eat in Egypt for nought; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick: but now our soul is dried away; 6 there is nothing at all: we have nought save this manna to look to. [R] And the manna was like coriander seed, 7 and the appearance thereof as the appearance of bdellium. The people went about, and gathered it, and 8 ground it in mills, or beat it in mortars, and seethed it in pots, and made cakes of it: and the taste of it was as the taste of b fresh oil. And when the dew fell upon the 9 camp in the night, the manna fell c upon it. [J] And 10 Moses heard the people weeping throughout their families,

<sup>a</sup> Heb. eye. b Or, cakes baked with oil c Or, with

<sup>6.</sup> we have nought save this manna. J's narrative of the giving of the manna has been suppressed in favour of P's, Exod. xvi. rff., for the relation of which to the present narrative see Bennett's Exodus, in loc.

<sup>7-9 (</sup>R) are best taken as an editorial parenthesis.

<sup>7.</sup> like coriander seed. In the parallel description, Exod. xvi. 31, the point of likeness is said to be the white colour of the manna.

as the appearance of bdellium: this rendering is preferable to 'the colour' of A.V. (cf. margin and note on Lev. xiii. 5). Bdellium is the Latin name, from the Greek, of a fragrant gum, a special quality of which came from Arabia, and is most probably an accurate rendering of the rare word in the original (only here and Gen. ii. 12). This favours the identification of the biblical manna with the sweet juice which exudes from a species of tamarisk, still found in the peninsula. The Arabs term this gum 'the manna of heaven.' See the art. 'Manna' in the Bible Dictionaries.

<sup>8.</sup> as the taste of fresh oil: rather 'of a dainty prepared with oil,' cf. margin and Exod. xvi. 31, 'and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey.' With verse 9 cf. ibid. verse 13 f.

<sup>10</sup> continues verse 6, and was probably continued in J's narrative by verse 13, which Bacon proposes to insert after the word 'tent' with the words 'and Moses cried unto Yahweh' as a

every man at the door of his tent: and the anger of the LORD was kindled greatly; and Moses was displeased.

- evil entreated thy servant? and wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of
- 12 all this people upon me? Have I conceived all this people? have I brought them forth, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing-father carrieth the sucking child, unto the land which
- 13 thou swarest unto their fathers? Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? for they weep unto
- 14 me, saying, Give us flesh, that we may eat. I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy
- 15 for me. And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness.
- [E] And the LORD said unto Moses, Gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest

restored connecting clause (see the references given above). In any case the last two clauses of this verse cannot have stood originally in their present juxtaposition, and Bacon's proposal to take the last clause with verses 11f. and 14f. as the sequel of Exod. xxxiii. 1-3 provides a suitable remedy.

12. as a nursing-father: the addition of a single letter gives

the more appropriate 'nursing' or 'foster mother.'

14. The apparent similarity of the words in which Moses here voices his complaint with those of Yahweh in verse 17 has been the fons et origo of the editorial confusion of the two independent incidents of this chapter. The resemblance, however, is superficial; for while, in the latter verse, Yahweh is about to provide Moses with human aid in his heavy task, in the context in which verse 14 originally stood Moses complains of the want of Divine help.

16 f. At this point the narrative of the appointment of 'seventy men of the elders of Israel' to share with Moses the 'burden' of administration begins and is continued in verses 24<sup>b</sup>-30. The whole, in all probability, originally stood in E in close connexion with E's account of the Tent of Meeting in Exod. xxxiii. 7-11.

to be the elders of the people, and officers over them; and bring them unto the tent of meeting, that they may stand there with thee. And I will come down and talk 17 with thee there: and I will take of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone. [J] And say thou unto the people, 18 Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow, and ye shall eat flesh: for ye have wept in the ears of the LORD, saying, Who shall give us flesh to eat? for it was well with us in Egypt: therefore the LORD will give you flesh, and ye shall eat. Ye shall not eat one day, nor two days, nor 19 five days, neither ten days, nor twenty days; but a whole 20 month, until it come out at your nostrils, and it be loathsome unto you: because that ye have rejected the LORD which is among you, and have wept before him, saying, Why came we forth out of Egypt? And Moses said, The 21 people, among whom I am, are six hundred thousand footmen; and thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole month. Shall flocks and herds be 22 slain for them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?

And the Lord said unto Moses, Is the Lord's hand 23

There the sacred tent is expressly said to have been pitched 'without the camp, afar off from the camp' (ibid. 7), which accords with its situation in the present narrative. In the priestly strata of the Pentateuch, as is well known, the Tent of Meeting occupies the centre of the camp (see above, pp. 194 ff.).

<sup>18-24&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>, continuation of J's narrative of the people's request for flesh food from 10<sup>b</sup>, 'and the anger of Yahweh was kindled greatly, and [he said unto Moses], Say thou,' &c. (Bacon).

<sup>13.</sup> Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow: to fit themselves to receive the promised gift of God, the people are to make themselves ceremonially 'clean' by washing their bodies and their garments, and by sexual continence, as more fully laid down in Exod. xix. 10 f., 14 f.; cf. Gen. xxxv. 2.

waxed short? now shalt thou see whether my word shall 24 come to pass unto thee or not. And Moses went out, and told the people the words of the LORD: [E] and he gathered seventy men of the elders of the people, and set

25 them round about the Tent. And the LORD came down in the cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the spirit that was upon him, and put it upon the seventy elders: and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon

26 them, they prophesied, but they did so no more. But there remained two men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the spirit rested upon them; and they were of them that were written, but had not gone out unto the Tent: and 27 they prophesied in the camp. And there ran a young

24. The first half of this verse must be read in connexion with verses 31 ff. The intervening section, 24b-30, is the continuation

of E's narrative of the seventy elders.

25. And the LORD came down in the cloud: i.e. to the Tent of Meeting. 'In E the appearance of this theophanic cloud is intermittent [cf. xii. 5]; in P continuous after the completion of the Tabernacle. In both E and P, as distinguished from J, it is regularly associated with the Tabernacle; see Pillar of Cloud

in EBi.' (Gray, Numbers, in loc.).

and took of the spirit, &c. (cf. verse 17). That the 'prophetic' historian was careful to reproduce faithfully the early traditions as he received them is well seen from the present narrative. Here the spirit of prophecy is represented as something almost material, the effect of which is to throw the recipient into a condition of 'holy frenzy.' The same picture of prophetic ecstasy is found in the early narratives of I Sam. x. 10-13, xix. 20-24. By the eighth century this conception had given place to a much loftier idea of Divine inspiration, which is found elsewhere in E (e.g.ch. xii), as we should expect in a writer who was probably a contemporary; of Amos and Hosea.

they prophesied, &c. In view of the modern connotation of the word 'prophesy' it would be better to render, 'they became ecstatic, as explained in the preceding note (cf. the note on I Sam. x. 5 in Cent. Bible). The following words, if the text is right, signify that the prophetic frenzy seized them on this occasion man, and told Moses, and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp. And Joshua the son of Nun, 28 the minister of Moses, a one of his chosen men, answered and said, My lord Moses, forbid them. And Moses 29 said unto him, Art thou jealous for my sake? would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them! And Moses gat 30 him into the camp, he and the elders of Israel. [J] And 31 there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall b by the camp,

8 Or, from his youth

b Or, over

only; the Targums and the Vulgate, however, read: 'and they ceased not.'

26 ff. Two of the seventy elders selected for administrative duty—such is the most probable view of the text—had apparently declined the honour and remained in the camp, but are nevertheless seized with the same frenzy as the others. Joshua's zeal for his master's honour gives occasion for a noble and great-hearted utterance on the part of Moses.

28. Joshua . . . one of his chosen men: this rendering seems intended to convey the impression that Joshua was one of the 'seventy.' But the marginal rendering 'from his youth' is preferable, though not free from difficulty, and is quite intelligible when the narrative is read in its original setting (see Exod. xxxiii. 11, which also accounts for Joshua's presence on this occasion).

29 reveals a fine trait in the character of Moses. Not to himself alone, nor to a limited circle, would this large-hearted man and greatest of the prophets confine the best gift of God.

31-34 continue the narrative of the quails (J).

31: a wind . . . brought quaits from the sea. The 'sea' in question is probably the modern gulf of Akabah, the north-eastern horn of the Red Sea. The wind has already appeared in J's story of the Exodus as the instrument of the Divine purpose, Exod. x. 13, 19, xiv. 21. Apart from some elements of exaggeration from which popular tradition is rarely free (cf. next note), the description of the text is in complete accord with the phenomena attending the annual migrations of the quails in the peninsula at the present day. The quail, a member of the partridge family, winters in Africa, and in spring crosses to Palestine 'by myriads.' Making long flights and 'always flying with the wind,' the birds

about a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, and about two

- 32 cubits above the face of the earth. And the people rose up all that day, and all the night, and all the next day, and gathered the quails: he that gathered least gathered ten homers: and they spread them all abroad for them-
- 33 selves round about the camp. While the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the anger of the LORD was kindled against the people, and the LORD
- 34 smote the people with a very great plague. And the name of that place was called a Kibroth-hattaavah: be-
- 35 cause there they buried the people that lusted. From Kibroth-hattaavah the people journeyed unto Hazeroth; and they abode at Hazeroth.
- 12 [E] And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses a That is, The graves of lust.

often alight in an exhausted condition, when they are caught in

great numbers.

a day's journey: a popular measure of distance, with the same indefiniteness as our 'bow-shot' or 'stone's throw'; unfortunately we have no clue to the mileage of 'a day's journey' in the popular speech. In any case we have here an excusable exaggeration. Two cubits may be taken as approximately three

32. ten homers: over 100 imperial bushels (see on Lev. xxviii. 16). The following clause informs us that the birds were cured by being dried in the sun.

34. Kibroth-hattaavah: i.e., as margin, 'the graves of lust.'

The locality is unknown.

35. Hazeroth: lit. 'enclosures,' 'settlements'; the identification with the modern 'Ain el-Hadra, between Jebel Mûsa and Akabah, is very precarious.

Ch. xii. Miriam and Aaron give expression to their jealousy of Moses, and to their claim to equality with him. Yahweh appears in the cloud to vindicate Moses' unique position and privilege as His prophet. Miriam is punished by being smitten with leprosy which, however, is ultimately removed at Moses' request. While a complete solution of the literary and historical problems presented by this chapter is no longer possible, it is agreed that its

because of the Cushite woman whom he had married: for he had married a Cushite woman. And they said, 2 Hath the Lord indeed spoken only a with Moses? hath he not spoken also with us? And the Lord heard it. Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men 3 which were upon the face of the earth. And the Lord 4

## a Or, by

immediate source is the Ephraimite document (E). This conclusion is based on various points of contact with the E sections of the preceding chapter. Such are the position of the Tent of Meeting outside the camp (verse 4), the nature of the theophany (cf. xi. 25 with note), and the emphasis on the prophetic aspect

of Moses' activity.

It is almost certain, however, that we have once more a case of the fusion of two originally distinct traditions, for it is difficult to see what jealousy of Moses as a prophet has to do with the question of his marriage. In the original version it is probable that, in one of the incidents at least, Miriam was the only offender-note her leading position in verse I, 'Miriam and Aaron,' and the fact that she alone is punished with leprosy. It is still more difficult to detect the historical background of the main tradition embodied in E's narrative. Have we here a distant echo of forgotten controversies as to rights of precedence within the ranks of the priesthood (so E. Meyer, Die Isracliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme, p. 94)? Or should we recognize in the poctical fragment, verses 6-8, the nucleus round which has gathered this tradition of the vindication of Moses' uniqueness as a prophet over against those even of his own family (cf. Exod. xv. 20, 'Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Aaron')?

The chief interest of the section for the Old Testament student lies in the lofty conception which it presents to us of the nature

of the Divine inspiration of the prophet.

1. the Cushite woman. Of the many suggested explanations, the identification with Zipporah, the daughter of the priest of Midian, is still the best (cf. Exod. ii. 21, iii. 1). In this case it is usual to adduce the association of 'Cushan' with 'Midian' in the parallelism of Hab. iii. 7. The author of the gloss at the end of verse 1, evidently taking 'Cushite' in its usual sense of 'Ethiopian,' found a reference to an unrecorded marriage of Moses, a view altogether less probable than that adopted above.

3. Whether this verse be regarded as original in E, or, as some think, a later addition, its presence was early seized upon as an

indication of the non-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

spake suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam, Come out ye three unto the tent of meeting.

- 5 And they three came out. And the LORD came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the Tent, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth.
- 6 And he said, Hear now my words: if there be a prophet among you, I the LORD will make myself known unto
- 7 him in a vision, I will speak with him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so; he is faithful in all mine house:
- 8 with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even manifestly,

5. With the nature of this theophany compare the similar description in xi. 25 with Gray's remarks quoted in the note there.

they both came forth: i.e. came forward to the door of the Tent; the action is distinct from that similarly expressed in verse 4, which refers to the 'coming out' of the persons concerned from the camp to the sacred Tent pitched outside the latter.

6-8. Yahweh's words to Aaron and Miriam are cast in poetic form.

In communicating His will to other prophets, Yahweh does so through the medium of visions and dreams (cf. Joel ii. 28), but to Moses He speaks directly 'mouth to mouth.'. The prominence of dreams as a medium of Divine revelation is a characteristic feature of E's narrative (Gen. xx. 3, 6, xxviii. 12, xxxi. 11, 24 and often).

7. My servant Moses: a title of honour also bestowed on Abraham (Gen. xxvi. 24) and Caleb (Num. xiv. 24). In later writings the prophets are frequently termed the 'servants' of God (see A. B. Davidson's art. 'Prophecy and Prophets' in Hastings's DB. iv. 113—the best introduction to the study of the whole subject of O.T. prophecy).

faithful in all mine house: Moses' work as the leader of Yahweh's people is compared to that of a great man's major-domo, such as Eliezer in the household of Abraham (Gen. xxiv. 2).

8. mouth to mouth: an expression found only here, but indicating even more emphatically than the parallel 'face to face' (Exod. xxxiii. 11, Deut. xxxiv. 10) the immediateness of Moses' inspiration. There is probably no more adequate definition of a prophet in the O.T. sense than the mouthpiece, or spokesman, of the Deity. Note the prominence given to the consecration of the mouth and the lips in the narratives of the call of Moses

and not in dark speeches; and the form of the LORD shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant, against Moses? And the 9 anger of the LORD was kindled against them; and he departed. And the cloud removed from over the Tent; 10 and, behold, Miriam was leprous, as white as snow: and Aaron looked upon Miriam, and, behold, she was leprous. And Aaron said unto Moses, Oh my lord, lay 11 not, I pray thee, sin upon us, for that we have done foolishly, and for that we have sinned. Let her not, 12 I pray, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb. And 13 Moses cried unto the LORD, saying, Heal her, O God, I beseech thee. And the LORD said unto Moses, If her 14 father had but spit in her face, should she not be

(Exod. iv. 12, 15 f.: cf. vii. 1 f.), Isaiah (Isa. vi. 7), and Jeremiah (Jer. i. 9). In this lofty conception of the nature of prophetic inspiration as 'a communion of spirit with spirit' (A.B. Davidson), E has left far behind the older mechanical view to which attention was called in the notes on the preceding chapter.

10. It is impossible to explain why Aaron should have been excluded from the punishment which overtook Miriam, except on the hypothesis that in the earlier form of the tradition the latter figured alone, most probably with reference to Moses' marriage to a Midianite (see on verse 1), which she may have regarded as

derogatory to the family dignity.

11 ff. In these verses the superior dignity of Moses is further indirectly emphasized. He alone is recognized as qualified to intercede with Yahweh for the removal of his sister's leprosy (see the note on xi. 2, and cf. xiv. 13 ff., xxi. 7 for Moses' activity as intercessor).

14. If her father had but spit in her face: an action recognized by Hebrew legislation (see Deut. xxv. 9) as inflicting the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The unique character of Moses' inspiration, and his superiority in this respect to all other prophets, which is the main theme of this chapter, are worked out in detail by Maimonides in his famous work 'The Strong Hand', see H. H. Bernard, The Main Principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews . . . from the Yad Hachazukah of Maimonides, pp. 116 ff.

ashamed seven days? let her be shut up without the camp seven days, and after that she shall be brought in again. And Miriam was shut up without the camp seven days: and the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again. [J] And afterward the people journeyed from Hazeroth, [P] and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.

13 2 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Send thou men, that they may spy out the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel: of every tribe of their

loss of personal honour. The form of the original text suggests that the narrative has been shortened here. It has been conjectured that the narrative proceeded 'if she had spoken against her father and mother; and her father had spit in her face,' &c. We must suppose that Miriam's leprosy was immediately removed, but a seven days' exclusion from the camp ordered to mark the Divine disapproval.

16. is composite; 16a continues xi. 35 (J); 16b, introducing 'the

wilderness of Paran,' is from P (see x. 12).

(b) xiii-xiv. The mission of the spies.

Twelve men of rank, one from each tribe, are sent to explore the land of Canaan with a view to ascertain the nature of the country, and especially to report upon the character and conditions of its inhabitants. After an absence of forty days, in which they penetrate to the extreme north of Palestine, the spies return to Kadesh. The 'majority report' is unfavourable as regards the land and entirely against the possibility of conquest. The minority, composed of Joshua and Caleb, report favourably of the land and advise an immediate advance in reliance upon Divine assistance. The people side with the majority, once more rebelling against their leaders and threatening the life of the two faithful spies. At this point Yahweh intervenes to upbraid the people for their lack of faith, and to announce that, as a punishment, they shall wander for forty years, and ultimately perish, in the wilderness; no one over twenty years of age, save Joshua and Caleb only, is to be permitted to enter the land of promise. The ten faint-hearted spies are immediately punished with death.

It has long been recognized that the story above summarized has been formed by the interweaving of two (ultimately three) independent records of this critical episode in the history of Israel in the wilderness, representing the prophetic (JE) and priestly

fathers shall ye send a man, every one a prince among

(P) sources respectively. The following shows the main results of the literary analysis 1:

JE xiii. 17<sup>b</sup>-20 22-24 26<sup>b</sup> (from 'to Kadesh ')-31 32<sup>b</sup>, 33. P xiii. 1-17<sup>a</sup> 21 25-26<sup>a</sup> (to 'Paran ') 32<sup>a</sup>

JE xiv. 1<sup>b</sup>, 3, 4 8-9 (11-24, see notes) 25 31, 32 39-45. P xiv. 1<sup>a</sup>, 2 5-7 10 26-30 33-38

If the passages indicated are read consecutively, it will be found that, apart from differences in phraseology and style which are more apparent in the original, the two main narratives differ in their representation in several important particulars: (a) The place from which the spies are sent out is in P the wilderness of Paran (xiii, 3), in JE, the beginning of whose narrative has not been preserved, it was evidently Kadesh (see xiii. 26, xxxii. 8, and cf. Deut. i. 19, based on JE); (b) The limit of their exploration in IE is Hebron or its neighbourhood (xiii. 22 ff.), in P the spies traverse the whole of Canaan from south to north (see on xiii. 21 below); (c) in JE the report concerning the land is that it is extremely productive but impossible to subdue (verses 27 f.), in P that it is barren and unfruitful (verse 32, see note below); (d) The most striking divergence, however, one which of itself is sufficient to prove a difference of source, relates to the position of Joshua in the two narratives. In P he appears along with Caleb as one of the twelve spies (xiii. 8, xiv. 6), and with Caleb is exempted from the sentence of punishment pronounced in xiv. 30, 38; in JE, on the contrary, Caleb alone is represented as faithful to his trust (xiii, 30), and as receiving his reward (xiv. 24, where see the note).

As regards the historical interpretation of the section in its present form, it is probable that to later generations the long delay in entering Canaan appeared inexplicable save on the assumption that the generation which had experienced the wonders of Divine providence in the exodus from Egypt had incurred the displeasure of Yahweh and forfeited the privilege of entering the promised land. To give effect to this conviction the older and doubtless historical traditions of the sending of spies and of an unsuccessful attempt to enter Canaan from the south were expanded in the various forms in which they are now preserved in these chapters (the parallel narrative in Deut. i, which agrees in the main with JE, should be compared throughout).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The further analysis of JE into its component parts is less certain and is not attempted here. For this, and for details of the analysis as a whole, see the standard works of Carpenter and Harford, Bacon, Kent (*The Beginnings of Hebrew History*, 215 ff.), and the larger Commentaries.

3 them. And Moses sent them from the wilderness of Paran according to the commandment of the Lorp: all of them 4 men who were heads of the children of Israel. And these were their names: of the tribe of Reuben. Sham-5 mua the son of Zaccur. Of the tribe of Simeon, Shaphat 6 the son of Hori. Of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son 7 of Jephunneh. Of the tribe of Issachar, Igal the son of 8 Joseph. Of the tribe of Ephraim, Hoshea the son of Nun. 9 Of the tribe of Benjamin, Palti the son of Raphu. Of It the tribe of Zebulun, Gaddiel the son of Sødi. Of the tribe of Joseph, namely, of the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi 12 the son of Susi. Of the tribe of Dan, Ammiel the son 13 of Gemalli. Of the tribe of Asher, Sethur the son of 14 Michael. Of the tribe of Naphtali, Nahbi the son of 15 Vophsi. Of the tribe of Gad, Geuel the son of Machi. 16 These are the names of the men which Moses sent to spy out the land. And Moses called Hoshea the son of 17 Nun Joshua. And Moses sent them to spy out the land

<sup>3.</sup> the wilderness of Paran: see on x. 12. That the spies are not being sent from Kadesh, as in JE (see on verse 26), is evident from the fact that in P's geography Kadesh was situated in the wilderness of Zin, which lay immediately to the north of that of Paran and was not reached in P's itinerary till a later date (xx. 1).

<sup>4-16.</sup> The names of the spies, each of the twelve tribes sending as its representative a 'prince' (verse 3) or head of one of its subdivisions. The 'princes' or heads of the tribes themselves have been named more than once (i. 5 ff. and ii, vii, passim).

<sup>8.</sup> Hoshea the son of Nun: changed by Moses to Yěhôshu'a, i.e. Joshua (verse 16), by prefixing a significant part of the Divine name Yahweh. The necessity for this change is perhaps due to P's view that the name Yahweh was first revealed (see Exod.vi. 2 f.) at a time which was too late for it to have formed part of Joshua's original name. Joshua has already appeared in more than one capacity in the prophetic narrative (Exod. xvii. 9, 13 f., xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 11, and Num. xi. 28).

<sup>17-24.</sup> The journey of the spies, from JE with the exception

of Canaan, [JE] and said unto them, Get you up this way a by the South, and go up into the mountains: and 18 see the land, what it is; and the people that dwelleth therein, whether they be strong or weak, whether they be few or many; and what the land is that they dwell in, 19 whether it be good or bad; and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether in camps, or in strong holds; and 20 what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein, or not. And be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the firstripe grapes. [P] So they went up, 21 and spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin unto

a Or, into

of verse 21 (P). The beginning of JE's narrative has been suppressed by the compiler in favour of the fuller account in P.

17. Get you up this way by the South: rather, 'Get you up now into the Negeb.' 'The Negeb,' probably the 'dry' or 'parched (land),' was the standing designation of the southernmost division of Palestine, the steppe region extending from the hill-country of Judah about Hebron to the Azazimeh mountains to the south of Kadesh (see Cheyne's art. 'Negeb' in EBi. with map). The constant use of this term for 'South' in the geographical terminology of the Hexateuch (even in the orientation of the Tabernacle at Sinai, where the South was really on the opposite side from the Negeb!) is one of the most convincing proofs of the post-Mosaic date of the Hexateuch narratives. This use of Negeb for 'South,' as of 'the (Mediterranean) Sea' for 'West' could only have originated in Palestine itself.

20. the time of the firstripe grapes: the end of July or

beginning of August.

21 from P, continuing verse 17<sup>a</sup>, and continued in 25, 26<sup>a</sup>.

the wilderness of Zin. Since Kadesh was within its borders (see on verse 3 above), the district from which, according to JE, the spies set out is here represented as part of the country to be explored.

unto Rehob: also named Beth-rehob (cf. 2 Sam. x. 6 with 8), in the far north at the base of Mount Hermon and close to the later city of Dan (Judges xviii. 28 f.). It is here further described as lying at

- 22 Rehob, to the entering in of Hamath. [JE] And they went up a by the South, and came unto Hebron; and Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were there. (Now Hebron was built seven years before
- <sup>23</sup> Zoan in Egypt.) And they came unto the valley of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it upon a staff between two; they brought also of the pomegranates, and of the

a Or, into

the entering in of Hamath: i.e. at the entrance to (the city of) Hamath. Although Hamath was situated on the Orontes, about 150 miles due north of Rehob, it seems to have given its name to the narrow pass between Hermon and the Lebanon, described by Robinson as 'a lofty mountain cleft, eight or nine miles wide.' The 'entrance to Hamath' is often mentioned in the O.T. as the extreme northern boundary of Israelite territory.

22. In JE, on the contrary, the spies did not penetrate beyond the neighbourhood of Hebron. This verse is usually assigned to

J, leaving its duplicate in the two following verses to E.

unto Hebron: later the chief city of Judah and the first royal residence of David, about twenty miles south of Jerusalem. According to Joshua xiv. 15, 'the name of Hebron [meaning probably 'confederation'] aforetime was Kiriath-arba,' i.e. 'the city of the four (confederates?).' The interesting chronological note at the end of this verse, according to which Hebron was founded 'seven years before Zoan in Egypt,' that is, Tanis in the eastern Delta, is regarded by Ed. Meyer as a 'fragment of a genuine historical tradition, unique in the O.T.' (Die Isracliten, &c., p. 447). This scholar takes the note as referring to the Hyksos era, which he dates from the founding of the temple of Seth in Tanis, circa 1670 B.c. (see also Meyer, Gesch. des Altertums, 2nd ed. [1907], vol. i, pp. 293 ff.). This gives 1677 B.c. as the probable date indicated by this note.

the children of Anak: also verse 28, elsewhere described as 'the sons of Anak' (literally 'the Anak'), verse 33, or simply 'the Anakim' (Deut. ii. 10 f.), a race of unknown origin occupying the country about Hebron from which they were dislodged by Caleb (Joshua xiv. 12 ff.), or, according to another tradition, by Joshua (xi. 21 f.). The O.T. writers consistently represent the

Anakim as men of abnormal stature.

23. the valley of Eshcol: this name, which means 'a cluster (of grapes),' may perhaps be recognized in the modern Beit Ishkâhil, about four miles north-west of Hebron.

figs. That place was called the valley of a Eshcol, be-23 cause of the cluster which the children of Israel cut down from thence. [P] And they returned from spying out 25 the land at the end of forty days. And they went and 26 came to Moses, and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran, [JE] to Kadesh; and brought back word unto them, and unto all the congregation, and shewed them the fruit of the land. And they told him, and said, We came unto 27 the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey; and this is the fruit of it. How-28 beit the people that dwell in the land are strong, and the

a That is, a cluster.

<sup>24.</sup> One of many examples of what may be termed the folk-lore of Canaanite place-names. As a rule it is the name which gives rise to the story, not, as here suggested, the story to the name.

<sup>25-33.</sup> The report of the spies, mainly from JE, but beginning with the notice of their return from P (25-26° to 'Paran').

<sup>26.</sup> to Kadesh: also named Kadesh-barnea (xxxii. 8, xxxiv. 4, &c.), Meribath-Kadesh (R.V. Meribah of Kadesh, xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51, see further the note on xx. 13 below), and once Enmishpat or Fountain of Judgement (Gen. xiv. 7). Kadesh is now usually identified with 'Ain Kadis,—Musil (see below) writes 'Aïn Kdeis,—a place with a series of springs and pools on the southern boundary of the Negeb, about fifty miles south of Beer-sheba. Recent descriptions of the place are given by Clay Trumbull, who rediscovered the site, in his Kadesh-Barnea (1884), Robinson in the Biblical World, xvii. (1901), 327 ff., with plan and photographs, and Alois Musil, Arabia Petraea, ii (1907), part 1, 176 ff., also illustrated. Kadesh was the rallying-point of the Hebrew tribes and the centre of Moses' activity as teacher and lawgiver in the period that elapsed between the exodus and the conquest of Eastern Palestine. Many recent scholars, indeed, maintain that the 'mount of God' of the oldest traditions is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Kadesh (see above, p. 186 f.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Musil, however, questions the now current identification, writing on p. 236: 'I cannot conceal from myself that now, on the occasion of my third visit to the place, it seems still less adapted for identification with the biblical Kadesh-Barnea.'

cities are fenced, and very great: and moreover we saw
29 the children of Anak there. Amalek dwelleth in the
land of the South: and the Hittite, and the Jebusite,
and the Amorite, dwell in the mountains: and the
Canaanite dwelleth by the sea, and along by the side
30 of Jordan. And Caleb stilled the people before Moses,
and said, Let us go up at once, and possess it; for we
31 are well able to overcome it. But the men that went up
with him said, We be not able to go up against the people;
32 for they are stronger than we. [P] And they brought up
an evil report of the land which they had spied out unto
the children of Israel, saying, The land, through which
we have gone to spy it out, is a land that eateth up the

<sup>29.</sup> Of the peoples here mentioned the Amalekites were a nomad tribe with the raiding instincts of the modern Bedouin, and were still in the neighbourhood of the Negeb (R.V. 'the South') in David's time (I Sam. xxx. I, 14). The Hittites, the Kheta of the Egyptian, and the Khatti of the Assyrian inscriptions, were a powerful non-Semitic, and probably non-Aryan, people who make their appearance about the beginning of the second millenium B. c. in Asia Minor. There they founded an extensive empire with its capital, as Winckler's excavations in 1906-7 have shown, on the site of Boghaz-keui in the district known later as Cappadocia. By 1500 B.C. they had advanced southwards into Northern Syria, where Carchemish on the Euphrates and the above-mentioned Hamath on the Orontes were Hittite centres at the date of the exodus. The Jebusites occupied the territory round Jerusalem which was taken from them by David (2 Sam. v. 6 ff.). Of the two remaining races here named, Amorite' is the general name for the pre-Israelite population of Palestine in the Pentateuch sources E and D, while J prefers the term 'Canaanite.' The Tel el-Amarna letters, however, show conclusively that the two peoples were quite distinct, for the 'land of A-mur-ru' is there restricted to the parts of Syria 'north of Beyrout and the region of the Lebanon and Antilebanon,' while Ki-na-ah-ni or Canaan stands for the country south of the Lebanons, 'that is, for Palestine properly so called' (for a complete presentation of the data see Dhorme, 'Les pays bibliques au temps d'el-Amarna,' in the Revue Biblique, 1908, pp. 501 ff.). 32. a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof: a

inhabitants thereof; [JE] and all the people that we saw in it are men of great stature. And there we saw the 33 a Nephilim, the sons of Anak, which come of the Nephilim: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.

[P] And all the congregation lifted up their voice, 14
[JE] and cried; and the people wept that night. [P]
And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses 2
and against Aaron: and the whole congregation said
unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of
Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness!
[JE] And wherefore doth the LORD bring us unto this 3
land, to fall by the sword? Our wives and our little ones
shall be a prey: were it not better for us to return into
Egypt? And they said one to another, Let us make 4
a captain, and let us return into Egypt. [P] Then 5
Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before all the
assembly of the congregation of the children of Israel.

<sup>a</sup> Or, giants

barren and inhospitable land, utterly unable to support its inhabitants; contrast the 'exceeding good land' of xiv. 7 (also P).

xiv. I-IO describe the effect of the spies' report upon the people; the repetitions of verse I are due to the presence of the various sources.

2 ff. Cf. Exod. xiv. 11 f., xvi. 3, and Num. xx. 4 for complaints similarly expressed. Here, however, the further step is taken of suggesting the appointment of another leader to take the people back to Egypt. The action of Caleb in 'stilling' the people, which comes in prematurely in xiii. 30, may have stood here in the original source (J), in which case verses 8 f. will have formed the conclusion of Caleb's speech. These verses give vigorous expression to the speaker's faith in the Divine purpose and power. With Yahweh on their side, the Hebrews could not fail of success.

<sup>33.</sup> the Nephilim: a word of uncertain meaning, probably as margin, 'the giants'; it occurs only here and Gen. vi. 4. The rest of the clause, identifying them with 'the children of Anak' of verse 22, is absent from LXX, and is usually regarded as a gloss.

- 6 And Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of them that spied out the land,
- 7 rent their clothes: and they spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, The land, which we passed through to spy it out, is an exceeding good
- 8 land. [JE] If the LORD delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it unto us; a land which
- 9 floweth with milk and honey. Only rebel not against the LORD, neither fear ye the people of the land; for they are bread for us: their a defence is removed from over them, and the LORD is with us: fear them not. 10 [P] But all the congregation bade stone them with
- stones. And the glory of the LORD appeared in the tent of meeting unto all the children of Israel.
- II [JE] And the Lord said unto Moses, How long will this people despise me? and how long will they not believe in me, for all the signs which I have wrought 12 among them? I will smite them with the pestilence, and

a Heb. shadow.

9. they are bread for us. 'The people of the land' are given us to 'eat up,' a not infrequent metaphor for 'consume, destroy'

(xxiv. 8; Deut. vii. 16; Jer. x. 25, &c.).

Critical opinion is unanimous in ascribing verses 11-24, on various grounds, to a later stratum of the prophetic narrative (JE<sup>s</sup>, see Gray in loc.). A shorter statement must have stood originally in JE, of which verse 25<sup>b</sup> is the continuation.

their defence is removed from over them: lit. 'their shadow'; 'shadow,' or rather 'shade,' is a common O. T. figure for 'protection.' So Hammurabi styles himself 'the shade' (sillu) of his land. Here the defence or protection of the Canaanites is most probably the native deities whose power was at an end now that this earlier 'fullness of the time' had come; cf. Gen. xv. 16.

<sup>11-24.</sup> Yahweh in anger announces to Moses His intention to destroy His faithless people and to make of Moses a new and mightier nation. Moses once more assumes the rôle of intercessor with success; the people are to be spared, but as a merited punishment they are doomed never to see the land of promise. From this judgement Caleb alone is exempted.

disinherit them, and will make of thee a nation greater and mightier than they. And Moses said unto the LORD, 13 Then the Egyptians shall hear it; for thou broughtest up this people in thy might from among them; and 14 they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land: they have heard that thou LORD art in the midst of this people; for thou LORD art seen a face to face, and thy cloud standeth over them, and thou goest before them, in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night. Now if thou shalt kill this people as one man, then the 15 nations which have heard the fame of thee will speak, saying, Because the LORD was not able to bring this 16 people into the land which he sware unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness. And now, 17 I pray thee, let the power of the Lord be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying, The LORD is slow to 18 anger, and plenteous in mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation. Pardon, 19 I pray thee, the iniquity of this people according unto the greatness of thy mercy, and according as thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt even until now. And 20 the LORD said, I have pardoned according to thy word:

a Heb. eye to eye.

18. Expressly stated to be a quotation, viz.' from Exod. xxxiv. 6 f. (J), which we may therefore assume to have been before the author of this later passage in written form.

<sup>13</sup> ff. The original is here in some confusion, but the general sense is clear. Moses appeals to God to spare His people out of regard (1) to His character and reputation as All-powerful (13-16), and (2) to His self-revelation as All-merciful (17-19). With Moses' argument here and the offer made to him in verse 12 cf. Exod. xxxii. 9-14, and with the special allegation of verse 16 cf. its use in an earlier connexion, Deut. ix. 28.

- 21 but in very deed, as I live, and as all the earth shall be
- 22 filled with the glory of the LORD; because all those men which have seen my glory, and my signs, which I wrought in Egypt and in the wilderness, yet have tempted me these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice;
- 23 surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that despised me
- 24 see it: but my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed 25 shall possess it. Now the Amalekite and the Canaanite
- 25 shall possess it. Now the Amalekite and the Canaanite dwell in the valley: to-morrow turn ye, and get you into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea.
- [P] And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, How long shall I bear with this evil congregation,

24. Caleb receives the reward of his faith and fidelity, another Abdiel, 'faithful found among the faithless, faithful only he.' With Moses (xii. 7) he shares the honourable title of Yahweh's 'servant.' For the fulfilment of the promise here made to Caleb see Joshua

xiv. 6-15.

The absence of Joshua here has been already characterized as the most striking divergence between the two main sources, and as convincing evidence against the homogeneity of chs. xiii, xiv. 'Had the whole narrative been by a single writer, who thought of Joshua as acting in concert with Caleb, it is difficult not to think that Joshua would have been mentioned beside Caleb—not, possibly, in xiii. 30, but—in xiv. 24, when the exemption from the sentence of exclusion from Palestine is first promised' (Driver, LOT.6 p. 63).

25. The first half of the verse is to be regarded as a gloss, for it

25. The first half of the verse is to be regarded as a gloss, for it 'is inconsistent with xiii. 29 as well as with xiv. 43, 45.' In any case it is impossible to say what is meant by 'the valley.'

by the way to the Red Sea: Heb. yam sûph, the 'sea of reeds'; here the name is applied, as in xxi. 4 and Deut. i. 40, taken from this passage, to the Gulf of Akabah, not as in Exod. x. 19, Num. xxxiii. 10 f., and elsewhere, to the Gulf of Suez.

26-38. mainly from P in continuation of verse 10, and giving the parallel account of the punishment of the people with the additional announcement that the period of the wanderings is to

which murmur against me? I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me. Say unto them, As I live, saith the LORD, surely as ye 28 have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you: your 29 carcases shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me, surely ye shall not come into the land, con- 30 cerning which I lifted up my hand that I would make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun. [JE] But your little ones, 31 which ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have rejected. But as for you, your carcases shall fall in this wilderness. 32 [P] And your children shall be a wanderers in the wilder- 33 ness forty years, and shall bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be consumed in the wilderness. After 24 the number of the days in which ye spied out the land, even forty days, for every day a year, shall ye bear your

a Heb. shepherds.

extend to forty years, to correspond to the forty days of the spies' absence (verse 24), and that Joshua as well as Caleb is to be exempted from the general exclusion from Canaan of all over twenty years of age.

<sup>30.</sup> I lifted up my hand that, &c.: 'concerning which I sware that,' &c., so rendered Exod. vi. 8. The promise referred to is, in P, first found in Gen. xvii. 8, and is repeated by him at least three times in Genesis and again in Exodus loc. cit. In J the corresponding passages begin with Gen. xii. 7.

<sup>31.</sup> and they shall know the land: read, with LXX, 'and they shall inherit,' &c.

<sup>33.</sup> your children shall be wanderers: render, as margin,

<sup>&#</sup>x27;shepherds,' or 'shall feed their flocks'; see note on xi. 4.

34. forty days... forty years. The writer, of course, intends the correspondence to be exact, in this reflecting the popular tradition and belief. But it should be remembered that the O.T. writers continually use 'forty' for a fairly large but indefinite

iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know a my 35 alienation. I the LORD have spoken, surely this will I do unto all this evil congregation, that are gathered together against me: in this wilderness they shall be 36 consumed, and there they shall die. And the men, which Moses sent to spy out the land, who returned, and made all the congregation to murmur against him, 37 by bringing up an evil report against the land, even those men that did bring up an evil report of the land, died by 38 the plague before the LORD. But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, remained alive 39 of those men that went to spy out the land. [JE] And Moses told these words unto all the children of Israel: 40 and the people mourned greatly. And they rose up early in the morning, and gat them up to the top of the mountain, saying, Lo, we be here, and will go up unto the place which the LORD hath promised: for we have 41 sinned. And Moses said, Wherefore now do ye transgress the commandment of the LORD, seeing it shall not 42 prosper? Go not up, for the LORD is not among you;

a Or, the revoking of my promise

number; as applied to the spies it means no more than that they were absent 'a few weeks,' and to the period of the wanderings, that 'a generation' elapsed between the exodus and the conquest of Canaan.

ye shall know my alienation: the effect of my displeasure, or of the withdrawal of my favour and protection.

39-45. Instead of obeying the Divine injunction to turn southwards towards the gulf of Akabah (see on verse 25), the people, in self-willed defiance of Yahweh and in spite of Moses' remonstrance, attempt to enter Canaan from the south, are defeated by the Amalekites and Canaanites and driven back to Hormah. Note that Deut. i. 40 ff. combines verse 25 of this chapter with 40 ff. as in the critical analysis here adopted.

40. the top of the mountain: evidently the high ground over-

looking Kadesh on the north.

42. the LORD is not among you: neither in person, since

that ye be not smitten down before your enemies. For 43 there the Amalekite and the Canaanite are before you, and ye shall fall by the sword: because ye are turned back from following the LORD, therefore the LORD will not be with you. But they presumed to go up to the 44 top of the mountain: nevertheless the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and Moses, departed not out of the camp. Then the Amalekite came down, and the Canaanite 45 which dwelt in that mountain, and smote them and beat them down, even unto Hormah.

[P] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak 15 2 unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye be come into the land of your habitations, which I give

they were acting contrary to His express command, nor as repre-

sented by the ark (verse 44; see note on x. 35 f.).

45. even unto Hormah: in Deut. loc. cit. 'from Seir (LXX) even unto Hormah.' The site of the latter is uncertain. For a tradition as to the origin of the name Hormah, see xxi. 3 below,

and cf. Judges i, 17.

(c) xv. A group of laws relating chiefly to ritual.

Into this section the compiler has gathered a group of five unconnected laws, the majority of which supplement the ritual ordinances of Leviticus, and must have stood originally in the Priests' Code. The last of the series (verses 37-41), however, shows unmistakable affinity with the Holiness Code, so that the whole were probably 'connected and incorporated by the same editor who worked H into P' (Gray).

(1) 1-16. The first of the five laws prescribes the quantities of flour and oil for the cereal-offering, and of wine for the drinkoffering, which accompanied the more important animal sacrifices. This supplementary minhah is to be distinguished from the independent minhah, or cereal-offering, which forms the subject of Lev. ii. The quantities here prescribed increase with the size of the sacrificial victim. For a tabulated comparison of these with Ezekiel's prescriptions (Ezek. xlvi. 5-7, 11, 14) see Gray, in loc. The present law has a close parallel in those of ch. xxviii below.

3 unto you, and will make an offering by fire unto the LORD, a burnt offering, or a sacrifice, a to accomplish a vow, or as a freewill offering, or in your set feasts, to make a sweet savour unto the LORD, of the herd, or of 4 the flock: then shall be that offereth his oblation offer unto the LORD a meal offering of a tenth part of an ephah of fine flour mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil: 5 and wine for the drink offering, the fourth part of an hin, shalt thou prepare with the burnt offering or for the 6 sacrifice, for each lamb. Or for a ram, thou shalt prepare for a meal offering two tenth parts of an ephah of fine 7 flour mingled with the third part of an hin of oil; and for the drink offering thou shalt offer the third part of an hin 8 of wine, of a sweet savour unto the LORD. And when thou preparest a bullock for a burnt offering, or for a sacrifice, a to accomplish a vow, or for peace offerings o unto the LORD: then shall he offer with the bullock

## <sup>2</sup> Or, in making a special vow

6-10. When the victim is a ram the quantities are to be increased to 2 ephah (about 14 pints) of flour and 1 hin (under 4 pints) of oil and wine; with a bullock they are further increased to 3 ephah (circa 11 pecks) and 1 hin (say 3 quarts) respectively. For these equations with our measures see the writer's art.

'Weights and Measures' in Hastings's DB., iv. 910-3.

<sup>3.</sup> or a sacrifice: more precisely 'a sacrifice of requital' or peace-offering (see Lev. iii); the burnt-offering and the peaceoffering were, in the earlier period at least, the two prevailing types of animal sacrifice.

a sweet savour unto the LORD. See note on Lev. i. 9, p. 40. 4 f. When the victim is a lamb or a kid (verse 11), the accompanying cereal-offering is to consist of 1 ephah (about 7 pints) of fine flour mixed with \( \frac{1}{4} \) hin (rather less than 3 pints) of olive oil. This is also the quantity of wine prescribed for the accompanying drink-offering. It is remarkable that the Pentateuch legislation contains no reference to the details of the ritual of the drink-offering. According to Ben Sira, circa 180 B.C., the wine was poured out at the base of the altar of burnt-offering (Ecclus. l. 15).

a meal offering of three tenth parts of an ephah of fine flour mingled with half an hin of oil. And thou shalt to offer for the drink offering half an hin of wine, for an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD. Thus shall it be done for each bullock, or for each ram, in or for each of the he-lambs, or of the kids. According 12 to the number that ye shall prepare, so shall ye do to every one according to their number. All that are home- 13 born shall do these things after this manner, in offering an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD. And if a stranger sojourn with you, or whoso- 14 ever be among you throughout your generations, and will offer an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD; as ye do, so he shall do. For the assembly, 15 there shall be one statute for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you, a statute for ever throughout your generations: as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the LORD. One law and one ordinance shall be 16 for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 17 18 the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land whither I bring you, then it shall be, that, 19 when ye eat of the bread of the land, ye shall offer up an

<sup>15</sup> f. 'One of the many passages in the later laws that assert the identity in respect of civil, moral, and religious rights and duties of the Jews and of the gêrim' (Gray). In the pre-exilic period the gêr or sojourner (R.V. stranger) was admitted only to a restricted civil and religious status, but in P the term has almost, if not altogether, become equivalent to 'proselyte.'

<sup>(2) 17-21.</sup> The contribution of the hallah or prime-cake, as it may be called. When settled in Canaan the Hebrews are enjoined to present to Yahweh a cake prepared from the first meal of the year; such at least seems to be intended by this not very explicit law.

<sup>19.</sup> an heave offering: Heb. těrůmah, 'a contribution,' oblation,' or the like (see note on Lev. vii. 14).

- 20 heave offering unto the LORD. Of the first of your a dough ye shall offer up a cake for an heave offering: as ye do the heave offering of the threshing-floor, so shall ye heave it. Of the first of your dough ye shall give unto the LORD an heave offering throughout your generations.
- And when ye shall err, and not observe all these commandments, which the LORD hath spoken unto Moses, even all that the LORD hath commanded you by the hand of Moses, from the day that the LORD gave commandment, and onward throughout your generations; then it shall be, if it be done b unwittingly, without the

a Or, coarse meal

b Or, in error

20. of your dough: margin 'coarse meal,' others 'kneading trough.' In any case, since barley ripened before wheat (Ruth i. 22, ii. 23), the cake would be of barley meal.

(3) 22-31. A law of the sin-offering parallel to and independent of Lev. iv. 1-v. 13. The differences between the two laws are sufficiently striking. Here only two cases are distinguished, the sin-offering of the congregation and that of an individual; in Lev. iv f. we have four carefully graded classes of offenders (see pp. 47 ff.). In the latter section the victims are likewise graded according to the theocratic rank of the offerer; here a yearling she-goat is the victim for all individual offenders, while no provision is made for the case of the very poor, as is done in Lev. v. 7-13. Other differences will be pointed out in the notes.

As regards the relation between the two laws, the harmonistic view that Lev. iv f. deals with sins of commission, while this section refers only to sins of omission, must be set aside as inconsistent with the plain prima facie reading of verses 24 and 29. It is greatly more probable that we have here a law of the sinoffering older and less fully developed than the law of Lev. iv. 1-35, v. 7-13, and due to a different circle of priestly legislators. (For a specific indication of the comparatively late date of Lev. iv

see the note on the two altars, pp. 49 f. above).

22-26. The sin-offering for unintentional sin on the part of the

congregation as a whole.

24. if it be done unwittingly: as opposed to sins committed with an high hand' (verse 30), i.e. in conscious and wilful defiance of the will of God (see on Lev. iv. 2). Here sins of commission are as clearly contemplated as in the parallel passage just cited.

knowledge of the congregation, that all the congregation shall offer one young bullock for a burnt offering, for a sweet sayour unto the LORD, with the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof, according to the ordinance, and one he-goat for a sin offering. And the 25 priest shall make atonement for all the congregation of the children of Israel, and they shall be forgiven; for it was an error, and they have brought their oblation, an offering made by fire unto the LORD, and their sin offering before the LORD, for their error: and all the 26 congregation of the children of Israel shall be forgiven, and the stranger that sojourneth among them; for in respect of all the people it was done unwittingly. And if 27 one person sin unwittingly, then he shall offer a she-goat of the first year for a sin offering. And the priest shall make atonement for the soul that erreth, when he sinneth unwittingly, before the LORD, to make atonement for him; and he shall be forgiven. Ye shall have one law 29 for him that doeth aught unwittingly, for him that is homeborn among the children of Israel, and for the stranger that sojourneth among them. But the soul that 30 doeth aught with an high hand, whether he be homeborn or a stranger, the same blasphemeth the LORD; and that

one young bullock for a burnt offering. In Lev. iv. 14 no burnt-offering is required, and the sin-offering consists of a bullock instead of, as here, a he-goat.

according to the ordinance: a reference to verses 8 f. of

this chapter.

<sup>25.</sup> the priest shall make atonement . . . and they shall be forgiven. See the discussion of atonement and forgiveness in P on pp. 51-3 of this commentary.

<sup>27-28.</sup> The sin-offering for unintentional sin on the part of an individual. The victim is uniformly 'a she-goat of the first year' as compared with the gradation of the victims in the parallel law. For verse 29 see note on 15 f. of this chapter.

- 31 soul shall be cut off from among his people. Because he hath despised the word of the LORD, and hath broken his commandment; that soul shall utterly be cut off, his iniquity shall be upon him.
- And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man gathering sticks upon the sabbath
- 33 day. And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congre-
- 34 gation. And they put him in ward, because it had not
- 35 been declared what should be done to him. And the LORD said unto Moses, The man shall surely be put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones
- 36 without the camp. And all the congregation brought him without the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he died; as the LORD commanded Moses.
- <sup>37</sup> [H] And the Lordspake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them

34 f. Cf. Lev. xxiv. 12 ff.; the uncertainty was probably in regard to the mode of executing the death penalty. With verse 36

cf. ibid. 23.

<sup>30.</sup> that soul shall be cut off, &c. See on Lev. vii. 20. For the striking fact that, according to the priestly theory of sacrifice, no expiation could be made for wilful or intentional offences, see the remark on Lev. iv. 2. Cf. Davidson, The Theology of the O.T., pp. 316 ff.: 'The Old Testament sacrificial system was a system of atonement only for the so-called sins of inadvertency.'

<sup>(4) 32-36.</sup> The fate of the sabbath-breaker. A late 'midrash' (note the terms of the introductory clause) to illustrate verses 30 f., the sin of the 'high hand.' The laws relative to the keeping of the Sabbath (Exod. xx. 8 ff., &c.) and the penalty of death attached to the breach thereof (ibid., xxxi. 14 f., xxxv. 2) are assumed to be known. There is therefore no question of ignorance or inadvertence. The incident recorded in Lev. xxiv. 10-23 is closely parallel both in character and treatment.

<sup>(5) 37-41.</sup> The law of the tassels, originally in the Holiness Code, as is generally maintained on the ground of the presence in it of undoubted characteristics of H (see especially verse 41). To each of the four corners of their outer garment—the plaid-shaped

a fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each 39 border a cord of blue; and it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the LORD, and do them; and that ye b go not about after your own heart and your own eyes, 40 after which ye use to go a whoring: that ye may remember and do all my commandments, and be holy 41 unto your God. I am the LORD your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the LORD your God.

a Or, tassels in the corners b Heb. spy not out.

'cloke' of Matt. v. 40-the Hebrews are enjoined to attach a tassel, presumably of white wool, by a blue thread as a reminder of their obligation to obedience and holiness unto their God (cf. the same law more briefly expressed in Deut. xxii. 12). The tassels were still worn, as here prescribed, in N.T. times (Matt. ix. 20, xiv. 36, &c.; A.V. hem, R.V. border). For the curiously minute regulations of later Judaism and the mystical meanings assigned to the threads and knots, and for the practice of modern Jews, see the writer's art. 'Fringes' in Hastings's DB., ii. 68 ff.

As to the historical origin of this 'sign,' it is now generally agreed that a primitive practice 1, which regarded the tassels as amulets, has been taken over by the Hebrew legislators and filled with a beautiful religious significance. The motive here assigned for the tassels 'is rather a religious afterthought, an attempt to make a deeply-rooted custom serve a fitting religious purpose' (Gray). There is good reason for believing that the phylacteries

have a similar history.

38. fringes in the borders, &c.: render as in the margin, 'tassels in the corners'; cf. Deut. xxii. 12, R.V. marg., 'thou shalt make thee twisted threads upon the four borders [corners] of thy vesture.'

39. it shall be . . . for a fringe: read, as Exod. xiii. 9, 16,

'for a sign.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In plate ii b of Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. i, may be seen a representation of Asiatics from an Egyptian tomb wearing garments having blue tassels attached.

16 [Pg] Now Korah, [Ps] the son of Izhar, the son of Ko-

(d) xvi-xviii. The mutiny of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and

the prerogatives and dues of Priests and Levites.

The second of these topics (ch. xviii) is intimately connected with, and indeed arises immediately out of, the first (note xvii. 12 f.), or rather out of that portion of the narrative of chs. xvi-xvii, which tells of the fatal attempt of a certain Korah and others to dispute the priestly prerogative of the tribe of Levi (from Pg). With this are now combined an earlier and a later story, the former telling of the revolt of Dathan and Abiram against the secular leadership of Moses (JE), the latter representing Korah and a band of Levites as reclaiming against the exclusive priesthood of Aaron (Ps). The analysis of ch. xvi (xvii-xviii belong entirely to Pg) may be represented thus (for verse 32b see notes): IE verses 1b 2a 12-15 25, 26 27<sup>b</sup>-32<sup>a</sup> 33-34 Ps ,, 1<sup>a</sup> (pt.) 2<sup>b</sup>-7 Ps ,, 1<sup>a</sup> 8-18-24 27ª

Ps ,, 1a 8-11 16, 17 36-40

The verses assigned to JE, read consecutively, give an almost complete account of a revolt against the authority of Moses, as the leader of the Hebrew tribes, headed by Dathan and Abiram of the tribe of Reuben. In combining this narrative with the mutiny of Korah, the compiler has omitted the grounds on which the former revolt was based. These, however, may be gathered from the words of the ringleaders in verses 12-14, and Moses' protest in 15 (see below). After treating Moses' message with contempt, Dathan and Abiram, with their families and followers, are punished by the earth miraculously (verse 30) opening and swallowing them alive. Deut. xi. 6, it should be noted, makes reference only to this strand of the present composite narrative.

P<sup>g</sup>, on the other hand, save for editorial additions (see on verse 24), is silent as to Dathan and Abiram, but tells the story of an entirely distinct mutiny with other leaders, a different motive and a different punishment. Here the ringleader is a certain Korah who, at the head of two hundred and fifty leading laymen, calls in question the priestly prerogatives of the tribe of Levi, as represented by Moses and Aaron, on the ground that every member of the theocratic community is 'holy,' and therefore equally entitled with the favoured tribe to 'come near unto Yahweh' in the ritual

of the sanctuary.

After Korah and his fellow mutineers have been consumed by fire, issuing from the Tent of Meeting (xvi. 35), the general body of the people murmur at their hard fate and are smitten with plague. The latter is stayed by the intervention of Aaron, acting under Moses' direction (xvi. 41 ff.), and the unique position of the tribe of Levi is thereafter made clear to all by a Divine ordeal

hath, the son of Levi, with [JE] Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of Peleth, sons of Reuben, took men: and they rose up before Moses, [Pg] with 2 certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation, called to the assembly, men of renown: and they assembled themselves together 3 against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, <sup>a</sup> Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation

\* Heb. It is enough for you.

(xvii. 1-9). The priestly prerogatives of Levi are further confirmed, and regulations given on the subject of the sacred dues to be set apart for the maintenance of both priests and Levites (ch. xviii).

Into this narrative of P<sup>3</sup> a later priestly writer has inserted a series of additions, the result of which is to alter entirely its character and motive. From being a protest on the part of a section of the laity against the privileged position of the tribe of Levi as a whole, Korah's rebellion is now represented as a protest against the exclusive priesthood of Aaron on the part of the remanent members of his own tribe. In this later form of the narrative most recent critics find an echo of the disputes, which may be assumed to have arisen in the early post-exilic community, between the Zadokite priesthood at Jerusalem and the descendants of the Levitical priests of the provincial sanctuaries over the exclusion of the latter from the higher functions of the priesthood (see Ezek, xliv. 9 ff. and the remarks above, p. 200).

xvi. r-35. The composite narrative of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. A fourth leader, 'On, the son of Peleth,' is named in the opening verse, but not elsewhere in the sequel (cf. Deut. xi. 6). Read 'Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Pallu, the son of Reuben,' as generally adopted on the basis of xxvi. 8 f.

1. Now Korah...took men. Here too the text is corrupt; read probably, 'Now there rose up Korah,' &c. Korah's descent from Levi is most probably due to P<sup>3</sup>. From the tenor of the narrative of P<sup>g</sup>, as summarized above, it is more probable that Korah was there represented as a layman, than that a Levite should be found reclaiming against the privileges of his own tribe. Some would connect the Korah of P<sup>g</sup> with the descendant of Caleb mentioned in 1 Chron, ii. 43, and see in the similarity of the two names the explanation of the fusion of the two divergent priestly traditions.

3. Ye take too much upon you: rather, 'We have had enough

are holy, every one of them, and the LORD is among them: wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the 4 assembly of the LORD? And when Moses heard it, he 5 fell upon his face: and he spake unto Korah and unto all his company, saying, In the morning the LORD will shew who are his, and who is holy, and a will cause him to come near unto him: even him whom he shall choose 6 will he cause to come near unto him. This do; take 7 you censers, Korah, and all his company; and put fire therein, and put incense upon them before the LORD to-morrow; and it shall be that the man whom the LORD doth choose, he shall be holy: ye take too much upon g you, ye sons of Levi. [Ps] And Moses said unto Korah, 9 Hear now, ye sons of Levi: seemeth it but a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel, to bring you near to himself; to do the service of the tabernacle of the LORD, and to stand before the congregation to minister unto to them; and that he hath brought thee near, and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee? and seek ye the 11 priesthood also? Therefore thou and all thy company are gathered together against the LORD: and Aaron,

a Or, whom he will cause to come near

of you (cf. Deut. i. 6, ii. 3), ye sons of Levi,' as now found at the end of verse 7, where the words are out of place. Korah and his followers claim equal privileges with the tribe of Levi, on the ground that every member of the theocratic community is holy in virtue of the sanctifying presence of Yahweh in their midst.

<sup>8-11 (</sup>Ps). Here the mutineers are addressed as exclusively 'sons of Levi,' and as actually in possession of the privileges which Korah and his company are represented as demanding in verses 3-5 (Ps). What is here demanded is the higher prerogative of the priesthood (verse 10), which the malcontents assert has been wrongfully usurped by Aaron (verse 11). It is against the latter alone, not against Moses (as JE), nor against Moses and Aaron (as Ps), that the rebellion of Ps is directed.

what is he that ye murmur against him? [JE] And 12 Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab: and they said, We will not come up: is it a 13 small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, but thou must needs make thyself also a prince over us? Moreover thou hast not brought us into a land flowing 14 with milk and honey, nor given us inheritance of fields and vineyards: wilt thou a put out the eyes of these men? we will not come up. And Moses was very wroth, 15 and said unto the LORD, Respect not thou their offering: I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them. [Ps] And Moses said unto Korah, Be 16 thou and all thy congregation before the LORD, thou, and they, and Aaron, to-morrow: and take ye every 17 man his censer, and put incense upon them, and bring ye before the LORD every man his censer, two hundred and fifty censers; thou also, and Aaron, each his censer. [Pg] And they took every man his censer, and put fire 18 in them, and laid incense thereon, and stood at the door of the tent of meeting with Moses and Aaron. And 19 'Korah assembled all the congregation against them unto

#### a Heb, bore out.

<sup>12-15 (</sup>JE). Dathan and Abiram send a contemptuous reply to Moses' summons, accusing him of misleading the people, of self-assumed leadership, and, as may be inferred from verse 15<sup>b</sup>, of using his position for his personal profit.

<sup>14.</sup> wilt thou put out the eyes, &c.: so literally, but the words are here used metaphorically, 'wilt thou throw dust in the eyes of these men?'

<sup>18-24,</sup> the continuation of Pg's narrative in verses 3-7. Note that the scene of the ordeal is at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting (contrast verse 27b, JE).

the door of the tent of meeting: and the glory of the LORD appeared unto all the congregation.

- And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, Separate yourselves from among this congrega-
- 22 tion, that I may consume them in a moment. And they fell upon their faces, and said, O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt thou be 23 wroth with all the congregation? And the LORD spake
- <sup>24</sup> unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the congregation, saying, Get you up from about the tabernacle of [R] Korah,
- 25 Dathan, and Abiram. [JE] And Moses rose up and went unto Dathan and Abiram; and the elders of Israel
- 26 followed him. And he spake unto the congregation, saying, Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed 27 in all their sins. [P2] So they gat them up from the

19. the glory of the LORD appeared. Compare the similar theophany as a prelude to judgement in xiv. 10, also below, verse 42.

22. the God of the spirits of all flesh. This phrase, only here and xxvii. 16, 'betrays the advanced theological standpoint of P. Yahweh is to him far more than the God of Israel; He is the one and only Author of all human life, and, as its Author, capable of destroying it' (Gray). A similar advance is reflected in the plea that follows, in which 'the early doctrine of solidarity' is outgrown, a position 'most easily explained if referred to a period influenced by Ezekiel's strong individualism (see, e.g., Ezek. xviii, xxxiii).'

24. the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Here and in verse 27 we may detect the hand of the compiler, for (1) the congregation is not assembled at the tents of the ringleaders but at the Tent of Meeting (verse 19), and (2) the word rendered

'tabernacle' (lit. 'the dwelling') always in P denotes 'the Dwelling' of Yahweh, in other words, the Tabernacle. Here, therefore, the original reading of P<sup>g</sup> was undoubtedly, 'get you up from about the Dwelling of Yahweh,' and similarly in 27<sup>a</sup>, the con-

tinuation of this verse.

<sup>25-34.</sup> The original continuation of 12-15 (JE), with the exception just noted,

tabernacle of [R] Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, on every side: [JE] and Dathan and Abiram came out, and stood at the door of their tents, and their wives, and their sons, and their little ones. And Moses said, Hereby ye shall 28 know that the LORD hath sent me to do all these works; for I have not done them of mine own mind. If these men 29 die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men; then the LORD hath not sent me. But if the LORD a make a new thing, and the 30 ground open her mouth, and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them, and they go down alive into b the pit; then ve shall understand that these men have despised the LORD. And it came to pass, as he made 31 an end of speaking all these words, that the ground clave asunder that was under them; and the earth 32 opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their households, [R] and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and all their goods. [JE] So they, and all that 33 appertained to them, went down alive into b the pit: and the earth closed upon them, and they perished from among the assembly. And all Israel that were round 34 about them fled at the cry of them: for they said, Lest <sup>a</sup> Heb. create a creation. <sup>b</sup> Heb. Sheel.

27. and stood at the door of their tents: the scene accordingly of the impending judgement upon Dathan and Abiram and their families (cf. above).

32. and all the men, &c. This clause anticipates the proper fate of Korah and his band in verse 35, and is due to the compiler's desire to harmonize the divergent narratives,

<sup>28</sup> ff. Moses announces a test by which it shall be decided whether or not his leadership is self-assumed. If the ringleaders of the mutiny die a natural death, the answer will be in the affirmative, and Moses will be proved an impostor; if, on the contrary, Yahweh intervenes with a miracle (lit. 'creates a creation,' verse 30 margin), and destroys the rebels out of hand, Moses' leadership will be proved to be by Divine appointment, and his opponents guilty of wilful contempt of Yahweh.

35 the earth swallow us up. [Pg] And fire came forth from the LORD, and devoured the two hundred and fifty men that offered the incense.

a [Ps] And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, that he take up the censers out of the burning, and scatter thou the fire syonder; for they are holy; even the censers of b these sinners against their own clives, and let them be made beaten plates for a covering of the altar: for they offered them before the LORD, therefore they are holy: and they

39 shall be a sign unto the children of Israel. And Eleazar the priest took the brasen censers, which they that were burnt had offered; and they beat them out for a covering 40 of the altar: to be a memorial unto the children of

<sup>a</sup> [Ch. xvii. 1 in Heb.] <sup>b</sup> Or, these men who have sinned at the cost of their lives <sup>c</sup> Or, souls

35. The continuation of 18-24, 27<sup>a</sup> (Pg). In the original Korah will have shared the fate of his 250 associates. How the compiler conceived the situation it is impossible to say, for he has already represented 'all the men that appertained unto Korah' as having been swallowed up alive (32<sup>b</sup>). As Kent remarks, 'the close amalgamation of two so fundamentally distinct traditions is almost without parallel in the O.T.' (Beginnings of Heb. History, p. 222).

36-40 (P<sup>s</sup>). Eleazar is commanded to collect the 250 brazen censers—rather firepans of bronze—to hammer them into plates, and to cover therewith the wooden framework of the altar of burnt-offering. That the section belongs to P<sup>s</sup> and not to P<sup>g</sup> is shown (1) by the connexion of verse 40 with verses 9 f., and (2) by the fact that according to P<sup>g</sup> the altar was overlaid with bronze when first constructed (Exod. xxvii. 2). The selection of Eleazar for this task, as for a similar task in ch. xix, is to be explained by the rigid taboo imposed on Aaron as high priest in the matter of contact with the dead (see Lev. xvii. 10 f.).

37 f. for they are holy; even the censers, &c.: render, with a slight textual alteration: 'for the censers of these men who have sinned at the cost of their own lives (so Amer. R.V. marg.) are holy,' i.e. taboo, forfeited to the sanctuary (cf. note on Lev. vi. 18).

40. The standpoint and motive of the secondary additions are here expressly stated; the legitimate priesthood is declared to be

Israel, to the end that no stranger, which is not of the seed of Aaron, come near to burn incense before the LORD; that he be not as Korah, and as his company: as the LORD spake unto him by the hand of Moses.

[Pg] But on the morrow all the congregation of the 41 children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, Ye have killed the people of the Lord. And it came to pass, when the congregation was as-42 sembled against Moses and against Aaron, that they looked toward the tent of meeting: and, behold, the cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord appeared. And Moses and Aaron came to the front of the tent 43 of meeting. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 44 Get you up from among this congregation, that I may 45 consume them in a moment. And they fell upon their faces. And Moses said unto Aaron, Take thy censer, 46 and put fire therein from off the altar, and lay incense thereon, and carry it quickly unto the congregation, and

the exclusive prerogative of Aaron and his 'seed.' With the signification of 'stranger' as here defined, cf. iii. 10 and note.

44. spake unto Moses: add with LXX, 'and Aaron'; cf. the

plural address, 'Get you up,' &c.

<sup>41-50 (</sup>Ps). The people bring a false accusation against Moses and Aaron, and are punished by an outbreak of plague, which is stayed by the intervention of Aaron. From this point to the end of ch. xviii we have a continuous extract from Ps.

<sup>46</sup> ff. Three points are noteworthy in these verses: (1) the use of incense as the medium of expiation or 'atonement'; probably a contrast is intended to the unauthorized use of incense in the preceding narrative of  $P^g$ ; (2) the mediatorial activity of Aaron, by which his priestly prerogative, previously questioned, is successfully vindicated; and (3) the conception of the 'wrath of Yahweh' as an independent agent (46 end), whose power to harm is defeated by the sacred fire 'from off the altar' in the hand of the sacrosanet person of the priest. 'The passage is important for the understanding of the  $k\bar{a}pp\bar{a}ra$  [expiation, atonement, see above, pp. 51 f.]: the latter is an act of the cultus, by which something

- make atonement for them: for there is wrath gone out 47 from the LORD; the plague is begun. And Aaron took as Moses spake, and ran into the midst of the assembly; and, behold, the plague was begun among the people: and he put on the incense, and made atonement for the
- 48 people. And he stood between the dead and the living; 49 and the plague was stayed. Now they that died by the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, be-
- 50 sides them that died about the matter of Korah. And Aaron returned unto Moses unto the door of the tent of meeting: and the plague was stayed.
- 17 2 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and take of them rods, one for each fathers' house, of all their princes according to their

## a [Ch. xvii, 16 in Heb.]

of the holiness attaching to the sanctuary is set free and transferred to the person for whose benefit the act is performed.' (Holzinger, Kurzer Handkommentar, in loc.)

xvii. 1-11. The privileged position of Levi among the Hebrew tribes is further publicly attested by a unique form of ordeal. By Divine instruction Moses deposits in the Tent of Meeting twelve rods or wands representing the twelve secular tribes, with an additional rod inscribed with the name of Aaron as head of the tribe of Levi. The tribe of Yahweh's choice—for the purpose of the choice, see xvi. 5—is to be signalized by the miraculous budding of its representative's rod. Next morning it is found that Aaron's rod alone has budded and brought forth fruit, thus confirming the Divine choice of the tribe of Levi for the ministry of the wilderness sanctuary. The rod is henceforth to be preserved 'for a token' in the Tent of Meeting. For references to similar legends of the sprouting of dead wood see Gray's and Dillmann's Commentaries.

2. take of them rods: probably the staves or wands ordinarily carried by the princes as the symbol of their rank, cf. xxi. 18, Gen. xlix. 10.

one for each fathers' house: 'fathers' house' or sept here exceptionally for 'tribe,' see on i. 2. For the names of the heads of the secular tribes see chs. i-ii and elsewhere.

fathers' houses, twelve rods: write thou every man's name upon his rod. And thou shalt write Aaron's name upon 3 the rod of Levi: for there shall be one rod for each head of their fathers' houses. And thou shalt lay them up in 4 the tent of meeting before the testimony, where I meet with you. And it shall come to pass, that the man whom 5 I shall choose, his rod shall bud: and I will make to cease from me the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against you. And Moses spake unto 6 the children of Israel, and all their princes gave him rods, for each prince one, according to their fathers' houses, even twelve rods: and the rod of Aaron was among their rods. And Moses laid up the rods before the LORD in 7 the tent of the testimony. And it came to pass on the 8 morrow, that Moses went into the tent of the testimony; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and put forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and bare ripe almonds. And Moses brought out all the rods 9 from before the LORD unto all the children of Israel: and they looked, and took every man his rod. And the 10 LORD said unto Moses, Put back the rod of Aaron before the testimony, to be kept for a token against the children of rebellion; that thou mayest make an end of their

<sup>3.</sup> What is the total number of the rods, twelve or thirteen? The text has been understood both ways, but P's division of the 'congregation' into twelve secular tribes requires that Levi should be reckoned as a thirteenth tribe, and Aaron's wand, consequently, as a thirteenth 'rod.'

<sup>4.</sup> in the tent of meeting before the testimony: i.c. before the ark, as explained in the note on Lev. xvi. 13; cf. 'before Yahweh,' verse 7.

<sup>9.</sup> The rods are publicly exhibited for the purpose expressed in

<sup>10.</sup> Aaron's rod is to be preserved, like the pot of manna (Exod. xvi. 33 f.), 'before,' but not within, the ark, as in the later Rabbinic tradition reproduced in Heb. ix. 4.

- Moses: as the Lord commanded him, so did he.
- And the children of Israel spake unto Moses, saying, Behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone.
- Every one that cometh near, that cometh near unto the tabernacle of the LORD, a dieth: shall we perish all of us?
- And the Lord said unto Aaron, Thou and thy sons and thy fathers' house with thee shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary: and thou and thy sons with thee shall
  - <sup>2</sup> bear the iniquity of your priesthood. And thy brethren
    <sup>n</sup> Or, shall die

12 f. These verses belong rather to the following chapter, since they contain the people's confession that unrestricted access to 'the Dwelling of Yahweh' is fatal, which leads to a renewed appointment of the tribe of Levi as the guardians and ministers of the sanctuary.

xviii. 1-7. In the introductory note to ch. iii (p. 199), it was pointed out that although some scholars adopt what is, it must be confessed, the prima facie view of this section, that the author of the history of Israel's theocratic institutions is here for the first time introducing the Levites as a second order in the hierarchy, it is on the whole more probable that he embraces the opportunity afforded by the mutiny of Korah to reinforce the Divine choice of Levi recorded in ch. iii. 5-13, and to introduce the delimitation of the respective duties of priests and Levites.

1. thy fathers' house: here the whole 'tribe of Levi' (cf. verse

2), exclusive of the priests ('thou and thy sons').

shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary... the iniquity of your priesthood. In these expressions to 'bear the iniquity,' or rather 'the guilt,' has a technical sense peculiar to P. It means to bear the consequences of ritual error in all that concerns the approach to God in the sanctuary. Everything pertaining to the Deity—His Dwelling, His altar, His 'holy things'—is charged with a dangerous 'spiritual electricity,' and the priests and Levites are, to continue the metaphor, to act as conductors of Yahweh's death-dealing holiness. In other words, the risks and dangers which the unconsecrated laity necessarily incur, in their approach to Yahweh in worship are, so to say, drawn off by the consecrated ministers of the sanctuary (cf. verse 5<sup>b</sup>). By this means the fate contemplated in xvii. 13 is averted.

also, the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring thou near with thee, that they may be a joined unto thee, and minister unto thee: but thou and thy sons with thee shall be before the tent of the testimony. And they 3 shall keep thy charge, and the charge of all the Tent: only they shall not come nigh unto the vessels of the sanctuary and unto the altar, that they die not, neither they, nor ye. And they shall be joined unto thee, and 4 keep the charge of the tent of meeting, for all the service of the Tent: and a stranger shall not come nigh unto you. And ye shall keep the charge of the sanctuary, 5 and the charge of the altar: that there be wrath no more upon the children of Israel. And I, behold, I have 6 taken your brethren the Levites from among the children of Israel: to you they are a gift, given unto the LORD, to do the service of the tent of meeting. And thou and 7 thy sons with thee shall keep your priesthood for every thing of the altar, and for that within the veil; and ye

<sup>8</sup> See Gen. xxix. 34.

and minister unto thee: but thou, &c. The two clauses must be read together: 'unto thee, whilst thou and thy sons are before the tent,' &c. The Levites are to assist the priests when the latter are engaged in the duties of the sanctuary. With the following injunctions cf. those of iii. 6-8, iv. 15, 17 ff.

<sup>2.</sup> that they may be joined unto thee. The verb is better taken as reflexive, 'that they may join themselves unto thee.' As in Gen. xxix. 34, there is a play upon the verb (lāvāh), here rendered 'join,' from which the name Levi is supposed to be derived. For other and more probable, but still uncertain, etymologies see the art. 'Levi' in the Bible Dictionaries.

<sup>6.</sup> to you they are a gift, given unto the LORD. For this idea of the Levites as a gift of the people to Yahweh, and as a gift by Him in turn to the priests, see iii. 9, viii. 16, 19. P consistently represents even the inferior position of the Levites, as compared with the priests, as one of great privilege and honour.

<sup>7.</sup> and for that within the veil. Elsewhere in P this expression denotes the most holy place or inner sanctuary of the Dwelling, as opposed to the outer sanctuary or holy place 'without the veil'

shall serve: I give you the priesthood as a service of gift: and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.

8 And the LORD spake unto Aaron, And I, behold,

(see Exod. xxvi. 31-35). Unless, therefore, we have a copyist's slip for 'within the screen' (see ibid., verse 36 f.), P here contemplates the entrance of the ordinary priests into the most holy place. Contrast Lev. xvi. which limits the right of entry into the latter to the high priest.

the stranger is here any one, even a Levite, who is not a priest, while in verse 4 it designates any layman, or non-Levite;

cf. further the note on Lev. xxii. 10.

8-32. Having defined anew the relative duties of the two orders of the hierarchy, the legislator proceeds to deal with the provision to be made for their support, viz. (1) the priests' dues, verses 8-20; (2) the general tithe for the Levites; 21-24, and (3) a special tithe to be paid by the latter to the priests, 25-32. The subject of the priestly revenues (cf. p. 68 above) is one of great importance for the history of the priesthood. Beginning with such early notices as Judges xvii. 10; I Sam. ii. 12-17, we may trace the gradual formulation and increasing amount of 'what was due to the priest from the people' (see Cent. Bible, Samuel, p. 45 f.), through the Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes to the relative treatises of the Mishnah. Convenient summaries of the data of the Pentateuch Codes will be found in C.H. Hex. i. 240 ff. 252 f., under the rubrics 'sacred dues.' and 'the revenues of the clergy,' and in Kent, Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents, pp. 198 ff. Professor Buchanan Gray has given special attention to the subject in his Commentary on Numbers, pp. 221-41. For an authoritative study of the revenues of the Jewish hierarchy in N.T. times, finally, see Schürer's Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes, third edition, ii. 243 ff. (Eng. trans. of earlier edition, The Jewish People, &c., Div. II. i. 230 ff.).

The position of Num. xviii. 8 ff. in the historical development may be given in Buchanan Gray's words (Numbers, p. 236): 'the dues here assigned to the tribe of Levi are immensely more valuable than those which are assigned, by direct statement or implication, to the Levites in Deuteronomy or any pre-exilic literature; and considerably more valuable than those required, for the priests, by Ezekicl. They are less valuable than those required in the Mishnah, and in one respect, than those required in Lev xxvii.

30-33 (Ps).

I have given thee the charge of mine heave offerings, even all the hallowed things of the children of Israel, unto thee have I given them a by reason of the anointing. and to thy sons, as a due for ever. This shall be thine 9 of the most holy things, reserved from the fire: every oblation of theirs, even every meal offering of theirs, and every sin offering of theirs, and every guilt offering of theirs, which they shall render unto me, shall be most holy for thee and for thy sons. As the most holy things 10 shalt thou eat thereof: every male shall eat thereof; it shall be holy unto thee. And this is thine; the heave II offering of their gift, even all the wave offerings of the children of Israel: I have given them unto thee, and to a Or, for a portion; [ad] the

8-20. The priests' dues (cf. Deut. xviii. 1-8; Ezek. xliv. 28 ff.; Lev. vi. 16-18, vii. 6-9, 31-33, &c.). After a general characterization of the nature of the dues in verse 8, the author proceeds to specify them in detail. to specify them in detail.

8. I have given thee the charge, &c. The whole verse requires re-translation thus: 'I have given thee that which is reserved (from the altar) of the contributions made to me, even all the sacred gifts (lit. 'holy things') of the children of Israel, to thee have I given them for a portion (so margin), and to thy sons, as a perpetual due.' For the rendering 'contributions' see on Lev. vii. 14, and for the marginal 'portion' see on Lev. vii. 35.

9. the most holy things: for the distinction between 'holy' and 'most holy' things, see the note on Lev. ii. 3. For the offerings here specified, and the share of each assigned to the priest, see Lev. ii-v. The peace-offering is dealt with in verse if; no reference is made to the burnt-offering or holocaust, since no part of it was 'reserved from the fire.'

10. As the most holy things: an evident mistranslation, comparing a thing with itself; render, 'In a most holy place,' i. e. as indicated in Lev. vi. 16, 26, 'in the court of the tent of meeting'—in actual practice, in the priests' chambers of the temple (so Ezek. xlii. 13).

11. the heave offering ('contribution,' as above) of their gift, even all the wave offerings: the former is the general category, the latter a special form of 'contribution,' for which see Lev.

vii. 30.

The second section is not as a second section.

thy sons and to thy daughters with thee, as a due for ever: every one that is clean in thy house shall eat there-12 of. All the a best of the oil, and all the a best of the vintage, and of the corn, the firstfruits of them which they give unto the LORD, to thee have I given them.

13 The firstripe fruits of all that is in their land, which they bring unto the LORD, shall be thine; every one that is 14 clean in thy house shall eat thereof. Every thing de-

15 voted in Israel shall be thine. Every thing that openeth the womb, of all flesh which they offer unto the LORD. Heb. fat.

12. the firstfruits of them: the original term (re'shith) must here denote the first in quality; render, 'the choicest of them,' cf. Exod. xxiii. 19, 'the choicest of the firstfruits.' The oldest extant Phoenician inscription is found on a bowl which claims to

be 'of the first quality (re shith) of bronze.'

ods to some of the

13. The firstripe fruits: Heb. bikkûrîm, usually rendered 'firstfruits.' This form of sacred due has a place in all the codes, see Exod. xxxiv. 26 (J), xxiii. 19 (E); Deut. xviii. 4, and especially xxvi, 1-11. For the widespread religious custom of dedicating to the deity a portion of the new produce of the year as at once a thankoffering for, and a dedication of, the whole, and for a discussion of the terms re shith and bikkûrim, both rendered firstfruits in our EVV, see Gray's excursus, Numbers, pp. 225-9.

14. Every thing devoted: see note on Lev. xxvii. 28.

15-18. The law regarding the disposal of firstborn (male) children and the firstlings of domestic animals. Put briefly, the law requires that the firstborn of men, and of animals not received as sacrificial victims, shall be redeemed, the redemption price falling to the priests, while those of the sacrificial animals (see p. 36) are to be sacrificed, the priests receiving the flesh. For a more detailed comparison than is possible here of P's prescriptions with those of the older legislation, e. g. Exod. xiii. 11-16, xxxiv. 19 f. (both J), xxii. 29 f. (E), and especially with Deut. xv. 19-23, the larger commentaries must be consulted. For the whole subject see W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup>, Additional Note E, pp. 458-65.

15. The general terms employed here seem at first sight to include both male and female firstborn, but the words are probably to be read in the light of the express limitation to males found in

both of man and beast, shall be thine: nevertheless the firstborn of man shalt thou surely redeem, and the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem. a And those 16 that are to be redeemed of them from a month old shalt thou redeem, according to thine estimation, for the money of five shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary (the same is twenty gerahs). But the firstling of an ox, or the first-17 ling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy: thou shalt sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt burn their fat for an offering made by fire, for a sweet savour unto the LORD. And 18 the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave breast and as the right thigh, it shall be thine. All the heave offer- 19 ings of the holy things, which the children of Israel offer unto the LORD, have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, as a due for ever: it is a covenant of salt for ever before the LORD unto thee and to thy seed

<sup>a</sup> Or, And as to their redemption money, from a month old shalt thou redeem them

the older codes (see references in preceding note, and cf. the limitation in iii. 40-51 (P<sup>8</sup>), above).

16. interrupts the connexion between 15 and 17, and appears to be a gloss based on iii. 43, 47, where see notes, and referring only to 'the firstborn of man.' Render: 'And as regards his redemption-price,' &c. For the shekel of the sanctuary see on Lev. v. 15.

17 f. The firstlings of sacrificial animals are to be treated so far as peace-offerings, see Lev. vii. 28-34, but the flesh, instead of furnishing the usual sacrificial meal for the offerer and his family, becomes the perquisite of the priests.

19. it is a covenant of salt for ever: i.e. a covenant that is irrevocable and valid in perpetuity (cf. 2 Chron. xiii, 5). From the use of salt as a preservative against decay, it was natural that it should become a symbol of permanence and even of life as opposed to decay and death, as it has become 'in the world's symbolism.' For another, and more usual, derivation of the metaphor of the text, see Gray in loc. or the writer's art. 'Salt' in Hastings's DB. (1909). Cf. note on Lev. ii, 13.

- with thee. And the LORD said unto Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any portion among them: I am thy portion and thine inheritance among the children of Israel.
- And unto the children of Levi, behold, I have given all the tithe in Israel for an inheritance, in return for their service which they serve, even the service of the
- 22 tent of meeting. And henceforth the children of Israel shall not come nigh the tent of meeting, lest they bear
- 23 sin, and die. But the Levites shall do the service of the tent of meeting, and they shall bear their iniquity: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations,

20. The priests, as represented by Aaron, are to have no landed possessions in Canaan, for Yahweh Himself is their portion and inheritance, an idea frequently expressed in Deut. (e.g. x. 9, xii. 12, xviii. 2, &c.). The same applies to the subordinate Levites, verses 23 f. below. In Deut., however, the terms priests and Levites are coextensive, as explained on p. 199 f. Both Deut. and P<sup>3</sup> are here in conflict with Num. xxxv. 1-8 (P<sup>5</sup>), for which see the introductory note there.

21-24. The Levites are to receive 'all the tithe in Israel' for their support in return for their service at the sanctuary. The tithe, or tenth part, 'as a rate of taxation, secular or religious' with special reference to agricultural produce, was familiar to many peoples of antiquity, Egyptians, Greeks, &c. (see Moore's art. 'Tithes' in EBi. iv.). Both in its sacred and its secular form the tithe finds early attestation in the O.T. apart from the law-codes, e.g. Amos iv. 4; Gen. xxviii. 22 (E), and I Sam. viii. 15, 17, the royal tithe. The complicated history of the nature and destination of the religious tithes—in later times it was usual to distinguish a first, second, and third tithe—has been carefully investigated by Driver in his Comm. on Deuteronomy, pp. 166-73, which see also for a discussion of the relation of P's legislation on the application of the tithe to that of Deuteronomy (xiv. 22-29, xxvi. 12-15). In Lev. xxviii. 30-33, a later priestly writer adds the tithe of cattle to the cereal tithe of Pg.

22. lest they bear sin, and die: i.e. lest they incur the fatal consequences of unguarded approach to the sanctuary, as explained in the notes on verse 1; the expression is used in ix. 13 with reference to a sin of omission.

and among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance. For the tithe of the children of Israel, 24 which they offer as an heave offering unto the Lord, I have given to the Levites for an inheritance: therefore I have said unto them, Among the children of Israel they shall have no inheritance.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Moreover 25 thou shalt speak unto the Levites, and say unto them, When ye take of the children of Israel the tithe which I have given you from them for your inheritance, then ye shall offer up an heave offering of it for the LORD, a tithe of the tithe. And your heave offering shall be reckoned 27 unto you, as though it were the corn of the threshingfloor, and as the fulness of the winepress. Thus ye also 28 shall offer an heave offering unto the LORD of all your tithes, which ye receive of the children of Israel; and thereof ye shall give the LORD's heave offering to Aaron the priest. Out of all your gifts ye shall offer every heave 29 offering of the LORD, of all the a best thereof, even the hallowed part thereof out of it. Therefore thou shalt 30 say unto them, When ye heave the a best thereof from it, then it shall be counted unto the Levites as the increase of the threshing-floor, and as the increase of the winepress. And ye shall eat it in every place, ye and 31 your households: for it is your reward in return for your service in the tent of meeting. And ye shall bear no sin 32

Heb. fat.

<sup>25-32.</sup> Of the tithe paid by the people to the Levites the latter in their turn are to pay over the tenth part—'a tithe of the tithe' (verse 26)—to the priests.

<sup>30.</sup> unto the Levites: read with Vulgate, 'unto you' and render: 'it (the remainder of the general tithe) shall be counted unto you as the (tithed) increase of the threshing-floor,' &c. is counted to the lay Israelites, i.e. it will now be available for the maintenance of the Levites and their families.

by reason of it, when ye have heaved from it the a best thereof: and ye shall not profane the holy things of the children of Israel, b that ye die not.

19 [P] And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron,

a Heb. fat.

b Or, neither shall ye die

(e) xix. The Red Heifer, or the ritual of purification from unclean-

ness caused by contact with the dead.

This chapter, which has no connexion with those that precede and follow it, consists of two distinct sections: (1) verses 1-13, containing directions for the preparation of a special cathartic in the shape of the ashes of a red cow (1-10), and for its use in cases of ceremonial defilement through contact with a dead body (12-13); (2) verses 14-22, more detailed instructions for its use in a variety of similar cases due to the defiling power of the dead. While there can be no question that both sections belong to the priestly legislation, it is evident, on several grounds, that they are the product of different hands, and that neither had a place in the

groundwork of the Priests' Code (Pg).

The primitive conceptions underlying the rite of purification, here described, have been briefly set forth in the introduction to the section of Leviticus devoted to the laws of uncleanness and purification, where this chapter might have been expected to find a place (see above, pp. 81 ff.). Among the Hebrews, as among other peoples of the ancient and modern world, it is found that 'a chief centre or "nidus" of impurity is childbirth; but still more dangerously impure is its counterpart, death and all the phenomena of death' (Farnell). So powerful, indeed, was the uncleanness produced by contact with, and even by proximity to, a dead body that, according to this chapter at least, the ordinary medium of purification, water, was insufficient and had to be strengthened by the addition, along with other ingredients, of the ashes of a sacrosanct animal. Most of the questions, historical and exegetical, raised by this chapter have been touched upon by the present writer in his art. 'Red Heifer' in Hastings's DB., iv. 207 ff. To the literature there given should now be added Buchanan Gray's Commentary (valuable for the parallels from other religions); Bewer, Journ. of Bib. Lit. xxiv. (1905) 41 ff. (the rite was originally a sacrifice to the spirits of the dead); H. P. Smith, ibid, xxvii, (1908) 153 ff., and Amer. Journ. of Theol. xiii. (1909) 207-28 (a history of the extraordinarily varied interpretations of this chapter); Lods, La Croyance de la Vie Future, i. 175 ff., 'L'impureté des morts.'

saying, This is the statute of the law which the LORD 2 hath commanded, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee a red heifer a without spot, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke: and ye shall give her unto Eleazar the priest, and he 3 shall bring her forth without the camp, and one shall slay her before his face: and Eleazar the priest shall 4 take of her blood with his finger, and sprinkle of her blood toward the front of the tent of meeting seven times: and one shall burn the heifer in his sight; her 5 skin, and her flesh, and her blood, with her dung, shall he burn: and the priest shall take cedar wood, and 6 hyssop, and scarlet, and cast it into the midst of the

a Or, perfect

4. toward the front of the tent of meeting. The cow is to be slain—but not by the priest—to the east of the camp. According to the Mishnah (Pārāh [the Cow], iii. 6, Eng. trans. in Barclay, The Talmud, p. 304), the place in later times was the Mount of Olives. The rite described in this and the following verses has, besides its quasi-sacrificial character, several unique features, such as the subordinate part played by the priest, the sprinkling of the blood from a distance, and especially the burning of the blood.

6. cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet. For these see the note on Lev. xiv. 4, in another specimen of primitive ritual. Here, as there, the first two ingredients were added in virtue

<sup>2.</sup> a red heifer: more precisely 'a red (i.e. reddish brown), cow.' The red colour is usually explained as suggesting blood, the seat of life, but is more probably due to association with fire as a powerful purifying agent (cf. xxxi. 23), just as at the festival of the Robigalia the Romans sacrificed red whelps as 'a symbol of the scorching heat of the sun which destroyed the crops' (Wissowa). Those who find in the rite of the red cow a survival of an ancient sacrifice for the dead point to the red victims sacrificed by the Greeks to their underground deities. The nearest analogies to the sex of the red cow is the ewe-lamb of Lev. xiv. 10, which, however, was a true sacrifice, and the heifer—not, as here, a cow—of the purgation rite, Deut. xxi. 1-9. Both heifer and cow had to be 'virgin' animals, in the sense that they had not been used by man for secular purposes (cf. the same condition in 1 Sam. vi. 7).

7 burning of the heifer. Then the priest shall wash his clothes, and he shall bathe his flesh in water, and afterward he shall come into the camp, and the priest shall be 8 unclean until the even. And he that burneth her shall wash his clothes in water, and bathe his flesh in water, 9 and shall be unclean until the even. And a man that is clean shall gather up the ashes of the heifer, and lay them up without the camp in a clean place, and it shall be kept for the congregation of the children of Israel for a water of a separation; it is a sin offering. And he that gathereth the ashes of the heifer shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the even; and it shall be unto the children of Israel, and unto the stranger that sojourneth

### a Or, impurity

of their aromatic properties, in this case to increase the efficacy of the ashes as a cathartic. The 'holy water' of the Babylonians, prepared by the addition of cedar, cypress, tamarisk, and other

fragrant woods, offers an analogy.

7 f. These verses supply an illuminating illustration of the primitive conception of the quasi-physical nature of holiness and of its close connexion with uncleanness. The priest and the man that slew and burned the cow have become ceremonially unclean through contact with a thing most holy or 'taboo.' To prevent the spread of the fatal contagion of holiness to others, they must wash both their persons and their garments. See the notes on Lev. vi. 11, 27, and on the still closer parallels, Lev. xvi. 23 ff.

9. for a water of separation: render with margin, 'a water of impurity,' or better, with Amer. R.V., 'a water for impurity,' i.e. a water for the removal of ceremonial uncleanness, an

expression peculiar to this chapter and xxxi. 23.

it is a sin offering (cf. verse 17). This rendering is impossible for the simple reason that the red cow was not a sin-offering or indeed a sacrifice of any kind; for P there is only one legitimate place of sacrifice, the altar in the court of the tabernacle, and the cow was slaughtered and burnt elsewhere (verse 3). Render it is a medium of purification, or un-sin-ment, as advocated on p. 48; cf. the note on Num. viii. 7, where the original (hattāth) is rendered expiation by the Revisers, and the use of the cognate verb in verses 12 f., 19 f. below.

among them, for a statute for ever. He that toucheth II the dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days: the same shall purify himself therewith on the third day, 12 and on the seventh day he shall be clean: but if he purify not himself the third day, b then the seventh day he shall not be clean. Whosoever toucheth the dead 13 body of any man that is dead, and purifieth not himself, defileth the tabernacle of the LORD; and that soul shall be cut off from Israel: because the water of separation was not sprinkled upon him, he shall be unclean; his uncleanness is yet upon him. This is the law when 14 a man dieth in a tent: every one that cometh into the tent, and every one that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days. And every open vessel, which hath no 15 covering bound upon it, is unclean. And whosoever 16 or, and on the seventh day, so shall he be clean b Or, and

purification' is to be used, the removal of uncleanness caused by touching a dead body. A parallel to this use of ashes is provided by the Roman custom, at the festival of the Fordicidia, of purifying the men and animals on the farm with the ashes of calves taken from pregnant cows (Bailey, The Religion of Ancient Rome, p. 62).

12. the same shall purify himself: lit. 'shall un-sin himself,'

<sup>12.</sup> the same shall purify himself: lit. 'shall un-sin himself,' see above, also the note on Lev. iv. 3. The punctuation and renderings of the margin are to be preferred to those of the text.

<sup>13.</sup> defileth the tabernacle of the LORD; see on Lev. xv. 31; cf. verse 20 below.

<sup>14-22.</sup> A section from another hand, as shown by certain variations in the phraseology, giving a more detailed application of the general principles laid down in verses 11-13, and more precise instructions for the mode of purification.

<sup>15.</sup> Every open vessel and its contents are unclean because the latter are exposed to the miasma of impurity. This idea lies at the basis of the widespread custom of pouring out the contents of vessels containing water and milk immediately a death occurs in a house (see Bender, Jewish Quart. Rev. vii. 106 ff., and Sébillot, Le Paganisme contemporain, p. 173 f., both of whom refer to the Jewish belief that this is done to the water because the angel of death has washed therewith the blood from his sword).

in the open field toucheth one that is slain with a sword. or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, shall be 17 unclean seven days. And for the unclean they shall take of the ashes of the burning of the sin offering, and 18 a running water shall be put thereto in a vessel: and a clean person shall take hyssop, and dip it in the water, and sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there, and upon him that touched the bone, or the slain, or the dead, or the 10 grave: and the clean person shall sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day: and on the seventh day he shall purify him; and he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and shall be 20 clean at even. But the man that shall be unclean, and shall not purify himself, that soul shall be cut off from the midst of the assembly, because he hath defiled the sanctuary of the LORD: the water of separation hath not been sprinkled upon him; he is unclean. And it shall be a perpetual statute unto them: and he that sprinkleth the water of separation shall wash his clothes; and he that toucheth the water of separation shall be unclean 22 until even. And whatsoever the unclean person toucheth

## a Heb. living.

17-19, instructions for the preparation of the 'water for impurity' and the mode of its application. Some of the ashes of the red cow are to be added to 'living' water (see on Lev. xiv. 5); a clean person then takes a bunch of hyssop or marjoram, and sprinkles with the mixture the persons and things defiled.

<sup>21.</sup> The 'water for impurity' is a means of restoring the unclean to ceremonial holiness because it is itself holy (taboo); therefore the clean person who handles it becomes, as in the cases mentioned above (verses 7 ff.), likewise taboo, that is infected by the contagion of holiness, and consequently unclean. Similarly, in later times, whoever handled a roll of the sacred Scriptures became unclean because these 'defiled the hands' by their holiness.

<sup>22,</sup> on the other hand, illustrates the contagion of uncleanness,

shall be unclean; and the soul that toucheth it shall be unclean until even.

[JEP] And the children of Israel, even the whole 20

which, according to Hag. ii. 12 f., was regarded as even more

powerful than the contagion of holiness.

In the rite of 'the red heifer' we have one of the most striking examples of the survival within the higher religion of Israel of a practice which there is every reason to believe antedates that religion itself. Like the goat to Azazel (Lev. xvi. 8 ff.), the tassels on the mantle (Num. xv. 37 ff.), and similar survivals, the rite has been adopted by the priestly legislators, but reinterpreted in the spirit of a later age. As it now appears, it reinforces by its striking symbolism the eternal truth that purity and holiness are the essential characteristics of the people of God.

(f) xx. 1-13. Death of Miriam at Kadesh. The 'waters' of strife and the exclusion of Moses and Aaron from the land of promise.

Why were Moses and Aaron denied the privilege of entering the promised land? What had they done to forfeit this privilege? These questions supplied the principal motif for the traditions (from JE and P) now blended and revised by the compiler in this section (the detailed analysis is uncertain, and has not been attempted in the text above). Other motifs may be recognized in the explanation of the place-names Meribah and Kadesh in

verse 13 (see notes).

It is remarkable, however, that no very convincing reason is given in the text as it now stands for the exclusion of Moses, still less for the exclusion of Aaron, from the land of Canaan. The compiler, to all appearance, wishes to represent Moses as guilty of a momentary lack of faith in the Divine power to draw the water from the rock by a word, and both Moses and Aaron as guilty of claiming for themselves the power which belonged to God alone (see esp. verse 10). But a closer examination of the composite narrative, and of the allusions elsewhere to the conduct of the two leaders on this occasion as an act of rebellion against Yahweh (see e.g. verse 24 of this chapter and xxvii, 14) has suggested the belief that the compiler has considerably modified and toned down the representation of his sources. These allusions, it must be admitted, give colour to the suggestion, approved by several scholars of repute, that the words 'Hear now, ye rebels' of verse 10 were, in the original tradition, addressed by Yahweh Himself to Moses and Aaron (see Cornill's suggested

congregation, came into the wilderness of Zin in the first month: and the people abode in Kadesh; and Miriam 2 died there, and was buried there. And there was no water for the congregation: and they assembled them-3 selves together against Moses and against Aaron. And the people strove with Moses, and spake, saying, Would God that we had died when our brethren died before the 4 LORD! And why have ye brought the assembly of the LORD into this wilderness, that we should die there, we 5 and our cattle? And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us in unto this evil place?

6 granates; neither is there any water to drink. And Moses and Aaron went from the presence of the assembly unto the door of the tent of meeting, and fell upon their faces: and the glory of the LORD appeared

it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pome-

7 unto them, And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, 8 Take the rod, and assemble the congregation, thou, and

reconstruction in Gray's Commentary, p. 162). The problem is confessedly one of considerable difficulty, and must be studied in the standard critical and exegetical works.

1. the wilderness of Zin. See on xiii. 3, 21.

in the first month: the number of the year has either dropped out accidentally, or more probably has been omitted by the compiler for harmonistic reasons. In P the year was doubtless the fortieth from the exodus, but in JE the Hebrews arrived at Kadesh soon after leaving Sinai-Horeb (see p. 259). According to the earlier tradition Kadesh was the centre and rallying-point of the tribes during the whole period of the wanderings. For its probable site and identification with the modern 'Ain Kadīs see on xiii. 26.

and Miriam died there: probably from E; hence the date of Miriam's death must not be placed, without further evidence, in the fortieth year, which is P's probable date for the following incident. The latter would be more natural at the beginning than at the close of the stay at Kadesh.

. 3. died before the LORD: in the mutiny of Korah and the

subsequent plague (xvi. 35, 49, xvii. 12 f.).

8. Take the rod: described in verse 9 as 'before Yahweh'

Aaron thy brother, and speak ye unto the rock before their eyes, that it give forth its water; and thou shalt bring forth to them water out of the rock: so thou shalt give the congregation and their cattle drink. And Moses 9 took the rod from before the LORD, as he commanded him. And Moses and Aaron gathered the assembly 10 together before the rock, and he said unto them, Hear now, ye rebels; shall we bring you forth water out of this rock? And Moses lifted up his hand, and smote rr the rock with his rod twice: and water came forth abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their cattle. And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron, Because ye 12 believed not in me, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this assembly into the land which I have given them. These 13 are the waters of a Meribah; because the children of That is, Strife. 11 411

with reference to xvii. 10. The present form of the narrative leaves the purpose of the rod unexplained (contrast the parallel narrative, Exod. xvii. 5 f.).

narrative, Exod. xvii. 5 f.).

10. According to a probable reconstruction of the original tradition (see reference above), Moses and Aaron were bidden by Yahweh to speak to the rock; they refused, sceptically asking Yahweh, 'Can we bring them forth water out of this rock?', to which Yahweh replied, 'Hear now, ye rebels,' bidding them at the same time strike the rock, and afterwards pronouncing upon them the doom of exclusion as in verse 12.

12. to sanctify me (cf. xxvii. 14): by their disobedience and lack of faith, the two leaders had robbed Yahweh of the honour due to Him as 'the holy one of Israel,' and so done injury to His essential attribute of holiness. The reflexive form of the verb, at the close of verse 13, may accordingly be rendered: 'and he vindicated his holiness among them.' The selection of this verb (kādēsh) is probably intended, by a play upon the word, to suggest the origin of Kadesh as a place-name. This motif is certain in the words

13. These are the waters of Meribah: i.e. 'the waters of strife' or 'contention.' That Meribah is another name for Kadesh with reference to its sacred spring is seen from the frequent

Israel strove with the LORD, and he a was sanctified in them.

[JE] And Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto 2 Or, shewed himself holy

occurrence of the double name 'Meribath-Kadesh' (see reff.

p. 263). In reality, however, Kadesh was from the earliest times one of those 'well sanctuaries,' hallowed by the presence of a sacred spring, and the seat of an oracle, as attested by the undoubtedly ancient name En-mishpat or Fountain of Judgement (Gen. xiv. 7). The name Meribah is now generally explained on these lines as 'the place of contention' at law, the ancient sanctuaries being the seats of the earliest courts of justice (for this, and for the relation of the present section to Exod. xvii. 1-7. where Meribah is identified with Massah and both with Rephidim. see Meyer, Die Israeliten, pp. 54 ff.; cf. Bennett, Cent. Bible, in loc.).

# Third Division. CHAPTERS XX. 14-XXXVI. 13.

FROM KADESH TO THE PLAINS OF MOAB.

THE third division of the Book of Numbers relates the experiences of the Hebrew tribes from their departure from Kadesh-Barnea to their encampment in 'the plains of Moab at (i. e. over against) Jericho.' A summary of the contents with the relative subdivisions will be found in sect. ii of the Introduction. The most important of the historical episodes is that of Balaam, who was called to curse but was compelled to bless the tribes of Israel (chs. xxii-xxiv, from the prophetic source, JE). A large amount of legislative matter belonging to various strata of the

priestly writings has also found a place in this division.

According to the compiler's scheme of chronology the events recorded in this part of Numbers, including the conquest and occupation of the whole of the country east of the Jordan, fall within the latter half of the fortieth year from the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt. Unfortunately, in the present fragmentary condition of the original sources, it is no longer possible to trace with certainty the route taken by the tribes on their march from Kadesh to the Jordan. As will appear in the sequel, E is the most explicit, representing the Israelites as compelled by the hostility of Edom to adopt the circuitous route by the way of the Gulf of Akabah to 'compass' the whole land of Edom (cf. Judges xi. 18). P, on the other hand, and also J probably, adopt the direct route from Kadesh by the southern end of the Dead Sea, crossing the northern part of Edom (see notes on xx. 22 f., xxi, 10 ff.). D, finally, brings the Israelites along the western

the king of Edom, Thus saith thy brother Israel, Thou knowest all the travail that hath befallen us: how our 15 fathers went down into Egypt, and we dwelt in Egypt a long time; and the Egyptians evil entreated us, and our fathers: and when we cried unto the Lord, he heard 16 our voice, and sent an angel, and brought us forth out of Egypt: and, behold, we are in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border: let us pass, I pray thee, through 17 thy land: we will not pass through field or through vineyard, neither will we drink of the water of the wells: we

frontier of Edom to the head of the Gulf of Akabah, as does E, but differs from the latter in taking them thereafter due north along the depression of the Arabah towards the Dead Sea and the territory of Moab (Deut. ii. 1-13, 28 f.). But little assistance in the solution of this problem of the actual route of the Hebrews is to be obtained from the late and artificial itinerary given in ch. xxxiii below.

(a) xx. 14—xxi. 35. The Hebrews, refused a passage through Edom, make a long detour and take possession of the country east of the Jordan.

14-21. Edom refuses the request of his 'brother Israel' to be allowed to pass peaceably through his territory. The source is JE, but mainly E (see on verse 16).

14. the king of Edom. That there were kings 'in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over Israel,' is expressly

stated in Gen. xxxvi. 31; cf. 1 Sam. viii. 5.

thy brother Israel: see esp. Gen. xxv. 23-26 for this relationship of Esau-Edom to Jacob-Israel; cf. Amos i. 11; Obad. 10, 12. For the characteristic O.T. 'personification of a whole class or people so that it is spoken of, or represented as speaking, in the singular,' see Gray in loc.

16. and sent an angel: this thought of an angel as Yahweh's representative in the work of the great deliverance is characteristic

of E's account of the exodus, see Exod. xiv. 19, xxiii. 20.

Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border: a statement of the first importance for fixing the site of Kadesh (see note on xiii. 26), as lying on the extreme western frontier of Edom. It also proves conclusively that the territory at this time occupied by the Edomites extended to both sides of the Arabah.

17. Compare the identical proposal xxi. 21 f.; from Deut. ii. 29 it may be inferred that similar overtures were made to the

Moabites, the record of which has not been preserved.

will go along the king's high way, we will not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed

18 thy border. And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass through me, lest I come out with the sword against

And the children of Israel said unto him, We will go up by the high way: and if we drink of thy water. I and my cattle, then will I give the price thereof: let me only, without doing any thing else, pass through on my

20 feet. And he said, Thou shalt not pass through. And Edom came out against him with much people, and with

- 21 a strong hand. Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border: wherefore Israel turned away from him.
- <sup>22</sup> [P] And they journeyed from Kadesh: and the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, came unto 23 mount Hor. And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in mount Hor, by the border of the land of Edom,

the king's high way. For the ancient trade-routes through Edom, see *EBi*. iv. col. 5162 f., and Hastings's *DB*., v. 370.

19. The Israelites make a second attempt to conciliate Edom;

verses 19 f., however, may represent the parallel account of J.

21. Israel turned away from him: 'by the way to the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom,' so runs the continuation of

JE's narrative in xxi. 4b, which see.

22-29 (from Pg). The death of Aaron on Mount Hor and installation of Eleazar as High Priest in his stead; cf. xxxiii. 37-39, where Aaron's age is given as 'an hundred and twenty and three years.' A variant tradition as to the place of Aaron's death is found in Deut. x. 6 f., a fragment of an itinerary, probably from E (see Cent. Bible, in loc.). Neither the Moserah of the latter passage nor the Mount Hor of P has been identified with certainty; both probably lay in the neighbourhood of the Jebel Madera (= Moserah?) of Musil's map, to the north-east of 'Ain Kadis and east of the Wady Fikreh. Cf. on xxxiii. 30 ff.

22 f. mount Hor . . . by the border of the land of Edom (cf. xxxiii. 37). If the identification of Mt. Hor with Jebel Madera be accepted, P will have represented the Israelites as taking the

direct route by the southern end of the Dead Sea.

saying, Aaron shall be gathered unto his people: for he 24 shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye rebelled against my word at the waters of Meribah. Take Aaron and Eleazar his 25 son, and bring them up unto mount Hor: and strip 26 Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there. And Moses did as the Lord commanded: 27 and they went up into mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation. And Moses stripped Aaron of his gar-28 ments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount. And when all the 29 congregation saw that Aaron was dead, they wept for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel.

[JE] And the Canaanite, the king of Arad, which 21 dwelt in the South, heard tell that Israel came by the way a of Atharim; and he fought against Israel, and took some of them captive. And Israel vowed a vow 2 unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will b utterly destroy their cities. And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Israel, 3

<sup>a</sup> Or, of the spics . <sup>b</sup> Heb. devote.

<sup>24.</sup> because ye rebelled, &c.: see above, verses 1-13.

26. strip Aaron of his garments: i.e. of his robes of office.

described Lev. viii. 7 ff., with which Eleazar is vested as his successor in the office of High Priest.

xxi. 1-3. A misplaced and perplexing section from JE, which may originally have stood in closer connexion with xiv. 39-45.

<sup>1.</sup> We should probably read: 'And the Canaanite which dwelt in the Negeb' (cf. xiv. 25, 45), omitting 'the king of Arad' as a gloss.

by the way of Atharim: the meaning of Atharim is unknown; the text is doubtless corrupt.

<sup>3.</sup> Comparison with Judges i. 17 has suggested that this conquest of Hormah—here, however, represented as a district com-

and delivered up the Canaanites; and they autterly destroyed them and their cities; and the name of the place was called b Hormah.

- 4 [P] And they journeyed from mount Hor [E] by the way to the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom: and the soul of the people c was much discouraged d because
- 5 of the way. And the people spake against God, and against Moses, Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, and there is no water; and our soul loatheth this elight
- 6 bread. And the LORD sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of
- 7 Israel died. And the people came to Moses, and said, We have sinned, because we have spoken against the LORD, and against thee; pray unto the LORD, that he

<sup>a</sup> Heb. devoted. <sup>b</sup> From the same root as herem, a devoted thing. <sup>c</sup> Or, was impatient Heb. was shortened. <sup>d</sup> Or, in <sup>o</sup> Or, vile

prising several cities of the Canaanites—may have been told here by anticipation.

4-9. The episode of the 'brazen' (copper) serpent. A final murmuring on the part of the Hebrews is punished by a plague of 'fiery' serpents. After 'much people' had died of their bites, Moses, in answer to prayer, is instructed to set up on a pole a bronze model of a serpent on which the sufferers may look and be healed. The episode is generally assigned to E.

4. The first six words are P's continuation of xx. 29, and are continued in verse 10 below; for the rest of 4<sup>n</sup> see on xx. 21. The route lay in a south-easterly direction along the western frontier of Edom until it reached the Red Sea at the northern end of the Gulf of Akabah in the neighbourhood of Elath and Ezion-geber (cf.

Deut. ii. 8).

5. this light bread: rather as margin 'this vile bread.'

6. fiery serpents: the meaning of the word rendered 'fiery' is still matter of conjecture. It is usually derived from the verb sāraph, 'to burn' ('burning serpents'), and supposed to refer to the burning sensation caused by the poison from their fangs. The connexion of the term, if any, with the seraphim of Isa. vi. 2, 6 is equally uncertain.

take away the serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people. And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee 8 a fiery serpent, and set it upon a standard: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, 9 and set it upon the standard: and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he looked unto the serpent of brass, he lived. [P] And the children of to Israel journeyed, and pitched in Oboth. And they the

9. a serpent of brass: rather 'of copper,' which the original

signifies in Deut. viii. 9, or, as elsewhere, 'of bronze.'

The interpretation of this episode must start from the historical notice of the destruction by Hezekiah of the 'brazen' serpent which had become an object of idolatrous worship in the temple at Jerusalem, and is expressly identified with the serpent made by Moses on this occasion (see 2 Kings xviii. 4). The view now generally advocated, even by so conservative a scholar as Baudissin (see below), is that the worship in question was part of a foreign cult, borrowed probably from the Canaanites, in which the serpent symbolized a chthonic deity possessed of special healing powers. An effort, it is suggested, was made to regularize this cult by associating its object with the founder of Israel's religion; the story of Numbers, which is thus reduced to an aetiological legend, is the result (see further Gray, Numbers, pp. 274 ff., and esp. the elaborate art. 'Schlange, eherne,' by Baudissin, PRE.'s vol. xvii. 580-6, with full bibliography).

Whatever may be the origin of the story, it embodies the belief that Yahweh alone is the true Healer (Exod. xv. 26; Hos. vi. 1), and illustrates the efficacy of faith in the means appointed by Him (cf. the interpretation in Wisd. xvi. 6 f.). For the Christian reader the 'brazen' serpent has become the immortal

type of the crucified Saviour (John iii. 14).

10 f. a fragment of P's itinerary. If Mt. Hor=Jebel Madera, and Oboth='Ain el-Weybeh (see on xxxiii. 43)—both doubtful equations—the Hebrews are now marching across the

<sup>8</sup> f. Numerous analogies to the procedure here enjoined have been collected by Frazer in his Golden Bough<sup>2</sup>, ii. 426 f. The closest O.T. parallel is furnished by the golden images of the boils and mice in 1 Sam. vi. 4 f. (see Cent. Bible, in loc.). The small bronze serpents found at Gezer (PEFSt. 1903, p. 222, fig. 13) and in Arabia (Nielsen, Altarab. Mondreligion, p. 190, figs. 38, 39) were probably of the nature of amulets or charms.

journeyed from Oboth, and pitched at Iye-abarim, in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sun12 rising. [E] From thence they journeyed, and pitched in 13 the valley of Zered. From thence they journeyed, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the wilderness, that cometh out of the border of the Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the 14 Amorites. Wherefore it is said in the book of the Wars of the Lord,

Arabah depression in the direction of Moab. The next stage is almost certainly in Moab or at least on the borders of it, for Iyeabarim is probably the modern Khirbet 'Ai (Lagrange, Rev. Biblique, ix. (1900), pp. 287, 443), to the south of Kerak, near Ketherabba of Bartholomew's map, Kufrabba of Musil's.

12-20. An extract from E's itinerary, according to which, as was shown above, the Hebrews, after leaving the Gulf of Akabah, struck north-east and then north to continue their 'compass' of the land of Edom. The compiler has omitted this part of the route, in order, probably, to minimize the discrepancy with P's more direct route.

12. in the valley of Zered: or 'in the Wady Zered' (cf. Deut. ii. 13). If Khirbet 'Ai is Iye, the Zered must be the Wady Kerak, rather than the Wady el-Aḥsa or el-Ḥesi further to the south.

13. on the other side of Arnon. The Arnon is the Wady Mojib, but the preceding words may denote a point either to the north or to the south of the river according to the standpoint of the writer. At this time the territory occupied by the Moabites was confined to the region south of the Arnon, that to the north of the river having been forcibly occupied by a race of Amorite invaders (xxi. 26) from the northern land of Amurru (see on

xiii. 29).

14. As proof that the Arnon, at the date of the Hebrew invasion, formed the dividing line between Moabites and Amorites, the writer quotes a fragment of an ancient poem which he found in 'The Book of the Wars' or Battles 'of Yahweh.' This book, of which there is no further mention in the O.T., was probably a collection of popular songs in which the victories of the Hebrews over the Canaanites and others were celebrated. It derived its name from the fact that the battles of His people were Yahweh's battles (see I Sam. xviii. 17, xxv. 28). 'The snatch itself is an obscure fragment beginning in the middle of one sentence and breaking off in the middle of the next' (Gray).

Vaheb a in Suphah, And the valleys of Arnon, And the slope of the valleys That inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar, And leaneth upon the border of Moab.

And from thence they journeyed to b Beer: that is the 16 well whereof the LORD said unto Moses, Gather the people together, and I will give them water.

Then sang Israel this song:

17 Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it: The well, which the princes digged, Which the nobles of the people delved, e With the sceptre, and with their staves.

And from the wilderness they journeyed to Mattanah: and from Mattanah to Nahaliel: and from Nahaliel to 19

Or, in storm b That is, A well. ' Or, By order of the lawgiver

Vaheb in Suphah: a verb, such as 'we captured,' must have preceded 'Vaheb'; both localities are unknown.

15. the dwelling of Ar: doubtless the city named 'Ar of Moab' in verse 28 (cf. note on xxii. 36), which lay on the Moabite frontier

(Deut. ii. 18). The site has not been identified.

16. This holds good also of Beer, i.e. Well-town, the mention of which gives occasion for the citation of another short poem celebrating the opening of the well from which the place derived its name.

18. With the sceptre: rather 'with the wand,' denoting the commander's rod of office, cf. Gen. xlix. 10, R.V., 'the ruler's staff.' It has been suggested that the reference is to a custom according to which, after a well had been discovered, it was temporarily covered over, and afterwards formally opened by the authorities with some such symbolic action as is described in the text (Budde).

And from the wilderness: the LXX has the easier reading

'And from Beer.'

19 f. The itinerary is continued northwards through several unidentified localities to 'the valley that is in the field (or country) of Moab,' probably the Wady 'Ayun Musa (Moses' springs) which runs into the north-east corner of the Dead Sea. Pisgah (xxiii. 14: Deut. iii, 27, xxxiv. 1) appears to be a general name for a series

- Bamoth: and from Bamoth to the valley that is in the field of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looketh down upon a the desert.
- [JE] And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, saying, Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn aside into field, or into vineyard; we will not drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's high way, until we have passed thy border.
- 23 And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border: but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness, and came to
- <sup>24</sup> Jahaz: and he fought against Israel. And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of

## a Or, Jeshimon

of projections of the high plateau of Moab, one of which bore the special name of Mount Nebo (Deut. xxxiv. 1) on which Moses died. The latter is the modern Jebel Neba, on a line with the north end of the Dead Sea.

21-32. The conquest of the Amorite kingdom lying between the Arnon and the Jabbok (cf. the parallel accounts, Deut. ii. 24-

37; Judges xi. 19-22).

The source is still the composite work JE, in the main E. With the original prose narrative there has now been incorporated, either by E or by a later hand, an early poem supposed to celebrate the conquest of northern Moab by the invading Amorites (but see below). The compiler of the Pentateuch, however, has preferred to complete the above itinerary to inserting this section in its proper place, for here the Hebrews have not yet entered the Amorite territory, being still at the point reached in verse 13, as is evident from verse 23.

21 ff. Overtures for a peaceable passage made to the Amorite king are treated precisely as in the earlier case of the Edomites

(xx. 14 ff.).

23. and came to Jahaz. From the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab (circa 860 B.c.), it may be inferred that Jahaz lay near to Dibon, and therefore not far from the Arnon (cf. verse 13).

24. from Arnon unto Jabbok, &c. This shows that Sihon's kingdom embraced the country lying between the Wady Mojib on

Ammon: for the border of the children of Ammon was strong. And Israel took all these cities: and Israel <sup>25</sup> dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all:the <sup>a</sup>towns thereof. For Heshbon was the city of <sup>26</sup> Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of

A Heb. daughters.

the south and the Wady Zerka (Jabbok) on the north, and between the Jordan on the west and the Ammonite territory about the head waters of the Jabbok on the east.

was strong: read with LXX 'was Jazer' (verse 32); this

note is apparently editorial.

25. took all these cities: evidently those of the region specified in the preceding verse; the notice is probably from a different source (J), hence the awkwardness of a reference to cities

not previously specified.

in Heshbon, and in all the towns thereof: in Heshbon, the capital of the Amorite kingdom, and its dependent villages (cf. R.V. marg.). Heshbon, the modern Hesban, lay almost exactly midway between the Arnon and the Jabbok.

26. all his land out of his hand: we should probably read,

'all his land from Jabbok even unto Arnon' (cf. verse 24).

As evidence of this Amorite conquest of northern Moab, E, or another, cites an older poem which in his day was sung by them.

that speak in proverbs: i.e. by the ballad-singers or wandering minstrels. For the meaning of the original (moshelim) see Gray, Numbers, in loc. with Addenda, p. xiii f. With regard to the poem itself, 'the one thing that is clear is that it celebrates a victory over Moab. Everything else is more or less uncertain.' On various grounds, which cannot be set forth here in detail, it is not improbable that there has been a mistake in the application of this poem, and that it is really a triumphal song composed by a Hebrew—this must be admitted in any case—to celebrate a conquest of Moab by the Hebrews themselves. In this case one naturally thinks of one of the campaigns of Omri, the father of Ahab (circa 887-876 B.C.), who, as is recorded by Mesha, 'oppressed Moab many days.' The tide of battle, as pictured by the poet, rolls southward from the ruined capital, which still bore the title of 'the City of Sihon,' to the banks of the Arnon. The opening distich would be better rendered, in accordance with its metrical form, thus:

Come ye to Heshbon! Let it be rebuilt! Let the city of Silion be re-established! <sup>27</sup> his hand, even unto Arnon. Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say,

Come ye to Heshbon,

Let the city of Sihon be built and established:

For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,

A flame from the city of Sihon:

It hath devoured Ar of Moab,

The lords of a the high places of Arnon.

Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh:
He hath given his sons as fugitives,
And his daughters into captivity,
Unto Sihon king of the Amorites.

We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon,

And we have laid waste even unto Nophah, b Which reacheth unto Medeba.

<sup>a</sup> Or, Bamoth <sup>b</sup> Some ancient authorities have, Fire reached unto.

28. The havoc of war is compared to the devastation wrought by fire. For 'Ar of Moab' see on verse 15. For the sake of a better parallelism, however, it has been proposed to read: 'It hath devoured the "cities" of Moab, And "consumed" the heights of Arnon' (cf. LXX).

29. O people of Chemosh: the national deity of the Moabites (Judges xi. 24), as Yahweh of the Hebrews. Cf. Mesha's Inscription, line 5, 'Chemosh was angry with his land,' and allowed Omri to oppress it. So here Chemosh is represented as giving

up the Moabites, his 'sons' and 'daughters,' to captivity.

Unto Sihon king of the Amorites: the laws of both grammar and metre are violated by this reading; read, 'And his daughters as captives to the king' (for this and other textual emendations see the critical notes in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*). On the view of the poem adopted above, 'the king' is, of course, the Hebrew king, probably Omri.

30. The text of this verse is hopelessly corrupt. The first distich has been restored, with the help of the Versions, to read: 'Their offspring is perished From Heshbon unto Dibon,' but only the last words of the second, 'unto Medeba,' are recognizable.

Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites. And Moses sent to spy out Jazer, and they took the towns thereof, and drove out the Amorites that were there.

[D] And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan: 33 and Og the king of Bashan went out against them, he and all his people, to battle at Edrei. And the LORD 34 said unto Moses, Fear him not: for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, which dwelt at Heshbon. So they smote 35 him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him remaining: and they possessed his land. [P] And the children of Israel journeyed, and 22

31. appears to be the conclusion of E's narrative, referring back to 24<sup>a</sup>. The following verse is an editorial addition from another source, probably J. Jazer has not been satisfactorily identified.

33-35. This summary account of the defeat of Og, king of Bashan, and of the occupation of his country is now recognized as a later insertion, taken over with the necessary change from the first person to the third, from Deut. iii. 1-3 (see Robinson's notes in Cent. Bible, in loc.).

(b) xxii-xxiv. Balak and Balaam.

Alarmed by the defeat of the Amorites and the occupation of their territory by the invading tribes, Balak, king of Moab, sends for Balaam, a foreign magician and seer of great repute, in order that he may lay the Hebrews under a powerful curse, and by so doing deliver them into the hand of Moab. But instead of cursing, Balaam is compelled by an irresistible Divine impulse to bless Israel, and finally to announce the future subjection to his enemy of Balak's country and people. This introduction of a heathen, or at least of a non-Hebrew, seer as an inspired prophet of Yahweh, the literary skill with which the whole episode is treated, and the religious fervour and wide outlook of the poems, together with the unique incident of the speaking ass, and the character-study presented by Balaam himself, have combined to invest this section of the Book of Numbers with an unusual interest.

Looking at this episode as a whole, the purpose of its compiler may be said to be twofold: to show the futility of all attempts on pitched in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho.

the part of man to foil the purpose of God, and to give expression, at the moment when they were about to enter the land of promise, to the glorious future which God had in store for the people of His choice.

There is no reason to doubt the historicity of the main incident. which is entirely in accord with early ideas regarding the efficacy of a spell wrought by a powerful magician. In these chapters, therefore, we may recognize the later literary treatment of a genuine popular tradition. It is evident, however, that they do not form a homogeneous literary unit. The poems, though younger than the popular tradition, are undoubtedly older than the narrative in which they are now imbedded, for they seem to breathe the spirit of the golden age of the Hebrew monarchy, the age of David and Solomon (see below, p. 331 f.). But even the narrative is not homogeneous. Apart from the presence of doublets (cf. xxii. 2ª and 4b, 3ª and 3b, the 'elders' of 7 with the 'princes' of 8, 15, 21) and the divergent representations as to the home of Balaam (see on xxii. 5), it has long been recognized that xxii. 22-35 cannot have come from the hand that wrote verse 20 and its context. The section as it stands may be supposed to have received substantially its present form from the editor who combined J and E (Rje). The majority of recent critics favour the attribution of xxii. 22-34 (35) with such of the preceding verses as show some affinity therewith, and the bulk of ch. xxiv to J. the rest of xxii and the whole of xxiii to E.

Only xxii. I can be assigned to P, for the references to Balaam in the priestly writings, including the manner of his death (xxxi. 8), reflect a wholly different view of his character. There he appears as a Midiauite sorcerer (Joshua xiii. 22), who suggested a peculiarly abhorrent means for bringing about the ruin of the Israelites (Num. xxxi. 16). This separation of the sources has greatly simplified the problem of the character of Balaam. In E in particular he is represented in an entirely favourable light, as one resolved to know and to obey the will of Yahweh, and as the recipient of a genuine Divine revelation, which he delivers with-

out the least regard to his personal interests.

1. The continuation of P's itinerary from xxi. 11, suitably placed here as locating the Hebrews during the episode which follows.

beyond the Jordan at Jericho: this rendering suggests that Jericho lay on the east of the Jordan; our idiom requires 'opposite Jericho,' which is what is meant by 'on the other side of the Jordan of Jericho' of the Hebrew text,

[JE] And Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel 2 had done to the Amorites. And Moab was sore afraid 3 of the people, because they were many: and Moab awas distressed because of the children of Israel. And Moab 4 said unto the elders of Midian, Now shall bthis multitude lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field. And Balak the son of Zippor was king of Moab at that time. And he sent messengers 5 unto Balaam the son of Beor, to Pethor, which is by the River, to the land of the children of his people, to call him, saying, Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the cface of the earth, and a Or, abhorred b Heb. the assembly. c Heb. eye.

4. unto the elders of Midian: here and in verse 7 an editorial gloss with reference to xxv. 6 ff., xxxi. 8, 16 (Ps). 5-14. Balak's first deputation to Balaam.

5. Balaam the son of Beor: the name is almost identical in the original with that of Bela, the son of Beor, an early king of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 32), a resemblance which is 'scarcely accidental'

(see following note).

to Pethor, which is by the River, to the land of the children of his people. The latter expression is peculiar, and it is generally agreed that the Samaritan Pentateuch has preserved the true text : 'the land of the children of Ammon' (reading עמון for my). The change will have been made in order to remove the discrepancy of the two statements which probably come from the different sources. For 'the River' is the Euphrates, and Pethor may be the Pitru of the Assyrian annals. But a still older tradition is to be found in the poem xxiii. 7, where for 'Aram' we must read, as so often in O.T., 'Edom,' since 'the mountains of the East, in the parallel line have been shown by Ed. Meyer (Die Israeliten, pp. 244, 378) to be the mountains of Edom, east of the Arabah (cf. Gen. xxv. 6, and for Edom's reputation for wisdom see Jer. xlix. 7; Obad. 8). The misreading of Aram for Edom (ארם for ארם) was probably earlier than E, whose mention of Pethor will then represent a later stage of the tradition (cf. Deut. xxiii. 4). From the subsequent narrative one receives the impression that Balaam's home was much nearer Moab than the distant Euphrates, but whether it lay in Edom, as is most probable, or among 'the children of Ammon', (so presumably J), or among the Midianites (P, see above), must be left an open question.

6 they abide over against me: come now therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people; for they are too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land: for I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he 7 whom thou cursest is cursed. And the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed with the rewards of divination in their hand; and they came unto Balaam, 8 and spake unto him the words of Balak. And he said unto them, Lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as the LORD shall speak unto me: and the 9 princes of Moab abode with Balaam. And God came unto Balaam, and said, What men are these with thee? 10 And Balaam said unto God, Balak the son of Zippor, 11 king of Moab, hath sent unto me, saying, Behold, the people that is come out of Egypt, it covereth the face of

7. the elders of Moab: apparently J's equivalent of 'the princes' of E's embassy (verses 8, 13 ff.). The mention of 'the rewards of divination' must not be entered in the account against Balaam, in view of I Sam. ix. 7 f.

8. Lodge here this night: dreams and visions of the night are media of Divine revelation characteristic of E (see on xii. 6 ft.).

<sup>6.</sup> curse me this people. Balak wishes to have the Hebrews laid under a powerful spell, in the hope of thus being able the more effectively to crush the dreaded invaders. For the efficacy attributed by the Hebrews, as by other races, ancient and modern, to the curse or spell, see Gray's illustrations, Numbers, in loc., and — especially for the widespread use of the curse in war—Schwally, Semitische Kriegsaltertümer, p. 26 f.

as the LORD shall speak unto me. For the perplexing interchange of the Divine names in this section, see the data in Gray, op. cit. 310 f. In the present literary form of this episode, Balaam is represented as a worshipper of Israel's God, Yahweh, note esp. verse 18, 'Yahweh, my God;' but it would be rash to infer from this that he was so represented in the earlier oral traditions, still less is there ground for the contention that Balaam was in reality a Yahweh-worshipper; cf. a similar use of the Divine name ascribed to Rahab, the Canaanite, in Joshua ii. 9-11, and see Marti, Stud. u. Krit. 1908, 326 f.

the earth: now, come curse me them; peradventure I shall be able to fight against them, and shall drive them out. And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go 12 with them; thou shalt not curse the people: for they are blessed. And Balaam rose up in the morning, and said 13 unto the princes of Balak, Get you into your land: for the LORD refuseth to give me leave to go with you. And the princes of Moab rose up, and they went unto 14 Balak, and said. Balaam refuseth to come with us. And 15 Balak sent yet again princes, more, and more honourable than they. And they came to Balaam, and said to him, 16 Thus saith Balak the son of Zippor, Let nothing, I pray thee, hinder thee from coming unto me: for I will 17 promote thee unto very great honour, and whatsoever thou sayest unto me I will do: come therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people. And Balaam answered and 18 said unto the servants of Balak, If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the LORD my God, to do less or more. Now 19. therefore, I pray you, tarry ye also here this night, that. I may know what the LORD will speak unto me more. And God came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him, 20 If the men be come to call thee, rise up, go with them; but only the word which I speak unto thee, that shalt thou do. And Balaam rose up in the morning, and 21 saddled his ass, and went with the princes of Moab.

15-21. A second and 'more honourable' deputation to Balaam is more successful than the first. The seer is permitted to go to Balak under strict conditions as to what he shall say.

<sup>18.</sup> to do less or more: lit. 'to do (anything) small or great,' i.e. 'to do anything at all'; for the idiom cf. 1 Sam. xx. 2, xxii. 15. Balaam confesses himself a submissive instrument in the hand of Yahweh his God.

- And God's anger was kindled because he went: and the angel of the LORD placed himself in the way for an adversary against him. Now he was riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him. And the ass saw the angel of the LORD standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand: and the ass turned aside out of the way, and went into the field: and Balaam smote the ass, to turn her into the way. Then the angel of the LORD stood in a hollow way between the vineyards, a
- 25 fence being on this side, and a fence on that side. And the ass saw the angel of the LORD, and she thrust herself unto the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall:
- 26 and he smote her again. And the angel of the Lord went further, and stood in a narrow place, where was no 27 way to turn either to the right hand or to the left. And
- the ass saw the angel of the Lord, and she lay down

24. in a hollow way, &c.: a narrow path is meant between the enclosing walls of two adjacent vineyards.

<sup>22-34.</sup> A striking episode from a variant tradition (J), which seems to have presented Balaam in a less favourable light than the tradition followed by E. As the seer is here accompanied only by his two servants (see on verse 35), J may have represented him as having at first refused to accompany the deputation, which had already returned to Balak; later he may have decided to go in spite of his better self, tempted by the offered rewards, but if this was J's representation, the passage containing it has been omitted. The endowment of Balaam's she-ass with abnormal powers of vision and even with the power of speech is the outstanding feature of this early Hebrew folk-tale, and has its analogies in the popular tales of almost every country, of the East as of the West 1. The Hebrew tale, however, is designed to show how Yahweh may make use of one of the meanest of His creatures to rebuke the obstinacy and pride of man. The sympathy which the tale betrays with the sufferings of the lower animals should also be noted (cf. Jonah iv. 11).

A full and original study of the whole Balaam episode from this standpoint has recently appeared from the pen of Gressmann in *Die Schriften d. alt. Test.* [1909] i. 57-70.

under Balaam: and Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the ass with his staff. And the Lore opened the 28 mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times? And Balaam said unto the ass, Because thou 29 hast mocked me: I would there were a sword in mine hand, for now I had killed thee. And the ass said unto 30 Balaam, Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden all thy life long unto this day? was I ever wont to do so unto thee? And he said, Nay. Then the LORD opened 31 the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the LORD standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand: and he bowed his head, and fell on his face. And the 32 angel of the LORD said unto him, Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times? behold, I am come forth for an adversary, because thy way is a perverse before me: and the ass saw me, and turned aside before 33 me these three times: unless she had turned aside from me, surely now I had even slain thee, and saved her alive. And Balaam said unto the angel of the LORD, 34 I have sinned; for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me: now therefore, if it displease thee, I will get me back again. And the angel of the LORD said 35 unto Balaam. Go with the men: but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak. So Balaam

## a Heb. headlong.

35 is explained by most critics as in the main from the hand of R<sup>je</sup>, linking the extract from J to the main thread of E's narrative—

note the sudden reappearance of 'the princes of Balak.'

<sup>32.</sup> The text of the last clause of this verse is corrupt, and the rendering uncertain. It is clear, however, that the angel, as Yahweh's representative, expresses the Divine disapproval of Balaam's journey, as indeed is shown by the answer of the latter (verse 34).

- 36 went with the princes of Balak. And when Balak heard that Balaam was come, he went out to meet him unto the City of Moab, which is on the border of Arnon,
- 37 which is in the utmost part of the border. And Balak said unto Balaam, Did I not earnestly send unto thee to call thee? wherefore camest thou not unto me? am I
- 38 not able indeed to promote thee to honour? And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any power at all to speak any thing? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak.
- 39 And Balaam went with Balak, and they came unto
- 40 Kiriath-huzoth. And Balak sacrificed oxen and sheep, and sent to Balaam, and to the princes that were with
- 41 him. And it came to pass in the morning, that Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into a the high places

a Or, Bamoth-baal

<sup>36.</sup> unto the City of Moab: read 'unto Ar of Moab' ('ār for 'îr), the city mentioned in xxi. 15, and in both passages described as lying on Moab's (northern) frontier formed by the Arnon; here it is also said to lie at the (eastern) extremity of this frontier, which suits the location of Balaam's home in the 'mountains of the East,' as explained above.

<sup>38.</sup> Balaam once more confesses himself a passive instrument in God's hand, able and willing only to speak the words which God may put into his mouth (cf. xxiii. 5, 12, 16, and the parallel case of Micaiah, 1 Kings xxii. 14). Balaam is here represented as a true prophet of the Most High.

as a true prophet of the Most High.

39. The site of Kiriath-huzoth ('city of streets') is unknown.

40. and sent to Balaam: portions of the sacrificial flesh as a special mark of honour, cf. 1 Sam. ix. 23 f.

xxii. 41—xxiii. 6 relate the preparations for the great incantation. It was essential for the working of the spell that the magician should see the proposed victim thereof; accordingly Balaam is conducted to three different places in succession, from which an ever closer view is obtained of the camp of Israel. The first scene is laid at

<sup>41.</sup> the high places of Baal: the local sanctuary of Baal; these bāmôth or 'high places' (xxxiii. 52) were usually situated on hill-tops (cf. xxiii. 9 and 1 Sam. ix. 14, 19).

of Baal, and he saw from thence the utmost part of the people. And Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here 23 seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams. And Balak did as Balaam had spoken; 2 and Balak and Balaam offered on every altar a bullock and a ram. And Balaam said unto Balak, Stand by thy 3 burnt offering, and I will go; peradventure the LORD will come to meet me: and whatsoever he sheweth me I will tell thee. And he went to a bare height. And 4 God met Balaam: and he said unto him, I have prepared the seven altars, and I have offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar. And the LORD put a word in 5 Balaam's mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus thou shalt speak. And he returned unto him, and, lo, 6 he stood by his burnt offering, he, and all the princes of Moab. And he took up his parable, and said,

From Aram hath Balak brought me,
The king of Moab from the mountains of the East:
Come, curse me Jacob,
And come, a defy Israel.
How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed?

a Heb. be wroth against.

the utmost part of the people: here the edge of the Hebrew encampment nearest to the seer's view-point.

xxiii. 1. The number seven plays a large part also in the ritual and incantation literature of Babylonia (cf. Joshua vi. 4).

<sup>3.</sup> he went to a bare height: such is the meaning of the received text, which, however, is almost certainly corrupt.

<sup>7-10.</sup> Balaam's first oracular utterance—' parable' is an inadequate rendering—a poem of seven distichs, each clearly showing the synonymous parallelism of its two members, which is one of the distinctive marks of Hebrew poetry.

<sup>7.</sup> From Aram (מארם): read 'from Edom' (מארם); for this reading, and for 'the mountains of the East,' see note on xxii. 5.

And how shall I defy, whom the LORD hath not defied?

- For from the top of the rocks I see him
  And from the hills I behold him:
  Lo, it is a people that dwell alone,
  And shall not be reckoned among the nations.
- Who can count the dust of Jacob,
  Or number the fourth part of Israel?
  Let b me die the death of the righteous,
  And let my last end be like his!
- II And Balak said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me? I took thee to curse mine enemies, and,
- 12 behold, thou hast blessed them altogether. And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that
- 13 which the LORD putteth in my mouth? And Balak said unto him, Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them; thou shalt

<sup>8</sup> Heb. Or, by number, the &c.

b Heb. my soul.

10. The sixth distich expresses amazement at the vast numbers of the Hebrew people, metaphorically described as 'the dust of Jacob' (Gen. xiii. 16, xxviii. 14). The second line must be read: 'or who hath reckoned up the myriads of Israel?' Cf. LXX text and x. 36 above. The closing distich strikes a personal note, and is regarded by many as an addition to the original poem.

let my last end be like his: read probably 'like theirs'; the poet wishes that his life's end may be full of peace, doubtless also that he may come to his 'grave in a full age, like as a shock

of corn cometh in in its season '(Job v. 26).

Balak arranges for a second from a more favourable situation.

13. thou shalt see . . . see them all. If these clauses were

<sup>9.</sup> a people that dwell alone, &c. This distich is usually understood as referring less to the geographical isolation, or the national aloofness of the Hebrews, than to their position of special privilege as the 'peculiar' people of Yahweh (Exod. xix. 5; Amos iii. 2, and often); by this they were distinguished from the heathen 'nations' around them. The word for 'nations' is that so frequently rendered 'Gentiles.'

see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all: and curse me them from thence. And he took him 14 into the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah, and built seven altars, and offered up a bullock and a ram on every altar. And he said unto Balak, Stand here by thy burnt 15 offering, while I meet the LORD yonder. And the LORD 16 met Balaam, and put a word in his mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and thus shalt thou speak. And he 17 came to him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt offering, and the princes of Moab with him. And Balak said unto him, What hath the LORD spoken? And he took up his 18 parable, and said,

Rise up, Balak, and hear;
Hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor:
God is not a man, that he should lie;
Neither the son of man, that he should repent:
Hath he said, and shall he not do it?

original, Balaam would have been in no better position for cursing Israel than before (see xxii. 41); they are probably a later attempt to differentiate between the situation in this verse and that of xxiv. 2. In reality, although Balaam here sees the whole of the Hebrew camp, in xxiv. 2 he has been brought so much nearer to the latter, that the location of the separate tribes can, for the first time, be clearly distinguished.

14. into the field of Zophim: lit. 'of watchers,' the 'outlook' ground (site unknown), a name suggestive of a wide view as the context requires. For Pisgah as a range of mountains in Moab, see on xxi. 20. The following mise en scène is the same as on the first occasion.

18-24. Balaam's second utterance, a poem of eleven—originally perhaps ten—distichs. After emphasizing the unchangeableness of the Divine purpose to bless Israel, the poet breaks forth into a eulogy of Jacob-Israel's happy lot which springs from the presence in their midst of Yahweh their King.

18. Rise up, Balak: not to be understood literally, but in the

sense of 'Attend, O Balak.'

19. A classical expression of the belief in the immutability of the Divine character, repeated in part in 1 Sam. xv. 29. The

Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?

Behold, I have received *commandment* to bless:

And he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it.

He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob,
Neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel:
The LORD his God is with him,
And the shout of a king is among them.

God bringeth them forth out of Egypt;

He hath as it were the a strength of the b wild-ox.

Surely there is no enchantment c with Jacob,

Or, horns Or, ox-antelope Heb. reem. Or, against

second distich has been admirably summarized by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the words, 'He is faithful that promised' (x. 23).

20. And he hath blessed: read, with Sam. and LXX: 'therefore

will I bless and will not recall it (the blessing)."

21. The subject in the first distich is impersonal, 'one hath not,' &c. In our idiom this construction is often best reproduced by the passive: 'No misfortune is to be discovered in Jacob, nor is any trouble to be seen in Israel.' This suits the context better than the moral reference which underlies the rendering of R.V.

the shout of a king is among them: a difficult line, frequently interpreted in the light of xxiv. 7, and of I Sam. x. 24, 2 Sam. xvi. 16, as an echo of the national pride in the then recently instituted monarchy; but the parallelism demands that the 'king' referred to should be Yahweh, Israel's Divine King (I Sam. viii. 7, xii. 13). Cheyne would read 'And the glory of the King is among them,' understanding by this 'the visible presence of Yahweh, symbolized and represented by the ark'

(Exp. Times, x. 401).

22. Another difficult distich, which recurs in xxiv. 8. The form and meaning of the word paraphrased as 'strength' (R.V. marg. 'horns') are uncertain, as is also the syntactical relation of the two parts of the distich to each other. Gray renders: 'God who brought him forth out of Egypt Is for him [Israel] like the glory of a wild ox;' but the latest interpreter finds no difficulty in so early a poem in the—at best only probable—rendering of the text as it stands: 'God... has horns like those of a wild ox,' recalling the horns in the sculptured representations of Babylonian deities, attached to their turbans as 'a standing attribute of divinity' (Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 56, 66).

23. Text and margin above represent two opposite views of the

Neither is there any divination a with Israel:

b Now shall it be c said of Jacob and of Israel,

What hath God wrought!

Behold, the people riseth up as a lioness,

And as a lion doth he lift himself up:

He shall not lie down until he eat of the prey,

And drink the blood of the slain.

And Balak said unto Balaam, Neither curse them at all, 25 nor bless them at all. But Balaam answered and said 26 unto Balak, Told not I thee, saying, All that the Lord speaketh, that I must do? And Balak said unto Balaam, 27 Come now, I will take thee unto another place; peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me them from thence. And Balak took Balaam unto the 28

<sup>a</sup> Or, against <sup>b</sup> Or, At the due season <sup>c</sup> Or, told to . . . what God hath wrought

meaning of the first distich. The interpretation implied in the rendering of the text is that the presence of Yahweh in Israel renders recourse to enchantment and divination unnecessary. The marginal rendering 'against,' on the other hand, implies that the arts of the magician are powerless against Israel. On the whole the former view is the more probable. Alternative renderings are also given of the second half of this verse; owing to the lack of evident connexion with its context, this distich is regarded by many as a later addition. Others would extend the intrusion to the whole verse. Certainly a better connexion is thus secured between verses 22 and

24 in which Israel is compared to a lion about to spring upon his prey, a figure which reappears slightly altered in xxiv. 9, and in two other early poems, Gen. xlix. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 20.

25 f. Balak's words to Balaam may be thus paraphrased: 'If thou canst not in any wise curse the Hebrews, thou shalt at least have no further opportunity of blessing them.' After his reply in verse 26, Balaam was probably represented in E as at once returning home; indeed, xxiv. 25, which now forms the close of the combined narrative, may once have stood here. In order, however, to introduce J's version of Balaam's blessing, verses 27 ff., it is suggested, were composed on the model of xxiii. 1 ff., 14 ff. (E). The scene of Balaam's third utterance is the unidentified Mt. Peor (cf. xxv. 3).

29 top of Peor, that looketh down upon a the desert. And Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here seven altars, and 30 prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams. And Balak did as Balaam had said, and offered up a bullock 24 and a ram on every altar. And when Balaam saw that it pleased the LORD to bless Israel, he went not, as at the other times, to meet with enchantments, but he set his 2 face toward the wilderness. And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel dwelling according to their tribes; 3 and the spirit of God came upon him. And he took up

his parable, and said,

Balaam the son of Beor saith,

And the man whose eye b was closed saith:

He saith, which heareth the words of God,

Which seeth the vision of the Almighty,

a Or, Jeshimon

b Or, is opened

xxiv. 2. he saw Israel dwelling according to their tribes. As the narrative is now arranged, these words of J are meant to be understood in the sense suggested in the note on xxiii. 13.

3-9. Balaam's third utterance, a poem arranged in four strophes (3<sup>b</sup>, 4; 5, 6; 7, 8<sup>ab</sup>; 8<sup>ce</sup> 9) of three distichs each. The poet, who is also a fervid patriot, after, in the first strophe, introducing the seer in a state of trance as the mouthpiece of God, describes in glowing terms the beauty and charm of Israel's home, the terror he inspires in his enemies, the glory of the monarchy, and finally Israel's might in war and his majesty in peace.

3. Balaam... saith: rather, 'The oracle of Balaam,' &c., and so in verse 15. Both J's oracles begin with an identical description of the ecstatic condition of the seer (cf. note on xi. 25).

the man whose eye was closed: margin, '(whose eye) is opened'—a veritable crux interpretum. The alternatives of R.V. are obtained according as the Hebrew is read sëthûm or shëthûm. The LXX has 'the man who seeth truly,' the Vulgate 'the man whose eyes are stopped.' The traditional view, still held e.g. by Gressmann, is that of R.V. text—the poet describes Balaam as lying in a trance with the eye of flesh closed, but with the inward eye open to 'the vision of the Almighty' (verse 4).

4. The second line of the first distich is to be restored from

verse 16: 'And knoweth the knowledge of the Most High.'

Falling down, and having his eyes open: How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, 5 Thy tabernacles, O Israel! As valleys are they spread forth, As gardens by the river side, As lign-aloes which the LORD hath planted, As cedar trees beside the waters. Water shall flow from his buckets, And his seed shall be in many waters, And his king shall be higher than Agag. And his kingdom shall be exalted. God bringeth him forth out of Egypt; He hath as it were the a strength of the a wild-ox: He shall eat up the nations his adversaries. And shall break their bones in pieces. And smite them through with his arrows.

a See ch. xxiii. 22.

6. Render: 'as valleys that stretch afar.' For 'lign-aloes,' an exotic tree not likely to be familiar to the Hebrew poet, read, with a slight change, 'oaks.' With a poet's license, Israel's heritage in Canaan is compared to a paradise planted with royal trees and watered by flowing streams.

7 seems to open with a distich in praise of the abundance of water, more particularly as required for the irrigation of the crops. If so, the reference is strangely expressed, which has led to the adoption by Gray and others of Cheyne's emendation: 'Peoples shall tremble at his might, And his arm [reading zĕro'ó for zar'ó, both = wn in Hebrew] shall be on many nations' (Exp. Times, x. 401; cf. Kittel, Bib. Hebraica, in loc.).

And his king... Agag: the Amalekite king captured by Saul and slain by Samuel (1 Sam. xv. 8 f., 32 f.). If the reading can be trusted—the oldest Versions read otherwise—this reference provides a terminus a quo for the date of the poem.

8. For the first distich, closing the third strophe, see on xxiii.
22. This is followed in the present text by a tristich against the analogy of all the poems, which are arranged in distichs. Omit the second line of the three, and, by the addition of a single letter (רציח for רציח), read the third thus: 'And shall smite down his oppressors,' which gives an excellent parallelism.

- 9 He couched, he lay down as a lion,
  And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?
  Blessed be every one that blesseth thee,
  And cursed be every one that curseth thee.
- 10 And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he smote his hands together: and Balak said unto Balaam, I called thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou
- fore now flee thou to thy place: I thought to promote thee unto great honour; but, lo, the LORD hath kept
- 12 thee back from honour. And Balaam said unto Balak, Spake I not also to thy messengers which thou sentest
- of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the LORD, to do either good or bad of mine own mind;
- what the LORD speaketh, that will I speak? And now, behold, I go unto my people: come, and I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter
- 15 days. And he took up his parable, and said,

<sup>9.</sup> The metaphor of the first distich pourtrays the majesty of Israel in time of peace, as the parallel in xxiii. 24 described his irresistible power in war. The poem closes with the thought that such is the solidarity of Yahweh and Israel that he that blesses Israel is blessed, and he that curses him is cursed, of Israel's God; cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.

<sup>10-14.</sup> Balaam is dismissed by Balak with anger and contempt, but before parting finally from the Moabite king he announces his intention of revealing to the latter what the future holds in store for Moab at the hand of Israel.

<sup>14.</sup> I will advertise thee: an obsolete use of 'advertise' in the sense of 'inform,' 'instruct.'

in the latter days: lit. 'in the end of the days,' a frequent phrase in the prophetic literature for 'the final period of the future so far as it falls within the range of the speaker's perspective' (Driver).

<sup>15-17.</sup> Balaam's fourth utterance, consisting of two strophes, each of three distichs as before. The first strophe is identical with the

Balaam the son of Beor saith,

And the man whose eye a was closed saith:

He saith, which heareth the words of God,
And knoweth the knowledge of the Most High,
Which seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down, and having his eyes open:
I see him, but not now:
I behold him, but not nigh:
There shall come forth a star out of Jacob,
And a sceptre shall rise out of Israel,
And shall smite through the corners of Moab,
And break down all the sons b of tumult.

a Or, is opened

b Or, of Sheth

corresponding lines of the third oracle (verses 3 f.); in the second, the seer has a vision of Israel's future, and sees the rise of an illustrious king who is destined to put an end to the independence of Moab.

16. And knoweth the knowledge: to whom is revealed the secret (Amos iii. 7) of the Most High. The presence in this strophe of the three early names of the Deity, El (God), Elyon (Most High), and Shaddai (Almighty), is noteworthy.

a star out of Jacob. In Eastern imagery a star has always been a favourite figure for a king (cf. in O.T. Isa. xiv. 12). It is difficult to believe that the author of these lines had in view any other than King David, who first reduced Moab to subjection (2 Sam. viii. 2). The later Jews, and after them the exegesis of the Church (cf. Rev. xxii. 16), gave the lines a Messianic interpretation, a view shared by some recent scholars who regard the Balaam poems, in their present form at least, as comparatively late productions.

the corners: viz. of the head, the temples, as Lev. xix. 27.

And break down: read, as in Jer. xlviii. 45, an echo of this

passage, 'And the crown of the head' (קרקר for קרקר).

all the sons of tumult: a doubtful rendering based on the different text of Jer. loc. cit. The parallelism is decisive for the marginal rendering, Sheth being probably the name of one of the leading tribes of Moab. Render: 'And shall shatter the temples of Moab (poetically regarded as an individual, see on xx. 14), And the crown of all the sons of Sheth.'

- And Edom shall be a possession,
  Seir also shall be a possession, which were his enemies;
  While Israel doeth valiantly.
- And out of Jacob shall one have dominion, And shall destroy the remnant from the city.
- 20 And he looked on Amalek, and took up his parable, and said,

Amalek was the first of the nations,
But his latter end shall come to destruction.

Looking back on the preceding oracles, apart from their present setting, we are justified in regarding them as a series of poems in which expression is given to the quickened consciousness of nationality which sprang up among the Hebrews after the establishment of the monarchy, and especially after the brilliant conquests of David. They likewise voice their authors' conviction of the future destiny of Israel as the people of Yahweh's choice, in which respect they may be compared with Vergil's eulogy of the imperial destiny of Rome in the sixth book of the Aeneid. As has recently been said, 'Israel's history as a whole is a sublime illustration of the truth that to believe is to achieve, even though the ultimate realization may be very different from the original hope' (Kent, Heroes and Crises of Early Hebr. Hist., p. 224).

18-24. To the foregoing poem, which alone suits the situation as explained in verse 14, there has been added, probably at different times, a series of four short oracles dealing with other nations, neighbours of the Hebrews. The received text is again exceedingly corrupt, and the interpretation in consequence beset with insuperable difficulties.

18 f. An oracle concerning Edom, the text of which is in great disorder. Although it now consists of five lines, it was originally a quatrain like the third and fourth oracles of the series. The following is a rendering of what seems the most successful attempt at restoration (Von Gall, Zusammensetzung...d. Bileam-Perikope, 38 f.; cf. Gray, Numbers, p. 373, and Kittel, Bibl. Hebraica, in loc.): 'And Edom shall become a possession, And the survivor shall perish from Seir: But Israel doeth valiantly, And Jacob shall tread down his foes.' The reference is probably to David's conquest of Edom (2 Sam. viii. 13 f.).

20. A cryptic oracle announcing the destruction of Amalek,

with a play upon the words 'first' and 'last.'

22

23

24

And he looked on the Kenite, and took up his parable, 21 and said,

Strong is thy dwelling place,

And thy nest is set in the rock.

Nevertheless a Kain shall be wasted,

b Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.

And he took up his parable, and said,

Alas, who shall live when God e doeth this?
But ships *shall come* from the coast of Kittim,

And they shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber,

And he also shall come to destruction.

Or, the Kenites Or, How long? Asshur &c.

21 f. A quatrain devoted to the Kenites, who claimed to be descended from an eponymous ancestor, named Kain, and who are elsewhere, as here, associated with the Amalekites (I Sam. xv. 6; Judges i. 16—reading 'with Amalek' for 'with his people').

thy nest is set in the rock. The word for 'nest' (kēn) contains a play on the ancestral name (Kain), while the reference is to the almost inaccessible rock-dwellings of the tribe (cf. Obad. 3 f.), perhaps in the neighbourhood of Arad in the Negeb (Judges, loc. cit.) as suggested by Ed. Meyer, Die Israeliten, p. 393 f.

22. Until Asshur, &c.: rather, 'how long? Asshur shall,' &c. Asshur is not here Assyria, any more than in Gen. xxv. 18 (R.V.), but another tribe of the Negeb, the Asshurim of Gen. xxv. 3

(see Meyer, op. cit., p. 320).

23 f. The most enigmatic of all the oracles. The text seems beyond the reach of successful emendation (see Gray for various recent attempts). The latest is that of Gressmann (op. cit., p. 57), which runs thus: 'Alas, who shall live before Ishmael, And save himself alive from their hand: They oppress Asshur and oppress Eber, But they also shall come to destruction.'

24. from the coast of Kittim: render, 'from the direction of Cyprus'; Kittim is the Greek Kition. In Dan. xi. 30 this line is

applied to the galleys of Rome.

Asshur... Eber. Here Asshur has been variously interpreted as referring to the Asshurites of verse 22, to Assyria, and to the later Seleucid empire of Syria. Eber, the eponymous ancestor of the 'Ebrews' (Gen. x. 11, xi. 14), is a complete enigma in this connexion.

- 25 And Balaam rose up, and went and returned to his place: and Balak also went his way.
- 25 And Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to
  2 commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab: for they
  called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods; and
  3 the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods. And
  Israel a joined himself unto b Baal-peor: and the anger

  a Or, yoked b Or, the Baal of Peor Sec ch, xxiii, 28.
  - 25. The final parting of king and seer; see the note on xxiii. 25 f.
  - (c) xxv. 1—xxvii. 23. A miscellaneous section containing the narrative of certain lapses of the Hebrews into immorality and idolatry (xxv), the taking of a second census (xxvi), the incident of the daughters of Zelophehad (xxvii. 1–11), and the appointment of Joshua to succeed Moses (12–23).

Ch. xxv is made up of a short extract (verses 1-5) from JE, and a larger extract from P. The former is itself composite; in one source (J) the Hebrews, after having entered into immoral relations with the women of Moab, join them in the worship of Chemosh; in the other (E), the local Baal of Mt. Peor is the object of their idolatrous worship (note also the divergent punishments in verses 4 and 5). In the extract from P (verses 6 ff.), on the other hand, a plague is raging in the Hebrew camp, and in the original narrative, the beginning of which has been omitted, the scene was probably laid in Midian. The elders of Midian, acting on the advice of Balaam (xxxi. 16), had apparently endeavoured to ruin Israel by immoral means (verse 18). The compiler has joined the two extracts on the ground that the sin was in either case connected with foreign women.

1. And Israel abode in Shittim: more precisely 'in Abelshittim,' i.e. 'the meadow of the acacia trees,' the last halting-place of the Hebrews (xxxiii. 49) before they crossed the Jordan

(Joshua ii. 1, iii. 1).

2. for they called: rather, 'and they invited,' &c.; 'participation in the sacrificial feasts is the sequel to the intimacy with the women, not the cause of it' (Gray). For 'their gods' we should render 'their god,' that is, Chemosh, the national deity of the Moabites (xxi. 29).

3. joined himself unto Baal-peor: from the parallel source. The worship was that of the local Baal of Mt. Peor (xxiii. 28); the apostasy in this case is not associated with sexual immorality.

of the LORD was kindled against Israel. And the LORD 4 said unto Moses, Take all the chiefs of the people, and hang them up unto the LORD before the sun, that the fierce anger of the LORD may turn away from Israel. And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, Slay ye every 5 one his men that have joined themselves unto Baal-peor. [P] And, behold, one of the children of Israel came and 6 brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel, while they were weeping at the door of the tent of meeting. And when Phinehas, the 7 son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from the midst of the congregation, and took a spear in his hand; and he went after the man of Israel 8

<sup>4..</sup>hang them up unto the LORD before the sun. The nature of the punishment to be meted out to the worshippers of Chemosh (the connexion is with verse 2) is uncertain; some form of violent death, by impalement or otherwise, is clearly intended; cf. Cent. Bible on 2 Sam. xxi. 6, 9, where the verb is again used.

5. The continuation of verse 3; the reference to the judges

<sup>5.</sup> The continuation of verse 3; the reference to the judges (Exod. xviii. 12 ff., E) suggests the source E; the penalty in any case is different from that of verse 4.

<sup>6-15.</sup> P tells how the zeal of Phinehas, the son of the High Priest, in connexion with a flagrant case of immorality, was rewarded by the Divine promise that the priesthood should remain for ever in his family. The introduction, as has been already said, has been omitted by the compiler, and the story now opens while Moses and the congregation are engaged in humiliation and prayer before God on account of a plague that has been sent as punishment for a widespread immoral association with the women of Midian.

<sup>6.</sup> one of the children of Israel: Zimri, a 'prince' of one of the Simeonite clans (verse 14).

<sup>7.</sup> Phinehas, the son of Eleazar. Phinehas (Heb. Pinhas) is probably the Egyptian pe-nhes, 'the dark-skinned' (EBi. sub voce), and therefore one of the few Hebrew names that suggest an early connexion with Egypt. The name is found later in the family of Eli, the chief priest of Shiloh (1 Sam. iv. 4, 11).

into the a pavilion, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. o the plague was stayed from the children of Israel. And those that died by the plague were twenty and four thousand.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them, so that I consumed not the children of Israel in my 12 jealousy. Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my 13 covenant of peace: and it shall be unto him, and to his seed after him, the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was jealous for his God, and made 14 atonement for the children of Israel. Now the name of the man of Israel that was slain, who was slain with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri, the son of Salu, a prince 15 of a fathers' house among the Simeonites. And the name of the Midianitish woman that was slain was Cozbi, the daughter of Zur; he was head of the people of a fathers' house in Midian.

## a Or. alcove

13. the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. The dignity of the priesthood is to continue for ever in the family of Phinehas. Certainly the Zadokite priesthood of a later day traced their descent from Aaron through Eleazar and Phinehas (1 Chron. vi.

3-14, 50-53; cf. Ezra vii. 1-6).

<sup>11.</sup> he was jealous with my jealousy. Yahweh's 'jealousy' is His righteous anger and resentment when the worship which is due to Him alone is offered to false gods, or when His holiness is injured, as here, by the defiant conduct of Zimri within the sacred precincts of the camp. Phinehas, as it were, anticipated the Divine resentment at such dishonour by his zeal for Yahweh. Cf. Jehu's words: 'Come with me, and see my zeal [or jealousy] for Yahweh' (2 Kings x. 16).

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Vex the Midianites, and smite them: for they vex you with their wiles, wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, the daughter of the prince of Midian, their sister, which was slain on the day of the plague in the matter of Peor.

And it came to pass after the plague, that the LORD 26 spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, saying, Take the sum of all the congregation 2 of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, by their fathers' houses, all that are able to go forth to war in Israel. And Moses and Eleazar the 3 priest spake with them in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, Take the sum of the people, 4

16-18. This command to take vengeance on the Midianites for their attempt to lure the Hebrews to their ruin through the women (see above) is meant to prepare the way for ch. xxxi (P<sup>s</sup>), and may have stood there originally.

17. Vex the Midianites: rather 'make war upon,' a strong term. The bulk of verse 18 is editorial, connecting the foregoing incident and plague of P with 'the matter of Peor,' i.e. the

illicit worship of Baal-peor recorded by E (verse 3).

Ch. xxvi is almost entirely occupied with details of a second census, both of the secular tribes and of the tribe of Levi, taken at the end of the period of the wanderings. The order of the former is here the same as in ch. i, except that the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh have changed places. Here, too, more details are given as to the subdivisions of the several tribes, with the exception of Dan which, strangely enough, consists of but one large clan. Comparison with the numbers of ch. i shows that while the total of the secular tribes has slightly decreased, 601,730 compared with 603,550, seven of them show a larger or smaller increase. The changes are greatest in the case of Simeon, which has decreased by 62'5 per cent. As regards the historicity of the numbers here given, the modern critical attitude is the same as was briefly set forth when dealing with the former census (see above, pp. 190 ff.). The scene of the census is laid in 'the plains of Moab,' opposite Jericho (verse 3, for which see on xxii. 1).

3 f. The text is here in some disorder (note the italics supplied in verse 4). The words rendered 'spake with them,' it has been

from twenty years old and upward; as the LORD commanded Moses and the children of Israel, which came forth out of the land of Egypt.

- Reuben, the firstborn of Israel: the sons of Reuben; of Hanoch, the family of the Hanochites: of Pallu, the
- 6 family of the Palluites: of Hezron, the family of the 7 Hezronites: of Carmi, the family of the Carmites. These are the families of the Reubenites: and they that were numbered of them were forty and three thousand and
- 8 seven hundred and thirty. And the sons of Pallu;
- 9 Eliab. And the sons of Eliab; Nemuel, and Dathan, and Abiram. These are that Dathan and Abiram, which were called of the congregation, who strove against Moses and against Aaron in the company of Korah,
- opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah, when that company died; what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men, and they
- became a sign. Notwithstanding the sons of Korah died not.
- The sons of Simeon after their families: of a Nemuel,

a In Gen. xlvi. 10, Ex. vi. 15, Jemuel.

suggested, should be read 'numbered them,' omitting the irrelevant 'saying' which follows. Again, 'the children of Israel,' is not the object of the verb 'commanded' but the subject of a new sentence: 'Now the children of Israel, which... Egypt, were as follows: Reuben,' &c.

8-10. If the main body of the chapter is from the pen of P<sup>5</sup>, these verses will be a later addition, since they presuppose the narrative of ch. xvi in its present composite form. Some critics, however, regard the present chapter as wholly P<sup>5</sup>.

11 has all the appearance of a gloss inserted by a reader as a reminder that all Korah's family cannot have perished since a certain temple guild of Levites—the 'sons of Korah' of Psalms xlii-xlix and others—still bore his name (2 Chron. xx. 19).

the family of the Nemuelites: of Jamin, the family of the Jaminites: of <sup>a</sup>Jachin, the family of the Jachinites: of <sup>b</sup>Zerah, the family of the Zerahites: of Shaul, the <sup>13</sup> family of the Shaulites. These are the families of the <sup>14</sup> Simeonites, twenty and two thousand and two hundred.

The sons of Gad after their families: of c Zephon, the 15 family of the Zephonites: of Haggi, the family of the Haggites: of Shuni, the family of the Shunites: of 16 d Ozni, the family of the Oznites: of Eri, the family of the Erites: of cArod, the family of the Arodites: of 17 Areli, the family of the Arelites. These are the families 18 of the sons of Gad according to those that were numbered of them, forty thousand and five hundred.

The sons of Judah, Er and Onan: and Er and Onan 19 died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Judah 20 after their families were; of Shelah, the family of the Shelanites: of Perez, the family of the Perezites: of Zerah, the family of the Zerahites. And the sons of 21 Perez were; of Hezron, the family of the Hezronites: of Hamul, the family of the Hamulites. These are the 22 families of Judah according to those that were numbered of them, threescore and sixteen thousand and five hundred.

The sons of Issachar after their families: of Tola, 23 the family of the Tolaites: of Puvah, the family of the Punites: of fJashub, the family of the Jashubites: of 24 Shimron, the family of the Shimronites. These are the 25 families of Issachar according to those that were num-

a In 1 Chr. iv. 24, Jarib. b In Gen. xlvi. 10, Zohar. c In Gen. xlvi. 16, Ziphion. d In Gen. xlvi. 16, Ezbon. e In Gen. xlvi. 16, Arodi. f In Gen. xlvi. 13, Iob.

<sup>19.</sup> died in the land of Canaan: as related in Gen. xxxviii. 3 ff.

bered of them, threescore and four thousand and three hundred.

- The sons of Zebulun after their families: of Sered, the family of the Seredites: of Elon, the family of the Elon-
- 27 ites: of Jahleel, the family of the Jahleelites. These are the families of the Zebulunites according to those that were numbered of them, threescore thousand and five hundred.
- The sons of Joseph after their families: Manasseh and
- 29 Ephraim. The sons of Manasseh: of Machir, the family of the Machirites: and Machir begat Gilead: of Gilead,
- 30 the family of the Gileadites. These are the sons of Gilead: of a lezer, the family of the Iezerites: of Helek,
- 31 the family of the Helekites: and of Asriel, the family of the Asrielites: and of Shechem, the family of the
- 32 Shechemites: and of Shemida, the family of the Shemida-
- ites: and of Hepher, the family of the Hepherites. And Zelophehad the son of Hepher had no sons, but daughters: and the names of the daughters of Zelophehad were Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah.
- 34 These are the families of Manasseh: and they that were numbered of them were fifty and two thousand and seven hundred.
- These are the sons of Ephraim after their families: of Shuthelah, the family of the Shuthelahites: of becher, the family of the Becherites: of Tahan, the family of the Tahanites. And these are the sons of Shuthelah: of

in Josh. xvii. 2, Abiezer. See Judg. vi. 11, 24, 34.
in In 1 Chr. vii. 20, Bered.

<sup>33.</sup> See chs. xxvii and xxxvi.

<sup>35.</sup> Becher and his descendants are here reckoned as Ephraimites; elsewhere (Gen. xlvi. 21; 2 Sam. xx. 1) they are represented as belonging to Benjamin.

Eran, the family of the Eranites. These are the families 37 of the sons of Ephraim according to those that were numbered of them, thirty and two thousand and five hundred. These are the sons of Joseph after their families.

The sons of Benjamin after their families: of Bela, 38 the family of the Belaites: of Ashbel, the family of the Ashbelites: of Ashbelites: And the sons 40 of Bela were Ard and Naaman: of Ard, the family of the Ardites: of Naaman, the family of the Naamites. These are the sons of Benjamin after their families: and 41 they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and six hundred.

These are the sons of Dan after their families: of 42 d Shuham, the family of the Shuhamites. These are the families of Dan after their families. All the families of 43 the Shuhamites, according to those that were numbered of them, were threescore and four thousand and four hundred.

The sons of Asher after their families: of Imnah, the 44 family of the Imnites: of Ishvi, the family of the Ishvites: of Beriah, the family of the Beriites. Of the sons of 45 Beriah: of Heber, the family of the Heberites: of Malchiel, the family of the Malchielites. And the name of 46 the daughter of Asher was Serah. These are the families 47 of the sons of Asher according to those that were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In Gen. xlvi. 21, Ehi in 1 Chr. viii. 1, Aharah. b In Gen. xlvi. 21, Muppim, and Huppim c In 1 Chr. viii. 3, Addar. d In Gen. xlvi. 23, Hushim.

<sup>42</sup> f. The single clan of Dan, Shuham, appears in Gen. xlvi. 23 as Hushim, as noted in the margin.

numbered of them, fifty and three thousand and four hundred.

- 48 The sons of Naphtali after their families: of Jahzeel, the family of the Jahzeelites: of Guni, the family of the
- 49 Gunites: of Jezer, the family of the Jezerites: of Shillem,
- so the family of the Shillemites. These are the families of Naphtali according to their families: and they that were numbered of them were forty and five thousand and four hundred.
- These are they that were numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty.
- And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance according to
- 54 the number of names. To the more thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one according to those that were numbered of him shall his inheritance be given.
- 55 Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: according to the names of the tribes of their fathers they 56 shall inherit. According to the lot shall their inheritance

be divided between the more and the fewer.

54. Render: 'For the (tribe or clan that is) large, thou shalt make its inheritance large, and for that which is small thou shalt make its inheritance small; according to its census return shall its inheritance be given to each (tribe or clan),'

<sup>52-56.</sup> General directions regarding the division of the promised land, here, somewhat unexpectedly, addressed to Moses. How the writer intended the two theoretically irreconcilable principles of the text to be applied, it is impossible to say. He is usually taken to mean that the geographical position of the several tribes is to be determined by lot, but that the size of the whole area of each tribe, and of the districts or portions thereof to be assigned to its component clans, is to be determined according to the census returns; hence the position of these verses in the present context.

And these are they that were numbered of the Levites 57 after their families: of Gershon, the family of the Gershonites: of Kohath, the family of the Kohathites: of Merari, the family of the Merarites. These are the 58 families of Levi: the family of the Libnites, the family of the Hebronites, the family of the Mahlites, the family of the Mushites, the family of the Korahites. And Kohath begat Amram. And the name of Amram's wife 59 was Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, who was born to Levi in Egypt; and she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister. And unto Aaron were 60 born Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. And 61 Nadab and Abihu died, when they offered strange fire before the LORD. And they that were numbered of 62 them were twenty and three thousand, every male from a month old and upward: for they were not numbered among the children of Israel, because there was no inheritance given them among the children of Israel.

These are they that were numbered by Moses and 63 Eleazar the priest; who numbered the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. But 64 among these there was not a man of them that were

<sup>57-62.</sup> The second numbering of the Levites, showing them to

have increased from 22,000 to 23,000 (cf. iii. 14-39).

58 represents a variant tradition—whether older or younger than the usual tradition of three divisions is a disputed point—according to which the priestly tribe of Levi consisted of five divisions. All the names are met with in other lists, but either as the grandsons or great-grandsons of Levi. Mushi, for example—a variant form of the name Mosheh (Moses)—appears in the genealogy of Exod. vi. 19 along with Mahli as the son of Merari and grandson of Levi (see further Gray, in loc.).

<sup>61.</sup> See Lev. x. 1 f.; Num. iii. 4.

<sup>63-65.</sup> A concluding paragraph, which, in view of verse 64, can scarcely have come from the same hand that wrote verse 4.

numbered by Moses and Aaron the priest; who numbered the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai.

- 65 For the Lord had said of them, They shall surely die in the wilderness. And there was not left a man of them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.
- Then drew near the daughters of Zelophehad, the son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of Manasseh the son of Joseph: and these are the names of his daughters; Mahlah, Noah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Tirzah.

  2 And they stood before Moses, and before Eleazar the priest, and before the princes and all the congregation, at the door of the tent of meeting, saying, Our father

65. See xiv. 29 f., 38 (P).

xxvii. I-II. Promulgation of a new law of inheritance, by which, in the event of a man dying without male issue, his daughters shall inherit. The section clearly belongs to the Priests' Code, but whether to Ps or to a later stratum (Ps) must be left an open question. For an interesting supplement to this

mal too and bound and be made a second

law, see xxxvi. I ff.

<sup>1.</sup> the daughters of Zelophehad. The new legislation is represented as having arisen out of a special claim by the daughters of a certain Zelophehad (xxvi. 33), of the tribe of Manasseh, to be allowed to inherit their deceased father's property. Before the exile, the Hebrew customary law of inheritance, in accord with primitive Semitic law in general (S. A. Cook, The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi, p. 145 f.), recognized only male heirs. In reality, however, the names of Zelophehad's daughters here given are either names of Hebrew clans or place-names (see Gray in loc. and on xxvi. 33, and cf. Josh. xvii, 3-6 which records the carrying out of this law), and the present section illustrates the 'familiar fact that' in the early law, of all nations necessary modifications on old law are habitually carried out by means of what lawyers call legal fictions' (W. Robertson Smith, OTJC2, p. 384; cf. Maine, Ancient Law, ed. Pollock, p. 30 ff.). A still more evident illustration will meet us in xxxi. 27 ff.

died in the wilderness, and he was not among the company of them that gathered themselves together against the LORD in the company of Korah: but he died in his own sin; and he had no sons. Why should the name 4 of our father be taken away from among his family, because he had no son? Give unto us a possession among the brethren of our father. And Moses brought 5 their cause before the LORD. And the LORD spake unto 6 Moses, saying, The daughters of Zelophehad speak 7 right: thou shalt surely give them a possession of an inheritance among their father's brethren; and thou shalt cause the inheritance of their father to pass unto them. And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, 8 saying, If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter. And if 9 he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren. And if he have no brethren, then ye 10 shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren. And II if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall possess it: and it shall be unto the children of Israel a statute of judgement, as the LORD commanded Moses.

3. died in the wilderness . . . in his own sin. Zelophehad merely shared in the general sentence of death pronounced in xiv. 29 f.; he had taken no part in the special revolt of a body of lay-

men under Korah's leadership (see above, pp. 278 ff.).
5-11. Moses lays the case before God (cf. ix. 8, xv. 34) and is authorized to grant the crave of the petitioners (see Joshua xvii. 3 f. for the result). At the same time he is commanded to promulgate a new law of inheritance of still wider scope, covering not only the case of the man who leaves only female issue, but that of a man dying without issue of either sex. In the latter case the property goes to his brothers, whom failing, to his uncles on the father's side, whom failing, to the next of kin (see further the notes on xxxvi. I ff.).

- 12 And the LORD said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim, and behold the land which I have
- 13 given unto the children of Israel. And when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as
- 14 Aaron thy brother was gathered: because ye rebelled against my word in the wilderness of Zin, in the strife of the congregation, a to sanctify me at the waters before their eyes. (These are the waters of Meribah of Kadesh
- 15 in the wilderness of Zin.) And Moses spake unto the 16 LORD, saying, Let the LORD, the God of the spirits of
- 17 all flesh, appoint a man over the congregation, which may go out before them, and which may come in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in; that the congregation of the LORD be
- 18 not as sheep which have no shepherd. And the LORD said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun,

\* See ch. xx. 12, 13.

12-14. Preparatory to his death, Moses is commanded to view the land of promise, which he may not enter. In their present context these verses are probably from the pen of the compiler; P's own statement will then be found in the parallel passage, Deut. xxxii. 48-52.

12. this mountain of Abarim: the mountain-range in the north-west of Moab overlooking the north end of the Dead Sea. The particular summit of this range is given in Deut, xxxii. 49 as 'mount Nebo ... which is over against Jericho,' the modern

Neba (cf. note on Deut. xxxiv. 1 in Cent. Bible).

14. in the strife (Heb. meribath) of the congregation: a play upon the name Meribath-Kadesh. For this name and for the exclusion of Moses and Aaron from Canaan, see the notes on xx. 1-13.

15-23. At Moses' earnest request, his successor is nominated in the person of Joshua, who is subsequently set apart in the presence of the High Priest and the whole congregation.

17. The expressions here used are a comprehensive indication of the duties of the secular head of the community, with special reference to the task of military leadership (1 Sam. xviii. 13. 16, xxix. 6).

a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him; and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before 19 all the congregation; and give him a charge in their sight. And thou shalt put of thine honour upon him, 20 that all the congregation of the children of Israel may obey. And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who 21 shall inquire for him by the judgement of the Urim before the LORD: at his word shall they go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he, and all the children of Israel with him, even all the congregation. And 22 Moses did as the LORD commanded him: and he took Joshua, and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation: and he laid his hands upon him, 23 and gave him a charge, as the LORD spake by the hand of Moses.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Command 282

<sup>21.</sup> With the passing of Moses the real head of the theocratic community, according to the theory of the priestly writer, is henceforth to be the High Priest. God will no longer communicate with the secular leader directly, as hitherto with Moses, but indirectly through the medium of the sacred lot as manipulated by the High Priest. The explicit subordination of the secular to the religious head of the community, enjoined in the latter half of this verse, has been thought to furnish a clue to the date of the main body of P, i.e. Pg (see the Introduction to this commentary).

by the judgement of the Urim: Urim alone here and I Sam. xxviii. 6; elsewhere 'the Urim and the Thummim,' the mysterious apparatus for manipulating the sacred lot (Exod. xxviii. 30; Lev. viii. 5). See the writer's art. in Hastings's DB.

Judging from the analogy of xx. 23-29, we may safely infer that P<sup>x</sup>, at this point, recorded the death of Moses, now transferred to the closing chapter of Deuteronomy. The remainder of the Book of Numbers contains almost exclusively material from the secondary strata of the priestly legislation (P<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>(</sup>d) xxviii-xxix. A table of the public offerings for the stated festivals. The calendar of sacred seasons, compiled from H and Ps, which now forms Lev. xxiii, is here supplemented by an elaborate table of the various offerings to be presented on behalf

the children of Israel, and say unto them, My oblation, my a food for my offerings made by fire, of a sweet

4 Heb. bread.

of the community at the several stated festivals throughout the year. Beginning (xxviii. 1-8) with the statutory daily offerings, the writer proceeds to the additional offerings for the sabbath (9f.), for the festivals of the New Moon (11-15), of Unleavened Cakes (16-25), and of Weeks or Firstfruits (26-31), for the first day of the civil year (xxix. 1-6), for the Day of Atonement (7-11), and finally for the great autumn festival of Booths (12-38).

These two chapters, it need hardly be said, contain material of the greatest value for the history of the ritual of sacrifice among the Hebrews, and may be regarded as a reflection of the actual ritual of the second temple at the time when they were composed. That they are later than the main body of P is now generally admitted; on the other hand, the provisions they contain for the daily offerings were in force before the time of the Chronicler (circa 300 B.C.), so that the date of the present section may with great probability be set down as falling within the century between 400-300 B. c. (see the notes on xxviii. 3 ff.). In no other part of the Pentateuch legislation is the gulf more apparent that separates the formulated precision and sombre earnestness of the later post-exilic worship from the spontaneity and joyousness of the worship of the period before the exile (cf. the remarks on p. 35 f. and Gray, Numbers, p. 407). The nearest parallel to this section is supplied by the ritual ordinances of Ezek. xlv. 18xlvi. 15, although similar prescriptions for the offerings of private individuals are found in the manual of sacrifice of Lev. i-vii, in Num. xv, and elsewhere.

The table on the opposite page shows the number and species of the sacrificial victims prescribed for the various public sacri-

fices (cf. the conspectus in C-H. Hex. i. 265).

The most striking feature of the table is the prominence of the sacred number seven, alike in the numbers of the victims, including the seventy bullocks of the original feast of Booths (see on xxix. 12 ff.), and in the duration of the feasts Nos. 4 and 8. The pre-eminence of the feast of Booths is apparent from the large total of 199 victims, including those of the supernumerary eighth day, but excluding those of the daily sacrifice and of the sabbath which fell within the octave. For the offerings here prescribed are cumulative; e.g. Nos. 2 to 8 are all in addition to No. 1, while No. 6 is additional to Nos. 1 and 3.

xxviii. I f. Introduction to this section. For the term oblation (korbān), see on Lev. i. 2; my food, &c., on Lev. xxi. 6, iii. II; of a sweet savour, on Lev. i. 9.

savour unto me, shall ye observe to offer unto me in their due season. And thou shalt say unto them, This is 3 the offering made by fire which ye shall offer unto the LORD; he-lambs of the first year without blemish, two day by day, for a continual burnt offering. The one 4

<sup>a</sup> See Ex. xxix. 38-42.

	Bullocks.	Rams.	Lambs.	Goats.
. Daily (Morning and Evening) Sacrifice			2	
2. Additional for Sabbaths	0		2	
3. New Moons	2	- 1	. 7	· I
4. Feast of Unleavened Cakes, each day	2	I	7	I
Total for seven days	14	7	49	7
5. Feast of Weeks (Firstfruits)	2	I	7	1
6. First day of 7th month (Tishri)	I	1	7	1
7. Day of Atonement (10th of Tishri)	I	I	7	I
8. Feast of Booths, 1st day	13	2	14	1 -
,, ,, 2nd ,,	12	2	14	INTO
,, ,, grd ,,	II	2	14	I
,, ,, 4th ,,	10	2	14	I
,, ,, 5th ,,	9	2	14	1
,, ,, 6th ,,	8	2	14	I
,, ,, 7th ,,	7	2	14	I
,, ,, 8th ,,	T	I	7	I
Total (15th to 22nd Tishri)	71 -	15	105	8

<sup>(1) 3-8.</sup> The daily or perpetual (Heb. tāmîd, R.V. continual) offering, in later times termed 'the Tamîd.' The Tamîd, offered daily throughout the year, was the centre and core of the public worship of Judaism. As here prescribed (cf. Exod. xxix. 38-42; Lev. vi. 8-13), it consisted of the sacrifice of a yearling male lamb

lamb shalt thou offer in the morning, and the other lamb 5 shalt thou offer a at even; and the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with the fourth 6 part of an hin of beaten oil. It is a continual burnt offering, which was ordained in mount Sinai for a sweet 7 savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD. And the drink offering thereof shall be the fourth part of an hin for the one lamb: in the holy place shalt thou pour 8 out a drink offering of strong drink unto the LORD. And

a Heb. between the two evenings.

with an accompanying cereal offering (minhā) of fine flour mixed with oil and a drink-offering of wine, offered in the early morning and repeated in the late afternoon (for details see the Mishna treatise Tamid, translated in Barclay, The Talmud, pp. 242 ff.). The present law was certainly authoritative in the time of the Chronicler (circa 300 B.C.), as is evident from I Chron. xvi. 40; 2 Chron. xiii. 11, xxxi. 3. But under the monarchy the daily offering consisted of a burnt-offering in the morning and a cereal offering in the evening (2 Kings xvi. 15). Ezekiel also prescribes a burnt-offering and a cereal offering, but both are to be presented together in the morning (Ezek. xlvi. 13-15). In the light of the foregoing it is probable that Nehemiah (x. 33) also knew of but one offering of each kind. From these data it has been generally concluded that the present law which requires a combined burnt and cereal offering, both morning and evening, originated in the period between Nehemiah and the Chronicler; this likewise provides an approximate date for the whole section (see above).

5. As regards the quantities, here and in the sequel, the ephah, the standard dry measure, which was of the same content as the 'bath' (6 hins) for liquids, contained originally about 65 pints, increased later to  $71\frac{1}{4}$  pints. Therefore  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $\frac{2}{10}$ , and  $\frac{3}{10}$  of an ephah may be roughly computed at 7, 14, and 21 pints respectively, and the hin at nearly 12 pints (see art. 'Weights and Measures' in

Hastings's DB. iv. 910-3).

6. which was ordained in mount Sinai: a reference to Exod. xxix. 38 ff., but, as breaking the connexion between 5 and

7, the verse is probably editorial.

7. in the holy place: here exceptionally the 'holy place' must denote '(within) the sacred court,' where stood the altar of burnt-offering at the base of which the wine was poured as a libation (see Ecclus. l. 15).

a drink offering of strong drink. Since the drink-offering

the other lamb shalt thou offer at even: as the meal offering of the morning, and as the drink offering thereof, thou shalt offer it, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.

And on the sabbath day two he-lambs of the first year 9 without blemish, and two tenth parts of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, and the drink offering thereof: this is the burnt offering of every sab- 10 bath, beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.

And in the beginnings of your months ye shall offer a 11 burnt offering unto the Lord; two young bullocks, and one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish; and three tenth parts of an ephah of fine flour for a meal 12 offering, mingled with oil, for each bullock; and two tenth parts of fine flour for a meal offering, mingled with oil, for the one ram; and a several tenth part of fine 13 flour mingled with oil for a meal offering unto every lamb; for a burnt offering of a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the Lord. And their drink offerings 14 shall be half an hin of wine for a bullock, and the third part of an hin for the ram, and the fourth part of an hin

always consisted of grape-wine, the Hebrew word shēkār, which elsewhere denotes all other sorts of alcoholic liquors (see on vi. 3), must here, by exception, signify 'wine.' As so used here, the word may be a Babylonism (the shikaru of the Babylonian ritual). Have we here a hint of the Babylonian origin of this section?

<sup>(2) 9</sup> f. Additional offerings for the sabbath. It is not clear from verse 10 whether these are intended to be presented along with the ordinary morning and evening offerings, or, as verse 23 suggests, as additions to the morning Tamid only.

<sup>(3) 11-15.</sup> The offerings for the festival of the New Moon on the first day of each month. The antiquity and wide prevalence of this festival are attested by the references to it in the older literature (Amos viii. 5; Hos. ii. 13; Isa. i. 13; I Sam. xx. 5 ff.—here as a family or clan festival). Nevertheless it is ignored by

for a lamb: this is the burnt offering of every month to throughout the months of the year. And one he-goat for a sin offering unto the LORD; it shall be offered beside the continual burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof.

And in the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, is the Lord's passover. And on the fifteenth day of this month shall be a feast: seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten. In the first day shall be an

- 19 holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: but ye shall offer an offering made by fire, a burnt offering unto the LORD; two young bullocks, and one ram, and seven he-lambs of the first year: they shall be unto you with-
- out blemish: and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil: three tenth parts shall ye offer for a bullock,
- <sup>21</sup> and two tenth parts for the ram; a several tenth part <sup>22</sup> shalt thou offer for every lamb of the seven lambs; and
- one he-goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for
- 23 you. Ye shall offer these beside the burnt offering of the morning, which is for a continual burnt offering.
- <sup>24</sup> After this manner ye shall offer daily, for seven days, the <sup>a</sup> food of the offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD: it shall be offered beside the continual
- 25 burnt offering, and the drink offering thereof. And on

## a Heb. bread.

the earlier legislators, doubtless on account of its association with the widespread worship of the moon among the Semites. Ezekiel is the first to give it a place in the recognized calendar of sacred festivals (xlvi. 3, 6 f., cf. the incidental mention, Num. x. 10).

18. an holy convocation . . . no servile work. See notes on

Lev. xxiii. 2, 7. Contrast the command of xxix, 7 below.

<sup>(4) 16-25.</sup> The special offerings for the seven days of the festival of Unleavened Cakes (*Mazzoth*). Several of the verses are taken from Lev. xxiii, 5-8.

the seventh day ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work.

Also in the day of the firstfruits, when ye offer a new 26 meal offering unto the Lord in your feast of weeks, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: but ye shall offer a burnt offering for a sweet 27 savour unto the Lord; two young bullocks, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year; and their meal offering, 28 fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for each bullock, two tenth parts for the one ram, a several tenth 29 part for every lamb of the seven lambs; one he-goat, to 30 make atonement for you. Beside the continual burnt 31 offering, and the meal offering thereof, ye shall offer them (they shall be unto you without blemish), and their drink offerings.

And in the seventh month, on the first day of the 29 month, ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work: it is a day of blowing of trumpets unto you. And ye shall offer a burnt offering for a sweet 2 savour unto the LORD; one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year without blemish: and 3 their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three

<sup>(5) 26-31.</sup> The special offerings for 'the day of Firstfruits,' a name not found again for the festival which originally marked the close of the grain harvests (barley and wheat), and is elsewhere termed 'the feast of harvest' (Exod. xxiii. 16), and 'the feast of weeks' (ib. xxxiv. 22; cf. verse 26 here 'in your [feast of] weeks'). Cf. throughout Lev. xxiii. 15.ff., and see the note on verses 18-20 there.

<sup>27.</sup> At the close of this verse insert the words within parentheses in verse 31, which have accidentally dropped out of their proper place (cf. close of verse 19).

<sup>(6)</sup> xxix. 1-6. The additional offerings for the first day of the seventh month (Tishri), here termed 'the day of the trumpet-blast' (cf. Lev. xxiii. 24, and note p. 155), the New Year's Day of

tenth parts for the bullock, two tenth parts for the ram, 4 and one tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs; 5 and one he-goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for 6 you: beside the burnt offering of the new moon, and the meal offering thereof, and the continual burnt offering and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings, according unto their ordinance, for a sweet savour, an offering made by fire unto the LORD.

- And on the tenth day of this seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; and ye shall afflict your souls; 8 ye shall do no manner of work: but ye shall offer a burnt offering unto the Lord for a sweet savour; one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year; they 9 shall be unto you without blemish: and their meal offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for the 10 bullock, two tenth parts for the one ram, a several tenth part for every lamb of the seven lambs: one he-goat for 11 a sin offering; beside the sin offering of atonement, and the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings.
  - And on the fifteenth day of the seventh month ye shall have an holy convocation; ye shall do no servile work, and ye shall keep a feast unto the LORD seven

the civil year. The seventh month of the ecclesiastical year, the first of the civil year, was the festival month par excellence.

7. ye shall do no manner of work. The abstention from work is to be absolute as on the sabbath, not partial as in xxviii. 18, and

verses 12, 35 below; cf. Lev. xxiii. 28.

(8) 12-38. The offerings for the original feast of Booths (Tabernacles), which lasted seven days from the 15th to the 21st of Tishri inclusive, followed (35-38) by those for the super-

<sup>(7) 7-11.</sup> The Day of Atonement and its special offerings apart from those prescribed for the Tamid, and for the special ceremony from which this day, the tenth of Tishri, derived its name (Lev. xvi, xxiii. 26-32).

days: and ye shall offer a burnt offering, an offering 13 made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the LORD; thirteen young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year; they shall be without blemish: and their meal 14 offering, fine flour mingled with oil, three tenth parts for every bullock of the thirteen bullocks, two tenth parts for each ram of the two rams, and a several tenth part 15 for every lamb of the fourteen lambs: and one he-goat 16 for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

And on the second day ye shall offer twelve young 17 bullocks, two rams, fourteen he lambs of the first year without blemish: and their meal offering and their drink 18 offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: and one 19 he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and their drink offerings.

And on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, four- 20 teen he-lambs of the first year without blemish; and their 21 meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: and one he-goat for a sin 22 offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

And on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, fourteen 23 he-lambs of the first year without blemish: their meal 24 offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside 25

numerary eighth day, for which see above, p. 156 f. The table given above shows the massing of sacrificial victims which marked this festival. It will be noted that while the other victims re-

the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

And on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

And on the sixth day eight bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offerings thereof.

And on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of the first year without blemish: and their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullocks, for the rams, and for the lambs, according to their number, after the ordinance: and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside the continual burnt offering, the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

35 On the eighth day ye shall have a a solemn assembly: 36 ye shall do no servile work: but ye shall offer a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord: one bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of the 37 first year without blemish: their meal offering and their drink offerings for the bullock, for the ram, and for the

\* See Lev. xxiii. 36.

mained the same through the first seven days, the number of bullocks diminished throughout by one, making a total of 70 in all.

lambs, shall be according to their number, after the ordinance: and one he-goat for a sin offering; beside 38 the continual burnt offering, and the meal offering thereof, and the drink offering thereof.

These ye shall offer unto the LORD in your set feasts, 39 beside your vows, and your freewill offerings, for your burnt offerings, and for your meal offerings, and for your drink offerings, and for your peace offerings. And Moses 40 told the children of Israel according to all that the LORD commanded Moses.

And Moses spake unto the heads of the tribes of the 30 children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the LORD hath commanded. When a man voweth a vow 2 unto the LORD, or sweareth an oath to bind his soul with a bond, he shall not b break his word; he shall do

a [Ch. xxx. 1 in Heb.]

b Heb. profane.

39 f. The subscription or colophon of the section emphasizing the fact that all the preceding offerings are public sacrifices on behalf of the community, and take no account of the large variety of private offerings, which may be presented by individuals or families.

(e) xxx. The validity of women's vows.

This chapter, which forms an independent section of the later legislation, is supplementary both to the general law of Lev. xxvii, and to the more special law of the Nazirite vow, Num. vi. 13 ff. The introductory formula (see below), peculiarities of phraseology and the general style compel the attribution to P<sup>5</sup> rather than to P<sup>6</sup>. The persons whose vows are here dealt with are of two classes: (a) persons sui iuris, viz. men, understood to be of age (verse 2), and widows and divorced wives (9); and (b) persons not sui iuris but under the tutelage of fathers or husbands, viz. young unmarried women (3-5), women married while under a vow (6-8) and married women generally (10-15).

1. Note the absence of the familiar formula of P<sup>2</sup>: 'And Yahweh spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel'; also the expression, 'the heads of the tribes,' &c., found only

here in the Pentateuch.

2. to bind his soul with a bond: rather 'to bind himself'

3 according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth. Also when a woman voweth a yow unto the Lord, and bindeth herself by a bond, being in her father's house, in her 4 youth; and her father heareth her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father holdeth his peace at her: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall 5 stand. But if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth; none of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand: and the LORD 6 shall forgive her, because her father disallowed her. And if she be married to a husband, while her vows are upon her, or the rash utterance of her lips, wherewith she hath 7 bound her soul; and her husband hear it, and hold his peace at her in the day that he heareth it: then her vows shall stand, and her bonds wherewith she hath bound 8 her soul shall stand. But if her husband disallow her in

by a pledge of abstinence.' The terminology of this chapter is singular in distinguishing between a positive and a negative vow. By the former, a person binds himself to do or give something, by the latter to abstain from doing or enjoying something. In the earlier terminology both are included under the general term 'vow' (neder), which is applied both to the vow of a Jephthah or a Hannah, and to the vow of the Nazirite which was purely a vow of abstinence. Here, however, the term 'vow' is confined to the former species of pledge, while the pledge of abstinence is denoted by the unique term 'iṣṣār, rendered 'bond.' A man sui iuris is bound under all circumstances to perform his vow and to keep his pledge of abstinence.

3-5. The vows and pledges of a young unmarried woman still

under her father's guardianship.

<sup>4.</sup> and her father heareth her vow: a misleading rendering; the context requires: 'and her father comes to hear of her vow' (cf. verse 8). When this happens, it may be some time after the vow has been formally uttered, the father—in other cases, the husband—must then and there interpose with his veto, if he disapproves of the vow, or 'for ever hold his peace.'

<sup>6-8.</sup> The case of a young woman who takes a vow or pledge

the day that he heareth it; then he shall make void her vow which is upon her, and the rash utterance of her lips, wherewith she hath bound her soul: and the LORD shall forgive her. But the vow of a widow, or of her 9 that is divorced, even every thing wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand against her. And if she to vowed in her husband's house, or bound her soul by a bond with an oath, and her husband heard it, and held 11 his peace at her, and disallowed her not; then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she bound her soul shall stand. But if her husband made them 12 null and void in the day that he heard them; then whatsoever proceeded out of her lips concerning her vows, or concerning the bond of her soul, shall not stand: her husband hath made them void; and the LORD shall forgive her. Every vow, and every binding 13 oath to afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void. But if her husband 14 altogether hold his peace at her from day to day; then he establisheth all her vows, or all her bonds, which are upon her: he hath established them, because he held his peace at her in the day that he heard them. But if 15 he shall make them null and void after that he hath

while under her father's tutelage without the latter intervening; when she passes at marriage under her husband's guardianship, the latter has the right of veto under the same limitation as before.

<sup>9.</sup> This verse, in which widows and divorced wives are unconditionally bound, as being sui iuris, comes in awkwardly at this point, and may have got displaced from a position after verse 15, or it may be a later addition to the original law.

<sup>10-15.</sup> The case of married women generally, the natural continuation of 6-8.

<sup>13.</sup> every binding oath to afflict the soul: the latter expression elsewhere denotes 'to fast' (see on Lev. xvi. 29); here it denotes any and every form of abstinence.

- the statutes, which the LORD commanded Moses, between a man and his wife, between a father and his daughter, being in her youth, in her father's house.
- 31 2 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites: afterward shalt thou
  - 15. he shall bear her iniquity. When the husband interposes with his veto at the proper time no guilt is incurred by either party; but if, at a later time, he illegally vetoes his wife's vow, the guilt incurred falls not upon her but upon her husband.

(f) xxxi. A holy war against Midian, and legislation based thereon.

Moses is commanded to organize an expedition for the purpose of executing 'the Lord's vengeance on Midian.' For this jihâd, or holy war, an army of 12,000 men is sent out under the leadership of Phinehas, the priest—Joshua is nowhere mentioned—with the extraordinary result that the whole adult male population of Midian is exterminated and their homes burnt without the loss of a single man of the Hebrew army! (1-12, 49). On the return of the latter with their spoil of persons and property, Moses commands the immediate execution of all the male children and of all the Midianite women with the exception of those still virgin (13-18). On this follows a couple of legal enactments, the first of which prescribes the ceremonial purifications necessary after a campaign (19-24), while the second lays down the principles which are henceforth to regulate the division of the spoils of war (25-54).

In this chapter we have one of the latest additions to the complex priestly legislation of the Pentateuch. The story of this wonderful crusade is not history—nor was it seriously intended to be taken for history, which from the apologetic standpoint is a distinct gain—but an illustration of the method by which the later Jewish authorities sought to invest certain laws with a more authoritative sanction by providing them with a Mosaic precedent. Thus there is unimpeachable authority for believing that the law of the equal division of the booty taken in war was first introduced by David (1 Sam. xxx. 24 f.): here, by a recognized 'legal fiction' (see reference to OTJC<sup>2</sup> above, p. 344), it is attributed to Moses (see further op. cit. 386 f.; cf. Gray, Numbers, pp. 418 ff., who thinks that 'though as a whole unhistorical, the narrative may and doubtless does contain some traditional ele-

ments, such as the names of the five kings').

be gathered unto thy people. And Moses spake unto 3 the people, saying, Arm ye men from among you for the war, that they may go against Midian, to execute the LORD's vengeance on Midian. Of every tribe a thou- 4 sand, throughout all the tribes of Israel, shall ve send to the war. So there were delivered, out of the thousands 5 of Israel, a thousand of every tribe, twelve thousand armed for war. And Moses sent them, a thousand of 6 every tribe, to the war, them and Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the vessels of the sanctuary and the trumpets for the alarm in his hand. And they warred against Midian, as the LORD com- 7 manded Moses; and they slew every male. And they 8 slew the kings of Midian with the rest of their slain; Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the five kings of Midian: Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword. And the children of Israel took captive 9 the women of Midian and their little ones; and all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods, they took for a prey. And all their cities in the places wherein 10 they dwelt, and all their encampments, they burnt with fire. And they took all the spoil, and all the prey, both 11 of man and of beast. And they brought the captives, 12 and the prey, and the spoil, unto Moses, and unto Eleazar the priest, and anto the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the plains of Moab, which are by the Jordan at Jericho.

3. the LORD'S vengeance on Midian: see xxv. 16-18, and

the notes on verses 3-11 of that chapter.

<sup>6.</sup> with the vessels of the sanctuary: also rendered, 'the furniture of the sanctuary' (iv. 15). Can the author of this Midrash have intended the ark to take the field in this holy war (see on x. 35 f.)? The words, however, may also be rendered 'with the holy (i. e. priestly) garments.' For the trumpets see x. 9 above.

- And Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them without 14 the camp. And Moses was wroth with the officers of
  - the host, the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds, which came from the service of the war.
- 15 And Moses said unto them, Have ve saved all the 16 women alive? Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass
- against the LORD in the matter of Peor, and so the 17 plague was among the congregation of the LORD. Now
- therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him.
- 18 But all the women children, that have not known man
- 19 by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves. And encamp ye without the camp seven days: whosoever

<sup>13-18.</sup> Moses is indignant that the women in particular were spared, since these were the cause of Israel's fall with its fatal results (xxv. 8 f.), and commands all the survivors, male and female, with the exception of the female children and the virgines intactae, to be slain forthwith.

<sup>16.</sup> in the matter of Peor: perhaps editorial, both here and in xxv. 18, since there was no historical connexion between the apostasy to the Moabite Baal and the sin of the Midianite women (see on p. 334).

<sup>17.</sup> That this total extirpation of the Midianites belongs to the realm of pious imagination rather than of sober history is shown by the narrative of Judges vi-viii.

<sup>19-24.</sup> Regulations for the purification of the warriors, their garments, and all their *impedimenta*. This custom of the purification of warriors after battle has many and widespread analogies among primitive peoples (see Frazer, Golden Bough, i. 331-9; Gray, op. cit., p. 243 f.; Farnell, The Evolution of Religion, p. 94 1).

19 f. The provisions of this enactment resemble those of xix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. Farnell cites the case of a North American tribe of Indians which 'was extirpated because it needed a month to wipe off the stain of a single conflict, while their enemies needed [as here] only a week for that purpose, and therefore had the advantage of three weeks' start in preparing for the next attack!'

hath killed any person, and whosoever hath touched any slain, purify yourselves on the third day and on the seventh day, ye and your captives. And as to every 22 garment, and all that is made of skin, and all work of goats' hair, and all things made of wood, ye shall purify yourselves. And Eleazar the priest said unto the men 21 of war which went to the battle, This is the statute of the law which the LORD hath commanded Moses: how- 22 beit the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the lead, every thing that may abide the fire, ye 23 shall make to go through the fire, and it shall be clean; nevertheless it shall be purified with the water of a separation: and all that abideth not the fire ye shall make to go through the water. And ye shall wash your clothes 24 on the seventh day, and ye shall be clean, and afterward ye shall come into the camp.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Take the <sup>25</sup> sum of the prey that was taken, both of man and of <sup>26</sup>

## <sup>a</sup> Or, impurity

<sup>12-22,</sup> also belonging to late strata of P. To 'purify' is here, as there, literally to 'un-sin,' for which see on Lev. iv. 3.

<sup>21-24.</sup> Additional, and probably later, instructions on the same subject given by Eleazar. The most striking feature of these additional regulations is that after 'everything that may abide the fire' has been purified by this medium, it must be further 'un-sinned' by means of the 'water for impurity' (see on xix.9)— a seemingly unnecessary procedure which has led many to regard the introduction of the latter cathartic as a later gloss (cf. following note).

<sup>23.</sup> ye shall make to go through the water: rather 'through water,' no doubt 'living' or running water (Lev. xiv. 5), but not the special 'water of separation.' Probably only the two ordinary media of lustration, fire and water, were mentioned in the original law. For the universal use of these media see Tylor, Primitive Culture, 3rd ed., pp. 429 ff.

<sup>25-31.</sup> A precedent is set up to determine the principle on which the spoils of war, so far as female captives and cattle are

beast, thou, and Eleazar the priest, and the heads of the 27 fathers' houses of the congregation: and divide the prey into two parts; between the men skilled in war, that 28 went out to battle, and all the congregation: and levy a tribute unto the LORD of the men of war that went out to battle: one soul of five hundred, both of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the flocks: 20 take it of their half, and give it unto Eleazar the priest, 30 for the LORD's heave offering. And of the children of Israel's half, thou shalt take one drawn out of every fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, even of all the cattle, and give them unto the Levites, which keep the charge of the tabernacle of the 31 LORD. And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as the 32 LORD commanded Moses. Now the prev. over and above the booty which the men of war took, was six

concerned, are henceforth to be divided. These are first of all divided numerically into two halves, one to go to the actual combatants, the other to the rest of the 'congregation' who have remained in the camp (cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 24 f.; also Joshua xxii. 8 end). From each of these moieties a tax is to be levied for the maintenance of the clergy; 500th, or 5th per cent., of the soldiers' share is to be a contribution to Yahweh for the support of the priests; while 1 th, or 2 per cent., of the congregation's share is appointed for the support of the more numerous body of Levites.

hundred thousand and seventy thousand and five thou-

29. for the LORD'S heave offering: rather, 'as a (special) contribution to Yahweh' (see on Lev. vii. 14). In verses 28 and 41 it is called a 'tribute,' or rather a 'tax.'

30. which keep the charge, &c. See on i. 53.

32-47. The carrying out of the preceding regulations.

<sup>32.</sup> over and above the booty: render: 'which remained of the booty,' after the massacre ordered in verse 17, and after deducting the animals that had died or been killed for food on the way. The enormous and indeed impossible totals may be here set down, viz. small cattle, including goats as well as the 'sheep' of the text, 675,000; neat cattle or 'beeves,' 72,000; asses, 61,000; and virgins, 32,000.

sand sheep, and threescore and twelve thousand beeves, 33 and threescore and one thousand asses, and thirty and 34 two thousand persons in all, of the women that had not known man by lying with him. And the half, which was 36 the portion of them that went out to war, was in number three hundred thousand and thirty thousand and seven thousand and five hundred sheep: and the LORD's 37 tribute of the sheep was six hundred and threescore and fifteen. And the beeves were thirty and six thousand; 38 of which the LORD's tribute was threescore and twelve. And the asses were thirty thousand and five hundred: of 39 which the LORD's tribute was threescore and one. And 40 the persons were sixteen thousand; of whom the LORD's tribute was thirty and two persons. And Moses gave 41 the tribute, which was the Lord's heave offering, unto Eleazar the priest, as the LORD commanded Moses. And of the children of Israel's half, which Moses divided 42 off from the men that warred, (now the congregation's 43 half was three hundred thousand and thirty thousand, seven thousand and five hundred sheep, and thirty and 44 six thousand beeves, and thirty thousand and five hundred 45 asses, and sixteen thousand persons;) even of the children 46 of Israel's half, Moses took one drawn out of every fifty, both of man and of beast, and gave them unto the Levites. which kept the charge of the tabernacle of the LORD; as the LORD commanded Moses. And the officers which 48 were over the thousands of the host, the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, came near unto Moses: and they said unto Moses, Thy servants have 49 taken the sum of the men of war which are under our

<sup>48-54.</sup> As a ransom for their lives the officers present an offering to Yahweh, consisting of the various gold ornaments that formed their share of the general loot.

- 50 charge, and there lacketh not one man of us. And we have brought the Lord's oblation, what every man hath gotten, of jewels of gold, ankle chains, and bracelets, signet-rings, earrings, and a armlets, to make atonement
- 51 for our souls before the LORD. And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold of them, even all wrought jewels.
- 52 And all the gold of the heave offering that they offered up to the LORD, of the captains of thousands, and of the captains of hundreds, was sixteen thousand seven hundred
- 53 and fifty shekels. (b For the men of war had taken booty, 54 every man for himself.) And Moses and Eleazar the
- priest took the gold of the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and brought it into the tent of meeting, for a memorial for the children of Israel before the LORD.

D See ver. 32.

50. of jewels of gold: rather 'of gold ornaments,' a comprehensive expression of which the particulars follow, corresponding to the 'wrought jewels,' rather 'ornaments' or 'objects of art,' of the following verse.

ankle chains: really 'armlets,' or arm-bands, an ornament worn on the upper part of the arm, see on 2 Sam. i. 10 (Cent. Bible). The meaning of the word rendered 'armlets' (marg. necklaces) in the text is unknown. See further the writer's art.

'Ornaments' in Hastings's DB. (1909).

to make atonement (kapper) for our souls: render 'to be a ransom for our lives'; the idea is the same as in Exod. xxx. 12, where the corresponding substantive (kōpher) is used (see Bennett, Cent. Bible, in loc.). The officers had risked the Divine displeasure in taking a census of their men!

52. The value in sterling money of 16,750 gold shekels, at the rate of 41 shillings to the shekel (see Hastings's DB, iii. 419 f.),

is approximately £34,340.1

53. is probably a marginal gloss referring to the share of the common soldiers in the loot (Judges viii. 24 ff.), and not, as the margin suggests, to the spoil of verse 32.

54. for a memorial, &c.: rather 'for a remembrance,' that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Kautzsch, Die Heilige Schrift d. A.T. (1908), in loc., the value is wrongly given as 'over 43,500 marks' = £2,175, the value of the corresponding number of silver shekels.

Now the children of Reuben and the children of Gad 32 had a very great multitude of cattle: and when they saw the land of Jazer, and the land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for cattle; the children of Gad and 2 the children of Reuben came and spake unto Moses, and to Eleazar the priest, and unto the princes of the con-

Yahweh may be reminded of His people, see on x, 10 (cf. note on v. 15).

(g) xxxii. The tribes of Reuben and Gad (and part of Manasseh)

are allotted territory east of the Jordan (cf. Deut. iii. 12 ff.).

The pastoral tribes of Gad and Reuben approach Moses with the request to be allowed to settle in the newly-conquered territory east of the Jordan. Moses, at first indignant at their apparent selfishness, afterwards grants their request on their undertaking to assist the remaining tribes in their conquest of the country west of the Jordan. The association of 'the half tribe of Manasseh' (verse 33) with the two tribes above named is due to an editor, who wished to add a separate extract telling in reality of the independent conquests of the three Manassite clans of Machir, Jair, and Nobah (39-42). The main body of the chapter (1-32, 34-38) is best regarded as a free composition from the pen of a late priestly writer, working from older materials in IE and P. See C-H. Hex. ii. 239 for a summary of the 'many conflicting phenomena,' which are doubtless due to the fact that the original sources reflected the geographical position of the tribes named at different epochs of their history. The arts. 'Gad,' 'Manasseh,' 'Reuben,' in the standard dictionaries should also be consulted.

1. Reuben . . . Gad: the normal order according to the genealogical tradition, but elsewhere in this chapter the order is Gad, Reuben. The latter tribe lost its pre-eminence at an early

period, and ultimately its individuality.

the land of Jazer. See on xxi. 24; cf. verses 3, 35 below. the land of Gilead. Probably no O.T. geographical term is so elastic as Gilead (see Gray, in loc., and the dictionaries). Sometimes it is used of the whole of the country between the Arnon and the Yarmuk, which is divided into two halves by the Jabbok (Wady Zerka); at other times it is applied to either of these halves. Thus, in verse 29 below, 'the land of Gilead' denotes the country south of the Jabbok, in which were situated all the places named in verses 3, 34-37. This is its most frequent application, but in verse 39 (a different source) it must denote the country north of the Jabbok.

3 gregation, saying, Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and a Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and b Sebam, and 4 Nebo, and c Beon, the land which the Lord smote before the congregation of Israel, is a land for cattle, and thy 5 servants have cattle. And they said, If we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants 6 for a possession; bring us not over Jordan. And Moses said unto the children of Gad and to the children of Reuben, Shall your brethren go to the war, and shall ye 7 sit here? And wherefore discourage ye the heart of the children of Israel from going over into the land which 8 the Lord hath given them? Thus did your fathers, when 9 I sent them from Kadesh-barnea to see the land. For when they went up unto the valley of Eshcol, and saw the land, they discouraged the heart of the children of

In ver. 36, Beth-nimrah. b In ver. 38, Sibmah. c In ver. 38, Baal-meon.

3. Of the nine towns here named, the first four, according to verses 34-38, fell to Gad, the remaining five to Reuben. They all lay, as has been said, between the Arnon and the Jabbok. Of the former Moabite cities here named, several are mentioned in the inscription of King Mesha (circa 860 B. c.).

Ataroth, the modern 'Attarus, in a line with the mouth of the Wady Zerka Ma'in, of which Mesha records: 'the men of Gad

occupied the land of Ataroth from of old,' &c. (line 10).

Dibon, the modern Dhibān, four miles north of the Arnon, the Dibon-Gad of xxxiii. 45 f., and the capital of Mesha who styles himself 'the Dibonite' (l. 1 f.). Of the others the best known is **Heshbon**, to-day Hesbān, the former capital of Sihon according to xxi. 25 ff., Deut. i. 4, &c. Nimrah, or Beth-Nimrah (36), is the modern Nimrin, on the edge of the Jordan valley. Beon, if not a copyist's slip for Meon, may be an intentional disfigurement of Baal-meon (see on verse 38; cf. Peor and Baal-peor), also named Beth-meon (Jer. xlviii. 23) and even Beth-baal-meon (Joshua xiii. 17 and Mesha, l. 30). The form Meon survives in the modern Ma'in south-west of Medeba, which gives its name to the Wady Zerka Ma'in above mentioned.

8-13 contain a summary of chs. xiii-xiv in their present com-

posite form, which shows the late origin of this chapter.

Israel, that they should not go into the land which the LORD had given them. And the LORD's anger was 10 kindled in that day, and he sware, saying, Surely none of 11 the men that came up out of Egypt, from twenty years old and upward, shall see the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob; because they have not wholly followed me: save Caleb the son of 12 Jephunneh the Kenizzite, and Joshua the son of Nun: because they have wholly followed the LORD. And the 13 LORD's anger was kindled against Israel, and he made them wander to and fro in the wilderness forty years, until all the generation, that had done evil in the sight of the LORD, was consumed. And, behold, ye are risen 14 up in your fathers' stead, an increase of sinful men, to augment yet the fierce anger of the LORD toward Israel. For if ye turn away from after him, he will yet again leave 15 them in the wilderness; and ye shall destroy all this people. And they came near unto him, and said, We 16 will build sheepfolds here for our cattle, and cities for our little ones: but we ourselves will be ready armed to 17 go before the children of Israel, until we have brought them unto their place: and our little ones shall dwell in the fenced cities because of the inhabitants of the land. We will not return unto our houses, until the children of 18 Israel have inherited every man his inheritance. For we 19 will not inherit with them on the other side Jordan, and

<sup>14.</sup> an increase: rather, 'a brood' of sinful men.
17. we ourselves will be ready armed, &c.: lit. 'we will arm ourselves (and march) fully equipped at the head of the children of Israel'; 'ready' of A.V. and R.V. represents a common military technical term (Exod. xiii. 18; Joshua i. 14, iv. 12, &c.) -a letter of which has been dropped in the Hebrew text heremeaning originally 'in companies of fifty,' then 'fully equipped' for a campaign (Meyer, Die Israeliten, p. 501).

forward; because our inheritance is fallen to us on this 20 side Jordan eastward. And Moses said unto them, If ye will do this thing; if ye will arm yourselves to go before

the LORD to the war, and every armed man of you will pass over Jordan before the LORD, until he hath driven

- out his enemies from before him, and the land be subdued before the LORD: then afterward ye shall return, and be guiltless towards the LORD, and towards Israel; and this land shall be unto you for a possession before the LORD.
- 23 But if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned against
- 24 the LORD: and be sure your sin will find you out. Build you cities for your little ones, and folds for your sheep; and do that which hath proceeded out of your mouth.
- <sup>25</sup> And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben spake unto Moses, saying, Thy servants will do as my
- 26 lord commandeth. Our little ones, our wives, our flocks, and all our cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead:
- but thy servants will pass over, every man that is armed for war, before the LORD to battle, as my lord saith.
- So Moses gave charge concerning them to Eleazar the priest, and to Joshua the son of Nun, and to the heads of the fathers' houses of the tribes of the children of
- Israel. And Moses said unto them, If the children of Gad and the children of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan, every man that is armed to battle, before the LORD, and the land shall be subdued before you; then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a posses-
- 30 sion: but if they will not pass over with you armed, they shall have possessions among you in the land of Canaan.
- 31 And the children of Gad and the children of Reuben

<sup>28</sup> ff. Moses charges Eleazar, Joshua, the future commanderin-chief, and the heads of the various septs (see on i. 2), to see to it that Gad and Reuben fulfil the conditions agreed to.

answered, saying, As the LORD hath said unto thy servants, so will we do. We will pass over armed before 32 the LORD into the land of Canaan, and the possession of our inheritance shall remain with us beyond Jordan. And Moses gave unto them, even to the children of 33 Gad, and to the children of Reuben, and unto the half tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, the land, according to the cities thereof with their borders, even the cities of the land round about. And the children of Gad built Dibon, and 34 Ataroth, and Aroer; and Atroth-shophan, and Jazer, 35 and Jogbehah; and Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran: fenced 36 cities, and folds for sheep. And the children of Reuben 37 built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kiriathaim; and Nebo, 38 and Baal-meon, (their names being changed,) and Sibmah: and gave other names unto the cities which they builded. And the children of Machir the son of Manas- 39

<sup>33.</sup> An editorial addition, introducing without explanation the 'half tribe of Manasseh,' evidently with a view to the addition of verses 39-42 to the lists of the Gadite and Reubenite cities in 34-38.

<sup>34-36.</sup> A list of eight cities rebuilt (so render for 'built' of the text), or restored after the war of conquest, by the tribe of Gad. Of the four not mentioned in verse 3, the best known is Aroer, probably the modern 'Ara'ir, on the north bank of the Arnon, almost due south of Dibon.

<sup>37</sup> f. A similar list of cities rebuilt or restored by the Reubenites. Elealeh is El'Al, two miles north of Heshbon; Kiriathaim is mentioned by Mesha (l. 10) between Baal-meon and Ataroth. For Nebo (Mesha, l. 14) see on xxvii. 12.

<sup>38.</sup> their names being changed: probably a marginal note by a reader suggesting that the two preceding place-names should not be pronounced as written, in order to avoid naming the two heathen deities, the Babylonian Nebo and Baal (cf. the alteration of the names Meri-baal and Ish-baal into Mephibosheth and Ish-bosheth, for which see Cent. Bible on 2 Sam. ii. 8, iv. 4).

<sup>39-42.</sup> An independent fragment from a history of the wars of

- seh went to Gilead, and took it, and dispossessed the 40 Amorites which were therein. And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein.
- 41 And Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the towns
- 42 thereof, and called them a Havvoth-jair. And Nobah went and took Kenath, and the b villages thereof, and called it Nobah, after his own name.
- 33 These are the cjourneys of the children of Israel,

That is, The towns of Jair.

o Or, stages

the conquest (with the exception of the editorial verse 40), akin to Judges i. It tells of the successful raid of three Manassite clans on the portion of Gilead lying north of the Jabbok. The clans were no doubt previously settled in Western Palestine (for the probable actual history of these clans see Ed. Meyer, Die Israeliten, &c., 516 ff.; cf. Driver's art. 'Manasseh' in Hastings's DB.).

41. the towns thereof... Havvoth-jair: lit. 'the tent-villages thereof, and called them Jair's tent-villages' (cf. the editorial insertion based on this passage in Deut. iii. 12). But in Judges x. 3 ff., these 'villages' are said to have been founded at a later period

by Jair the Gileadite, one of the 'Minor Judges.'

(h) xxxiii. 1-49. An annotated itinerary of the route from Egypt

to the Jordan.

This elaborate study of the route of the Hebrews from the land of Goshen to the valley of the Jordan contains material drawn from all the existing sources of the Pentateuch. It may, therefore, well be 'the work of a learned Jew of Jerusalem about the end of the fifth century B. c.' (Guthe). Forty-two stations are named, including Rameses, the starting-point, a number probably not accidental (cf. Matt. i. 17). Of these no fewer than twenty-two are not named elsewhere in the Pentateuch, while places mentioned elsewhere, such as Massah, Meribah, Taberah, and those named in Num. xxi. 12-20, are passed over. Of the former class some may have been preserved in traditions, oral or written, which are now lost to us; others may be names of caravan-stations of the writer's own day. In any case the exceedingly complicated problem of the route of the Hebrews, including as its central crux the site of the mountain of legislation, is not greatly helped to a solution by this late attempt to reconcile the variant traditions

hosts under the hand of Moses and Aaron. And Moses 2 wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord: and these are their journeys according to their goings out. And they journeyed 3 from Rameses in the first month, on the fifteenth day of the first month; on the morrow after the passover the children of Israel went out with an high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians, while the Egyptians were 4 burying all their firstborn, which the Lord had smitten among them: upon their gods also the Lord executed judgements. And the children of Israel journeyed from 5 Rameses, and pitched in Succoth. And they journeyed 6 from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness. And they journeyed from Etham, 7

## \* Or, by which

of the older sources. For the more or less plausible identifications that have been suggested for the places enumerated in this chapter—of which not more than ten or twelve can be identified with certainty—the student must consult the larger commentaries and the dictionaries, also the following recent studies of the route as a whole: Guthe, art. 'Wüstenwanderungen,' in Hauck's PRE's, vol. xxi (1908); Lagrange, Rev. Biblique, ix (1900), several articles; Bönhoff, Theol. Stud. u. Krit. lxxx (1907), pp. 159-217; Weill, Rev. des Études Juives, lvii (1909), several articles now published in book form: Le séjour des Israelites, &c. See also Musil's map of Arabia Petraea and his three vols. with this title.

1. These are the journeys: better as margin 'the stages . . . by which.'

2. The latter half of this verse, 'and these are their journeys (stages),' &c., is probably the original continuation of verse 1; the first half, in this case, is the addition of an editor who regarded the whole Pentateuch, and therefore this chapter, as Mosaic.

3. from Rameses: Exod. xii. 37. Flinders Petrie (Hyksos and Israelite Cities) claims to have discovered the site at Tell er-

Retabeh, about twenty miles west of Ismailiyeh.

5. Succoth, the first stage, Egyptian Thuku; for this and succeeding stages see the Commentaries on Exodus by Bennett (Cent. Bible) and A. H. McNeile.

and turned back unto Pi-hahiroth, which is before 8 Baal-zephon: and they pitched before Migdol. And they journeyed from before Hahiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea into the wilderness; and they went three days' journey in the wilderness of Etham, and 9 pitched in Marah. And they journeyed from Marah, and came unto Elim: and in Elim were twelve springs of water, and threescore and ten palm trees; and they 10 pitched there. And they journeyed from Elim, and repitched by the Red Sea. And they journeyed from the 12 Red Sea, and pitched in the wilderness of Sin. And they journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, and pitched 13 in Dophkah. And they journeyed from Dophkah, and 14 pitched in Alush. And they journeyed from Alush, and pitched in Rephidim, where was no water for the people 15 to drink. And they journeyed from Rephidim, and 16 pitched in the wilderness of Sinai. And they journeyed

12 f. Dophkah and Alush are not mentioned elsewhere. There

is no agreement as to their position.

<sup>8.</sup> from before Hahiroth: read, with the Versions, 'from Pihahiroth.'

<sup>10</sup> f. This encampment by the Gulf of Suez—for this and not the Gulf of Akaba (see on xiv. 25) is clearly intended—is not mentioned in Exod. xvi. 1 (P), where the wilderness of Sin follows immediately upon Elim. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that in the opinion of the author of this chapter, and probably of his contemporaries, Sinai-Horeb was to be found neither in Midian, east of Akaba, nor in the neighbourhood of Kadesh, but somewhere in the peninsula of Sinai. It by no means follows that either Sinai or Horeb—if the two must be distinguished—was so situated according to the earliest traditions (see above, p. 186 f.).

<sup>14.</sup> Rephidim. See Exod. xvii. 1, xix. 2 (P), where it is located as here, but the identification of it with Massah, and still more with Meribah, in Exod. xvii. 7 (JE), suggests that the older tradition placed Rephidim at Kadesh (see on xx. 13 above). This is one of the arguments for locating the mount of lawgiving in the same neighbourhood, or at least for holding that the Hebrews marched first in a north-easterly, not a south-easterly direction.

from the wilderness of Sinai, and pitched in Kibrothhattaavah. And they journeyed from Kibroth-hattaavah, 17 and pitched in Hazeroth. And they journeyed from 18 Hazeroth, and pitched in Rithmah. And they journeyed 19 from Rithmah, and pitched in Rimmon-perez. And they 20 journeyed from Rimmon-perez, and pitched in Libnah. And they journeyed from Libnah, and pitched in Rissah. 21 And they journeyed from Rissah, and pitched in Kehe- 22 lathah. And they journeyed from Kehelathah, and 23 pitched in mount Shepher. And they journeyed from 24 mount Shepher, and pitched in Haradah. And they 25 journeyed from Haradah, and pitched in Makheloth. And they journeyed from Makheloth, and pitched in 26 Tahath. And they journeyed from Tahath, and pitched 27 in Terah. And they journeyed from Terah, and pitched 28 in Mithkah. And they journeyed from Mithkah, and 29 pitched in Hashmonah. And they journeyed from 30 Hashmonah, and pitched in Moseroth. And they jour- 31 neved from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakan. And 32

<sup>16</sup> f. Kibroth-hattaavah . . . Hazeroth. See above, xi. 34 f. According to P (xii. 16), from Hazeroth the Israelites 'pitched in the wilderness of Paran,' which is not mentioned in this itinerary. It is probable, however, that the twelve stations of verses 18-29, otherwise unknown, were caravan stations in the plateau of et-Tih (see on x. 12).

<sup>30-34.</sup> The four stations from Moseroth to Jotbathah are to be identified with those of Deut. x. 6 f., a fragment from an itinerary of E (cf. xxi. 12 ff. above). Now since Aaron is said to have died at Moserah in Deut. x. 6, while in Num. xx. 22-29 (P) and in verse 38 below he dies on Mt. Hor, the next station from Kadesh, Ewald suggested that part of this itinerary (36<sup>b</sup>-41<sup>a</sup>) had been accidentally removed from its original position after Hashmonah in 30<sup>a</sup>. This brings the wilderness of Zin, and with it Kadesh, into a more natural position, and makes Moseroth the next station to Mt. Hor (see on xx. 22 f.). Read in this order: 29, 30<sup>a</sup>, 36<sup>b</sup>-41<sup>a</sup>, 30<sup>b</sup>-36<sup>a</sup>, 41<sup>b</sup>-49. The difficulties, however, are not entirely removed (for a more radical suggestion see Bonhoff, loc. cit.).

they journeyed from Bene-jaakan, and pitched in Hor-33 haggidgad. And they journeyed from Hor-haggidgad, 34 and pitched in Jotbathah. And they journeyed from 35 Jotbathah, and pitched in Abronah. And they journeyed 36 from Abronah, and pitched in Ezion-geber. And they journeyed from Ezion-geber, and pitched in the wilder-37 ness of Zin (the same is Kadesh). And they journeyed from Kadesh, and pitched in mount Hor, in the edge of 38 the land of Edom. And Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor at the commandment of the LORD, and died there, in the fortieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fifth month, 39 on the first day of the month. And Aaron was an hundred and twenty and three years old when he died in 40 mount Hor. And the Canaanite, the king of Arad, which dwelt in the South in the land of Canaan, heard of 41 the coming of the children of Israel. And they journeyed 42 from mount Hor, and pitched in Zalmonah. And they 43 journeyed from Zalmonah, and pitched in Punon. And

44 they journeyed from Punon, and pitched in Oboth. And

<sup>35.</sup> Ezion-geber: then, and for long afterwards, a port at the head of the gulf of Akaba (1 Kings ix. 26) near to Elath (Deut. ii. 8). For this part of the route see on xiv. 25, xxi. 4, 12 ff. If Ewald's suggestion is accepted, the next station of the itinerary is Zalmonah (41<sup>b</sup>), and the difficulty of the leap from Ezion-geber to Kadesh is removed.

<sup>36</sup> f. the wilderness of Zin . . . Kadesh . . . mount Hor. See notes on xiii. 3, 21, 26, xx. 22 f. Our author here follows P with regard to Aaron's death, adding the date and his age.

<sup>40.</sup> Slightly altered from xx. 1 (JE).

<sup>42.</sup> We are now in the depression of the Arabah, which runs up from Akaba to the Dead Sea, for Punon is almost certainly the modern Khirbet Fenan, on the eastern side of the Arabah, in lat. 30° 36′, as proposed by Lagrange (Rev. Biblique, ix. 284 ff. (with sketch), and described by Musil, Arabia Petraea, II. i. 293 ff. (with plan and many views). On the opposite side of the Arabah was situated

<sup>43.</sup> Oboth, if this is to be identified with 'Ain el-Weybeh

they journeyed from Oboth, and pitched in Iye-abarim, in the border of Moab. And they journeyed from Iyim, 45 and pitched in Dibon-gad. And they journeyed from 46 Dibon-gad, and pitched in Almon-diblathaim. And they 47 journeyed from Almon-diblathaim, and pitched in the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo. And they jour- 48 neyed from the mountains of Abarim, and pitched in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. And they 49 pitched by Jordan, from Beth-jeshimoth even unto Abelshittim in the plains of Moab.

And the Lord spake unto Moses in the plains of Moab 50

described by Musil, op. cit., II. ii. 202 ff., as the junction of the caravan routes from Petra and Akaba to Gaza. According to the itinerary it ought to be further north than Punon, and on the east

of the Arabah, cf. xxi. 10 ff.

44 ff. With Iye-abarim or Iyim (Khirbet 'Ai, see on xxi. 11) and Dibon-gad (xxxii. 3), we are within the territory of Moab. Almon-diblathaim may be the Beth-diblathaim of Mesha's stone (l. 30), and Jer. xlviii. 22. The mountains of Abarim are the range of which Mt. Nebo was a prominent peak (cf. xxvii. 12). Beth-jeshimoth and Abel-shittim (cf. xxv. 1) have been identified with Suwême and Kefrên, opposite Jericho, in the Jordan valley (see Bartholomew's map).

(i) xxxiii. 50-xxxvi. 13. A group of laws having reference to the

impending occupation of Canaan.

The closing section of the Book of Numbers is made up of several unrelated legislative enactments; all, however, have as their common motif the necessity for making provision for the approaching occupation of the promised land. In their present form these chapters are best ranked with the other secondary strata of the priestly legislation (P<sup>6</sup>), although in some cases a considerably older nucleus (H or P<sup>g</sup>, see below) may confidently be detected.

xxxiii. 50-56. An order to expel the inhabitants of Canaan, to destroy their idols and demolish their sanctuaries. Peculiarities of style and phraseology suggest that at least the nucleus (51-53) may have stood originally in H (the Law of Holiness, see pp. 119 ff. above).

50. For 'by the Jordan of Jericho' of the original, see on

xxii. 1.

- 51 by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye pass over Jordan
- 52 into the land of Canaan, then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their figured stones, and destroy all their molten images,
- 53 and demolish all their high places: and ye shall take possession of the land, and dwell therein: for unto you
- 54 have I given the land to possess it. And ye shall inherit the land by lot according to your families; to the more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer thou shalt give the less inheritance: wheresoever the lot falleth to any man, that shall be his; according to the
- 55 tribes of your fathers shall ye inherit. But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you; then shall those which ye let remain of them be as pricks in your eyes, and as thorns in your sides, and they shall
- 56 vex you in the land wherein ye dwell. And it shall come to pass, that as I thought to do unto them, so will I do unto you.
- 342 And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Command

xxxiv. 11-16) and D (Deut. vii. 1-6, xii. 2 f.), but not in Pg. all their figured stones: only here and Lev. xxvi. 1 (H),

which see; see also *ibid*, verse 30 for the **high places**.

54. Apparently introduced from xxvi. 54 (which see for improved rendering) to prepare the way for ch. xxxiv.

Ch. xxxiv consists of two parts: (1) the ideal boundaries of the land of promise, west of the Jordan (1-15), and (2) the names of ten 'princes' of the tribes, appointed to assist Eleazar and Joshua in the allotment of the land (16-29). With regard to the first topic, the identification of the various frontiers is full of difficulties, more particularly on the north and north-east. A considerable ideal element enters into the description, as in the parallel case of Ezek. xlvii. 13-20. 'Here, as in other things, what Ezekiel embodies in his description of the ideal future, P embodies in his account of the idealized past' (Gray, Numbers, p. 453, which see for the geographical and other details).

<sup>52.</sup> Similar injunctions are found in JE (Exod. xxiii. 24, 31 ff.,

the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye come into the land of Canaan, (this is the land that shall fall unto you for an inheritance, even the land of Canaan according to the borders thereof,) then your south 3 quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the side of Edom, and your south border shall be from the end of the Salt Sea eastward: and your border shall turn 4 about southward of the ascent of Akrabbim, and pass along to Zin: and the goings out thereof shall be southward of Kadesh-barnea; and it shall go forth to Hazaraddar, and pass along to Azmon: and the border shall 5 turn about from Azmon unto the brook of Egypt, and the goings out thereof shall be at the sea. And for the 6 western border, ye shall have the great sea and the border thereof: this shall be your west border. And this 7

## a Or, for a border

3. your south quarter: rather 'your south side' (as often in

Ezek. xli-xlviii), 'your southern boundary-line.'

4. the ascent of Akrabbim: lit. 'of scorpions,' one of the passes—the Nakh es-Safa according to Buhl (Geogr. d. alten Palästina, p. 66)—running down to the Wady el-Fikreh.

5. unto the brook of Egypt: the Wady el-'Arish (see the maps), which the boundary-line touches at the unidentified Azmon.

6. the great sea: more frequently, as xiii, 29, simply 'the sea,' i.e. the Mediterranean.

7-9. The number of unidentified places here named (cf. Ezek. xlvii. 15-17) renders it impossible to define with certainty the line of the northern frontier, as intended by the writer (see Gray, in loc.). It is probable, however, that a line drawn from the mouth of the Nahr el-Kasimiyeh, six miles north of Tyre, to the southern base of Mount Hermon (Buhl, op. cit., p. 66 f.), may be taken as approximately correct,

<sup>3-5.</sup> The southern boundary of the promised land, which was also that of the tribe of Judah (Joshua xv. 1-4), is to run from the southern end of the Dead Sea, 'the Salt Sea on the east,' along the western frontier of Edom till it reaches a point south of Kadeshbarnea ('Ain Kadis, see p. 263), thence north-westwards to the Mediterranean along the lower course of the Wady el-'Arish.

shall be your north border: from the great sea ye shall 8 mark out for you mount Hor: from mount Hor ye shall mark out unto the entering in of Hamath; and the o goings out of the border shall be at Zedad: and the border shall go forth to Ziphron, and the goings out thereof shall be at Hazar-enan; this shall be your north 10 border. And ye shall mark out your east border from 11 Hazar-enan to Shepham: and the border shall go down from Shepham to Riblah, on the east side of Ain; and the border shall go down, and shall reach unto the a side 12 of the sea of Chinnereth eastward: and the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out thereof shall be at the Salt Sea: this shall be your land according to the 13 borders thereof round about. And Moses commanded the children of Israel, saying, This is the land which ye shall inherit by lot, which the LORD hath commanded to 14 give unto the nine tribes, and to the half tribe: for the tribe of the children of Reuben according to their fathers' houses, and the tribe of the children of Gad according to their fathers' houses, have received, and the half tribe 15 of Manasseh have received, their inheritance: the two tribes and the half tribe have received their inheritance beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastward, toward the sunrising.

a Heb. shoulder.

7. ye shall mark out for you mount Hor. The text is here obscure, but we should probably render: 'from the great sea ye shall draw your boundary-line to mount Hor; from mount Hor... to the entrance to Hamath' (for which see on xiii. 21).

<sup>10-12.</sup> The northern boundary ends at, and the eastern starts from, Hazar-enan, probably near or at Banias, one of the sources of the Jordan at the base of Mt. Hermon; the line then runs southwards till it strikes the mountains—the 'shoulder' of verse 11 margin (see Joshua xv. 8, 10 f.)—on the east of the sea of Chinnereth (pronounce Kinnereth), i.e. the Lake of Galilee. Chinnereth

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, These are 16 the names of the men which shall divide the land unto 17 you for inheritance: Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun. And ye shall take one prince of every 18 tribe, to divide the land for inheritance. And these are 10 the names of the men: of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh. And of the tribe of the children of 20 Simeon, Shemuel the son of Ammihud. Of the tribe 21 of Benjamin, Elidad the son of Chislon. And of the 22 tribe of the children of Dan a prince, Bukki the son of Jogli. Of the children of Joseph: of the tribe of the 23 children of Manasseh a prince, Hanniel the son of Ephod: and of the tribe of the children of Ephraim 24 a prince, Kemuel the son of Shiphtan. And of the tribe 25 of the children of Zebulun a prince, Elizaphan the son of Parnach. And of the tribe of the children of Issachar 26 a prince, Paltiel the son of Azzan. And of the tribe 27 of the children of Asher a prince, Ahihud the son of Shelomi. And of the tribe of the children of Naphtali 28 a prince, Pedahel the son of Ammihud. These are they 29 whom the LORD commanded to divide the inheritance unto the children of Israel in the land of Canaan.

And the LORD spake unto Moses in the plains of Moab 35

nereth was a town on the shores of the lake (Deut. iii. 17; Joshua xix. 35). The Jordan and the Dead Sea (verse 12) complete the eastern boundary of Western Palestine, the home of the nine and a half tribes here contemplated.

16-29. Moses is given the names of the ten princes who are to assist Eleazar and Joshua in the future allotment of Western Palestine to the nine and a half tribes—Reuben, Gad, and one half of Manasseh having been already provided for. The order in which the tribes are here named is not genealogical (p. 187 f.) but geographical, from south to north, according, roughly speaking, to their subsequent positions.

Ch. xxxv is occupied with two distinct ordinances: (1) 2-8, the provision of forty-eight cities, with a portion of land attached

- by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, Command the children of Israel, that they give unto the Levites of the inheritance of their possession cities to dwell in; and a suburbs for the cities round about them shall ye give unto the
- 3 Levites. And the cities shall they have to dwell in; and their suburbs shall be for their cattle, and for their sub-
- stance, and for all their beasts. And the suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites, shall be from

a Or, pasture lands

to each, for the support of the Levites; and (2) 9-34, the provision of six 'cities of refuge,' with the promulgation of the law of homicide in connexion therewith. The position of these regulations in the midst of the later legislation of Ps, and the impossibility of assigning the first of the above ordinances to Ps (see below), suggest that in its present form the chapter is also the production of a later hand. The main portion (9-29, note the concluding formula), however, appears to have been based upon, if it be not an extract from, Ps. The concluding section (30-34), on the other hand, has decided affinity with H. Moore, indeed, is of opinion that the whole of 9-34 'is founded upon a law of homicide and asylum derived from H, or one of the collections which served as the sources of H' (art. 'Numbers,' EBi. iii. col. 3.444).

1-8. The Levitical cities. This law is in direct conflict with one of the fundamental principles of the author of the history of Israel's theocratic institutions (Pg), according to which the Levites are for ever debarred from acquiring landed property (see xviii. 21-24, esp. 23<sup>b</sup>, and cf. xxvi. 62<sup>l</sup>). But it is unnecessary to labour the point that we have here a purely theoretical programme, of whose provisions Jewish history, after as well as before the exile, knows nothing, Joshua xxi (Ps) notwithstanding. Cf. the note on p. 164 on the similar 'programme' of the year of Jubilee.

2. and suburbs: render with margin, 'pasture lands'; 'suburbs' comes from the Vulgate 'et suburbana earum,' a late

Latin word for the fields and gardens close to a city.

4f. The dimensions of the pasture ground are clearly stated in verse 5 to be those of a square of which each side is 2,000 cubits, say 1,000 yards, which means an area of over 200 acres, the centre of which is occupied by the city. These data can be reconciled with the provisions of verse 4 only by reducing the city and its wall to a single point!

the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about. And ye shall measure without the city for the 5 east side two thousand cubits, and for the south side two thousand cubits, and for the west side two thousand cubits, and for the north side two thousand cubits, the city being in the midst. This shall be to them the suburbs of the cities. And the cities which ye shall give 6 unto the Levites, they shall be the six cities of refuge. which ye shall give for the manslayer to flee thither; and beside them ye shall give forty and two cities. All the 7 cities which ve shall give to the Levites shall be forty and eight cities: them shall ye give with their suburbs. And concerning the cities which ye shall give of the 8 possession of the children of Israel, from the many ye shall take many; and from the few ye shall take few: every one according to his inheritance which he inheriteth shall give of his cities unto the Levites.

And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto 9 the children of Israel, and say unto them, When ye pass over Jordan into the land of Canaan, then ye shall appoint 11 you cities to be cities of refuge for you; that the man slayer which killeth any person a unwittingly may flee thither. And the cities shall be unto you for refuge from 12

#### 1 Or, through error

<sup>6.</sup> The acquaintance with the provisions of 9 ff. here displayed is probably an indication of the later origin of verses 2-8.

<sup>8.</sup> With this principle of distribution cf. xxvi. 54, xxxiii. 54.

<sup>9-15.</sup> Six cities of refuge, three on either side of the Jordan, are to be provided as places of permanent asylum for those who have accidentally committed homicide.

<sup>11.</sup> ye shall appoint you, &c.: rather 'ye shall select for yourselves suitable cities.' For unwittingly see on xv. 24 and Lev. iv. 2.

<sup>12.</sup> for refuge ( $mikl\bar{a}t$ ) from the avenger ( $g\bar{o}'\bar{e}l$ ): add, with LXX, 'of blood.' The term  $mikl\bar{a}t$  must correspond very nearly

the avenger; that the manslayer die not, until he stand 13 before the congregation for judgement. And the cities which ye shall give shall be for you six cities of refuge.

Ye shall give three cities beyond Jordan, and three cities shall ye give in the land of Canaan; they shall be cities

- of refuge. For the children of Israel, and for the stranger and for the sojourner among them, shall these six cities be for refuge: that every one that killeth any person
- <sup>16</sup> "unwittingly may flee thither. But if he smote him with an instrument of iron, so that he died, he is a manslayer:
- 17 the manslayer shall surely be put to death. And if he smote him with a stone in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall

  a Or, through error

to our 'sanctuary;' the six cities are to be sanctuaries, places of asylum. For the duties of the goel, or next of kin, in this connexion, see the writer's arts. 'Goel' in Hastings's DB. ii, and more briefly 'Kin (Next of)' in the same editor's DB. (1909), p. 515. In the days before the reformation of Josiah (621 B.C.), every local sanctuary of any note was doubtless a recognized asylum (cf. 1 Kings i. 50, ii. 28), and in the earliest law-code it is implied that the manslayer may remain there in security until his case is investigated (Exod. xxi. 13 f.). With the destruction of the local sanctuaries, it became necessary to provide other places of asylum, as is done by Deut. xix. 1-13, on which the present law is based.

14. The cities are specified in Joshua xx. 1-9 (P<sup>s</sup>), which records the carrying out of this ordinance; cf. Deut. iv. 41-43. While the sites of the three on the east of the Jordan are uncertain, those on the west are all well-known historical sanctuaries, viz. Hebron,

Shechem, and Kedesh (the 'holy' city) of Galilee.

15. for the stranger  $(g\bar{e}r)$  and for the sojourner  $(t\bar{o}sh\bar{a}b)$ : see on Lev. xxii. 10.

16-28. These verses are devoted to an exposition of the law of homicide, showing how it is to be distinguished from murder (16-23), and laying down the procedure to be followed in the case of homicide by misadventure (24-29). 'The fundamental distinction is one of intention. Evidence of intention is to be sought in (a) the character of the instrument, 16-18; (b) the previous feelings, or the feelings at the time of the homicide, whether friendly or the reverse, 20-23' (Gray).

surely be put to death. Or if he smote him with a weapon 18 of wood in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall surely be put to death. The avenger of blood shall himself put 19 the manslayer to death: when he meeteth him, he shall put him to death. And if he thrust him of hatred, or 20 hurled at him, lying in wait, so that he died; or in enmity 21 smote him with his hand, that he died: he that smote him shall surely be put to death; he is a manslayer: the avenger of blood shall put the manslayer to death, when he meeteth him. But if he thrust him suddenly without 22 enmity, or hurled upon him any thing without lying in wait, or with any stone, whereby a man may die, seeing 23 him not, and cast it upon him, so that he died, and he was not his enemy, neither sought his harm: then the 24 congregation shall judge between the smiter and the avenger of blood according to these judgements: and the 25 congregation shall deliver the manslayer out of the hand of the avenger of blood, and the congregation shall restore him to his city of refuge, whither he was fled: and he

<sup>19</sup> anticipates the judicial investigation enjoined in 24 ff.; similarly in 21b. The manslayer dies by the hand of the goel or next of kin. This is the only survival of the primitive Semitic custom of the blood-feud recognized by the developed legislation.

<sup>20.</sup> if he thrust him: rather, 'if he push him'; cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 21.

<sup>22</sup> f. A definition of homicide by misadventure (per infortunium); cf. Deut. xix. 4 f.

<sup>24.</sup> The congregation is always in P the theocratic community, and we should have expected a more precise statement as to how they are to perform the judicial functions here assigned to them We have here, probably, an unconscious betrayal of the conditions of the writer's own time, when the post-exilic community was confined to Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, and a council of elders, the gerousia of the Greek period, managed its affairs (cf. G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, ii. 382 ff., 393 f.).

shall dwell therein until the death of the high priest, 26 which was anointed with the holy oil. But if the manslayer shall at any time go beyond the border of his city

27 of refuge, whither he fleeth; and the avenger of blood find him without the border of his city of refuge, and the avenger of blood slay the manslayer; \*he shall not be

28 guilty of blood: because he should have remained in his city of refuge until the death of the high priest: but after the death of the high priest the manslayer shall return

29 into the land of his possession. And these things shall be for a statute of judgement unto you throughout your

30 generations in all your dwellings. Whoso killeth any person, the manslayer shall be slain at the mouth of witnesses: but one witness shall not testify against any

31 person that he die. Moreover ye shall take no ransom for the life of a manslayer, which is guilty of death: but

32 he shall surely be put to death. And ye shall take no ransom for him that is fled to his city of refuge, that he

2 Or, there shall be no bloodguiltiness for him

32 ff. The idea of the land being polluted by the sins of its inhabitants is a characteristic thought of H (Lev. xviii. 25). If

<sup>25.</sup> until the death of the high priest: who has now taken the place of the pre-exilic king as 'Yahweh's anointed.' If the adjective is not a gloss (cf. verse 32, 'the priest'), we have also an indication of a hand other and later than Pg, who never employs the now familiar title, 'high' priest (for Lev. xxi. 10 see note there).

<sup>30-34.</sup> The preceding laws, closed by their own subscription in verse 29, are supplemented by others, apparently from, or based upon, another source (see introductory note, p. 382), enacting (1) that no one accused of murder shall be condemned on the evidence of a single witness (cf. Deut. xvii. 6, xix. 15), and (2) that no one guilty of wilful murder shall be allowed to commute his death sentence for a money payment, nor shall the unintentional homicide be allowed by this means to commute his sentence of detention in the city of refuge (for this 'ransom' or wergild see Driver, Deuteronomy, p. 234).

should come again to dwell in the land, until the death of the priest. So ye shall not pollute the land wherein 33 ye are: for blood, it polluteth the land: and no expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it. And thou 34 shalt not defile the land which ye inhabit, in the midst of which I dwell: for I the LORD dwell in the midst of the children of Israel.

And the heads of the fathers' houses of the family 36 of the children of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of the sons of Joseph, came near, and spake before Moses, and before the princes, the heads of the fathers' houses of the children of Israel: and they said, The LORD commanded my 2 lord to give the land for inheritance by lot to the children of Israel: and my lord was commanded by the LORD to give the inheritance of Zelophehad our brother unto his daughters. And if they be married to any of the sons of 3 the other tribes of the children of Israel, then shall their

these verses once formed part of H or of its sources (see Moore above), 'the priest' of verse 32 may be taken in the same sense as in Lev. xxi. 10-12 (see notes on p. 142).

xxxvi. 1-12. A law requiring heiresses to marry within their own tribe, a supplement to xxvii. I-II. The law there allows the daughters of a deceased landowner to inherit his property in the absence of male issue, a principle which 'exposed the tribe to the danger that marriage might convey the heiress' property to another tribe. The law in xxxvi provides against this contingency' (C-H. Hex. ii. 245).

1. The question is raised in the interests of the clan by the chiefs of the septs of the clan of Machir, the latter, according to Gilead. This, of course, is merely the usual quasi-historical setting with which the traditions of Hebrew jurisprudence required that any amendment of an earlier law should be provided (see above, pp. 344, 360).

inheritance be taken away from the inheritance of our fathers, and shall be added to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they shall belong: so shall it be taken 4 away from the lot of our inheritance. And when the jubile of the children of Israel shall be, then shall their inheritance be added unto the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they shall belong: so shall their inheritance be taken away from the inheritance of the tribe of our 5 fathers. And Moses commanded the children of Israel according to the word of the LORD, saying, The tribe of 6 the sons of Joseph speaketh right. This is the thing which the LORD doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them marry to whom they think best; only to the family of the tribe of their father 7 shall they marry. So shall no inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe; for the children of Israel shall cleave every one to the inheritance of the s tribe of his fathers. And every daughter, that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, shall be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may possess every man the o inheritance of his fathers. So shall no inheritance remove from one tribe to another tribe; for the tribes of the children of Israel shall cleave every one to his own 10 inheritance. Even as the LORD commanded Moses,

<sup>4.</sup> A mistaken addition of a glossator, who failed to observe that the provisions of the law of Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 13 ff.) apply only to land sold, not inherited. Moreover this verse does not contemplate the restoration of the land to the tribe of Manasseh (or Machir), but its more permanent conveyance to the tribe into which its owners have married.

<sup>5</sup> ff. Moses admits that 'the sons of Joseph' (xxvi. 28-33) have a grievance, and enacts that henceforth an heiress, inheriting her father's property, shall marry within her father's tribe.

so did the daughters of Zelophehad: for Mahlah, Tir-11 zah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, were married unto their father's brothers' sons. They were married into the families of the sons 12 of Manasseh the son of Joseph, and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father.

These are the commandments and the judgements, 13 which the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.

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<sup>11</sup> f. The daughters of Zelophehad—for the names see on xxvii. 1—accordingly marry their cousins on their father's side, with the result that their 'inheritance' remained within the tribe of Manasseh.

<sup>13.</sup> The subscription to the body of laws comprised in chs. xxii-xxxvi (see xxii. 1), or more precisely to the legislation of chs. xxvii-xxxvi. Cf. the similar colophon, Lev. xxvii. 34.

# ADDITIONAL NOTES

## A. THE DAY OF ATONEMENT

THE limits assigned to the volumes of this series have been considerably, but unavoidably, exceeded by the notes in the preceding pages. The writer accordingly finds himself compelled to forgo his intention of devoting a special note to a fuller discussion of the origin of the expiatory rites associated with the Day of Atonement. A brief indication of the line which such a discussion

should take is all that the exigencies of space will permit.

No hypothesis as to the origin of the rites in question can be regarded as adequate which does not start from a satisfactory analysis of the present composite text of Lev. xvi. Of recent attempts in this direction mention may be made of the analysis proposed by Benzinger in Stade's ZATW, ix (1889), pp. 65-88, a summary of which will be found in his article on the 'Day of Atonement' in EBi. i. col. 384. Benzinger's results were accepted in the main by almost all subsequent critical writers and commentators. In 1907, however, Messel, a young Norwegian scholar, published in the same Zeitschrift (xxvii. 1-15) an article in which the weak points of his predecessor's results were convincingly shown, and a fresh analysis proposed on the lines of an earlier suggestion by Stade. That this later attempt to account for the peculiar features of Lev. xvi is in all respects satisfactory we cannot admit, but there can be little doubt that Messel is right in his contention that the original nucleus of the fully developed ritual is to be found in verses 5-10. This result we were prepared to accept, all the more readily that we had reached a similar conclusion by an entirely different path.

Coming to Lev. xvi from a study of ch. xiv, in which, as shown in the notes, pp. 99 ff., an admittedly antique rite of purification, originally complete in itself, has now become a mere preliminary to a more elaborate ceremony infused with the theocratic spirit of the developed priestly legislation, we were struck by the similar phenomenon presented by the present form of the ritual of the Day of Atonement. The close resemblance—a point on which all are agreed—between the most striking elements in the two rites, the transference of uncleanness to a living bird in the one case and to a living goat in the other, is further proof that the

two rituals must have a similar history.

In the Commentary the suggestion is thrown out that the nucleus of the later rite goes back to an antique ceremony of purgation which may have been carried out annually or periodically at the local sanctuaries under the monarchy. It is true that no trace of such a ceremony is to be found in our extant literature. But this

does not appear to be an insuperable objection. Do we not owe our knowledge of the antiquity of the institution of the shewbread, for example, to a single incidental reference in the books of Samuel (1 Sam. xxi. 4 ff.)? Are we not warranted, moreover, in supposing that Ezekiel had some precedent for demanding two such purgation ceremonies in the year (Ezek. xlv. 18-20)? And when we look beyond the Hebrews to their Semitic kinsfolk, and still further to the nations of classical antiquity, we find ample evidence of periodical and solemn lustration of their sacred places. In an annual lustration ceremony, of unknown antiquity, therefore, in which the uncleanness contracted by the altar and other appurtenances of the local sanctuary (cf. Lev. xvi. 18 f., 33) was transferred to a live goat and sent to the mysterious demon-spirit Azazel, we are inclined to discover the origin of the rites of the Day of Atonement.

In the early period in which it may be supposed that this ceremony of purgation took its rise, the conception of uncleanness was still almost purely physical (see W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem.<sup>2</sup>, 408 f.). By the time of the exile, however, the higher ethical element had been superadded. Hence, when the older rite—discarded, there is little doubt, by the author of P<sup>g</sup>—was reintroduced by the religious authorities, its essential provisions were extended from the uncleanness contracted by the sanctuary through the 'transgressions' of the children of Israel (Lev. xvi. 16; cf. note on xv. 31), to these transgressions themselves, 'even all their sins' (xvi. 21). 'Atonement,' in short, was no longer made exclusively 'for the holy sanctuary and for the altar,' but also 'for the priests and for all the people of the assembly' (verse 33).

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