



J H KURTZ
HISTORY
OF THE
OLD COVENANT

Translated by Alfred Edersheim

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"The history of the Church confirms and illustrates the teachings of the Bible, that yielding little by little leads to yielding more and more, until all is in danger; and the tempter is never satisfied until all is lost. – Matthias Loy, *The Story of My Life*

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HISTORY
OF
THE OLD COVENANT,

FROM THE GERMAN OF
J. H. KURTZ, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT DORPAT.

VOL. I.

TRANSLATED, ANNOTATED,
AND
PREFACED BY A CONDENSED ABSTRACT
OF
KURTZ'S "BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY,"

BY THE
REV. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, PH.D.,
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DEVELOPMENT OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY," ETC., ETC.

PHILADELPHIA:
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1859.

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P R E F A C E .

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It is not only with the feelings common and natural in a Translator towards the original, or a writer towards his authorities, that we introduce this volume to the theological readers of Great Britain and America. A repeated perusal of its contents has convinced us that it is one of the best contributions towards the explanation of the Old Testament with which Germany has enriched our common theological literature. Comprehensive and trustworthy in its information, exhaustive in point of research and learning, fresh and vigorous in thought and style, throughout marked by sobriety and good sense ; above all, thoroughly evangelical in its tone, it may safely be recommended as a text-book to the student. Even where we differ from our Author—as on some points, we frankly confess, is the case—his views deserve and require careful examination. In our days and circumstances a thorough and believing investigation into the claims and the teaching of the Word of God is more than ever necessary. Such studies will be materially aided by the fresh light which Dr KURTZ has been able to shed upon an important part of the Bible. It may be proper to add that the translation has been made from the *second* German edition (1853), and that the notes added by us have been rendered necessary by the progress of Biblical investigation since the date of its appearance. They bear chiefly on the *literature* of the subject, and have been supplied in view of the *minimum* necessary, not of the *maximum* desirable.

We have prefaced the volume by a condensed abstract of

Dr KURTZS' "Bible and Astronomy," a work in which he endeavours to harmonise the Biblical account of Creation and of man with the results of Astronomy and Geology, and which may, therefore, be regarded as strictly introductory to the "History of the Old Covenant." When we say that we have condensed 585 pp. of the original (4th ed., Berlin 1858) into 130 pp., the reader will understand, and, we hope, make allowance for the difficulty of our task. At the same time, we venture to think that we have not omitted any one part or argument likely to interest or to be useful to British readers. We have endeavoured to give all that is introductory to a "History of the Old Covenant," and that in the very language of the Author, though we have condensed, his phraseology. We shall only add that Dr KURTZS's scheme, without committing ourselves to particulars, seems to us the only sufficient and satisfactory solution of the Geological and Astronomical difficulties connected with the Mosaic account of Creation.

May this work, in its present form also, aid those who make the Old Testament a subject of critical study,—above all, may it be the means of laying open more of those hidden treasures which the Head of the Church has deposited in the Sacred Volumes !

ALFRED EDERSHEIM.

OLD ABERDEEN, *December* 1858.

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THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY,

BEING

AN EXPOSITION OF THE RELATION BETWEEN THE
BIBLICAL COSMOLOGY & NATURAL SCIENCE.

"



THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSE.

§ 1. ORIGIN, PURPORT, AND CHARACTER OF THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF CREATION.—GEN. I.—III.

THE Scriptures open with an account of the primeval history of the Earth and of Man. In respect of its important bearing upon Theology and science generally, its depth and comprehensiveness, its fundamental character and its wide application, probably few other portions of Holy Writ can bear comparison with it. It also presents a great many points to guide and aid us in our present investigation. This section of the Bible must, therefore, form our starting-point, to which in the course of our enquiries we shall again have frequently to recur. But for our present purpose we must first seek to gain a clear view of the character and import, of the origin, position, and object of this narrative.

Even a cursory perusal of these three chapters of Genesis will convince us that they consist of two distinct sections. The first of these—embracing chs. i. and ii., 1—3,—gives an account of the origin of the universe, or in the language of Gen. ii. 1, of the origin "*of the heavens and the earth, and all the host of them.*" The second section—from ch. ii. 4, to the close of ch. iii.,—is intended to detail the history of the Fall, its causes and consequences, its antecedents and results. It is because the results of the Fall are here mentioned, that this portion of Scripture forms the basis of all succeeding sacred history, while its account of the *causes* of the Fall, at the same time connects it with the

preceding section, which gives the narrative of the Creation. Addressing ourselves, in the first place, to those general questions which may be raised on both sections, we postpone the consideration of their mutual relation. (Comp. § 10).

The first three chapters of Genesis partly treat of events which are beyond the range of human vision and recollection, and partly refer to that first and fleeting hour in the history of mankind, the nature and circumstances of which were entirely different from anything which man presently experiences or beholds. What view are we then to take of this narrative—is it a poetical fiction, a philosophical theory, a tradition, or a piece of history?

Poetical fiction under the form of a narrative (*i.e.* as the relation of what has taken place), is *pure* or *historical* fiction, according as the poet draws the materials entirely from his own mind or only recasts and transforms what has actually occurred. In either case the historical form serves chiefly as a *garb*; nor does the poet claim for his narrative that it should be regarded as a strict and faithful account of events.

We cannot see any reason why such compositions may not also proceed from a poet who writes under the direction of the Spirit of God, and hence obtain a place in the Scriptures. As an instance of this we mention the book of Job, where a historical or legendary subject is poetically elaborated so as to furnish a kind of basis or a framework in which to present the wisdom and knowledge derived by teaching from on high. But the narrative in Genesis is quite other than this. There the history serves not as the garb or frame, but constitutes the substance. Manifestly what is there recorded is presented as a faithful narrative of real events. This appears from the close of the first section, in ch. ii. 3, where the sanctification of the Sabbath-day is based on the creation in six days and the resting of God on the seventh day, which certainly implies that both these circumstances are to be regarded as historical realities. Again, the whole cast and connection of the second section proves that it is intended to describe something real, and is not merely a poetic fiction or a product of the imagination. All the subsequent books of the Bible which refer to these sections treat them in the light in which we have presented them.

We may, indeed, conceive that a writer, having other than

merely poetic objects in view, might, for their sake, seek to pass his poem as history. Thus, in the narrative of the creation, may not the circumstance that its close forms the basis for the law of Sabbath observance afford a *clue* to its real character? May some Jewish sage not have invented the first chapter of Genesis in order to trace this all-important institution to Divine authority, and, the better to secure this object, have represented his fiction as a historical reality?

This question of course implies that we regard the writings, the history, and the institutions of the Old Testament as of merely human origin. But if internal and external grounds, if the witness of the Holy Ghost and the results of study and investigation, have convinced us that another than man's spirit—even the Spirit of God—was concerned in the composition of these books and in the guidance of that history, we shall return an immediate and indignant negative to such a query. When we understand that the history, the teaching, and the prophecies of the Old Testament point to the incarnation of God in Christ, and that in Him they culminate and are fulfilled, we cannot fail to see how that event amply confirmed their truth. The Mosaic history of creation formed the foundation of that edifice which the apostles of Jesus Christ have completed. It is impossible to believe that the Divine building of Christianity could be founded on a delusion or an imposture, however well intended.

Like poetic fiction, *philosophical speculation* derives its origin, though in a different manner, from its author. Starting from some fact, of whose origin, import, or purpose, neither experience nor history can satisfactorily inform us, speculation attempts, by reflection or suggestion, to fill up the gaps in human knowledge, and not unfrequently presumes to claim absolute certainty for a process of thinking which is so liable to error. The supposition that our narrative had some such origin has this in its favour, that the origin of the world and of evil, of which it treats, have always been amongst the most important problems discussed by philosophy. But, irrespective of other circumstances, which go against this hypothesis, the fact that this record forms the basis of the whole history of redemption, and that its accuracy is confirmed in the New Testament, is sufficient to show that it must be far other and far higher than

merely the speculation of one who had revolved in his mind the great enigmas connected with the world and with life.

A *legend* is an orally transmitted account of something that has taken place. Its legitimate province are prehistorical times and events. The period of history commences whenever an eyewitness or cotemporary chronicles for the benefit of posterity what has occurred in his days. Any event not thus recorded, and only transmitted by word of mouth, is called a *legend*. But a legend may originate in one of two ways. It may either be traced by unbroken tradition to the time when the event had taken place—in which case it really embodies historical recollections, however these may, in the course of time, have been poetically adorned or transformed; or else the link of tradition has at some period been broken, and the popular mind, which has a “horror vacui,” and abundance of poetic invention about it, has supplied a fictitious commencement to that which has really occurred. Naturally, the next generation would then transmit the whole as a legend reaching back to the time when these events had taken place. The connection between our narrative and the other portions of revelation prevents us from viewing it as a legend in the sense just explained. But this objection does not apply to our first account of the origin of a legend. It is, indeed, absolutely necessary to regard the narrative as a *genuine* tradition, and as an *accurate* recollection of primeval times, which had not undergone such transformation as to impair its truthfulness. But the mere circumstance of being derived from tradition does not render this impossible. For, even if it were the case that a tradition so unadulterated and truthful were not to be found among other nations, even though they had been incapable of separating the historical underground of a legend from its popular, poetic, or philosophic adornments—we must still claim these distinguishing merits for our narrative, on the supposition that it was derived from tradition. When we bear in mind the special oversight exerted by Divine Providence, we can see no difficulty in concluding that it had watched over and preserved in its purity that tradition which was destined to form a part of revelation—until *he* should come whose it would be to insert it in the Scriptures, and thus to stamp it with Divine authority. But even this

hypothesis is not necessary. Granting that the original tradition had become enlarged and adorned among the Jews, yet the record in Gen. i.—iii. may be strictly truthful and reliable, since we know that those who were entrusted with the composition of the Scriptures were enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and thus rendered capable of distinguishing between what was true and what was false, between what was genuine and what spurious, in those traditions which they were to present to the people as sources from which to learn the Divine counsel and the history of salvation, and which were thereby to be invested with Divine authority.

If, therefore, our narrative was derived from tradition, this tradition must have been pure and unadulterated, really the same as *history* (in the strict sense of the term), and differing from it only in this, that it came by oral transmission, and not from cotemporary chronicles. As yet we have not had materials to decide whether it really is traditionary, or whether the author of Genesis had derived his information from other sources. But a closer investigation must settle this enquiry in favour of tradition. Either the author of Genesis had found the substance of his narrative already in existence or it was revealed to him. The latter seems incredible, since the legends of other nations—in the east and west, in the north and south—however different in their religious spirit, agree so remarkably, and often so minutely, with the account in our narrative, that we cannot but trace all these notices to a common source. It can scarcely be supposed that these nations could have derived from the Jews the facts which they all record. Hence the substance of our narrative cannot, in the last instance, be traced to the author of Genesis, nor even to an Israelite, but must have been drawn from a source to which both the Jews and other nations had access, and which must belong to a period when mankind was not yet divided by varieties of abode and language, of race, of civilization, and of religion. The nations must, before they had parted into separate races, have derived from primeval times these common recollections and legends. At later periods this common heritage assumed different forms among the peoples, or through priestly tradition, according to the spiritual direction on which, after their separation, they had entered. Still, it always pre-

sented, in the marks of its common origin, the marks of the Father's house. Only among Israel, where means and capabilities existed for it, was the legend preserved in its pristine purity.

If we are to trace this legend to the period when peoples and tribes were still united, we feel not only at liberty but are even obliged to go back one or two steps further to the time of Noah, and thence to that of Adam. It is, in our opinion, more than likely that this tradition had been handed down from the very earliest time to that of the author of Genesis. But our record contains *two* sections, each forming a separate account, in which the same events are separately related, each in its own peculiar context. Does this circumstance imply that originally there had been two distinct traditions, derived from separate sources? We reply in the negative. At most we might infer that the original tradition had assumed a twofold form, perhaps when the book of Genesis was composed, but not that originally there had been two distinct sources of it. The Israelitish tradition was transmitted by Noah, and afterwards by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Even if this ray had, during the preceding period, been decomposed by the prism of oral tradition, the original unity would again be restored—possibly, though not necessarily, with the loss of some of the colours—in Noah and Abraham. After that the legend may have formed various concentric or eccentric circles, but this does not imply that they conflicted with one another or with the original tradition. On the other hand we may with equal propriety assume that the original legend had been preserved in its pristine form. If the former hypothesis be the correct one, the author of Genesis may really have drawn from two distinct traditions, in order to supplement the one by the other. In that case the more certain he felt that he had found in these sources, or taken from them, only what was true; the less would he care to conceal it that he had drawn from *two* sources. Or, if the second hypothesis be the correct one, we may well conceive that he himself had arranged the different phases of the one tradition into two distinct and mutually supplementary groups. The reason for such a procedure will be stated below, in § 10.

§ 2. REVELATION OF THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF CREATION.

We have learned that the Biblical account in Gen. i.—iii. had been derived from a tradition handed down from primeval times to that of the author of Genesis, received by him under the direction of the Holy Spirit, and chronicled in Holy Writ to become the basis of sacred history and doctrine, thereby receiving the stamp of Divine authority. But here the question occurs, by what means had the first narrator attained his knowledge of the events described? Some of them were doubtless to be traced to the recollection of the first man; but others—and those the most important for our present purpose—must have been acquired in a different manner. The whole of the *first*, and part of the *second* section, treat of times and circumstances, of events and developments, which human eye had not seen, and which lie beyond human perception and recollection. To learn them, he required means and capacities other than those which man presently possesses for ascertaining what has taken place. On this subject Professor *Hofmann* has a theory of his own. “We regard the account of creation,” he observes, “as the expression of the knowledge which the first man had of what preceded his existence. Nor does this knowledge necessarily imply that a special revelation had been vouchsafed to him, if, indeed, the world, as it then was, lay before him with the distinctness and perspicuity which Scripture indicates. Just as, in our days, the natural philosopher, from the present state of the earth, gathers the history of its origin, so may the world as it then existed, and which the first man clearly and immediately understood, have opened to him an insight into a history of the manner in which all things had originated.” “The account of the creation is not offered to us either as the result of reflection or as the creation of fancy concerning the origin of the world, nor as a scientific investigation, nor as a revelation *compensating* for reflection or investigation—it is simply the recorded *intuition* of the first man, handed down by tradition.”

This hypothesis implies that the knowledge of the history of creation dates from *before the Fall*, and that man had at that period possessed, but since lost, the power of clearly and without

error recognising not only the essence of created things, as they then existed, but also the history of their origin, without being obliged as at present "to break and to cut them up in order to get at their core." As *Delitzsch* expresses it, "They were transparent to man, nor did he require to use violent means in order to investigate them." This view seems confirmed by what in Gen. ii. is recorded about man's original state. We are there informed that a mere survey of the animal world was sufficient to enable man to give to each animal its appropriate name, and that the first sight of woman plainly and unmistakeably disclosed to him her origin, being, and destiny. May we not then suppose that man had been capable in similar manner to learn the history of the origin of heaven and earth, of the sun and of the mountains, of plants and of animals? But a careful examination of the record in all its particulars—a review of statements not isolated but in their connection—will lead us to a different conclusion. God, indeed, left it to man to assign names to woman and to the animals, but *Himself* gave them to heaven and earth, to day and night. Why this difference? If the giving of names on the part of man was a revelation of man, *i.e.*, a manifestation of the knowledge he possessed of the nature of the objects to which he gave names, surely the giving of names on the part of God was likewise a revelation of God. And yet we are told that "revelation was not to compensate for reflection and investigation on the part of man." If man could, by mere intuition, have known the nature and history of those objects, why did God not leave it to man to assign names to them also? Besides, does the giving of names to the animals really imply that man, by an act of simple intuition, knew not merely their nature and character but also their origin and former development? Might not the former, without the latter, have afforded sufficient ground for giving those names? But even thus modified the view is not quite correct. The serpent must have been one of those animals to whom man gave names, since, according to Gen. ii. 19, 20, he had named *all the beasts of the field*. Yet it will scarcely be asserted that man had entirely understood or known the nature, position, or import of that animal. He had, at any rate, not understood *one* phase of its being—that "it was more subtle than any beast of the field." Had he from the first known it as the liar and

deceiver which afterwards it proved to be, he would not so readily have credited its smooth speeches.

But man had at the first glance perfectly known not only the present character, but also the origin and the future destiny of woman? The first point we admit; the second is, to say the least, doubtful.¹ But at any rate it seems to us arbitrary and unwarrantable from the circumstance that man was able to recognise the origin and nature of woman, to infer his capacity of recognising the origin and nature of all other objects. For, unlike the creation of all other beings, that of woman lay not beyond the sphere of his own existence, and her origin, although it took place while deep sleep had fallen on man, was not such as to require unlimited knowledge to divine it. On the other hand, we have proof that in his original state man had not known the origin and real nature of all that existed. Thus the tree of knowledge stood in the midst of the garden, and yet man could not recognise either its nature or purport. He knew not that he was not allowed to eat of it as of all the other trees in the garden; he understood not that to partake of its fruit would be to introduce death—till God had revealed it to him.

But even granting that before the fall man had been able by mere intuition to *penetrate* into the inmost depths of creation, and, through his knowledge of what existed, to understand the history of its origin, the text refers to other facts which, even with such powers, man could not have ascertained without a special revelation. Assuming man to have had such powers, we may, for example, conceive it possible that from what then existed he had inferred both the order of creation and the number of creative acts; but we can hardly understand how he could have known that there had been six creative days, and in what special manner the eight distinct creative acts were distributed over that period. Lastly, it is quite inconceivable how, from an intuition of the world, he could, without a Divine Revelation, have learned that God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it.

The conviction of the fallacy of this theory is even more

¹ When we keep in mind that (Matth. xix. 5) our Saviour quotes Gen. ii. 24 as spoken by God, we shall feel disposed, with *Delitzsch*, to regard them not as uttered by Adam, but as a remark of the narrator, meant to give a wider application to the words of Adam in ver. 23.

strongly impressed upon us, when, from a consideration of individual circumstances, we pass to that of the more leading traits of the narrative. Although at the close of the six days, God declared that all He had created was very good, we learn very soon that evil also already existed. For man was to learn both good and evil, yet without himself becoming evil. There must therefore have been some evil which he was to know and to overcome. Again, from the circumstance that his spiritual development, his power of self-determination, and the manifestation of his freedom and activity—in a word, his whole history, was to commence with this knowledge of, and victory over evil, we learn what importance attached to it in respect to man and his history. This antagonism between good and evil, which man was to know in order to remove it, must have been so wide in its bearings as to have extended to all objects around him, so that he could not have acted within the province assigned to him without coming into conflict with evil, and that there was not a direction in which he could realise the object of his being without at once feeling its contiguity. Acquaintance with this antagonism was therefore the necessary preliminary of all other knowledge. Before this had been attained, men possessed a knowledge of what existed, (and to it we trace his naming of the animals); but a genuine, deep, and accurate *knowledge*, a penetration into the depths of nature, into the mysteries of faith and life, into the relations between the present and the past, could only be attained when the antagonism between good and evil was rightly understood, *i.e.*, removed and overcome. *Before* that any real knowledge of things was impossible. The knowledge of good and evil was the condition of all other knowledge.¹

If by mere intuition of what existed, man could have learned to know its origin, he must from the first have discovered the origin and existence of evil. But irrespective of the fact that this would have rendered any trial of man unnecessary, let it be observed

¹ By the Fall man attained knowledge of good and evil, but not proper knowledge, since it was not got in the proper way. It was, so to speak, the reverse of the knowledge of good and evil which he should have attained. As he did not rightly apprehend what was good, so neither did he truly know what was evil. Only when through redemption he shall have attained a full knowledge of what is good, shall he fully know what is evil. The development of this twofold knowledge proceeds *pari passu*.

that neither in the first nor in the second section of our narrative do we find the slightest hint about the origin of evil, which, however, is assumed as already existing, and which was so soon to make itself felt. Had he been capable of penetrating by intuition into the inmost being of every object, and to descry the history of its origin, he could not have failed to discover the origin and the influence of evil. It is therefore impossible that the narrative of what took place before the creation of man could have proceeded from his intuition. The silence of the record about the existence of evil can only be explained on the ground that the narrative was *revealed* to man, and that the all-wise Teacher had seen fit for a time to draw a boundary line between what should be told him and what kept back. The narrative then, so far as it records what man had not seen and experienced, must have been communicated by God, who made known only so much of what had passed as at the time was necessary and profitable for man, leaving the filling up of the gaps and the explanation of the hints to a period when the pupil should have attained a more mature age.

We fully admit that, in his original state, man was called, and hence endowed with the capacity to understand the nature, relations, origin, and object of all that had been created. We infer this from his position, and from his calling to subdue the whole earth and all its creatures. For, in order to subdue, he must first have known them, and have understood what, whence, and for what purpose they were. Further, we admit that if by the Fall man's natural capacities had not been destroyed, and he placed in a totally different position, he would have attained that knowledge by immediate intuition, and that the inmost being of things would have been disclosed to his sovereign glance, without his requiring the scalpel, the hammer, the telescope, or the microscope—in a word, without those marvellous but feeble aids of which science at present makes use, in order, after all, to know only the outside of things. But we utterly deny that during the short period in which man continued in his unfallen state his *capacity* of knowledge had become fully *developed*, or that his *destiny* had, in this respect, been *realised*. Man was created both *perfect* and *good*, but his original perfectness was capable of and required development, since he was created a free and personal being, destined by his own free

decision to become what the Creator intended him to be—to develop the powers and talents with which God had endowed him, and thus to fulfil his vocation. As all his other talents, so his *capacity* for *knowledge* also required progressive development before it could ripen into full, all-comprehensive, and all-penetrating *knowledge*. This, the termination of his development, should not be expected at its commencement. Accordingly we read, in the first section of our narrative, that man was destined to subdue the whole earth and all that was upon and in it. But that this referred not to the commencement but to the completion of his development we gather even from the circumstance that “to replenish the earth” (Gen. i. 18) is mentioned as the condition and the foundation of *subduing* it. This view is further confirmed by the second section, which likewise describes the commencement, not the completion of man’s development. There it is said that man was to dress and to keep the *garden of Eden*, not the *whole earth*. His sway, which implied a knowledge of that which was to be subject to him, was to commence at one point, and thence gradually to extend over the whole earth.

That the view which we oppose is erroneous we also gather from the circumstance that, if consistently carried out, it would leave no room for the necessity of a Divine revelation, either before sin entered, or, if it had not entered at all, while the history before the Fall, as recorded in ch. ii., exhibits a continuous process of revelation, leading us to infer that such teaching must have been requisite. If our opponents are right, man required not Divine instruction and revelation to attain the object of his being. The Bible, on the contrary, represents man as destined, indeed, for high purposes, and hence as highly endowed, but as one whose capabilities had not yet been fully developed, and whose mission had not yet been realised. To attain these objects, Divine training, teaching, exhortation, and warning attended him in all his ways. True, revelation was not intended—either before or after the entrance of sin—to compensate for personal investigation and reflection, or to render these exercises unnecessary, but it was vouchsafed in order to direct them, to preserve them from aberrations, to strengthen, sanctify, and purify them, and, when necessary, to make up any defects or to supply any gaps. And such training was necessary, not only after but even

before the Fall, since man had not yet attained perfection, and was surrounded by dangers of the existence of which he was ignorant.

We now proceed to consider the other supposition on which *Hofmann's* theory is based, viz., that, before his Fall, man had known the history of creation as recorded in Gen. i. and ii. Even if this view were correct it could not invalidate our former conclusion that the narrative of the creation was derived from revelation, and not from the natural intuition of the first man. But we cannot admit its accuracy, since the history of the first man as described in chaps. ii. and iii. does not advert to such knowledge, nor indeed would it tally with the regular progress of his history. Chap. ii. describes the development of man under the guidance and revelation of God. When man was placed in the garden he was still without knowledge. This he was to attain in Eden. Plainly, it is impossible to suppose that when placed in the garden he had already possessed the grand and comprehensive knowledge embodied in Gen. i. This would not agree with the state of ignorance which the instructions given him by God imply. At that period man's consciousness was still a "*carte blanche*." We should, therefore, have to suppose that he had acquired his knowledge of the procedure in creation during his stay in the garden. But this, also, could not have been the case, since at that time his development tended exclusively towards *one* object, viz., preparation and training for the grand trial which awaited him. Everything which did not further that object would hinder and arrest his development, and every new information which did not contribute towards that preparation would only prove a foreign and disturbing element. But nothing that is recorded in Gen. i. could have contributed to prepare him for that decisive trial. Hence the events of which it treats could only have been learned after the Fall.

God placed man in the garden, where he was to undergo his decisive trial. He then imparted to him, step by step, the knowledge which he required to come to a proper decision, and caused him to pass through the necessary stages of preliminary development. At that period there was neither room, time, nor occasion for attaining such knowledge as is communicated in

Gen. i. Hence, if the first man possessed this information, he must have acquired it *after*, not *before*, his Fall. From Paradise man only carried with him the recollection of what he had there experienced, and of what God had there revealed to him. But of this the history of creation formed not part. The recollection of what man had experienced before the Fall was the nucleus of the tradition which after the Fall began to take form, and was orally transmitted to Noah, to Abraham, and to Moses. This tradition was enlarged by the addition of an account of what took place after the Fall, and of the history of creation—which latter could only have been communicated by revelation. It is more difficult to decide whether this revelation was made to the *first* man or to a succeeding generation through some man of God—such as Enoch, who “walked with God” (Gen. v. 22)—to whom, by Divine illumination, a glimpse of those events had been granted, even as, according to an ancient tradition, confirmed in the new Testament (Jude 14, 15), Enoch was honoured with a vision of the future judgment. We can only venture on a suggestion to which some probability may attach. A closer examination of the account of creation will convince us that all along it had a distinct and definite tendency, or at least led to a definite result, viz., to show that the Sabbath-day was of Divine institution, and specially designed for the worship of God. Since God had created during six days and rested on the seventh, man also was, according to the example and by the will of God, to labour during six days and on the seventh to rest from all his works. In our view, then, Gen. ii. 1—3 affords a clue to the occasion and the object of the revelation of the history of creation. If we enquire for a historical basis upon which to rest this view of the origin of our narrative, we find that in Gen. iv. 26, at the time when Enos the son of Seth was born, men began to call upon the name of Jehovah. The meaning of this expression is plain. It refers to the first institution of the regular, solemn, public worship of Jehovah. Instead of the former private, arbitrary, and irregular service, as, for example, in the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, we have now a common form of worship. But for such a purpose the first requisite was to fix a season for worship, and of this the Sabbath was the prototype and centre. Are we not, then, warranted in

suggesting¹ that the history of creation was revealed at that time for the purpose of becoming the basis and directory of this institution? But whether this revelation had been made to Adam, who was still alive at that time, or to Seth or to any other of his cotemporaries, must remain undecided.

§ 3. PROPHETIC CHARACTER OF THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF CREATION.

We have seen that what had taken place before Adam obtained self-conscious existence, must have been divinely revealed either to him or to some one of his descendants. But in what manner was this communication made to man? We conceive that the first narrator, whether Adam or one of his descendants, received it in a manner analogous to that in which prophets received their revelations. The peculiarity of prophetic vision consisted in this, *that the Spirit of God*, who knows neither past nor future, but to whom everything is eternally present—*partly and temporarily elevated the spirit of man*—who, though bound to time and space, is breath of His breath (Gen. ii. 7) and His offspring (Acts xvii. 28)—*above the limitations of time, and enabled him to share His power of beholding the past and the future as if it were present*. In short, we hold that man learned the history of creation in the same manner in which later prophets learned the developments and events of periods removed from their own time, viz., in spiritual vision afforded through the agency of the Holy Spirit.

This explanation has called forth considerable controversy chiefly at the hands of *Hofmann, Delitzsch, Richers*; and *Keil*. To the opinion of the first of these writers on the subject under consideration, we have already referred; the others hold that God had imparted to the first man by personal and oral instruction—as a father to his child, or as a teacher to his pupil—the knowledge of the history embodied in Gen. i. and ii. In dis-

¹ Let it not be objected that the passage refers to the worship of *Jehovah*, while in the history of creation only the name *Elohim* occurs. This difficulty is set aside by the *Jehovah Elohim* of Gen. ii. 4, &c.

cussing this question, we have to distinguish between a history written under Divine direction and one composed entirely by man. In the latter, man is left to his own experience, investigation, and criticism—in the former, he is aided by the knowledge and mind of the Lord. The source of all merely *human* history is *autopsy* or personal experience, whether on the part of the writer himself or of others, who have transmitted their investigations. But, as only that which man has actually experienced can form the subject of such a history, it can only commence at a point where the individual, or the race, has arrived at self-consciousness and knowledge of the world, and learned to observe and to reflect on what takes place. Again, it must *terminate* with the period in which the writer lives. But not only what the historian has derived from tradition—even what he himself has experienced, is doubtful and uncertain. For, tradition may in the course of time have undergone corruption, and one's own experience may not have been properly viewed or understood. Hence in *sacred* history, where not only the outward fact must be recorded, but also its real character and its bearing on the history of redemption understood, the historian required as much the assistance of the Spirit of God in detailing what men have experienced as did the prophets and apostles in tracing the *doctrines* of salvation. The Synagogue has therefore rightly characterised even the historical books of the Old Testament as prophetical. But as revelation never supplies what man could have discovered without its aid, we do not find in the historical parts of the Bible (always excepting Gen. i. and ii.) any hint that the writers had received the material of their narratives in a supernatural manner. Hence we conclude that the co-operation of the Holy Spirit consisted in this, that they were enabled to distinguish the true from the spurious in these traditions, and to understand the spiritual bearing of these facts.

But beyond the boundaries of human experience lies another development, and hence another history—on the one side embracing the *past*, on the other the *future*. For, when man commenced to observe and to construct history, himself and all around him were already existent. Nor does the current of development stop with the period in which the writer lives ; the

thread is not cut short, but millions of hands and powers, belonging not to the visible only but also to the invisible world, continue it, and none of them knows what the general result will be to which each contributes his part. These two phases of history lie beyond human ken, which, bound to space and time, can only call the present its own. Only the Lord looks behind and before, beholding both the development which preceded the *first* appearance of man, and that which lies beyond the present generation. However different, these two histories are similar both as to the ground on which man is unacquainted with them, and the manner in which he may learn to know them. He does not know them because he is created; he may become acquainted with them since *God knows* them, and in that case he will have to learn them by *Divine revelation*. But how is this knowledge imparted? Only once—in Gen. i.—iii.—did God reveal to man what had taken place before his appearance; but very frequently did he communicate events yet future. In those cases it is generally stated in express terms, or clearly implied that the prophetic history of the future was derived from prophetic intuition. It is nowhere stated, hinted, or implied, that a prediction of future history was derived from Divine teaching, either by oral or inward communication. It seems, therefore, to be a law of revelation that the disclosure of the future is brought about by prophetic intuition. But as there is no essential difference in principle or otherwise, between a revelation of the future and one of the past, may we not assume that the latter had been communicated in the same manner in which we know the former has invariably been vouchsafed? This supposition is abundantly confirmed by the narrative under consideration. We notice in it a vividness of perception and a pictorialness of description which almost necessarily leads us to conclude that the writer relates what he had seen. Our opponents deny indeed that these characteristics apply to this narrative more than to others. Assertion must here be met by counter-assertion; perhaps neither the one nor the other statement admits of probation. We maintain, then, that the narrator was in prophetic illumination, raised to the height of Divine autopsy, had spiritually beheld what took place before man existed, and then translated into *words* his vision. He described that which, and in the

manner in which he had beheld it.¹ These were propheticohistorical scenes, enacted before his spiritual vision, of which each represented a leading feature in the great drama, a principal phase in the development. One scene opens after the other, until, at the close of the seven, the historical succession in creation has been completely brought before him.

§ 4. LIMIT AND DURATION OF THE CREATIVE DAYS.

The first chapter of Genesis details eight acts of creation, each beginning with the words: "And God said, Let there be;" but only *six* creative *days* in which these eight acts had taken place. Each of these days commenced with a creative *morning*, marked by a Divine: "Let there be;" during the course of the day the command of the Creator then became an outward fact, while the recurrence of evening and morning formed a transition to another creative day.²

But here *two* questions will occur to the reader. Was the number *seven*—under which, by Divine revelation, the seer beholds the history of creation inclusive of the Divine rest at the close of it—essential and necessary or accidental and unimportant? In other words: might creation not have been represented under more or under fewer phases of development than these seven—was this arrangement based on *objective* truth, and does it represent what really took place, or was it only *subjectively* true, so far as *the vision of the prophet* was concerned? Even if the latter were the case, it would not necessarily take from the Divine character and authority of the narrative, just as similar circumstances do not detract from the value or impor-

¹ We scarcely anticipate the objection that the narrative contains also the report of the *words* of God which could only be *heard*, not seen. For this objection would apply to many other prophetic visions. Nobody would conceive that God spake in the anthropomorphistic and sensual manner implied in the objection. In the mind of the beholder the effects which are being produced by the Divine operation, appear as words spoken.

² We cannot admit the correctness of the common view that the expression "there was evening and there was morning," was meant to be a paraphrase for the whole day. The interpretation is ungrammatical and contrary to the sense of the passage. In this section where such emphasis is laid on the order of time and in this peculiar connection, the "*av consecutivum*" can only denote *succession of time*, so that what precedes must be regarded as

tance of the predictions of the prophets. But the narrative embodies a fact, which of itself shows that the former of these views is the correct one. For it will be noticed that the arrangement of the week and the sanctification of the Sabbath was based on Gen. ii. 3—an argument this of which the force is indicated by such passages as Ex. xx. 9—11, and xxxi. 12—17, which inculcate on the people the duty of Sabbath-observance. If the arrangement of the creative acts had been merely subjective, unimportant and arbitrary, it could not have been the prototype and the occasion of a Divine law of such importance. This argument is not in the least impugned by the circumstance that the number seven seems to occupy an important place both in the arrangements of nature and in the laws of the human mind. Connected with this is a *second* question as to the precise meaning which we are to attach to the boundary lines of time as drawn in the narrative of creation. Are we to understand the *creative days* as natural ordinary days of twenty-four hours each, so that the process of creation, or rather of the restoration of the earth and of its whole organism, occupied precisely six times twenty-four hours—or are we to conceive that these

also preceding in point of time. "God said: Let there be light!—There was light. God divided the light from the darkness.—It became evening, it became morning." Everything moves here in strict succession of time. It is, therefore, quite erroneous to infer that, because darkness had preceded light, the first day commenced with an *evening*. For darkness is designated not as *evening* but as *night*, and the expression, "*It became evening*," implies that a day had preceded it. Hence the creative day cannot have commenced with the evening but with the morning. The general and long-continued misunderstanding of the passage arose from the circumstance that as the Hebrews, like most other nations of antiquity, commenced their day with the evening, it was thought that this practice must derive some support from the narrative of the creation. The idea is so far correct, but the social arrangement was based not on any of the first six, but on the seventh day. The work-day naturally commences with the morning, the day of rest with the evening. But since the Sabbath formed the standard, both for the civil and ecclesiastical division of time, and the Sabbath naturally commenced with the termination of the preceding work-day, the arrangement of all other days was made in accordance with it. Still the working day really commenced in the morning. This explanation, which we feel convinced is the only correct one, furnishes another proof that "the myth" about creation was not derived from the division of the week, but the latter from the "history" of creation. Since these remarks were first written, *Delitzsch*, against whom they were directed, has admitted, although on independent grounds, that the almost traditional common view is erroneous. Similarly *Hofmann* and *Nügelbach* have shown its fallacy. May we then, with *Delitzsch*, hope that an error rebutted by "four independent witnesses" will for ever be set aside?

boundary lines existed only in the mind of the prophet and not in reality, that these days were *prophetic days*, *i.e.*, periods of indefinite duration ?

We admit that in prophetic diction such periods *may* be designated as days. But on the other hand it is not necessarily implied that because the narrative itself is prophetic in its cast and origin, those days also *must* refer to so many periods of indefinite duration. As in the vision of Jeremiah the seventy years are real years, so in the narrative of the creation the six days may be *real* days. In all such cases the point can only be decided in one of two ways. Either the prophecy contains some points which remove the doubt (just as in Jerem. xxix. it is clearly indicated that the seventy years are not prophetic but real years), or the answer is to be derived from an investigation of what actually had taken place, *i.e.* in the case of a prediction from its fulfilment, and in that of the history of creation from the conclusions of natural science. It is too frequently assumed that the latter are in favour of interpreting these days as periods. It is said that *Astronomy* will not permit us to believe that all the host of stars and the planetary and solar heavens were formed in twenty-four hours, nor *Geology* that the primary and the stratified formations with all their organisms were formed in one day, or in six days each of twenty-four hours. According to *Delitzsch*, even natural philosophers, to whom Christianity is matter of heart and life, hold that "millions of years" (?!) must have preceded the present formation of the earth. But such assertions must not deter us from impartially examining the narrative itself. How does the narrative regard those days ? For if it furnishes data showing that they were regarded as natural days, our exegesis must not be discarded in favour either of Astronomy or of Geology.

We are fully convinced that if the record be impartially and critically examined, without any regard to other and foreign considerations, we can arrive only at one conclusion, *viz.*, that these six creative days were natural days. On the other hand, we are also convinced that natural science can be harmonised with this conclusion, and that even though we were to admit the extravagant assertion that millions of years must have preceded the present formation of the earth. *Delitzsch*, indeed.

maintains "that the narrative could not have been intended to limit the six days with the Sabbath which followed them to one ordinary week. The creative days must be creative periods—of whose length the writer himself had probably no distinct notion. He speaks of days of divine duration." But in ver. 5, where the enumeration of the creative days commences, we are distinctly shewn in what sense it is intended that the word "*day*" should be understood: God divided the light from the darkness, and called the light *day* and the darkness night. And it became evening and it became morning. Thus the *first* day closed, and merged into the second. We admit that the term *day* is here applied (not, indeed, in a different *sense*—but as among all nations) to various divisions of time. It first designates a day in the narrowest sense of the term, or that period of time which is bounded by light and darkness, while for the purpose of chronological numeration it next indicates an entire day, including night and the hours intervening between day and night. Hence the entire day, which is counted as the first, included the four divisions (day and night, evening and morning), which succeed one another. But it cannot be doubted that the division of time which is here designated as *day* was caused and bounded by the presence of *natural light*. Hence the evening which followed such a day, and the morning which preceded a new day, must similarly be regarded as parts of a *natural* and *ordinary* day; and the latter can only be measured according to the natural and ordinary standard, viz., the occurrence of a natural change of light and darkness (day and night).

It follows, then, that the creative days were measured according to the appearance and disappearance of daylight, the occurrence of evening and morning. This mode of measurement is implied in the narrative, and must apply to *all* the six days. It is another question whether the duration of each of these six days was exactly of twenty-four hours or not. Probably such was the case at least from the fourth day onward, since from that time the sun ruled the day and the moon the night, when in all likelihood the same order commenced which now prevails. But it is impossible to determine the duration of the first three days in which this arrangement did not yet prevail, and the duration of daylight and of darkness depended on laws with which at

present we are not acquainted. The record does not measure the duration of a day by hours, but by the four divisions of the day. Under all circumstances, then, we cannot doubt that the creative days were intended to indicate periods of time, of which each comprised a succession of terrestrial day and night. They had the same limits which a chronological day still has. The declaration of *Ebrard* that only "narrow-minded bigotry" could identify the creative with physical days, instead of interpreting them as symbolical, cannot shake these conclusions.

We have undertaken to show that the Biblical account of creation is compatible with Astronomy and Geology—a task rendered more difficult, or according to some rendered impossible, by our above remarks. If we have narrowed the basis on which to rear our arguments, we have at least given evidence of our desire to have no other foundation than that of truth.

§ 5. CREATION OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

The narrative of creation commences with the words: "*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.*" If considered by themselves and irrespective of their relation to what follows, their meaning cannot be misunderstood. No truth is more plainly expressed in the Old Testament than this, that, both in respect of its material and its formation, the world had not existed from eternity, but that the God who alone is from everlasting, and who is the author of all things, had created it *in* time or rather *along with* time. This fundamental principle of the Old Testament creed is here placed at the very threshold of the record which is to detail both the primeval history of Israel and what had preceded it. This principle was distinctively Jewish—it formed the starting-point in the religion of Israel, and the basis and preliminary of their history. It established a line of distinction between the people of the Lord and the other nations of antiquity who deified nature and regarded the world as self-existent and eternal, who did not and would not know anything of a personal God, distinct from and above the world. The first sentence in the sacred records of Israel embodies a protest against the fundamental error of heathenism.

But there are some difficulties in the way of explaining those words when viewed in their connection with the description of the six creative days which immediately follows. They are frequently regarded as a kind of heading or table of contents of the whole chapter, as a summary statement of the details of the six creative days furnished in this chapter. In confirmation of this view it is argued that ver. 8 gives a special narrative of the creation of heaven, and ver. 10 of that of the earth. But the connection between verse 1 and what immediately follows renders this interpretation impossible. The word "and" ("and the earth was without form and void") with which the following sentence commences shews that both it, and, indeed, the whole chapter, is a continuation of the narrative which commences in ver. 1, and also renders it certain that the creation of heaven and earth which it records must be regarded as having preceded the six creative days. If ver. 1 were simply a heading or summary of this chapter, the narrative itself would commence with ver. 2, or with "and." But the commencement of a history could not be introduced by "and." Besides, such an interpretation might have given rise to the mistake that the expression "without form and void" referred to an eternal chaos, since the narrative itself would contain no mention of any creative agency but only of a transformation and arrangement of chaotic material already in existence. Thus the idea of a creation *out of nothing*, which is manifestly one of the fundamental principles of the Old Testament, would not be expressly mentioned, and that in a passage where one should naturally look for it—a silence which we would deem ominous.

But while we regard ver. 1 as an integral part of the history of creation, we shall not attempt to deny that there is a manifest difference, both in tone and style, between it and the narrative which follows. The pictorial element, which appears so strikingly in the rest of the chapter, is here wanting. From the absence of this we infer that ver. 1 did not form part of what had been seen in prophetic vision. From the first the seer beheld the earth already in existence, though without form and void. By and bye he perceives how the omnipotence of the Divine will gives to the earth, which as yet is shut up in darkness and void of life, its present form, and endows it with fulness of light and life. This the seer beheld, and this he described. But whence this

earth "without form and void?" Later heathenism, which had lost all belief in a living and personal Deity, regarded it as an eternal and uncreated chaos. To contradict this fearful mistake either the prophet, or a later writer—perhaps the author of Genesis—had prefixed the first sentence by way of introduction to, or of laying a basis for, the history of the six creative days. Hence ver. 1 is not a heading of, but an introduction to, the narrative that follows; not a statement of what was done during the six days, but of what had preceded them. However, while we distinguish between the first and the following verses, regarding the latter as derived from prophetic vision, and the former as the necessary conclusion of a pious mind, we do not thereby mean to say that part of this chapter is a Divine revelation, and part of it the mere expression of human opinion. We regard both as alike inspired, and as differing only in this respect, that the one was the result of *Divinely enlightened thinking*, the other of *Divinely enlightened vision*.

§ 6. STATE OF THE EARTH PREVIOUS TO THE SIX CREATIVE DAYS.

The connection between ver. 1 and the account of the six creative days may be explained in one of two ways. That verse may be regarded as referring to the creation of the *elements composing the original material* out of which the Creator, during the six days, formed the present earth. In that case the expression: "without form and void," of ver. 2, would indicate a temporary absence of light and life, and that the development had not yet been completed. Or ver. 1 may be understood as relating to a *primeval creation, complete* in itself, but which, by some catastrophe, had become desolate and dark (as described in ver. 2)—in which case the work of the six creative days would be a restitution or new creation of the earth which had become desolate. *The narrative before us does not decide this point.* The writer does not inform us whether the earth had been created "without form and void," or whether and by what process it had become such. Nor does it lie within his province to pronounce on that question, since, as a truthful witness, he only relates *what he has actually seen*. To speculate upon or to explain this point is foreign to his purpose.

It has, indeed, been urged by some, that the expression "heavens and earth," in ver. 1, cannot refer to the unformed and elementary material of the world which could have been designated by the terms: "heavens and earth," only after it had been properly separated and fully moulded. But the remark is true only in part, nor is it sufficient to bear out the desired inference. The expression "heavens and earth" implies that these worlds had become formed and separated, although not that they had been fully moulded or perfected. This is proved by ver. 2, at least so far as the earth is concerned. For there our globe, while still waste and desolate, and before it had assumed its present form, is expressly designated as "the earth"—and rightly so, since it already existed as a distinct body, separate from all others. The same remark no doubt applies to the other heavenly bodies, although the narrative, which details only what more particularly refers to the earth, does not specially advert to them.

Another argument in favour of the *second*, and against the *first* of the above views, has been drawn from the words "*thohu vabohu*," ("without form and void.") The expression, so far as its etymology is concerned, is doubtful. In the other passages in which it occurs (Isa. xxxiv. 11, Jer. iv. 23), it certainly refers to actual *devastation* and *desolation*, succeeding a former state of life and fruitfulness, and not to any natural absence of life, nor to a lower stage of development, in which life has not yet appeared. It has accordingly been inferred that in Gen. i. 2 it must also denote a similar state of matters. But this reasoning is not conclusive, since the Hebrew terms, like the English word "waste," may be so comprehensive as to indicate both ideas. *Delitzsch*, even while objecting to the rendering of the words by "devastation and desolation," felt that "both the meaning and the sound of these words in their assonance was designed to inspire terror." An interpretation according to which the *thohu vabohu* was merely indicative of the absence of form and order, would, in his opinion, not exhaust the ideas implied in its etymology. This sense of awe is increased by the mention of the darkness which brooded over the face of the deep, and of the raging waters. "Darkness" (*choshech*), our author observes, "is the form under which Scripture presents

and symbolises sin and evil, but especially Divine vengeance; darkness is the ungodly element which must and shall be overcome; in the new Jerusalem there is no night (Rev. xxi. 25; xxii. 5). 'Th'hom' is the *deep* to which bounds were assigned when the earth was formed (Prov. viii. 27; Ps. xxxiii. 7; Job xxxviii. 8—11), and which are only passed when nature revolts against man (Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2); between the sea, death, and Hades there is some kind of connection (Job xxxviii. 16, &c.; Rev. xx. 13). The *raging waters* (*majim*) are a representation of the raging of the heathen; thence also arise the beasts or hostile powers which Daniel and the book of Revelation describe; from the face of the renewed earth the sea shall disappear (Rev. xxi. 1). It cannot be denied that all the expressions in ver. 2 (with the exception of the last clause) have their analogue in the kingdom of Satan." But all this, however true, cannot be regarded as a *proof* that in this passage also the writer had intended to attach to them the meaning of evil which they bear in the figurative language of later prophets.

It has also been argued that since the Lord is a God of light and life, only a bright world of life which reflected His own blessedness and holiness, and not a dark waste and a void chaos, could have proceeded from His creative hand. Even while in an imperfect state, it is said, any work proceeding from the hand of God would not correspond with the description in ver. 2, since, according to the measure of its development and capacity, it would necessarily reflect Divine harmony and order, Divine light and life. We might admit that the narrator had here purposely chosen indefinite terms, and yet, on other grounds, conclude that the language he employs, *rightly* understood, implies that a devastation had taken place. This reasoning is not without force. Although we cannot regard it as affording a satisfactory proof, it adds to the weight of other arguments in favour of this view.¹

¹ The assertion, so frequently made, that ver. 2 may or should be translated "And the earth *became* waste and void," is grammatically false. In that case the writer would have used the expression וַיִּהְיֶה הָאָרֶץ and not וַיִּהְיֶה הָאָרֶץ הַיְוָה, and to avoid all ambiguity he would have added the preposition בְּ after the verb הָיָה. *Drechsler* tries to show from the structure of

Let it be remembered that the narrator only described what he actually saw, without specially indicating in what light all this should be regarded, or in what relation ver. 2 stood to ver.

1. Readers might either understand his language as implying that in the beginning there had been an absence of light and life, in which case they would be led to believe in a chaos, or they might, in accordance with the later *usus loquendi* of the prophets, apply the terms to an actual *devastation*. But as ver. 1 excluded the idea of an eternal hostile chaos, they would have to fall back upon the second view, with the understanding that some hostile power had introduced desolation into what had originally been a fair, pure, and glorious handiwork of the Lord. This inference would be further confirmed by the circumstance, that in chap. iii. the existence and influence of such a hostile power is indicated. But as that chapter also did not remove the mystery connected with that enemy, both passages could only lead to further enquiry, and call forth a desire for more full instruction. We shall, for the present, leave this subject, with the remark, that Gen. i, taken by itself, neither proves nor disproves the view that the earth had been laid waste at some period between the first creation of heavens and earth and their restoration during the six creative days.

§ 7. THE FIRST, THE SECOND, AND THE THIRD CREATIVE DAYS.

The earth was waste and void, and darkness covered the deep.
Left unrestrained and in wild confusion, the elements were mixed up, nor could the seer descry order or harmony, light or life. But this state was not to continue. Already he discovered the Spirit of God breathing into this waste the breath of life,

ver. 2, that it could not have been intended to describe the state in which, according to ver. 1, God had created the earth. Ver. 2, he remarks, consists of three parts—the earth was waste and void, and darkness upon the deep, and the Spirit moved over the waters. But as the copula “and” connects the first with the other two clauses, it would follow that if we were to interpret “God created the earth waste, void, and dark,” we should have to add that he created it with the Spirit of God moving over it. But this reasoning is not by any means conclusive, since it may be replied that ver. 2 does not inform us in what state God had *created* the earth, but only as to its *condition* after it had been created.

and moving over the waters. His breath would banish the waste and desolation; already the germs of life awaited the moment when, being set free, they should unfold. Then issued the word of Omnipotence, "*Let there be light, and it was light.*" Suddenly, liberated from its bonds, light breaks from the dense darkness around, the first token of life, and the condition of all further development. Light, the first creature of God, and the emblem of His own glory, bears the impress of being well pleasing in His sight; whoever sees the light, hails it as the messenger of Divine goodness. *God saw that the light was good.* The darkness which covered the deep had enshrouded the light; *but God separated the light from the darkness.* Thus the light attained liberty and independent existence. No longer is it enclosed by darkness; it exists *along* with and *superior* to darkness, over which it now rules, and to which it gives life. The light is called *day*, the darkness night. The work of the first day is finished. Even and morn come, and the first day being completed merges into the second.

A new day has broken. A movement in the waters which still cover the earth has been called forth by another creative word; they also are to bring forth what hitherto lay concealed in their depths. And God said, *Let there be a firmament* (expansion, "*rakiah*") *to divide the waters, and he called the firmament Heaven.* This was the sky, that pure and transparent expanse of air above us, the atmosphere with its inexhaustible springs of life and blessing, providing the necessary means of nourishment to every kind of living beings that were to appear on earth. This sky rests on the waters of the earth, and like a firm arch supports the oceans of heaven. Thus it divides the upper from the lower waters, the sea from the clouds which rise from it, that in turn they also may become a spring of blessing and fruitfulness to the dry land when it shall have been emancipated from the dominion of the sea.

The *third* day witnessed two consecutive and connected acts of creation—the separation of the sea from the dry land, and the clothing of the latter with vegetation. As on the first day the light was set free from the bonds of darkness, and on the second the sky, with its springs of blessing, its rain and fruitful seasons, was called from the chaotic waters of primeval earth, so the

creative word of the third day set free the earth from the dominion of the sea, which till then had engulfed and covered everything. For as the polar opposition and the reciprocal relation of light and darkness, of day and night, of earth and air, of sea and clouds, is the ultimate condition of life and prosperity, so also is the permanent distribution of land and water the condition of all further development on the earth, and a guarantee of the continuance and well-being of the creatures which inhabit land and sea. The dry land is the habitation of the noblest of God's creatures; therefore the creative word of Omnipotence liberated it from the dominion of the sea, and assigned to the latter its bounds. The tumult which now arises is described in Ps. civ. 5—9:—

“ He hath founded the earth upon her bases,
 She is not removed for ever.
 The deep, as with a garment, hast Thou covered,
 The waters stood above the mountains.
 At Thy rebuke they fled,
 At the voice of Thy thunder they hastened away—
 The mountains ascended, the valleys descended,
 To the place which Thou hadst founded for them—
 Thou hast set a bound which they do not pass over,
 They do not return to cover the earth.”

When thus the water had been gathered and the dry land had appeared, Earth, which the breath of the Divine Spirit as He moved over the primeval waste, had endued with seeds and germs, in obedience to the creative command displayed its glorious vegetation in all the beauty of variegated colours, and with its precious fruits. Still, as the vegetable world clung to the soil, like a splendid robe covering its nakedness, it had not an independent existence of its own. Hence it originated on the same day which witnessed the liberation of the dry land, whose property, so to speak, it was.

§ 8. THE WORK OF THE FOURTH DAY.

Thus the formation of the earth, as a *globe existing by itself*,

had been completed. On the *fourth day* the relation between earth and the other heavenly bodies was fixed.¹

In the Rakiah or expanse of heaven the Word of the Almighty placed *sun, moon, and stars to divide the day from the night, and to be signs: both for seasons, and for days and years, and to be for lights, to give light upon the earth; the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night.* It has been matter of dispute whether these stars of the fourth day are to be understood as the whole starry heavens with their millions of fixed stars, their milky ways, and groups of stars, or only as the stars of our solar system. We have latterly seen cause to adopt the former of these views. Without repeating the arguments which we had formerly advanced for the opposite view, we may observe that any such distinction between our solar system and the starry heavens generally would imply astronomical distinctions which we are sure lay beyond the purport of the writer. The narrative has a purely religious aim, and professes not to treat either of Astronomy or of Geology. It brings before us, first, the relation between *God* and the world, then that between *man* and the other creatures (showing that he occupies the highest point in the scale of creation), and lastly, the typical relation between the creative week and the duties and occupations of life. The first of these objects is clearly expressed in the words (ver. 1): "*In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*" Each word in that verse has an important bearing upon our

¹ *Hofmann*, and after him *Delitzsch*, take a different view of the progress in the work of creation. They hold that on the fourth day the scale of creation rises, "since the heavenly bodies, separated from the mass, and passing on their immeasurable paths, constitute a higher stage than the plants which are rooted in the ground, while, on the other hand, they occupy a lower place than the creatures of the fifth and sixth days—animals and man—which are capable of voluntary motion." But we apprehend that such a view would make of our narrative a poor piece of speculation. For if the narrative is to be regarded as a description of what had really taken place, and the narrator as expressing the mind of the Creator, so that in His view the heavenly bodies occupy a position intermediate between plants and animals, the former having been created *before*, the latter *after* these heavenly bodies—natural science will urge against this supposed scale in creation arguments so powerful that the defender of the Bible will scarcely be able to make way against them. We shall, therefore, either have to give up this view, or else to admit that the narrative does not embody objective truth, but is a piece of speculation, and that one of second rate ability.

religious knowledge, both from the fundamental truths which it *affirms* and the dangerous errors which it *rebuts*. The simple statement of the fact might have been sufficient for the purpose which the narrative had in view. But if there had been no more than a general and abstract sentence, the important truths enunciated might—especially among Orientals, whose minds chiefly grasp and retain what is concrete—have been readily overlooked or passed by. Even on that ground, therefore, it was necessary to present them in a concrete form as a tangible and outward reality, thus impressing them on the mind of the reader. Still more was this requisite if the other objects of the narrative were to be carried out, and the cosmical and moral position of man to be impressed on the consciousness.

It was for these purposes that the seer, or rather the Spirit whose organ he was, detailed what took place during the six creative days. Hence, also, are we not warranted in putting into the narrative an astronomical distinction between the planetary heavens and those of the fixed stars to which no allusion is made. Such a distinction might, indeed, have been of importance even in a religious point of view, but if intended would no doubt have been plainly mentioned. We should the more readily have expected this, since such a distinction was made from the oldest time. But the circumstance that it is not expressed, nor even hinted at, shows that, however important at a later period and for other purposes, it lay beyond the aim of the narrator at the time. If ver. 16 speaks of *stars* generally, without limiting the term to any special kind of stars, even the fact that no emphasis is laid on it proves that the expression must not in any way be limited, but taken in its more wide and general acceptation. Nor is there any force in the objection that since sun, moon, and the stars of the fourth day are set in the *Rakiah* of the second day which sprang from the earth, they must be viewed as belonging to the earth, in a physical point of view. For it should be remembered that the definition of *Rakiah* as terrestrial atmosphere is that of natural science, while in common parlance the term was much wider, and embraced also what in modern times is called the cosmical ether. If, besides, we bear in mind that the narrative is not an astronomical or physical manual, we shall not deem it more strange that

scientifically inaccurate—or, if you choose, erroneous—terms should have been employed by the writer than we are in the habit of taking exception to such expressions as the “rising” or the “going down” of the sun. The seer simply described what he saw; and, no doubt he beheld the fixed stars in the same heaven as the planets. Nor can we admit the validity of the objection, that since the narrative manifestly treats only of the earth and of what bears reference to it, the stars of the fourth day must have been those of our solar system. This would oblige us to suppose that ver. 16 also refers only to such heavenly bodies as form along with our earth one physical system. Besides, there is not the least intimation that the sun and moon are only mentioned, because, in a physical and astronomical point of view, they form one system with our earth; nay, this view is entirely contrary to the spirit and tendency of the narrative. The latter takes no notice of any such physical connection, and only adverts to the circumstance that the *sun* gives light by day and the *moon* by night. This remark also applies to the stars (ver. 17)—and manifestly the fixed stars answer *that* purpose as much, and more, than the planets.

Again, since the narrative only records what sun, moon, and stars are in relation to the earth, without entering on the question of what they are in themselves, it is a grievous mistake to overlook the prophetic character of this vision, and to press the words as if they implied that the sun, moon, and stars, had been created, or called forth out of nothing, only on the fourth day, or after the earth had been fully formed. The record does not give any information either as to *what* these heavenly bodies are *in themselves* or as to the *period* and the *mode* in which they were created to be what they are *in themselves*. It is, indeed, true that the work of the fourth day, like those of the other days, is introduced by: “*God said: Let there be!*” But then the purpose which the stars are to serve—“to be for lights to give light upon the earth”—is immediately added. If formerly they *had not* been and *now for the first time* became such, the language of the narrative is completely vindicated, since the regulation of this relationship between the starry heavens and the earth is quite as much a creative act as that of the relation between light and darkness, or between the dry land and the sea. It is in this

sense that we are told that "God *placed* them in the Rakhah of the heaven." For as "rakiah" means the terrestrial sky, the stars, even though created before the second day, could not be regarded as in the rakiah, which was only created on the second day, and could only occupy a place in that sky after they had assumed a relation to the earth. Equally plain is the meaning of the expression in ver. 16, "God *made* sun, moon, and stars." He now first adapted them for the earth, and in relation to it they commenced only then to exist. But this does not imply that they had not been created long before that to exist *by themselves* and *for the purposes which they were to serve independently of the earth.*

The result of our investigations then briefly is, that vers. 14—19 refer to the starry heavens (including the fixed stars), but without necessarily implying that they were only created after the earth had been formed. The question as to the period of their creation we leave in the meantime unanswered. It yet remains to illustrate the relation between this event, the creation of heaven (ver. 1), the production of light, and the separation of the upper waters (ver. 7). *Ebrard, Nögelsbach, Rougemont, and Delitzsch*, regard these upper waters as the substratum of the heavenly bodies created on the fourth day; with this difference that the three first mentioned writers understand that the heavenly bodies of our solar system only were then formed, while *Delitzsch* extends the creative work of that day also to the fixed stars and the milky ways. This view we deem erroneous, since we cannot discover the slightest hint of any production of these heavenly bodies from the upper waters. Besides, it is opposed to later statements of Holy Writ, according to which the upper waters *still* exist (Ps. cxlviii. 4, civ. 5; Job xxvi. 8). If we were to assume that the heavenly bodies themselves were created on the fourth day, and not merely that then they began to exist so far as our earth was concerned, and that like our earth they were formed out of some existing material, we should expect to find some notice of this circumstance in ver. 1 and not in ver. 7. For the combination of elements which were afterwards separated into upper and lower waters is in ver. 2 called "earth," and not "earth and heaven." Hence they can only have served as substratum for the forma-

tion of the earth, and not for that of both earth and heaven. If, therefore, the heavenly bodies were formed from any substratum, this could only have been the heaven to which ver. 1 refers, and which existed before the six creative days had commenced. Lastly, the narrative furnishes direct information as to the relation between the lights created on the fourth day—more especially the sun—and the light created on the first day. *Light* (“*or*”) was created on the first day, the *luminaries* or light-bearers (“*maoroth*”) on the fourth day. Light was not originally confined to the sun. This arrangement only took place when the cosmical formation of the earth had so far proceeded as to render an antagonism of solar and planetary polarity possible. The former alternation of light and darkness, of day and night, must have arisen from telluric action and re-action which ceased when this antagonism became established. Farther details the narrative does not furnish.

§ 9. THE WORK OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH DAYS.

So soon as the *cosmical* conditions of organic life were provided and the chaotic confusion of elements and forces had given place to a regulated and harmonic relation, the germs of life hid in the womb of earth were set free, and at the command of Omnipotence the most diversified degrees and stages of life made their appearance. Already on the third day had vegetation been called forth; on the fifth and sixth days the scale of creation ascended from the fish in the sea to the eagle which soars to the sky, from the worm which creeps in the dust to man who lifts his head to the stars, and represents the climax and completion of terrestrial life. The narrative introduces man as the last work, and—since there is manifestly a rise from the lower to the higher scale of being—as the highest in creation. This progress is *physically* represented in the fact that every higher stage of being includes all the lower, and at the same time exhibits some new development of life. Thus the purely cosmical elements form the basis of the peculiar life of the vegetable kingdom. In the animal kingdom we descry, besides the voluntary activity which is its peculiar characteristic, also numerous *involuntary*

functions which, properly speaking, form part of the sphere of vegetable life. Lastly, in man we discover besides the three lower stages of life—the *cosmical*, the *vegetable*, and the *animal*—a fourth and much higher, viz., the sphere of personality and of moral freedom—the *image of God* appearing in his creature.

The narrative pourtrays the work of creation as it were a pyramid, of which heaven and earth are the broad basis, and man the one top-stone. He is the representative of all former stages of existence, the unit in which the multiplicity of earthly creatures terminates. Although both the *turn* of thought and the *form* of expression is foreign to the narrative, yet it quite accords with its idea when we designate man as the microcosm and the centre of this world.¹ In verse 26, he is expressly set apart as ruler of all creation, of its varied forces and creatures. His calling and his endowments for it are expressly mentioned. He is the last and the most perfect being formed from that earth to which himself belongs, and whose every stage of life he includes in himself. Hence he is also qualified to be its representative, both so far as he is personally concerned, and in relation to every higher sphere of existence. But as the image of God, he is also of *Divine* origin, and hence above nature, and the representative of God to it, its lord and master, its priest and mediator. Creation having been thus completed, the record adds, "*And God saw everything he had made, and behold it was very good.*"

¹ Most apt is the saying of *Theodorus* (in Theodoret, Quaest. xx. in Gen.) "that God had created last *σύνδεσμον ἀνάντων τὸν ἄνθρωπον* (man the bond and summary of all);" and not less beautiful and true that of *Augustine*, "Nullum est creaturæ genus, quod non in homine possit agnoscī." Nay, the same idea is embodied and symbolised even in the apparently absurd Haggada of the Rabbins, to the effect that when Adam came from the hand of the Creator he was so big as to reach from earth to heaven, and from one end of the world to the other; but that when he sinned God had laid his hand on him, and he shrank to his present size. The name of the first man also—*Adam*, from *Adamah*, earth—represents him, if we translate the idea into our own terminology, as the microcosm of this world. On this *Umbreit* well remarks, "The name given to man implied that he represented the whole earth, and as its lord and master comprehended it in his own form."

§ 10. THE PRIMEVAL HISTORY OF MAN.

The account of the six creative days closes with the rest of God on the seventh day, and with its being set apart, that in it man also should rest. Passing from this, we come upon a new portion of Divine revelation, of different tendency indeed, but no less grand, and in some respects even more important than the former. For centuries men have criticised and cavilled at what it relates; faith has been strengthened by it, true wisdom nourished, while unbelief has scoffed or been offended. On this foundation the whole building of revelation, fitly joined together, has grown into an holy temple of the Spirit. Here we behold the root whence salvation in Christ, with its blossoms in the Old, and its fruits in the New Testament, has sprung. If the first section forms the basis of history in general, the second (chaps. ii. and iii.) forms that of the history of redemption. The former indicates the position of God as ABOVE the world, as the Creator of heaven and earth, and assigns to each creature, but especially to man, his proper position and sphere in the general plan of the world. It also points out their proper development, even to its ultimate goal, but it does not detail the history of that development, as such a narrative would have destroyed the unity of its plan and execution. The second section presupposes the first, but has a totally different tendency. It brings before us God IN His world, as the Father and Instructor, who in love condescends to His pupil, and adapts Himself to his growing knowledge—who introduces and announces salvation. If the first section exhibits the work and purpose of God in creation, and the Divine destiny of man, the second describes man's free choice and development, and God's care, provision, and training, both before, during, and after that choice had been made. The central point of this section is chap. iii., which gives an account of the Fall as the root of all misery, the occasion of redemption, and the commencement of the history of mankind. It describes the trial of man's self-determination, which through his guilt led to such sad consequences, arrested his original destiny, and on the interposition of Divine grace, made a new development ne-

cessary, for which new means and powers had to be furnished. However complete in itself, the history of the six creative days is not sufficient to explain the fall, the guilt of man, or the grace of God. The history of this all-important event required a basis such as that furnished in chap. ii. There we are informed that man was formed of dust and ashes. While this shows the guilt and folly of his pride when *without* God he would attempt to become *as* God, it also explains how, in consequence of the curse attaching to sin, he was to return to the earth from whence he had been taken. The breath of God made him the personal, self-conscious, and free being, capable of, and requiring development, who for himself was to choose between good and evil, and was responsible for his choice. The garden of Eden, full of joy and delight, was the place where the trial and the fall occurred. From this place of bliss he was driven after the fall, to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. The command to keep the garden pointed to the existence of a hostile principle, against which man was warned. The tree of life, of which the fruits were not interdicted to man in his state of innocence, is interdicted after his fall. The tree of knowledge became the first and most direct medium of his development. The presence of other trees, with fair and delicious fruits, increased his guilt in eating from the only tree that had been forbidden him, since it appeared how easily he might have kept from it. The naming of the animals forms the introduction to the creation of woman, and the latter is again the condition of the first and of every subsequent development.

§ 11. POSITION AND TASK OF THE FIRST MAN.

The narrative now records in detail that creation of man which was only generally indicated in the first section. The dualism within him, in virtue of which he combines both a divine and an earthly nature, is now prominently brought forward. The Spirit of God who at first moved over the *thoku vaboku* had put into the earth the germs of all the diverse forms of life. Hence the production of the animal and vegetable kingdoms is not represented as, strictly speaking, an act of creation, but only as a

creative unfolding of germs already existent. We read, "Let the earth bring forth!" and as plants and animals thus appear as the individualised products of the life of the earth, so man also who is its highest and hence its unique product. Those creative powers which hitherto had manifested their productive agency on many different points were now concentrated in *one* point, to call the noblest of its formations into being, and this is most pictorially described when we are told that God himself formed man from the dust of the earth. But man is not merely the highest stage of animal life. The breath of Divine life is also breathed into him, so that while in part he is of the earth earthy, in part he is also the offspring of God (Acts xvii. 28) and His image (Gen. i. 27).¹ Man is placed in the garden *to dress and to keep it*. Although it had formerly been said that every creature as it came from the hand of God was *very good*, this could only have referred to a relative, not to an absolute perfection. We hold that both man and nature did not by creation immediately attain *that* stage of which they were ultimately capable, but only *that* which was suitable to the circumstances and to the object in view. The Divine Spirit residing in man constituted him not only a personal and free being, but capable of moral and religious activity. Man could not, like a plant, have absolute perfection put upon him from without; by *free* determination and activity, he was to rise to that stage for which God had destined and endowed him. Accordingly, man was immediately put into circumstances in which he was freely to decide either *for* or *against* the will of God, and thus to choose his own direction.

But nature was not merely to be the abode of man; there he was also to exercise his powers, to make his moral decision, and to develop himself. Hence nature also must at first have only been relatively perfect, and capable of development, not for its own sake, but for that of man who, as its priest and mediator, its lord and master, was to conduct it to its ultimate stage of

¹ It must not be thought that an interval of time intervened between the formation of man from the dust and the breathing into him the breath of life, so that man had even for one moment been merely an animal differing only in degree, not in kind, from other animals. But there was a difference in regard to the origin of his twofold nature. Two elements—differing *toto caelo*—met at the moment when he was created; the form prepared from the dust and the Divine breath from above—the product of their meeting was man.

perfection. Man was destined to have dominion over the *whole* earth (Gen. i. 26). But of this a commencement was to be made in the spot where God had first placed him. He is therefore *first* called upon to *dress and to keep* the garden of Eden. This indeed is not a new task: the mission formerly indicated, that he should have *dominion*, is now only analysed into its positive and negative aspects. The object is still the same, only that now it has been limited by present circumstances. God himself had planted the garden, and *man* was to continue and to complete the work which God had begun. But certainly it was not intended that the activity of man should always be confined to Paradise; but rather, that in continually extending spheres, it should ultimately embrace the whole earth, and transform it into Paradise. Thus the *commencement* (the *dressing and keeping* of the garden) was to lead to the *goal* (man's dominion over the whole earth). But against what enemy was man to *keep* the garden? The command to keep is the negative aspect of dominion, as dressing is the positive. But hitherto we have only been brought into contact with the positive and beneficial—is there then some negative and hostile power already in existence against which man is to contend?

§ 12. THE TREE OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND EVIL.

Among the numerous trees in the garden, two are pointed out as unique in their kind and design. They are the *tree of life* in the midst of the garden and *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*. Where shall we find the key to the mysteries concealed under these names? According to the common interpretation of the tree of knowledge, it was a tree like others, in itself innocuous and harmless. It is said that man as a free creature required to obtain the means for free determination, that so it might appear whether he would submit to, or oppose the Divine will. Hence God uttered a prohibition—it might however, as well have been a command. That prohibition was connected with a *tree*, but it might as well have been attached to any other object, or to any other tree, since the only thing of importance was, that God should express His will, and man

either obey or disobey it. To obey was to do *good*, to disobey was to do *evil*. By his free determination man learned and experienced the difference between good and evil, and on that ground alone was the tree called that of the knowledge of good and evil. Such arbitrary conduct is attributed to the Almighty ! In opposition to this view we maintain that it was not fortuitous when man's will was put to the test by a prohibition rather than by a command, and when, for that purpose, the fruit of that particular tree was selected. By its very *nature* and difference from other trees, by its essential relation to man, this tree must have been adapted to its peculiar purpose. We are prepared to maintain this, even though we should remain ignorant of the mode of this adaptation, and Scripture had not offered a clue to this riddle. As from its very nature the tree of life brought immortality, so this tree communicated knowledge. Considering first the name of that tree, we observe that it gives clear and unequivocal indication that *evil already existed* in creation. Of this we had formerly discovered some indistinct trace in the "thohu vabohu." If evil had not existed, it would have been impossible to know good *and evil*,—*i.e.* there could not have been a tree by which, in whatever manner Adam, in the exercise of his free will, should act, he would obtain the knowledge of good and evil. Further, it is plain that the two trees in the midst of the garden formed a contrast. The one tree was called, and therefore was a tree of life. In a certain sense the other trees also were trees of life. Their fruits "pleasant to the eyes and good for food," were given for nourishment, and by them the physical powers of man were strengthened or repaired. Still this one tree alone was called the tree of life. Its fruits absolutely secured the continued and unimpaired life of the body, while the fruits of other trees restored indeed the wasted powers of life, but in so limited a manner as not continuously to preserve the balance between waste and supply. That this view is correct is shown from Gen. iii. 22, where after death had been allotted to man, he was prohibited from approaching this tree "lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat and *live for ever*."

Wholly different—indeed the direct opposite of it—was the *tree of the knowledge of good and evil*. It was not indeed ex-

pressely called, yet in reality it *was* a tree of death. For God expressly warned man, "thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof *thou shalt surely die.*" And yet God had planted it just as the other trees. Still, being called the tree of *the knowledge of good and evil*, man must by it have been destined to have attained the knowledge of a good and an evil which already existed. Again, it was a tree by which it should appear whether man would decide in favour of the good or of the evil which already existed in the place of his abode. Scripture characterises the want of experience and the inability of distinguishing between good and evil, as a mark of undeveloped childhood and innocence (Deut. i. 39; Jonah iv. 11; Isaiah vii. 15, 16). When compared with life in its present state, with its consciousness and its burden of guilt, this state seems indeed exceedingly favourable (Matt. xix. 14). Yet when contrasted with the original destiny of man—to know evil as something foreign, and to overcome it as something hostile—it must be regarded as an imperfect state which under any circumstances should not and could not have been continued. Hence in a certain sense the tree of knowledge, like that of life, is a tree of blessing: nay, one of life also. For the knowledge which this tree was to procure for man was just the manifestation of spiritual life. On the other hand, however, the peculiar benefit attaching to the tree of life was only to be experienced when its fruit was eaten. It must therefore not only by *design*, but by nature, have been a tree of life. But the tree of knowledge would only have become a tree of life if man had abstained from its fruit; otherwise it became a tree of death. Hence it was only in its *divine design* a means of blessing and of life, but *in its own nature* a tree of misery and of death. If not partaken of, it would become a source of knowledge, and this knowledge was life: if partaken of, it would likewise bring knowledge, but this knowledge was death.

Man, as a creature, could only attain to the knowledge of good and evil after, and if he had proved himself either good or evil before Him, who—having created him in His image, destined and made him capable to be good—gave him moral freedom by which it was also possible for him to become evil, since the decision was left in his own hand (1 Cor. xiii. 12). Hence we

must also retain the other meaning which attaches to the name of the tree of knowledge as a tree by which it was to be known whether man would choose good or evil.¹ But do these explanations answer every question or remove every difficulty? far from it! Many still remain, nay, almost more than we could find suitable language to express. But in its grand, childlike and holy simplicity, the narrative passes by such questions of the intellect just as a child moves among the riddles of nature and of life, as if they existed not. Ours it is here to put our hand upon our mouth and to take home the old saying—

Nescire velle, quao Magister Maximus
Docere non vult, erudita inscitia est.

Yet withal we indulge the hope that later stages of revelation may lift the veil which as yet conceals those mysteries that surround the cradle of mankind. At any rate we are well assured that when faith shall have passed into vision, and our imperfect knowledge shall have ceased, these mysteries and all the other deep things of divine wisdom and mercy shall be opened to us. Meantime we gather from this narrative that the tree of knowledge was to offer man an opportunity when, in accordance with his nature as a free being, he was to take a step absolutely necessary for him, viz., to decide for or against the will of God. But the design of the tree of life would only have been realised if man had freely adopted what God originally appointed for him.

§ 13. THE FORMATION OF WOMAN.

Thus man was at least objectively placed in a position to take that decisive step by which from childlike ignorance he was to pass to a knowledge of himself, of the world, and of God: to learn good and evil, and from a state in which either of these was open to him, to attain either holiness or misery. This was

¹ It is part of the lying policy of the tempter to ignore this the most important meaning attaching to the name of the tree, and to lay exclusive emphasis on its other meaning (Gen. iii. 8). Thus only was he able to exaggerate and distort this meaning to a degree that what had been true became perverted into a lie of Satan.

the first step in that history which, as a free person, he was to bring about. But another development was still wanting, which man may indeed have desired, but which he could not of himself accomplish—we mean the creation of woman. Thereby the difference of sexes was first introduced. The human being first created was neither man nor woman, far less a compound of the two. Like the children of the resurrection (Matt. xxii. 30), Adam was without sex. Considered as an individual, the first man was indeed a man, and the woman is of the man, not the man of the woman. The main object which God seems to have had in view was, that the whole race should, in joy and in sorrow, in blessings and cursings, in its undeveloped and its developed state, form an organic unity. Therefore man was created as an individual unit, that from it the whole race should spring—in numbers sufficient to execute its mission—in order, as the apostle says (Acts xvii. 26), that “all nations of men that dwell on all the face of the earth should be of *one blood*.” For this purpose both sexes had to be derived from the *first* man. Not only was all mankind to spring from one pair, but woman was to proceed from man, that in every respect the unity of the race might be preserved. Again as man was a *free* person, even this development could not take place without his consent and desire for it. Such longing was called forth in him when the various animals were brought before him (Gen. ii. 20), in whom he noticed the sexual difference, but amongst which he found none to be an help meet. God met this desire, when He took from man part of his body, and thence formed woman. Immediately on seeing her, Adam said: “This is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.” This creative act forms the basis of *marriage* with its blessing: “Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.” Marriage was the condition, and the preliminary of all historical or free and personal development of man. It was therefore necessary that it should precede the free moral determination, either for or against the will of God, with which history was to commence. The decision to be taken would now be the decision of all his race—his victory, their victory, his fall, their fall.

§ 14. THE FALL.

All was now prepared for the trial which was to take place, when unexpectedly another being appeared to play an important part in it. It was the *serpent*, the most subtil of all beasts of the field. The tree of knowledge stood in the midst of the garden. Upon the one hand was the Divine prohibition, "Thou shalt not eat of it," and the warning, "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." On the other hand was the suggestion of the serpent: "In the day ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." Between these two stood man free to choose, and capable of enduring the *trial* which in the circumstances had become a temptation—but also left free to fall. God had in creation given him the power for victory, and expressly warned him against sin—he might therefore have overcome. But he might also neglect this admonition and follow the allurements of the tempter, he might become unfaithful to his destiny and choose contrary to the will of God. And man was misled. He succumbed where he should have conquered, and became a slave where he should have been triumphant. The tempter succeeded in implanting sinful lust into his soul; he breathed into him a breath, as it were from beneath, the opposite of that which in creation had been breathed into him. And now events on which a world's history depended, hastened to their dreadful issue. The woman looked upon the tree, and saw that it was good for food, and pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired because it made one wise. She took of its fruit and ate, and gave to her husband, and he also ate. "Then, when lust has conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." James i. 15.

God who had warned man, now appeared as the judge and avenger. The curse lights upon the serpent, which henceforth is to be cursed above all beasts of the field, trodden in the dust, hated of all creatures, and bruised by the seed of the woman. The curse lights upon the woman: in sorrow she is to bring forth children, and she is to be subject to her husband. The

curse lights upon the man : in the sweat of his brow he is to eat his bread, until he return to the earth from whence he was taken. Lastly, on account of man, the curse lights even upon nature, which is to be the abode of man : the ground is to bring forth thorns and thistles. Man is driven from the garden, cherubim with flaming swords prevent access to the tree of life, lest man put forth his hand and eat of its fruit, and live for ever. The trial and decision of man, but not his fall and rebellion, were necessary. But what had only been possible, now became actual. As the tempter had deceitfully promised, man's eyes were opened ; but he only saw his nakedness. He knew what was good, but by the dreadful consciousness of having lost it ; he knew what was evil, but in painful experience of the wretchedness which now had become his. He became as God ; from having been his representative, he had assumed an independent position. He had constituted himself a god, he had become his own master ; but this likeness to God made him exceedingly wretched and poor, instead of rendering him happy. By yielding to the will of the tempter, and rebelling against that of God, man became subject to *sin* and to *death*, which is the wages of sin. Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin—true freedom is only found in communion with God, the eternal type and source of all freedom. In virtue of his freedom, man might choose sin ; but by actually choosing it, he lost all freedom of escaping from its power. Henceforth, man cannot save himself. With man, and on his account, nature, which was to be his abode, came under the curse of sin and the dominion of death (Gen. iii. 17, &c. ; Rom. viii. 19, &c.) Through the connection and relation between spirit and nature, corruption passed from man into nature, where his lot had been cast. In virtue of the unity of the race, in and with Adam, all mankind fell, for at this time he still constituted the whole race. The poison which had entered the root would, when the tree sprung up, penetrate into every branch. Hence, as the race spread, sin and its wages death would only spread with it, and could never be checked or destroyed.

§ 15. THE TEMPTER.

New mysteries cluster about that portion of history which we have just detailed. Mysterious was the origin and nature of the serpent, equally so its appearance, its enmity to God, its relation to that fatal tree, and the curse with which it was visited. Was it no more than an ordinary serpent, such as may be met with on field or in forest? We cannot doubt that the serpent was the same animal which we call by that name. The term, the epithets, and the particulars connected with the curse, all point to that conclusion. But was it nothing else? did the manner of its appearance in that decisive moment, the refined treachery, the consummate cunning, the well-laid plans, not indicate the existence of some dreadful mystery which at that stage remained yet unrevealed? Are we not warranted in inferring the agency of some personal spiritual power, deeply interested in destroying the work of God, and arresting His counsel of love toward man, which made use for its own purposes both of the tree and of the serpent? The view expressed in the narrative as to the identity of the most subtil animal and a corresponding spiritual power—whatever the real connection between them may have been—would naturally be entertained by the first man, at least before the fall, since his mode of viewing objects was still direct and without the medium of reflection. But when, after the fall, evil became known, it must have been felt that the outward event was somehow connected with a hidden cause. We therefore conclude that even at that time it was known that an *evil spiritual agency* had been at work. We conceive that at an early period, besides the tradition of what had taken place, a traditional explanation of its origin existed. But while in heathen legend these two were mixed up and defaced, the author of Genesis has given the tradition in its original form, and without explaining its mysteries, perhaps as *Delitzsch* suggests, because their disclosure would not have been warranted at the time. “Besides the history must have been sufficiently intelligible to every one who had spiritual knowledge.” It follows that before man existed there was a personal evil being on the

scene of action, and as the narrative represents God as the Creator of heaven and earth and of all things in them, we cannot doubt that this power was a creature, and that like every other being it had been originally *holy*, but had fallen from its first estate and destiny, and by an abuse of its personal freedom become evil. Thus before man had appeared, a history of vast interest and of tremendous consequences must have been enacted. But on this subject we only gather further notices from later stages of revelation.

§ 16. PROSPECT OF REDEMPTION.

Mankind had entered upon a course in which, if left to itself, it must necessarily have been doomed to eternal destruction, and in which, unless God interposed, it could never have accomplished its original mission. But it was the good will of God to interpose, for "*He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world.*" To all appearance the design of the tempter had succeeded. His promise, "ye shall be as gods," was fulfilled in the deceitful sense intended. But the deceiver had only laid a snare for himself; as he had derided man, who was the image of God, so the Judge now derided him (comp. Ps. ii. 4). Unconsciously the tempter had predicted his own judgment and destruction. Foreseeing the fall, God had, before the foundation of the world, decreed a redemption whereby the words of the tempter acquired another meaning than that he had attached to them. In consequence of the fall, redemption took place when God became as man, in order that man, truly and in the proper sense, might become as God. Man, though fallen, was capable of being redeemed, he had not engendered evil in himself; it had rather been intruded on him from without, and by a seduction which he might and should have withstood. Sin has, indeed, penetrated and poisoned his whole being, and all the relations of life, but it still is something foreign to him. His being itself had not become sin, in him and in his descendants is left something that opposes evil, and does not find pleasure in it (Rom. vii. 15, 16), but rather accuses and punishes him on account of sin. And although fallen man delights not in God nor in His

service, he still feels within him a deep longing after something higher and invisible, which cannot be satisfied with anything this world offers. These two facts of his consciousness may be traced to the divine image within him, which as conscience repels sin, and as unsatisfied longing after communion with its Architype goes out in cravings after God. For however weakened and darkened by sin, the divine image in man is not wholly destroyed (Gen. ix. 6, James iii. 9), and even after the fall, man continues the offspring of God (Acts xvii. 28). So long as the faintest spark of this fire glows amid the ashes, it may, under proper treatment, and with fresh fuel, be again fanned into a bright flame. That longing within, that craving after restoration and redemption, also resounds throughout creation as the echo of the groaning and the longing of man. "For the earnest expectation of the creature travails with us until now" (Rom. viii. 19—22).

In virtue of the eternal counsel of God, and according to His mercy, the salvation long planned began immediately to manifest itself, and, as a new lever and regulator in the development of man, to operate upon his history. But even after his fall man has retained freedom of choice. As by his voluntary act he had become sinful, so also must he by free choice accept salvation. Neither the one nor the other could be forced upon him from without. When he made his first choice, and partook of the forbidden fruit, he had not thereby made a final decision, since the latter implies a full knowledge of the relations of an object, and a full development of all his powers. Hence the degradation consequent upon his fall was not absolute. It still admitted of regeneration through the imparting of new divine powers. But the second decision, which would devolve upon him when the offer of salvation was made, must be absolute and final. It issues either in faith which accepts that salvation, or in unbelief which determinately rejects it.

Even the first sentence pronounced upon man (Gen. iii. 16—19) afforded a glimpse of the mercy of God, who purposed to prepare him for salvation. Each sentence of the curse contains also elements of blessing. Woman was, indeed, to bear children in *sorrow*; but she was to bear them, and in the anticipation of the blessing implied in this, Adam called her *Eve*, *i. e.*, the

mother of all living. Thus this curse took up the former blessing: "be ye fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it," with the prospect of having it ultimately realised. On the development of one man into a race, connected by unity of origin, depended also the possibility of redemption, since the Saviour was to take upon Himself "bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh." Again, labour in the sweat of the brow was really a palliative and antidote against lust. So also *death* itself, and man's expulsion from Paradise, was at the same time both a punishment and an act of mercy. Had man partaken of the tree of life, his *present* state of existence, with its wretchedness and misery, would have been perpetuated, and every possibility of getting free from the consequences of sin would have been taken away. The death of the body, which, without the intervention of salvation, would have been only a curse, and the commencement of eternal destruction, has through it become an invaluable benefit. For only through death can fallen man attain the resurrection and transformation of the body.

The first announcement of salvation upon which faith might be exercised, or against which unbelief might harden itself, was contained in the curse pronounced upon the tempter (Gen. iii 13—15), "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." These words contain a promise to man, and in this respect they have been rightly designated as the proto-evangelium or first announcement of salvation. The narrative preserves the recollections and impressions of the first man, and presents them in all the simplicity which had at first characterised them. The first man regarded the subtil beast and the person of the tempter, whatever the connection between them be, as strictly identical. This seeming identity was kept up in the curse pronounced. In point of form it applies indeed exclusively to the serpent, but as it had been pronounced not for the sake of the serpent but for that of man, it was adapted to his mode of intuition in which the outward appearance and the spiritual principle were not yet distinguished. Man regarded the serpent as the seducer, and its curse appeared to him that of the author of sin: the destruction of the serpent by the seed of the woman, as deliverance from the power and the influence of

the author of sin. Here then the first promise immediately follows the first sin; by an act of divine retribution, he that was betrayed judgeth his betrayer; by an exercise of divine mercy healing balm was poured into the newly opened wound! But by the fall man has not entirely become the slave of him through whom he has fallen. There is indeed an element of opposition to God now in his nature; but also a principle hostile to the tempter. The latter—such is the meaning of the promise—was to obtain victory over the former. That communion with Satan into which man had been drawn was not to be lasting. It was not, as might have been anticipated, to issue in friendship, but, through divine interposition and aid, in enmity, and in a contest which would terminate in complete triumph over the tempter. Eve, the mother of all living, was to bear children, and the seed of the woman was to bruise the head of the serpent, *i.e.*, the race, *as a whole*, was to contend with the author of sin, and to destroy the kingdom which he had established. The continuance of sin was connected with the propagation of the race—for that which is born of the flesh is flesh. But this mystery of generation was also to become the medium of salvation—for that which is born of the Spirit is spirit (John iii. 6.)

Still man can receive nothing except it be given him from above. Having, through sin, become flesh, it was plainly impossible that spirit should be born of flesh. Hence the Spirit from on high must descend into flesh, that thence He may exert His peculiar powers of producing and spreading a new life. But this could only be effected by Him, who in creation had breathed with the breath of life, the image of His being into man. Something higher and better was now required. The Divine Being Himself, the personal fulness of the Godhead, had to descend into human nature, in order to raise it to its original destiny, and to conduct it to its predetermined goal. But all this depended upon the development of one man into a race. As therefore through one man sin passed upon the race, so also (Rom. v. 17, 18), was it necessary that the new development, with its supernatural powers, should commence at one particular point in the natural development specially adapted for it, in order that, through spiritual generation and the new birth, it might thence extend over the whole race. When this place was found, it was

said, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God." (Luke i. 35). From that first promise downward, the sacred history opens to our view an unbroken chain of descendants to whom it attaches, and which, under the continuous guidance of prophecy, extends to, and closes with, the second Adam, in whom all the promises are fulfilled. There the development which the fall had interrupted was to recommence and to be perfected; and as the Leader of the host in the contest between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, He was to secure for us an ultimate victory. Thus seducer and seduced have before them a long protracted contest, the final issue of which, however, is not doubtful.

§ 17. THE MORNING STARS AND THE SONS OF GOD.

Besides the account in Gen. i., and the hymn of creation, Ps. civ., we have another description of several points in the process of creation. In Job xxxviii. 3, &c., we read :

"Up, gird thy loins like a man.
 I will demand of thee, teach thou me.
 Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the earth?
 Declare if thou hast understanding.
 Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest,
 Who has stretched the line upon it?
 Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened,
 Who laid the corner stone thereof?
*When the morning-stars sang together,
 And all the sons of God shouted for joy?*
 Who shut up the sea with doors,
 When it brake forth as if it had issued out of the womb,
 When I made the cloud the garment thereof,
 And thick darkness a swaddling band for it?
 And brake up for it my decreed place,
 And set it bars and doors,
 And said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther:
 Here shall thy proud waves be stayed?"

As the history of creation, this passage also describes the foundation of the earth, the formation of the atmosphere, and the

bounding of the sea—which had been described as created on the second and third days. But we come also upon a peculiar and distinctive element. When the Almighty founded the earth, the *morning stars* rejoiced, and the *sons of God* sang in praise of the divine wisdom and power then displayed. Hence the *morning stars* and *sons of God* must have existed before the earth was founded, *i. e.*, *previous* to the six creative days. But what are we to understand by these morning stars and sons of God? The former expression no doubt refers to those luminous worlds which adorn the vault of heaven. They are called *morning stars*, because to the sacred poet it appeared morning when God founded the earth. The songs of praise with which they greeted the morn of creation were that silent yet eloquent language with which, according to Ps. xix. 1, they still declare the glory of their Creator :

“The heavens declare the glory of God,
 And the firmament sheweth His handiwork ;
 Day unto day uttereth speech,
 And night unto night sheweth knowledge.
 It is not speech, it is not language,
 Their voice is not heard :
 Their sound goeth through all the earth,
 Their call to the end of the world.”

Here we have what apparently contradicts the Mosaic account. For while according to the latter sun, moon, and stars were only on the fourth day placed in the sky, the book of Job describes them as existing before the foundation of the earth and as admiring witnesses of its formation.¹

But we have already seen that the fourth creative day does not treat of the creation of the stars in themselves, but only of their location with reference to the earth. The statement, therefore, that the stars had existed before the foundation of the

¹ *Delitzsch* and *Hofmann* attach no historical import to the passage in Job. Nor do we maintain that the writer had intended to describe in strict order of time the creative process. The only point to which we call attention is that the angels and morning stars already existed when God founded the earth. In this respect there is a contrast between them and man, and this gives point to the query, “where wast *thou* when I laid the foundation of the earth?”

earth is not opposed to the account given in Genesis. The subject is viewed from two different points, but in a manner quite consistent. We conclude, then, that according to the Bible the stars had existed anterior to the earth. Equally clear is it that the expression "sons of God" refers to the angels who surround the throne of God to execute His behests (Job i. 6, ii. 1; Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 6, ciii. 21). They are called angels in virtue of their office as messengers; sons of God in virtue of their nature. These titles point to their superiority over weak and sinful man as being the holy inhabitants of heaven, the messengers of Omnipotence, and the reflection of Divine Majesty.¹

§ 18. REVIEW OF THE PRIMEVAL HISTORY OF THE EARTH
AND OF MAN.

We now return to the consideration of some subjects to which formerly we had only alluded. When speaking of the fall, we learned that while the tempter appeared in the form of a serpent, and was cursed as such, he must have been a personal and spiritual being. Any doubt as to his nature, person, and character, is removed by clear testimonies of Scripture given at later stages of revelation. In John viii. 44 Christ calls the devil "a murderer from the beginning," since sin and death had by him been brought into the world. In Rev. xii. 9, he is called "the old serpent which deceiveth the whole world," comp. 1 John iii. 8; 2 Cor. xi. 3; Rev. xx. 2, &c. But if the serpent, through whom man was at first betrayed, stood in some close connection with the prince of fallen angels—whether as his instrument or representative—this circumstance affords a datum for ascertaining the *time of his fall*. Even at the commencement of man's

¹ Let it be borne in mind that angels are always called the sons of *God*, but not of *Jehovah*. The term *Elohim* designates the Divine Being as the fulness and source of life, of power, of blessedness, of holiness, of glory, and majesty. The term *Jehovah* describes Him as merciful and gracious, as the Saviour and Redeemer who humbled Himself in order to deliver fallen man from His ruin and to draw him upwards. The sons of *Elohim* are, therefore, those in whom shines forth, and who are the media of, His power and glory. The sons of *Jehovah* are those who receive and are the vehicles of His redeeming mercy. In this sense Israel is called the first-born son of *Jehovah*. (Ex. iv. 22).

history this fallen angel appears already in full antagonism to God. *His* fall must, therefore, have preceded not only that of man but also his creation. Again, it seems probable that just as the trial of man's liberty formed the commencement of his history, so in the case of angels also, and that therefore the fall of angels had taken place very soon after their creation.

It is also of importance to inquire as to the *place* of their fall. It must have occurred in some particular locality, since even the idea of a creature implies the notions of time and space. Again, in Jude 6, comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4, we are told that "the angels which kept not their first estate left their own habitation." Considering the essential connection between spirit and nature, we are warranted in supposing that the fall of the angels had left corresponding traces of ruin in that nature which had been assigned to them for their habitation, and that these traces must have been the more marked, the more important the position of the rebels had been, and the greater the consequences of their fall. These traces of desolation must belong to a period preceding the creation of man. Taking up the sacred narrative with these views, we come at the very outset upon the "thohu vabohu," that desolation, emptiness, and darkness which first broke upon the view of the inspired seer. May not this have been the desolation to which we have above alluded? We have already shewn that the words "thohu vabohu" in other passages refer to a positive devastation and desolation which had taken the place of former life and fruitfulness. But the circumstance that these words bear that meaning in other passages renders it probable that they do so in this passage also. Again, it cannot be doubted that the words "the earth was waste and void, and darkness was upon the face of the raging deep," even irrespective of any parallel passage, apply more appropriately to a desolation which had taken place in creation, than to a work of God not yet completely finished and still devoid of light and life. Manifestly a Divine work, although unfinished, must in proportion to its completeness and capacity have reflected Divine harmony and order, Divine light and life. Any doubt then formerly remaining is now cleared away. Formerly we spoke of a desolation of which we knew not the author—now we are brought into contact with a destroyer for whom we cannot anywhere else find a correspond-

ing destruction. Formerly we were told of darkness, a raging chaos, desolation, and emptiness: *now* of a kingdom of darkness, of spirits of rebellion, confusion, and destruction. The two also coincide as to time since both had taken place before the six creative days.¹

Since the two events so perfectly coincide, we are not only warranted but almost forced to regard the "thohu vabolu" of Gen. i. 2 as the consequence of the fall of the angels. It is only thus that many other questions can be answered and many difficulties connected with the history of man removed. Even before man was created there had been an earth, and a history had been enacted upon it. The prophet who relates the primeval history beheld this earth desolate and void. But this state had been preceded by one of order and life, such as every work of God exhibits:—it was also succeeded by a creative restoration during the six days when light was called out of darkness, and order and life out of destruction and desolation. Our remarks have led us then to the conclusion that the angels who rebelled against God, who lost their principality and were obliged to leave their first habitation, had originally inhabited our earth. But as the fallen angels had before their rebellion had the same being and destiny as the other angels, their dwelling-places must also have been similar. In its original state our earth must, therefore, have resembled the other celestial worlds which we suppose to be the habitations of the holy angels. God restored life and harmony to our globe because in infinite mercy He had decreed that His great plan was not to be subverted, but that the world which had become subject to ruin

¹ The view here defended is very old. In the tenth century Edgar king of England said in confirmation of the law of Oswald, "As God drove the angels from the earth after their fall, whereupon it was changed into chaos, he had now placed kings upon earth that justice might obtain there." The same view has also been held in later times not only by Theosophists, such as *J. Böhme, St. Martin, J. M. Hahn, Fr. v. Meyer, Hamburger, Rocholl*, and others, but also by such men as *Reichel, Stier, Fr. v. Schlegel, G. H. v. Schubert, Knievel, Drechsler, Rudelbach, Guericke, M. Baumgarten, Lebeau, A. Wagner, Michelis, Richers, Rougemont*, and latterly also by *Delitzsch*. But we cannot discover any trace of it among the Fathers. They generally assert indeed that mankind had been created in order to fill the gap left by the fall of the angels, while many of them thought that the race was to increase until the number of the redeemed should equal that of the fallen angels. But we do not find that they had held that chaos had been the consequence of the fall of angels.

should again be raised, the destroyer be banished from it, and other inhabitants and another lord be given to it. From this we also infer that man, who had been substituted for Satan and his angels, was destined to complete their unperformed task, to restore the disturbed harmony of the universe, and to overcome and to judge the arch-destroyer and rebel. "Know ye not," says the apostle Paul (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3), "that the saints shall judge the world? *Know ye not that we shall judge angels?*" Man was thus to occupy a position in the universe to which all eyes must have been directed, and which perhaps in itself, and from the mission attaching to it, was the most important. At any rate it had acquired momentous interest on account of what had already occurred, and what was yet to take place on the earth. On the conduct of man, and on his decision, now depended the further development in the history of the universe. The rebels who had caused the former disorganisation, and who were now to be overcome, were banished from their original habitation, which was to be no longer conformable to their fallen state. Their element is darkness, waste, and desolation. Hence when God spake "let there be light," when His all-wise command changed chaos into harmonious order, and filled what had been desolate with new life, they had to flee away. But since only the beginning, not the full development of this new order had been brought about, the fallen angels still remained a power—vanquished, indeed, so far as the decree of God, but not so far as its execution by man was concerned. They had to leave their habitations, their property was given to another, but they might still urge claims which, though invalid, could only be finally set aside when their futility had been fully exposed, when at the judgment of the world, which, in a certain sense, was to be carried on throughout the course of its history, their cause had been wholly lost, and the purifying fires of the last judgment (2 Pet. iii. 10) had restored to them all that remained of dross in the world, to become their eternal prison and hell (Rev. xx. 9, 10). We can now understand both their interest in, and claims upon, the earth, and their hostility towards man, who had obtained the province taken from them, and was destined to execute that judgment upon them which the Lord had decreed. We can also perceive what importance attached to our earth, as

being the historical centre of the universe where the contest between good and evil was to take place, and the fate of the whole world to be decided ; we also discern that in truth the perfection of the whole universe must have depended upon that of the earth. The close connection between heaven and earth, which Scripture throughout presupposes, is no longer unintelligible ; not by accident or arbitrary appointment did our earth become the centre of the universe, the scene of the most glorious revelations, and even of the incarnation of the Son of God. From this point of view we can also understand how the incarnation of God was fraught with blessings not only to our poor earth, but also to the whole universe.

§ 19. CONTINUATION.

With the knowledge we have now acquired, we return to the consideration of the biblical account of the Fall, in the hope of gaining a deeper insight into its meaning. If we mistake not, we shall now be able better to understand both the temptation, its form, and mode, but especially the most mysterious parts of the narrative, viz., the tree of knowledge, and the nature of the serpent. It is obvious that man had to undergo a trial of his moral freedom, being capable of self-determination and self-development. But it is more difficult to understand why his trial should have taken the form of a *temptation*, why the divine will, which was to become the occasion for man's decision, should have been a *negative*, and not a *positive* injunction, a prohibition and not a command. In all the actings of God nothing is arbitrary, and something in the position of man must have rendered it necessary that his trial should take place in connection with a prohibition and not with a command. Every prohibition presupposes the existence of evil, whether in the *subject* to whom a thing is forbidden, or in the *object* which is forbidden. In the present instance it could not have been in the subject or in man, partly because he still remained in his original and undeveloped state, partly because in that case any trial would have been unnecessary and impossible. Sin must therefore have attached to something out of man—and yet all that God had created upon

the earth was very good. Whence, then, the evil? The tree of knowledge was a tree of the knowledge of good AND evil, and *not merely* of good OR evil: and whether man partook of it or not, he was through it to attain the knowledge of good AND evil. But if evil had not already existed, man would, if he had remained obedient, only have attained the knowledge of good. Again, why was it necessary that under all circumstances man should attain the knowledge of evil, since it apparently lay beyond him and beyond the sphere of his activity? God had planted the tree of knowledge as all the other trees. Why then did he warn against His own workmanship? The tree was a tree of death—for man was to die if he partook of it, and yet it was also necessary and useful, and that although man was destined for life and not for death. The tree was good, for God had created it; yet there was an element of evil about it since it might bring death. How do these things agree? *God tempts* no man to evil (James i. 13), and yet the trial of man became a direct temptation to evil. God cannot therefore have occasioned the wiles of the serpent. These must have sprung from the tempter himself, which God only permitted in view of the necessity of such a trial, in this respect only consenting to it. But whence this necessity? Why should the tempter have sought to lure man to destruction? Was it merely the general desire on the part of the evil one to have companions of his guilt, and to draw others into the same wretchedness which had become his? But if such had been the case, and if there had been no internal ground and special relation between the enemy and man, it would have been inconceivable that God should not only have permitted it, but opened the way for it. All these and similar difficulties are satisfactorily removed when we bear in mind that the fallen angels had formerly inhabited the earth, and that our globe which had been laid waste by their fall, had been restored by Divine mercy and omnipotence, and assigned to man as a place of abode and for discharging his peculiar mission. We now understand why Satan should have sought by all means to lead man into rebellion. It was from natural enmity, from hatred and envy, wrath and revenge against his favoured rival, who had obtained the habitation from which himself had been driven, and the principality which himself had lost; who had obtained

all that blessedness and glory, of which he was for ever deprived : nay, who was called to execute judgment upon him. His was the resistance of despair, the hope of madness, to regain the lost inheritance, and to escape the judgment of the great day for which he is reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness.

We can now also understand how God would allow the temptation, and even open the way for it, although in omniscience He foresaw the fall. God had destined man to possess and to rule over the earth, to restore the disturbed harmony of the universe, to be leader in that great and holy contest of created spirits which had been occasioned by the fall, to be the conqueror and ultimately the judge of the rebels. But as a free and personal being, man had by an act of his own to gain the position for which he was destined, and a title to the property and dignity for which God had designed him. He might also, in virtue of his freedom, make common cause with the enemy, instead of falling in with the plan of God, and like the Arch-rebel attempt to place himself upon the throne of God. God is just, even towards Satan, nor would he prevent him from attempting all in his power to maintain himself in opposition to God. Only when every thing had been attempted in vain, and Satan had become fully conscious of his absolute impotence, which could only end in defeat, even where apparently victory had been his—only then was he to receive his final doom. We now also perceive why the trial of man assumed the form of a temptation, and the first injunction to man was not a command to do, but a prohibition from doing. As evil already existed, and man did not occupy a neutral position towards it, but, as the very purpose of his existence was one of hostility towards sin, it was necessary that he should immediately, and of his own accord, take up a definite position towards the enemy. Further, we also understand the apparent difficulties about the tree of knowledge ; how, although created by God, it is a tree of death ; and how, after Satan had been obliged to leave his habitation, he should still have obtained in that tree a basis of operation from which to act against man. There must have been some connection between Satan and that tree, although God had allowed it to grow. Nor is it difficult to discover wherein it lay. By the rebellion of Satan, death and ruin had as cosmical agents

been brought into the primeval earth, which became "thohu rabohu." By the restoration of the earth during the six creative days, God imparted to the earth new cosmical powers of life. Man was now placed between good and evil, between life and death. They were, so to speak, set before him by the Creator that he might choose between them. The cosmical good which God had imparted when restoring the earth, was concentrated in the tree of life; the cosmical evil which originated in Satan, in the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which, however, was also fenced in by Divine warning. In this tree Satan had a part, for to him that death was due, which clung to the tree. On this account he endeavoured to make the tree attractive. But God also had a part in that tree. He had allowed it to grow, He had concentrated death in it, He had hedged it about by prohibition and warning.

To eat of the tree of knowledge, *i.e.*, to receive the cosmical evil into the physical organism, was to introduce *physical death*—it was to drink the *primal poison* in nature. To eat of the tree of life, *i.e.*, to receive cosmical good, would impart immortality to the body—it was the *primal remedy* in nature. And however powerful the one tree to destroy, the effects of the other tree were still greater, since, according to chap. iii. 22, even after man had eaten of the fruit of death, he would have still lived for ever if he had partaken of its fruit. The fatal tree was called that of the knowledge of good and evil. *If, at the suggestion of Satan, man should partake of its fruit*, he would experience in himself cosmical evil and its effect, death—and by contrast know the good of which he would painfully feel the want. *But if according to God's command he would refuse its fruit*, and instead of it take of the fruit of the tree of life, he would experience in himself physical good, and that as an everlasting power of life, and only know physical evil, as something without him, which had been overcome, and which, like Satan, its author, could have no further continuance upon the earth. But as cosmical evil originated in moral evil, or in Satan, and as the tree to which it clung had been surrounded by him with seductive attractions, while on the other hand the limitation of cosmical evil to the tree and the warning against it is traceable to moral good, *viz.*, to the holy will of God—this cosmical evil was, in

the peculiar circumstances of the case, fitted to become the occasion by which man would either decide for moral good or for moral evil. Thus the tree was also one both of moral good and evil, and of intellectual good and evil. But man decided for evil. By that act physical evil or death penetrated his body, and moral evil or sin his inward nature; he surrendered himself to the service of Satan. Death, which formerly had been bound to the tree, had now been set free by sin, and reigned along with it—Satan had gained a large field on earth.

And what of the tree of life? To this query chap. iii. 22, 23 gives the following reply: God sent man forth from the garden “lest he put forth his hand and take of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever.” Thus even after the entrance of sin and death, the fruit of the tree of life would have removed physical death from man. But it was capable of imparting only cosmical or physical life. To remove the power of sin or spiritual and moral death, it required another tree of life, even that planted in Golgotha, the fruit of which is for eternal life. Again, God did not allow man to partake of the tree of life because it was only capable of removing death and not its source, sin. So long as the latter was not removed, death was to continue its wages, but also to form its great remedy, since in the council of salvation death was to become the medium of and the passage to a new life. Had man partaken of the tree of life, his physical life, such as it was after the entrance of sin, would have been perpetuated, and every possibility of setting it free from the consequences of sin would have been taken away. Nay, sin which reigns in the members of the body would thereby have received such encouragement and accession of strength as to render repentance almost impossible. How often have bodily sickness and weakness become the means of breaking the strength of sin! Best of all, through the intervention of Christ the death of the body has also become an unspeakable blessing. Through death sinful man may now attain the resurrection, and through the decay of the body its glorification.

But the question, what had become of the tree of life after the fall, is only fully answered in Rev. xxii. 1. There the inspired seer describes the heavenly Jerusalem, where all that had been taken from man in consequence of his fall, will be restored on

the glorified earth. "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life which bare twelve times fruit, yielding her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." It therefore appears that Paradise, from which man was driven forth, had been removed from the earth (perhaps only at the time of the flood), but that the powers of life which it contained have been preserved and are again to be restored to man. This remark applies especially to the tree of life. But the fatal tree of the knowledge of good and evil has no place in the heavenly Jerusalem. There, Satan's power is wholly broken, nor does God require any longer that tree since all trial has ceased. Scripture does not expressly state what had become of that tree after the fall. But we cannot be wrong in supposing that man had taken with him from Paradise, not indeed that tree itself, but the agencies of death and ruin which were connected with it. Probably it withered in Paradise, but its powers of death once set free have since multiplied and spread over the earth.

And what of the serpent? By this mystery of primeval times we must pass, without being able wholly to solve it. One thing indeed we have gathered, that by it a spiritual and personal principle exerted its influence. How that spiritual principle made use of that outward appearance must remain unexplained. Perhaps we might regard it in this light, that Satan, the serpent, and the tree are connected together as the personal, the animal, and the vegetable forms in which evil was embodied. At any rate, man was at the commencement of his history to have done what only, in the fulness of time, the seed of the woman has been able to accomplish,—to bruise the head of the serpent. Had man obeyed the law, had he turned from the tempter and resisted his seduction, he would have accomplished this. The tree and the serpent were the last remnants of what belonged to Satan, which were left on the renewed earth. Already had the Creator made an end of the "thohu vabohu." Its last representatives, the tree and the serpent, and in them the spiritual principle of evil, man was to overcome and to banish. They were the only things yet belonging to Satan. Had they been conquered and removed, Satan himself would have been vanquished and banished, and the task of man "to dress and keep the garden" would have been reduced to that of *merely dressing it*.

CHAPTER II.

CONFLICT AND HARMONY BETWEEN THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY.

In their attacks upon the Biblical view of the world, the enemies of religion chiefly controvert one of three points. Either the scriptural doctrine of creation or that of redemption, or that concerning the final judgment, are called in question. We shall therefore enquire whether our holy faith, the efficacy of which has hitherto so gloriously manifested itself both for life and in death, and which has transformed our world, is really incapable of bearing the light of modern science ; or whether it be not possible so to reconcile the two, that science shall become the ally instead of being the enemy of religion.

§ 1. THE DOCTRINE AND HISTORY OF CREATION.

Infidelity has always made the doctrine and history of creation a principal point of attack. Deism and Pantheism, whether separately or unitedly, have here entered the lists against the Bible. More particularly has Pantheism controverted the Biblical *doctrine* of creation, while Deism has objected to the Biblical *narrative* of its process. Deists profess to believe in a creation out of nothing, and hence controvert only the claim of our narrative to be regarded as of *Divine Revelation*. To find a substratum for their opposition, they object to the Biblical account of creation, and attempt to shew that it is self-contradictory, that it is opposed to the results of natural science, childish and absurd. On the other hand, Pantheists, who deny the independent and personal existence of God, and the origin of the world by the mere will of a personal God, object chiefly to the Biblical *doctrine* of creation. Their opposition to the account of creation only springs from their hostility to the hated doctrine of creation out of nothing, on which it is based. On this common ground the two parties have combined their forces for the purpose of attack-

ing the Biblical narrative. We shall not discuss this strange alliance, nor address ourselves to the refutation of these two parties, any further than to shew that their appeal to astronomy as against the Bible is futile, and that the arbiter whom they invoke pronounces in our favour and against them.

In this discussion we shall not advert to any objections against the Biblical *doctrine* of creation, which are urged and must be refuted on philosophical grounds. No astronomer has ever maintained that his scientific investigations have led him to the conclusion that the world could not have been created out of nothing. Even when astronomy has left its proper province, and constructed hypotheses as to the *probable* origin of the celestial bodies, it has at last come to some limit, when its speculations were arrested by a "hitherto, but no further." Whether astronomers are warranted in concluding from the analogy of the origin and developments which scientific men are still observing, that the heavenly bodies may in similar manner have originated or not, certain it is that it is impossible on such grounds to hazard either the opinion that these original materials and powers had been eternal, or that they had been created—that their co-operation had been accidental, or that it had been brought about by the will of a higher personal being. Leaving aside such questions, we shall address ourselves to the objections brought on astronomical grounds against the Biblical *account* of creation.

§ 2. CREATION OF THE WORLD IN SIX DAYS.

Various objections have been urged against the Biblical account of the creation in six days. Formerly it was customary to argue that He who speaks and it is done must have created the world in a single moment, and not employed six days for that purpose. But of late an opposite line of reasoning has been pursued. Adopting the views of *Herschel* as to the continuous formation of stars, and urging the hypotheses of geology as to the formation of the earth's crust, our opponents have declared it incredible that heaven and earth in their present state should have required only six days for their formation. Thousands, myriads, nay

millions, or billions of years, it is said, must have been required for that purpose. We do not intend to controvert the astronomical or geological suppositions upon which this argument rests, although, after all, they are only hypotheses to which more or less probability, but not certainty, attaches. We do not feel it necessary to fall back upon such a device, nor can we help feeling, whatever may be said about the uncertainty of these hypotheses, that a deep impression is left upon the mind that the formation of the universe, from its commencement to its present state of completion, must have occupied much more than merely six times twenty-four hours. On similar grounds, we also set aside every merely theological mode of refutation, such as that with God one day is as a thousand years, or that the more or less rapid formation of worlds depended not on any length of time, but on the measure of Divine influence exerted, &c. We believe that, without having recourse to such arguments, a proper understanding of Gen. i. is sufficient to show the futility of all such objections. We have already seen that the work of the six creative days had nothing to do with the creation of *the earth*, far less with that of the *universe*. Before it commenced, heaven and earth already existed, although the latter, at least, was as yet without light and life, "thohu vabohu." Our globe received its living organisms during the six creative days, and that in ascending scale. Earth gradually assumed its present form, displayed its physical forces, received its inhabitants, and assumed its peculiar relation to the other heavenly bodies. Neither astronomy nor geology can hazard an opinion about the period requisite for such purposes. Astronomy may be right in maintaining that the fixed stars must have been in existence for hundreds of thousands of years. But it cannot possibly assert that sun, moon, and stars had regulated our earthly night and day prior to the fourth creative day. In order that their light might affect our earth, it was necessary not only that *they* should have light, but also that the earth should be susceptible of light, and astronomy can never dispute that this adaptation had taken place at the period fixed by the Bible. Similarly we may admit, so far as geology is concerned, that immense periods had preceded the present formation of the earth. These either occurred before or during the "thohu vabohu." Against such suppositions there

is nothing in the Bible. But no geologist could ever convince us that the last preparation of the surface of the earth had required either more or less than six days.¹ If any doubt could obtain on this point, it would rather be why the Omnipotent had not given to the earth in a moment its present form. But the Fathers have already returned a satisfactory reply to this objection. As the earth itself was designed for man, so the duration and distribution of God's creative agency bore special reference to man. God's work upon the earth was to be a type of the future activity of man.—A second objection to the Biblical narrative is derived from the supposed unequal distribution of the creative work over the six days. This objection specially applies to the fourth day's work. While five whole days—it is said—were spent upon our poor earth, which is but a dot in the universe, all the other millions, or perhaps billions, of suns and worlds were finished in one day. But evidently this objection proceeds on the same misunderstanding as that which we have already refuted. If, in accordance with the real purport of the narrative, we understand that on the fourth day only the permanent relation between the earth and the stars was fixed, all the difficulties conjured up immediately vanish.

§ 3. THE CREATION OF LIGHT BEFORE THE SUN.

A great many serious charges of absurdity and self-contradiction are urged against the account of the fourth creative day. It has frequently been declared ridiculous that, according to the

¹ We quote an apt illustration by *Schubert*: "If, sixty or a hundred years ago, any person acquainted with art had been shewn a daguerreotype, say of the entrance of the emperor into a city, he would have exceedingly admired the painstaking diligence of the performance. He would have noticed innumerable heads and forms, which from the street and every window were directed towards one object. He would have seen the emperor and all his suite, and indeed every small object, from the stones of the pavement to the slates on the roofs. If such a person should then have been asked, how long do you think may it have required to finish this piece of work? he would have replied: certainly not less than six months has the master diligently wrought at it. And yet the picture was taken, not in six months, not in six days, not even in six minutes, but in a few seconds; and then not by the operation of man, but by a ray of light. What! should the Creator both of the visible and invisible world Himself not possess much higher powers than the light which is merely His garment?"

narrative, the sun was only created on the fourth day, while the light, which, as every child knows, proceeds only from the influence of the sun, is said to have been created on the first day. It is difficult to say whether one should be angry about the levity of such an argument, laugh at its shallowness, or pity the weakness of those who urge it. For assuredly it must be from one or other of these causes that any person would have supposed the author of this narrative to have been so stupid as not to know or to have forgotten that it is the sun which at present causes light and shadow, evening and morning. This argument tells all the more, if we regard the narrative as merely the production of a man to whom, in other respects, we should in that case have to give credit for very great judgment and acuteness. No; the difficulty here lies not in this, that the author was apparently ignorant of what every child of two years of age knows, but that, while doubtless he had known it, he taught that a light had been created before the sun illuminated this earth. But what shall we say, if a glance into any text-book on physics or astronomy shows that the earth, and probably the other planets also, possess even now, after their relation to the sun has been permanently fixed, countless sources of producing light, and that even the sun, just as the narrative bears, is not a light, but a bearer of light, a body which develops and excites light? Under these circumstances, it becomes us only to wonder how the Biblical writer had obtained an insight into the nature of light, which for thousands of years has escaped the investigations of the ablest enquirers, thus anticipating some of the greatest of modern discoveries. We may here quote a passage from *Humboldt's Cosmos*, where that philosopher speaks of the polar light: "The fact which gives the phenomenon its greatest importance is, that the earth becomes self-luminous; that, besides the light which, as a planet, it receives from the central body, it shows a capability of sustaining a luminous process proper to itself. The intensity of the 'terrestrial light,' when the rays are brightest, are coloured and ascend to the zenith, is a little greater than that given by the moon in her first quarter. Sometimes it has been possible to read print by it without effort. This terrestrial luminous process going on almost uninterruptedly in the polar regions, leads us by analogy to the remarkable phenomenon

presented by Venus when the portion of that planet not illuminated by the sun is seen to shine with a phosphorescent light of its own. It is not improbable that the moon, Jupiter, and the comets radiate a light generated by themselves, in addition to the reflected light which they receive from the sun, and which is recognised by means of the polariscope. Without speaking of the enigmatical but not uncommon kind of lightning which, unaccompanied by thunder, is seen flickering throughout the whole of a low cloud for minutes together, we have yet other examples of *the production of terrestrial light.*" (*Cosmos*, transl. by Sabine, seventh ed., vol. i., p. 188). To these remarks *Wagner* adds: "The polar light being an intermitting phenomenon, is an instance of a change of light and darkness independent of the sun, and exhibits an analogy to that succession which occurred before the creation of the sun." *Schubert* also observes: "What if every polar light, which we call the Aurora of the North, were the last glimmer of twilight of a world-day that has set, when the whole earth was surrounded by an expanse of air, from which the electro-magnetic forces radiated light in much greater degree than that of the polar light, and at the same time with animating heat, in a manner almost similar to what still occurs in the luminous atmosphere of the sun."

But withal we do not mean to assert that the light which preceded the adaptation of the sun to its present purpose for our earth, had been a polar light, or a phenomenon kindred to it. We only wish to show, that even after the relation between sun and earth has been permanently settled, the earth still possesses the power of generating light, and that there is nothing to prevent the supposition that before that period this capacity had been both greater and more fully developed. We admit that at present any such generation of light is too much isolated and too weak to account for the light of the three first days, which appears to have been strong enough for the origination of the vegetable kingdom. It must therefore be assumed that the first generation of light had been essentially the same as that which is now caused by the influence of the sun. Before the present relationship between sun and planet was settled, the powers of producing light which are now concentrated in the sun may have dwelt in the planets themselves, and thus have produced very

much the same appearance as at present. Only when on the fourth day the bodies of our mundane system had been so far developed, that a permanent relationship between them could be established, may our present polar opposition between sun and planet have originated, when the sun, perhaps on account of its greater volume and gravity, may have attracted to itself all the powers of exciting light.

With this view the observations of astronomy agree, as the body of the sun is found to be dark and of a planetary nature, and that the power of producing light belongs to the luminous atmosphere which surrounds it. The creative work of the fourth day may have referred to the formation of this luminous atmosphere, or else to the concentration of the powers of producing light which had previously been created, indeed, but were diffused.

§ 4. THE CREATION OF THE FIXED STARS BEFORE THE EARTH.

Another objection is founded on the statement of the Bible that all the starry host had been created only on the fourth day. It is absurd, our opponents argue, even to maintain that the earth, which is only a subordinate member of the solar system, was created before the sun which rules over it, and before the other planets. But this absurdity is greatly increased when we consider that the stars nearest to us could only have become visible on the earth after the lapse of eight or twelve years, those of the twelfth magnitude not within less than 4000 years, while the starry masses of the milky way, which are scarcely resolvable by the best telescopes, must have been created thousands, perhaps millions of years before their light could have reached the earth. And yet their light has not become visible only now, but has shone in the same manner so far as recollection reaches. We will not controvert these astronomical statements, although it is by no means certain that a ray of light, which traverses the ether of our planetary system at the rate of nearly 192,000 miles "in a whole long second" is limited in other parts of the universe to the same "snail's pace." For even if we multiplied that velocity by ten or a hundred, or a thousand times, the notion of priority of

creation so far as our earth is concerned, would be open to many and weighty objections. We will not impugn these statements, leaving it to astronomers to correct them if necessary, and we attempt to remove any apparent contradiction by a more correct interpretation of the Biblical narrative. We have already seen that the Mosaic account refers exclusively to the earth and to what belongs to it, that it adverts to sun, moon, and stars only from *this* point of view; that it does not narrate their creation, but only details that creative influence by which they became what they were destined to be *with reference to the earth*. But whether their creation and adaptation to our earth took place at the same time with that of our globe or at a different period the narrative itself leaves undetermined. But this question is answered at a later stage of revelation. We have already seen that in the book of Job the stars are represented as admiring spectators of the creation of the earth. It follows that the Bible distinctly asserts that the celestial bodies were created before the earth, and that in this respect at least Scripture and astronomy fully agree. In other passages also there are hints and references to a twofold creation, in which the restoration of the earth takes the second place in point of time.

Again, if it is objected as a narrow view and unworthy of revelation that the Mosaic narrative represents the stars as created *merely* that their flickering light should scantily light up the nightly darkness of our earth, the error lies not with the narrative but with those who interpolate the word *merely*. Manifestly the narrative only describes what is of importance with reference to the earth, and it is altogether arbitrary to impute to the writer the opinion that the stars had been created for no other purpose than to give light to the earth and to adorn its nights. But if any one seriously believes that this purpose was too insignificant to find a place in the Biblical account of the origin of our earth, we would only ask him whether, when at night he has gazed on those glorious stars, he has never felt how precious even the glow of their appearance was to us, poor inhabitants of the earth.

§ 5. THE CREATION OF THE PLANETARY SYSTEM.

It is further said, that the connection of the planets of our system, the similarity of their constitution and relation to the sun, clearly prove that their origin was the same, both as concerns the material from which they were formed and the period when they were finished. This we admit. But we protest against the idea that this inference is decidedly opposed to the Mosaic account of creation, which represents the formation of the earth, and that of sun, moon, and stars, which had only been made after the earth was completed, as wholly independent of each other. Gen. i. only relates how the earth became what it presently is—a place of abode and activity for man. It adverts to sun moon and stars only when, and in so far as they sustain a part in the history of our earth. But the record was not intended to state that the earth, the sun, and the rest of the planets and satellites were formed of the same original material, that their individualisation took place at the same time, or that their completion was contemporaneous. That such had probably been the case we gather from the discoveries of astronomy. And, however uncertain the theories which speculation has reared on the basis of astronomical observations, it will be evident that there is room enough in the Bible for any such speculation. We shall only advert to one ingenious hypothesis. *G. H. von Schubert*, adopting the view of Scripture, that the system of which our earth forms part had, before the appearance of man, been the scene of a history of the most comprehensive and important character, regards it as probable that during the first period of its existence, our planetary system may have been a single and unique astral formation, and that it had only become separated into individual bodies connected into one system, after the catastrophe which closed that period, or rather at the second creation in which it was prepared for a new and not less important phase in the history of the world. He conceives that during that period it was like the planetary nebulae, with a dense nucleus, whose luminous atmospheres extend to millions of billions of miles. “Such an astral luminous atmosphere may have contained a fulness of elements sufficient for the production of other worlds

than our small globe. Even if it was like the smallest planetary nebulae which the telescope reveals, it filled a much greater space than our present solar system with all the orbits of its planets and comets. . . . We conjecture that in this primeval luminous atmosphere, not only the electro-magnetic forces, but even the higher original forces of life were concentrated. . . . It gave light and heat to the nucleus beneath; it formed the essential part of the star which, like the solid mass of a planet, constituted the supporting centre, and by the force of gravity attracted the lighter atmosphere around, while this envelope itself resembled the surface of the planet upon which alone organic life flourishes. . . . The sacred record speaks of the creative days and their works, among which man appeared last and highest on the eve of the Sabbath. The measure of time only commenced with him and with his history; the succession of years began when this primeval luminous atmosphere was changed into a sun and a heaven of planets. The history of the former principality and of its powers, as well as their influence upon the works which were preparatory to the decree of the future, has not been disclosed and cannot be understood in time." To this view we have nothing to object. But we may also refer to other formations of the astral heavens which may equally illustrate the first and original state of our system. Thus we may remind the reader of the families of double and multiple stars, or of the presence of dark bodies involved in the orbits of kindred suns. Perhaps our system originally represented such a family of stars whose primeval harmony and glory was destroyed by a great catastrophe, and restored in a new and peculiar manner during the six creative days; or perhaps it formed a double star, one member of which was broken up and destroyed by that catastrophe, thus furnishing the substratum for the formation of the planets and comets of our system, the relation of which to the sun was only restored on the fourth day. On all such questions Scripture gives no decisive answer, leaving ample room for conjecture.

§ 6. THE CELESTIAL WORLDS ARE INHABITED.

Another objection is closely connected with that already refuted, viz., that the Bible teaches that sun, moon, and stars have no other purpose than that of giving light to the earth. Such a view, it is said, excludes the idea that the other celestial bodies are inhabited by reasonable, spiritual beings. It is urged that the Biblical theory is so narrow as only to assign inhabitants to the earth, and only to admit that a history and development had taken place on its surface, while common sense showed that the innumerable worlds which in part possess a like nature and cosmical position with our earth, but infinitely surpass it in extent, importance, and dignity, must be the theatre of an analogous but infinitely higher life. The force of this objection is broken when we remind the reader, that although Scripture refers to the stars as giving light to the earth, it does not thereby exclude their higher and independent destiny. It is indeed true that common sense, although certainly not astronomy, which never can pronounce with certainty on such subjects, leads us to conclude that every celestial body must offer a theatre for the life and activity of spiritual beings, and that both faith and philosophy, if not misled either by erroneous exegesis, or by a Pantheistic deification of man, will readily admit that these millions of celestial bodies are not uninhabited. So meagre a view of the world can never be supported by any analogies, such as of a hall in a palace, where the profusion of lights and of costly articles is intended to set off the glory of the king. All such reasonings are rebutted by what both faith and reflection convince us to be impossible. It is the same God who dwells in heaven above, and omnipresent reigns upon the earth; a God who supports these systems of worlds, and preserves the dust in the sunbeam; a God of life, whose every step and breath has called forth life. If, then, our poor earth is all peopled—from man who lifts his head to the stars, to the worm that crawls in the dust—if every drop of water, every grain of sand and leaflet contains a world of living beings, and if this mass of living organisms, which in innumerable varied formations move upon the earth, attains completion only in that being who is able to recognise

and to praise his Creator—in man who is the mediator between the Creator and all these creatures which were called forth for His glory—how should those starry choirs be destitute of life, or how could we doubt it, that there also self-conscious creatures move in high spheres of spiritual and free activity, for the purpose of owning and praising their Creator ?

It is not true that the Bible contradicts the view that the stars are peopled by personal beings ; in our opinion it rather contains allusions of an opposite character. In the Bible, the heavens, and therefore those worlds which constitute the heavens, are described as the abode of unnumbered hosts of spiritual beings, who are designated as angels, and described as being the holy messengers and servants of God, as executing His will, and praising His glory and majesty. And in one passage at least (Job xxxviii.) these holy and blessed spirits are placed in such close relation, not only to the heavens in general, but to the individual celestial bodies in particular, as to justify our view that the angels inhabit these worlds.

§ 7. THE ANGELS AS THE INHABITANTS OF THE FIXED STARS.

Astronomy is of course incapable of pronouncing about the nature and destiny of the spiritual inhabitants of the stars. It only affords isolated and unsatisfactory glimpses of the physical constitution of these stars. On the other hand, the Bible, which is an exclusively religious revelation, cannot and does not teach anything about the nature and constitution of the *stars*. But it contains indications that these stars are the abode of angels. Hence the Bible and astronomy will, in this respect, only agree or disagree if the revelations of Scripture concerning the nature of the angels, and the disclosures of astronomy concerning the constitution of the stars, are found to be either compatible or not, in respect of the fitness of these places to be the abode of such beings.

The splendid discoveries of *Herschel* have dispelled the views formerly entertained, as if the order and arrangement of other celestial bodies were merely a monotonous repetition of that prevalent in our own system. Other and higher relations obtain in

those worlds, and the spirits who inhabit them must likewise be different in nature, and have other destinies and capabilities than the denizens of earth. Modern astronomical investigations have shown it to be not indeed impossible, but improbable, that the luminous worlds of the fixed stars are suns like ours, having a solid, dark, planetary nucleus, and being accompanied by satellites, which depend upon them for light and heat. They have indeed—at least some of them—their faithful attendants, but their connection is not one of physical force, but of affinity and sympathy—not of subordination, but of co-ordination. There, as it were, suns move round suns, one glorious sphere around another equal to it in kind, however they may differ in extent or splendour. In those organisms there is not anything like the physical and polar, we would almost call it the sexual, relation which in our system manifests itself as contrast between sun and planets, between that which gives and those which receive. There we do not find that mass and gravity, which forms the law of our system; there we miss the alternation of light and darkness; there is no night there to obstruct life and its duties, neither frost nor winter to benumb its energies.

But although those luminous worlds possess not the characteristics of coarse material existence with which we meet on our globe, they are not immaterial; although without the succession between light and darkness which here takes place, it does not follow that their light has not a corresponding substratum to which it may attach itself. Only the material has there not assumed the form of lifeless stone, nor does darkness contend with light. The two rather pervade each other, as do soul and body, and thus form a real unity. In proof, we remind the reader of the glorious combination of colours exhibited by the single stars, but especially by the double stars, “like those of flowers in spring, or those on the wings of the butterfly.” Colour is light manifesting itself through darkness, and by it attaining its peculiar definiteness; it is a vital union of light and darkness. A profound thinker observes: “In our planetary system, sun and planet, light and darkness, are separate, and form a totality only in an outward respect; *there* they pervade each other. . . . Thus each part becomes the whole, and yet remains a part of it. Here the harmonious unity has given place to conflicting con-

trasts ; night contends with day, light with darkness, heat with cold, death with life, and the body with its soul. But there all these contrasts are reconciled ; light and shadow, day and night, are united ; night is lit up by day, and the body pervaded by the soul. No change of light and darkness takes place, millions of suns shed an eternal day, yet with a brilliancy so mild as not to cause destroying heat, even as there is no room for benumbing cold. The dark material substratum is pervaded and lit up by a higher breath of life, and the latter attains its outward appearance, vital existence, and fulness, by its essential union with the former. For whatever really lives and works consists of a combination of what is diverse, of a union of body and soul. Only through the medium of darkness does light become colour, only through the medium of the body does the soul manifest its peculiar activity. The offspring of like and like is still-born ; where unlike and like are united, a sweet sound is produced.”

Again, if in those upper worlds, instead of the coarse body of earth and stone to which we are accustomed, there are glorious luminous bodies infinitely refined, and therefore joyously and freely pursuing their still and majestic courses ; the restless, ceaseless pushing, “the mutual powerful attraction and repulsion, the passionate seeking and fleeing, which we here witness, has no place in those worlds.” Here the laws of gravity bear iron rule ; the force of gravitation is an external and despotic power, and it alone keeps the celestial bodies together, which else would fall to pieces. Above, the same *law* obtains ; but *love*, which in this respect also may be regarded as the *fulfilling of the law*, shuts out *slavish fear*. The effect is the same, but the cause is different. There the categorical imperative of physical force is not the taskmaster to exact slavish obedience, but a higher will, in which liberty and necessity have been combined, produces the same effects, yet in higher form and potency. Perhaps other forces also may there obtain, such as the mysterious forces of magnetic electricity, which, with the rapidity of thought, traverse even our earth. There they may be on an infinitely larger scale, and with results vastly more glorious. Thus “one sun there pursues his course, linked fraternally to another : a bond of affinity higher than that which here impels with destructive force one stone against another, connects the hosts of worlds of light.” Mys-

terious bonds of sympathy and affinity bind together those worlds. "There gravity no longer draws the individual to seek in some other being the central point which it has not in itself, but by free impulse all individual bodies, all central single points, together tend towards the highest centre."

It were easy to pursue these speculations, and to descant on the plenitude of life and on its happiness in those regions. But what are we to believe concerning the inhabitants of these worlds? Are we warranted in supposing that throughout creation there is the same correspondence between abode and inhabitant as between body and soul? The physical world which we inhabit everywhere reflects blessing and cursing, love and hatred, sorrow and joy, and in our breast awakens kindred feelings; we realise it that this nature is adapted to us and we to it. But in those worlds we descry not the dark picture of sin and of death; there light is not in hostile conflict with darkness, there life is without death, harmony without disunion, day without night, and waking without sleeping. These worlds must therefore be the abode of spirits who, from their own experience, know nothing of sin and death, whose physical constitution requires not the succession of light and darkness, day and night, and is not affected by the alternation of heat and cold. There life is not divided into the antagonistic poles of generation and corruption, of birth and death. There the sexual contrast and that of solar and planetary principles is done away with, and there we expect to find those who neither marry nor are given in marriage. Instead of the dark and heavy frame which is bound to this planet, which weighs down thought and prevents its flight, the inhabitants of those regions possess ethereal bodies capable of never-ceasing motions and of continuous renovation, adapted to the spirit which dwells in them, and ever willing to obey its behests. These holy inhabitants of light are called in the Scripture angels, and are frequently referred to in connection with the celestial worlds—so that in this respect science and revelation agree.

§ 7. CONTINUATION.

We now advert to some objections which may be urged against the above views. First of all, it might appear that the almost infinite distance between the stars and the earth would scarcely accord with the Biblical doctrine of the influence of angels upon, and their continued assistance and protection of, the children of the kingdom. But it is evident that this objection only applies if we attribute to the angels the limitations which we experience. Even here we are brought into contact with forces of which the velocity far surpasses that of light. Thus the electric telegraph communicates information with a rapidity which defies measurement. Again, the rapidity with which the influence of gravitation passes from one celestial body to another, must be ten million times that of light. All these velocities, however, bear no comparison to the rapidity of thought. It is true that *our* bodies cannot keep pace with its course, but will those holy beings who are termed spirits not have frames more obedient to the behests of mind than ours are? Shall they not be able to transport themselves with the rapidity of thought, and, in their case, mind not out-distance body?

Again, it is argued that the variety of formations in the starry worlds cannot be regarded as in harmony with the unity of nature and destiny attributed to the angels. But, on the one hand, Scripture refers to a difference among individual classes of angels, and to the existence of different degrees of dignity and power; while, on the other hand, where the angels are designated as a homogeneous community, this refers only to their nature as contrasted with that of man. We are, indeed, aware that our former remarks as to the adaptation between angels and stars—especially in regard of the absence of the relation between the solar and planetary systems—are based upon astronomical observations which as yet are far from being quite settled. But even if these observations were mistaken, and if there also satellites received from suns their light and heat, many reasons would still occur to our minds leading us to infer that these worlds were inhabited by angels. In the systems of the double and multiple stars at least, where thousands of suns form one

system, the planets, if there be such, must be composed of a material peculiarly refined, so as not to be hurled against each other or against their suns. In that case our former remarks about the difference of the bodies of their inhabitants, as compared with those of ours, would still hold true. Again, such planets would derive never-failing light from the influence of the numerous suns around them. But what if it be true, as *Bessel* maintains, that in the regions of fixed stars the most brilliant of suns revolve around bodies which probably are dark? We frankly confess that we do not as yet see our way to harmonise this discovery, if, indeed, it were established, with our views. Still, we make no doubt that some place might be found for it. But as yet these discoveries are highly problematical.

§ 8. INHABITANTS OF THE EXTRA-MUNDANE BODIES OF OUR SOLAR SYSTEM.

Scripture mentions only two kinds of personal, free and spiritual, beings—angels and men. But since, according to the Bible, all men are derived from one pair, and even astronomical observation shews that the other planets of our system cannot be the abode of men constituted as we are, shall we conclude that they are inhabited by angels of an order different from those which tenant the other starry worlds? But against this view there are two insuperable objections—that of the necessary difference between men and angels, which implies also an abode totally different, and that of the generic unity of the angels. Or shall we suppose, as many have done, that on pleasant Mars, on bright Venus, and on the royal Sun, dwell the souls of the blessed, and amid the dreary wastes of Jupiter, or in the prisons of the Moon, those of the condemned? But we cannot believe that the latter bodies were created for no other purpose than to be prison-houses, and that at a period when sin and death had not yet entered our world. At any rate this view is unsupported by Scripture, which speaks of Hades only in figurative language, and in terms which, if they refer to any particular locality, would rather lead us to look for it under the earth than in the heavens. Or are we to suppose that the apostate spirits which, according

to Scripture, inhabit waste places (Matt. xii. 43 ; Luke xi. 24), and the barren regions of the air (Eph. ii. 2 ; vi. 12), are banished to those volcanoes and wastes, to those darknesses and tempests ? But the language of Scripture would rather lead us to suppose that their abode was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Earth, amid the wastes and tempests and darkness of this world. Perhaps, after all, it is most probable that, like the waste places of the Earth, those regions are as yet untenanted by spiritual beings. It appears to us, that if man had been obedient to his divine destiny, and, in his state of innocence, peopled this planet to its utmost bounds, his mission might have been extended to those neighbouring worlds which are so closely related to ours, so as to draw them also within the circle of his activity, and thus to lead them towards that perfection for which they were destined. In the course of his development he might perhaps have acquired new powers by which to pass from world to world, as now he passes from shore to shore. But when sin arrested and disturbed the development of the race, so that the destined goal could only be reached by the incarnation of Him who became the second Adam, the progress of these neighbouring worlds towards perfection was also suspended and arrested. Perhaps, as our earth is destined to pass through a final catastrophe, in which all the elements of ungodliness are to be conserved, and renovated earth will issue perfected from the flames of judgment, these planets may then be correspondingly affected, even as probably they shared in the catastrophe by which earth became "thohu vabohu."

§ 9. THE INCARNATION OF GOD IN CHRIST.

We come now to the main objection urged against the representation which the Bible offers of the world. It concerns nothing less than that fundamental doctrine of the gospel, *the incarnation of God in Christ*. Is it conceivable, our opponents ask, that the Lord and Creator of those unnumbered and boundless suns, compared with which our earth appears like a drop in the ocean, should have fixed on this small dot in his universe, to make it the scene of His manifestation, to take upon Himself all

the woe of its inhabitants, for their sakes to veil His glory under a body, to redeem them by His sufferings and His death, to erect among them the throne of His glory, and to make them partakers of His majesty? Among those unnumbered celestial worlds, was there not one better adapted, and more worthy to become the scene of His most glorious manifestation, the centre of the universe, and the everlasting throne of His immediate presence? Have not these worlds the same claim to such distinction, or is the Just One arbitrary and partial in his dealings? We admit that the contrast pointed out is such as to stagger. But can we assign limits to Him who has created these worlds, and among them our little earth? Can we apply to the Almighty the measure of our own understanding, or determine what becomes Him, or what is possible for Him? Are we to say to Him, "Hitherto, and not further?"—or shall we measure His free grace by cubic miles, and His love by the size of the fixed stars? Shall we forbid Him from choosing, in wisdom and grace, "the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and base things of the world, and things which are despised, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence?" "Hath He not power to do what He will with His own? Is our eye evil because He is good?"

The discoveries of the *microscope* have frequently been mentioned as counterbalancing those revelations of the *telescope* that have given rise to such doubts.¹ For if the microscope discloses a world of life in every atom and drop of water, we may at least learn from this to measure the greatness, wisdom, power, and majesty of God by another standard than the extent of the fixed stars. However small and insignificant our earth may be in comparison with the universe, it teems with richly varied worlds, being in this respect a universe on a small scale. Besides, it has been shown that this apparent contrast has arisen from comparing two very different spheres—those of nature and of spirit, of the material and the personal, of space and of will. The greatest deeds and marvels of genius may be enacted within a very small space, and the greatest glory of spirit is this, that it makes what

¹ See especially Dr Chalmers' *Astronom. Disc.*, 3d Disc.

appears small the theatre of its most grand revelations ! Still, considerations like these scarcely remove all our difficulties. One astonishment is only counterbalanced by another ; but the question is not satisfactorily settled, and we shall have to attempt whether it is not possible to reconcile Scripture and science without setting one inextricable problem against another.

§ 10. CONTINUATION.

What if the earth alone, of all worlds, stood in need of such a manifestation of the Deity ? What if it alone were fallen into sin and misery ? Would not the idea that it alone stood in need of redemption set aside our former difficulty about its comparative insignificance, and unworthiness to claim such a distinction ? Eternal wisdom itself says, “ What think ye ? if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray ? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep than of the ninety and nine which went not astray.” And shall the supreme Shepherd, who tends his millions of sheep in the vast expanse of heaven, not leave them to seek this the least and most sorely stricken of them ? It requires His care more than the others, for without it, it would perish. Shall He not, then, follow it, in infinite love and compassion seek and restore, and greatly rejoice over it ? To leave the others is not to forsake them ; they are securely kept and guarded. If our world is the only province within the vast empire of the Deity in which rebellion has broken out, and where all the hostile forces are concentrated, the Eternal King will surely not care less for it, than an earthly king under similar circumstances would care for the smallest and poorest province of his realm. In such a case a monarch would advance with all his forces, put down the rebels, and extend pardon to those who were inveigled in participation of their guilt—he would surely seek to restore peace and order. In the language of *Dr. Chalmers* (*Astron. Disc. vi.*), “ But what if this be applicable to beings of a higher nature ? If, on the one hand, God be jealous of His honour, and, on the other, there be proud and exalted

spirits, who scowl defiance at Him and at His monarchy, then let the material prize of victory be insignificant as it may, it is the victory in itself which upholds the impulse of the keen and stimulated rivalry. If by the sagacity of one infernal mind, a single planet has been seduced from its allegiance, and brought under the ascendancy of him who, in the Scriptures, is called the god of this world, and if the errand on which the Redeemer came was to destroy the works of the devil, then let this planet have all the littleness which astronomy has assigned to it—call it, what it is, one of the smaller islets which float on the ocean of immensity—it has become the theatre of such a competition as may have all the desires and all the energies of a divided universe embarked upon it. It involves in it other objects than the single recovery of our species. It decides higher questions—it stands linked with the supremacy of God. . . . To an infidel ear, all this may carry the sound of something wild and visionary along with it; but though only known through the medium of revelation, after it is known, who can fail to recognise its harmony with the great lineaments of human experience? Who does not recognise in these facts much that goes to explain why our planet has taken so conspicuous a position in the foreground of history?"

Arguments such as these are not only admissible in themselves, but accord with the results of astronomical observations. The difference of nature between the fixed stars and our own planetary system, and the absence in those upper regions of those conditions which here testify of sin and death, appear to indicate that they are the abode of holy and unfallen spirits, who require not redemption or moral restoration. Scripture, also, represents man alone as *capable* of redemption; and hence, not indeed as the only fallen personal creature, but as the only one *requiring* salvation. But here we also perceive how unsatisfactory this mode of argumentation is. Scripture speaks of a twofold fall—one among men, the other among angels. Both seem to have taken place on our earth. But this fact throws no light on the subject under consideration, since the incarnation of God upon the earth was not on behalf of the fallen angels who were its first inhabitants, but on behalf of fallen man who succeeded them. Besides, the reply falls short of the objection in this respect also,

that the Bible not only teaches that in the covenant of grace man was placed on the same level with the unfallen spirits, but that he was elevated *above* all other creatures, and that similarly the earth also was to be raised above all the other celestial worlds.

§ 11. CONTINUATION.

A sense of the unsatisfactory character of this line of reasoning has led some wholly to abandon it, and to maintain that not the poverty and meanness, but the glory and dignity of our earth, had been the cause of its selection to become the scene of this unique manifestation of the Deity. On account of this peculiar glory—it is maintained—and not from any accident, the fall had taken place upon our earth ; while all the other worlds are now passing through a process designed to bring them to the same degree of cosmical perfectness which, notwithstanding the fall, is already enjoyed by our earth. We may here cite the words of *Steffens*, an eminent philosopher (with whom also *Hegel* in substance agrees) : “ The recent discoveries of double and nebulous stars—he says—clearly show that the universe, as a whole, is beginning to assume a historical character. It is daily becoming more probable that these stars *represent gradations towards the perfect development of our own planetary system*. It is of importance both for Christianity and for philosophy to maintain that our planetary system, nay, our earth, forms the centre of the universe. . . . But thus much we may assert, that astronomy is fast advancing towards the conclusion, that *our planetary system is to be regarded as the most organised point in the universe*, and the time may not be far distant when our earth shall also be recognised, not indeed as to appearance, but as inwardly and really, the central point of the planetary system, just as man is the centre of the whole organism. . . . The sacred place where the Lord appeared will be recognised *as being the absolute centre of the universe*. The phantastic aberration which transported souls to distant stars, or prepared on *Syrius* a new paradise, while some imagined that each of the stars had its own history similar to that of man, will be for ever discarded.”

We confess that we cannot adopt these views. However, unsatisfactory the discoveries of astronomy in reference to the fixed stars, they still impress us with the feeling that those upper celestial regions are not inferior and undeveloped, but higher and purer stages of cosmical formation. Still it is impossible to designate the speculations of *Steffens* as entirely groundless—especially if we bear in mind the change that has come over our ideas, for example, concerning the moon. What at one time used to be extolled as the peaceable abode of bliss has, by the aid of the telescope, been now discovered to be a dreary and horrible waste. Science has indeed made it highly probable that our own planetary system is something unique, to which the other celestial worlds bear no analogy. But this may be viewed either as proving the superiority or as establishing the inferiority of our system—according as men regard the subject. Some consider the separation of the poles to be an evidence of perfectness; and in proof, appeal to the organic world, where the most perfect formations exhibit this separation of opposite (for example, of sexual) poles. Others again see in this antagonism merely contest and disunion, while they look for harmony, for true and perfect life, only in the union of these antagonistic poles. Again, if starting from our system as occupying nearly the central place in the starry heavens, we find that gradually the formations assume a different character—first isolated then connected or double stars, and these again forming a transition to the more distant multiple or groups of stars, it is once more felt impossible to derive from this circumstance any reliable conclusion. Some may regard this isolation as indicative of a richness and fulness which requires not any help or supply from without, while others may set it down to the absence of love and harmony.

The view that our earth, although to appearance one of the most insignificant parts of the universe, may really, and as to its spiritual significance, be the centre of the universe, is so far supported by Scripture. All throughout the moral and religious world, the Bible points out a fundamental contrast between appearance and idea, of which the removal forms the goal of all history. Hence this incongruity in the cosmical world would only be a reflection of that which obtains in the spiritual world.

There is an amount of truth in this reasoning. The astronomer is warranted in drawing from his investigations the conclusion that our earth is a subordinate member of our planetary system, and that the latter is the smallest of all cosmical systems. But then the astronomers measure greatness and glory by a standard different from that adopted by the theologian. Man judges according to the outward appearance, but God looketh on the heart; and this latter is the standard which, guided by revelation, the theologian, nay, which every Christian, be he astronomer or not, should adopt. The astronomer observes and watches the outward appearance, and in calmly and impartially pursuing his observations, he is warranted in assigning a subordinate position both to our planet and to our planetary system. Nor will the divine find this conclusion of astronomy either surprising or difficult to receive. He is accustomed to judge of an outward appearance by its inward and hidden bearing, to discover majesty under the form of humility, and glory in abasement; he knows that this incongruity of appearance and idea everywhere recurs. The statements of astronomers will therefore in this respect only appear to him as confirming a truth, the deep reality of which he has learned to know and to understand.

Still we can also admit the correctness of *Steffens'* views, although with considerable modifications. Above all, we must protest against the idea as if this central position and importance of the earth which at present seems concealed, were not at some future period to become manifest. The contrast between appearance and idea is only relatively, not absolutely necessary, and therefore transient, not permanent. As in the moral world, Christianity ever seeks to find an adequate manifestation of faith by works, so also all biblical predictions of future perfectness tend to show that it will consist in bringing hidden things to light, in making outward appearance correspond with inward reality. But if our solar system, and in it our earth—despite all observations of a different nature—is the highest point in creation, where the Lord has appeared in the form of a servant, and to which He is again to return in glory, in order to render the place of His humiliation the scene of his eternal Majesty—it must contain indications not only of a capacity for this the

highest stage of development, but also that in greater or less degree it has already advanced towards that goal. If our earth really is the most precious germ in creation, it must also contain the rudiment of its future blossom and fruit. We agree with *Steffens*, that in a cosmical point of view our earth, and in a moral and religious point of view, man, its inhabitant, have attained their prominence not fortuitously, but in virtue of a special designation and adaptation. On the other hand, we differ from this philosopher in assigning to the other celestial bodies distinctions peculiar to them. We arrive at the former of these conclusions on theological, at the latter on astronomical, grounds. *Steffens* and *Hegel* may be right in inferring that the peculiar and extensive connection and relation of our solar system, the solid and concrete forms of the bodies of which it is composed, and perhaps other and less marked distinctive physical characteristics, are evidence of the unique and higher destiny of our system. Still, even if those characteristics are regarded as marks of distinction, it must also be admitted that defects and incumbrances attach to them to which the worlds of fixed stars are not subject. But although we were to adopt the arguments of *Steffens* to a much fuller extent than we are prepared to do, they could scarcely set aside all the objections and doubts which, from an astronomical point of view, may be urged against the occurrence of the Incarnation upon our earth. The main difficulty lies not in this, whether the earth had *greatest* claim to this distinction, but rather whether it had *exclusive* claim to it. We have to show that the other worlds either required not, or were not capable of such an Incarnation of the Deity, and we have to enquire whether this Incarnation upon our earth stood in necessary relationship to the life and history of the personal beings who may inhabit the other worlds.

§ 12. CONTINUATION.

To obviate the difficulties to which we have adverted, it has been asserted that astronomy and philosophy equally demand that we should believe in an Incarnation of the Deity in other worlds, analogous to that which has taken place upon earth.

This view—deemed by some to be compatible with the Bible—is based upon another theory which had been advocated by some during the middle ages, but was discarded by the Reformers and their successors, and has of late been again brought forward.¹ It is to the effect that the incarnation of God was not occasioned by the entrance of sin, but was necessary if mankind was ever to attain its goal, and indeed was implied in creation. Even if man had not sinned, God would have become incarnate, but in that case in glory and majesty, not in humility and in the form of a servant—not to suffer and to die for man, but by combining in the person of the God-man the Divine and human natures, to fill up the gap between God and man, to elevate the creature to the rank of Sonship, to make men heirs of God, fellowheirs with Christ (Rom. viii. 17), and partakers of the Divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4), so that they might be like God (1 John iii. 2). If this view were correct, we could scarcely avoid the conclusion that God has become incarnate not only among men, but also among angels, not only upon our earth but also in all other habitations of created spirits. But a closer examination will convince us that this theory runs counter both to sound speculation and to the statements of Scripture.

The last and highest aim in the development and history of the creature, is “that God may be all in all;” that without losing its individuality or separate existence, the creature should return to the eternal source of all life from which originally it had sprung; that the *dualism* implied in the creation of free, personal beings, and which manifests itself in the independent existence of a free will besides the free will of God, should give place to a never-ending unity, without, however, destroying the *duality* which presently exists; that, in this consummation, movement should give place to rest, and longing, seeking and striving, to satisfaction, beatific possession and enjoyment; lastly, that any existing antagonism between the Divine and human Will should not only be entirely removed, but rendered impossible for the future. Now, if for purposes like these it were absolutely necessary that God should become incarnate wherever free and spiritual beings exist, we would be obliged implicitly to

¹ It has been defended by *Liebner, Dorner, Martensen, J. P. Lange*, and others; but controverted by *Thomasius, Jul. Müller*, and others.

receive the above theory. But it will be seen that the supposition upon which it proceeds is erroneous.

We admit that every creature is designed ultimately to return to the eternal source of life from which it had sprung "that God may be all in all;" only that we do not conceive this return to imply a destruction or cessation of individuality. The latter continues, and that in highest perfection, even after the return of the creature to God. We conceive this process to take place in the following manner. By an act of the creative will, God gave separate existence to all His creatures, making them capable of and requiring development. The idea of the Divine Creator was not exhausted in the act of creation, which rather bestowed capacity and tendency than full development. If the creature was a free, spiritual, and personal being, it was destined to develop, by its own act, that which it had received in potency, and thus to realise its destiny. Again, if the creature was not endowed with freedom, it was to attain its development through the instinct given to it; in which case, however, that being to which it was subordinate, would either advance or impede its development. Thus creation established a duality which, however, the abuse of personal liberty might convert into a hostile dualism. But if the creature had reached its goal in accordance with the will of God, dualism would have been for ever prevented, and duality for ever preserved, and thus the creature, by free development, have returned to God, and realised the idea of the Creator. We believe that the powers originally given would, if rightly employed, have been sufficient to enable each creature to attain its proper goal. It is otherwise if these powers are abused, and if instead of entering on the predestined development, the creature follows an opposite direction, forsaking the Creator, and placing itself in an independent, and hostile attitude towards Him. In that case, the moral chasm which would ensue, would also immediately become a physical chasm, since the bond which connected the divine in man with its eternal source, was torn asunder. Such a chasm would be infinite both in its moral and in its physical bearing, nor could the creature ever fill it up or pass it. If this was to be done, and the fallen creature brought back to God, and to its original destiny, it could only be accomplished by an interposition on the part of God Himself, who would have to condes-

pend to it in order to save it from destruction, to renew and to perfect it. The ground of the incarnation of God was only the sin of man, or rather the divine counsel of grace to lead man to his goal, notwithstanding his fall and his sin. The idea that the incarnation was absolutely necessary and implied in creation, rests upon the supposition that man would thereby have been enabled to attain a higher goal and greater glory than he could have attained without redemption, and hence without sin. We admit that the exalted terms in which Scripture portrays the transcendent glory and bliss of redeemed man might readily be misunderstood as giving countenance to such a view. But it is inconceivable that if man had not sinned, but remained faithful to his destiny, he should have attained a much lower degree of perfection, glory, and blessedness, than that which is held out to him after his sin and rebellion. In such case we should deem ourselves happy to have become sinners and rebels; sin would in the divine counsel have been a necessary means of realising this purpose—nay, sin itself would be the first and greatest of all blessings. An Augustine indeed has dared to utter the bold sentence: “O felix culpa, quae talem meruit habere redemptorem,” and the sentiment has been re-echoed by many Christian poets. We would not absolutely condemn such an utterance of deep piety on the part of one who certainly did not deal lightly with sin. But paradoxes, as every thing else, have their proper and their improper time. If the apostle designated the divine wisdom as folly, Augustine might perhaps designate sin, which is the original source of all misery, as the ground of blessedness. There are seasons of deep religious emotion, when the simple expressions of every-day life are felt to be insufficient—too cold and too poor to exhaust the depth of experience. Then is the time for paradoxes which bring out the poverty of the ordinary modes of expression. Like every paradox, the saying of Augustine expresses a truth, but in a manner equally one-sided and exaggerated. It ignores all other aspects of truth, being entirely directed towards one great consideration. That which I as a sinner have obtained through redemption, and could not have obtained otherwise, may in certain stages of experience overcome me in such a manner as for the moment to lead me to forget everything else—even what by sin I have lost,

what without it I might have reached, or to what depth I have fallen. But if I elevate into a scientific principle what is only relatively true, then what had been half the truth, becomes wholly erroneous, and the hymn of praise to the grace of God is changed into a slander against His holiness. Were we in calm reflection to say, "God be praised that Adam sinned," the statement would imply: "God be praised that I have sinned," which were simply blasphemous.

This error can only be avoided either if we give up the view that in redemption a higher stage was to be attained than that open to unfallen man, or else if we assert that although creation necessarily implied the incarnation, yet its peculiar form of humiliation and suffering was due to sin. Scripture alone can decide which of these two views is correct. It is evident and admitted on all hands that whenever Scripture refers to the Incarnation, it always points to sin as the cause, and to redemption as the object of this mystery of divine love. But it is objected that Scripture only treats of the actual state of sinful man, and therefore has no occasion to advert to what would have taken place if man had not fallen, while Christian speculation is warranted in extending this horizon, and filling up the biblical theory on this point in accordance with principles derived from revelation. Still we cannot help thinking that the question under consideration is one which, if affirmed, would give so different an aspect to the whole doctrine of redemption, that if it were true, Scripture must have referred to it. Its silence on this point must, therefore, be regarded as decisive that the incarnation was only occasioned by sin. If our opponents appeal to the circumstance that it is inconceivable that fallen man should attain a higher stage than that open to him in his state of innocence, we reply that this idea is, as we shall immediately shew, incorrect.

However incomprehensible and exalted the terms in which the New Testament describes the blessedness of the redeemed, they imply nothing alien to or different from man's original destiny. The glory of his original state and that of his state of perfectness are related as germ and development, as destiny and realisation. The latter contains nothing which was not to be found in the former, in germ and rudiment. To have been

created in the likeness of God implied the right of sonship and inheritance (Rom. viii. 17), it also implied that man had already been made partaker of the divine nature and become like to God (2 Pet. i. 4 ; 1 John iii. 2). Sin and redemption are co-relative terms. The more virulent and dangerous the disease, the more potent must be the medicine which is to remove it. The more we think of the fearful nature of sin, the higher must be our views of the importance of salvation, and *vice versa*, the greater the provision which God has made for the redemption of sinners, the deeper must have been the degradation into which by sin they had fallen. But the gospel teaches us to regard both as equally great, while according to the view of our opponents the consequences of sin, and with them the value of redemption, are lowered, since not the incarnation but only its special form is traceable to sin. That God became man is in itself the greatest humiliation, and yet this adorable mystery of divine love is not to stand in any connection with sin ; only the comparatively smaller fact that *that* man in whom God would at any rate have become incarnate had undergone sufferings and death, is due to sin ! And what is even more dangerous, redemption ceases to be a free act of divine pity, and is represented as a necessity implied in creation, which would have taken place whether man had remained obedient or not. Thus sin is not the sole cause of man's present state, since the position which he originally held required an incarnation of the Deity before man could attain perfectness. In another respect also sin loses its importance, since even without it the incarnation would have taken place. The latter, indeed, would still remain an adorable mystery of love, *but not so redemption*, which would be implied in the decree of the incarnation, and could no longer be regarded as proceeding solely from divine pity and mercy toward fallen man.

Thus much then we infer that the incarnation was devised by the free grace of God in order to remove sin and its consequences, and that it would not have been requisite if sin had not exercised its destructive sway. We return now to the question whether the idea of an incarnation on other worlds, inhabited by rational beings, is either necessary or even admissible. This we deny, since neither the Bible nor sound reasoning give countenance to it. Those worlds whose inhabitants have re-

mained sinless, required it not, since every creature possesses the means of attaining, in its own way, the great goal, "that God should be all in all." It is certainly otherwise if any of the inhabitants of other worlds have fallen ; but in that case we should, before replying to the question, require to know whether these beings are *capable* of redemption. On all these points human science gives no information. The Bible speaks only of two kinds of spiritual beings—angels and men. It informs us, indeed, that a portion of the angels had fallen, but it also teaches that they are incapable of redemption. We must, therefore, close these enquiries with the conviction that an incarnation had only taken place upon the earth, and that the inhabitants of other worlds either required not redemption, or else were incapable of it. In either case there was no room for such a manifestation of the Deity.

§ 13. CONTINUATION.

It was the object of the incarnation to restore fallen man to communion with God, and to lead him to that goal for which he was destined, by being created in the image of God. The aim of redemption was the same as that of creation, but *it required a much higher species of divine manifestation*, and an infinitely greater condescension on the part of God, than did the creation. For in creation only a commencement was made, and a capability bestowed for attaining by personal development the goal. But through sin this beginning was arrested, this capability destroyed, and man sunk to a depth of misery from which no created power could deliver him. Hence the object of redemption was much higher, implying as it did, not merely the bestowal of something new, but the removal of the old ; not merely a restoration of what had been lost, but also the bringing about of what had not yet been attained.

The question as to the relation which the incarnation upon earth bears to the spiritual inhabitants of other worlds coincides, therefore, with that as to the relation between the creation of man and that of these spiritual beings. The creation of man in the image of God implied not that these other spiritual

beings were either neglected or set aside, nor does the incarnation imply any such thing. That man was from the first destined for higher purposes than they, and that this object was attained through Divine grace despite sin, could in nowise be a disadvantage to them. Indeed the opposite of this is the case. The fall and rebellion of part of the angels had introduced a schism into the worlds of other spiritual beings ; it had destroyed the harmony of the universe. To restore it man was created, and, when he fell, redeemed, because he was capable of redemption. Hence the Incarnation upon earth was of advantage to the entire universe. If it is lawful to regard man as the microcosm, *i.e.*, as the representative of every creature, and the being who in himself combines all substances, potencies, and capabilities of body and soul which are scattered throughout the universe, we can also conceive how God when He assumed the nature of man had thereby also in a certain sense taken upon Himself the nature of all other creatures. It cannot be doubted that man is the microcosm of the terrestrial world, but whether he may also be regarded as that of the universe is a question on which empirical science and experience cannot decide. *Three* elements, all connected with revelation, may help us to settle this question, *viz.*, a consideration of the original destiny of man—of the fulness of restoration as exhibited in the exalted God-man—and lastly, of the fulness which proceeding from the exalted God-man shall be imparted to all His people, *i.e.*, to those who have been born of Him and regenerated to a new life and a new development. With reference to the first of these points, the Bible clearly teaches that the earth was created last of all worlds and man last of all personal beings. When man, the crown and seal of terrestrial creation, had been called forth, God had finished all the works of creation, and that rest of God commenced which indicates the absolute cessation of creative activity. Thus earth and man are the culminating points in the scale of creation, the close and consummation of the idea of the creator. This view is further borne out by what we have endeavoured formerly to establish, *viz.*, that by the fall of angels our earth was changed into a waste chaos which had been removed to afford a dwelling for him who was destined to restore the lost harmony of the universe.

Again, if we think of the fulness as exhibited in the God-man, we gather from the New Testament that He in whom human nature was exhibited in its perfection was, after the completion of His work on earth, exalted above every creature in heaven and upon earth, so that He sustains, preserves, and fills all things. But this *exaltation* is not only that of His divine but also of His human nature, nay, strictly speaking, it is only that of the latter since as God He already possessed this exalted position. Compare Phil. ii. 7—11; Eph. i. 20—23; Eph. i. 10, where we are told that the purpose of God consisted in this: “*That He might gather together in one all things in Christ* (the God-man), both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in Him in whom we also have obtained an inheritance.” In all these passages the view that by redemption man was to regain his original destiny and to become the microcosm of the universe, receives express confirmation. Manifestly they represent the man Jesus as such a microcosm. But what holds good of Him holds good also of those whom He has redeemed. For the essence of redemption—in its positive aspect—consisted in this, that Christ, as the Son of man, as the representative and archetype of humanity, and as the second Adam, embodied the idea of humanity in all its completeness; and that primarily in His own person, in order as *head* of the body of which by Incarnation He became a *member*, to make us partakers of His triumph even as He became partaker of our humiliation. Besides, the church, which is his body, is expressly called the “*the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.*” He, the head, filleth all in all, and the church His body is *His* fulness with which and by which He filleth all in all.

Lastly, the Biblical doctrine concerning the end of the world is in favour of our view. According to Scripture, the close of the development of our world will also be that in all other worlds, the judgment of man coincides with that of every other creature, and the destruction and renovation of our earth is connected with the renovation of the heavens. We do not read that this simultaneous end of the world is to be brought about by any extramundane event unconnected with the earth. On the contrary, the consummation of these worlds and their inhabitants is only delayed because one cannot be made perfect

without the other, and because the consummation consists in this, that all things shall be gathered together in one that God may be all in all (Heb. xi. 40; Eph. i. 10; 1 Cor. xv. 28).

§ 14. THE CATASTROPHE OF THE END OF THE WORLD.

It only remains for us to shew that the Biblical doctrine concerning the end of the world is not incompatible with the results of astronomical investigation. According to the Scriptures the whole fabric of the world (not merely the earth) awaits a catastrophe by which it is to be changed and renewed even as an old garment is cast off and its place supplied by a new. So far as astronomy is capable of pronouncing on this subject it would appear that our solar system, and also the fixed stars, bear the characteristics of immovable harmony and order, since no forces or accidents have ever been discovered by which the present order might be destroyed or endangered, while all apparent disturbances in the celestial bodies are so nicely adjusted that instead of threatening future destruction, they seem rather to insure the continuance of the present arrangement. It is urged, therefore, that the Biblical theory concerning the end of the world is in direct opposition to the inferences of astronomy. Perhaps the best answer to this is found in the passages where this future destruction is most plainly taught. In 2 Pct. iii. 4, the following answer is returned to those who say: "Where is the promise of His coming? for since the fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation:—This they are willingly ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old and the earth standing out of the water and in the water; whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth which are now, *by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire,*" &c. Allusion is here made to an analogous event which may be regarded as a type or prelude of that more general and fearful final catastrophe. The relations between sea and land, between the consumption and the production of water, is so stable and settled, that it would have been impossible to have anticipated such a catastrophe as the flood, and yet it broke in

when least expected. "And as the days of Noah were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be." As formerly the destroying flood broke from the lowest depths of earth into which human investigation had not penetrated, and from those high regions where clouds form according to a law, which human ingenuity has not discovered, so the heights and depths of the universe may conceal forces which shall burst forth at the command of the Creator, and transform the heavens and the earth. As to the manner in which this catastrophe shall take place, Scripture informs us that "the heavens shall pass away with a *great noise*, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat: the earth also and the works that are therein, shall be *burnt up*. Nevertheless, we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. iii. 10—13). Among all the elements known to us, fire is the most powerful, pervading, and destructive. But by destroying that which is perishable, and separating the pure metal from the dross, it also sets free that which is imperishable and noble, and presents it in all its purity and beauty. Hence fire has always been regarded not only as the symbol of destruction, but equally as the type of the most thorough purification and sanctification. If, therefore, the catastrophe to which we have alluded was to issue in purification and renovation, as well as in destruction, it is evident that of all means known to us, fire would be the most appropriate. Besides, it lies hidden in all bodies, and may be called forth by mechanical and dynamic means. An unextinguished furnace burns in the bowels of the earth; fire breaks from the clouds of heaven; fire is called forth by the influence of the sun; and that mysterious electricity which apparently pervades every region, involves an untold fulness and intensity of powers for eliciting fire. Nor is astronomy competent to pronounce any verdict on those fearful signs which are said to proceed or accompany the final catastrophe,—such as that sun and moon shall loose their light, that stars shall fall from the firmament, and the sign of the Son of man be seen in the heavens. Year by year we witness eclipses of the sun and moon. Strange appearances in the heavens, such as the advent of remarkable comets, are by no means unheard of. Stars have vanished from

the heavens under the eye of the astronomer, and repeatedly have we seen thousands of asteroids falling from the heavens, &c.

We would not indeed assert that the darkening of sun and moon in that great day will be nothing more than an ordinary eclipse, or the sign of the Son of man the same as the appearance of a comet or the falling of stars from the heavens, a mere shower of shooting stars. On the contrary, we believe that such predictions refer to something heretofore unseem and unheard. Still, these facts of experience are a testimony in favour of the *possibility* of appearances such as those predicted.

§ 15. DURATION OF THE PRESENT COURSE OF THE EARTH.

Our earth must revolve eighteen million times around the sun before the sun itself and its entire system completes a single revolution in that movement in which it is involved along with the other fixed stars about the throne of cosmical powers which lies in the centre of the system of the milky way. According to *Mädler*, one great year of the universe therefore comprehends eighteen millions of terrestrial years. How insignificant in this respect appears our earth ; how paltry compared with that sweep of time is the period during which our present earth and its inhabitants have existed ! What are 6000 years compared with 18,000,000 of years ! According to the Scriptures the present order of things have existed for nearly 6000 years. How long is it to continue till the great day when heaven and earth shall be changed, and a new and never ending period commence ? On this subject we are told that “ to know the times or the seasons the Father has put in His own power. Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven.” (Mark xiii. 32, 33 ; Acts i. 7).

The Apostles, and with them believers of every age, have regarded that day as at hand, an expectation this, prompted not so much by objective prophecy as by the subjective state of the soul, its longings and desires. Centuries have since passed, and may still pass, before that expectation shall be realised. And yet, reasoning from Scripture, it is scarcely possible to conceive that “ the end ” should be so long delayed. If we think of the

Incarnation as taking place in the middle age of the world, if we consider the increasing distinctness in the signs of the times, and the approach of those signs and harbingers of the end, we cannot but feel that the termination of the present dispensation must be at hand. Are the heavens, then, to be changed like an old garment before they have reached a single year of their existence, or completed a single revolution? The query proceeds upon a twofold misunderstanding.—We have already seen that the 6000 years of Biblical chronology refer not to the beginning of the whole universe, nor even to that of the earth, but only to its restoration, or rather to the creation of man. But between the first creation and this new creation an indeterminable period intervenes. Besides, in those future ages of the world, of which the judgment forms the commencement, *time shall not cease*. The creature is not to cease to be creature, but only to participate in the fulness of divine glory; neither is time to terminate, but only to be absorbed in eternity. But if time do not cease, neither can the movements and revolutions of the worlds which mark time come to an end. The heavens shall be purified and perfected by the final catastrophe, but not annihilated; only in proportion as the heavens have been affected by that ruin which is to be eliminated in the purifying fires of the last judgment, shall their present condition be altered.

§ 16. THE COSMICAL CONSUMMATION.

At length the full dignity of earth and its inhabitants shall be openly manifested. The misery which the twofold fall of angels and men has caused shall be removed from the earth, which, in the fullest sense, shall attain both its original destiny and that position which it was intended to hold when restored to become the habitation of man. Above we have remarked that the celestial worlds which are the abode of the holy angels present certain cosmical advantages as compared with our earth in its present state, while on the other hand our earth also has distinguishing features, which, however, are yet undeveloped germs, concealed in the form of lowliness, and distorted through the curse of sin. We anticipate that these features will at last fully appear, while

our earth will after its own manner also reach the same level as the angelic worlds. We expect that in those times what at present appear as hostile contrasts shall combine and co-operate; that sin and death—and with them all their shadows and fruits—shall have passed away, and that the members of our solar system which at present are isolated shall be united by bonds of harmony, communion, sympathy, and love. Perhaps this will be realised in a manner analogous to what we witness in the heavens; perhaps those worlds which, although now separated, are so closely related, shall move in sacred harmony; perhaps they shall stand in immediate communication with one another; perhaps the sea of ether belonging to our system, which at present is unilluminated, shall be pervaded with light and afford an “eternal sunshine,” uniting worlds as now it separates them, just as the luminous atmosphere of the heavens of the fixed stars binds together the worlds that move in it.

But the distinguishing excellency of our earth will consist in this, that ransomed and glorified man, created in, and restored to, the image of God, shall dwell there, and that here the Lord of Glory, who to all eternity has taken upon Himself their nature, shall make His abode among those whom He is not ashamed to call brethren; that He shall bring with Him upon earth that unfading inheritance of His Sonship of which they are to be fellow-heirs; that He shall establish among them the throne of His grace and power, of His glory and majesty; and that He Himself, the Uncreated Light, shall shine upon them with a brilliancy which no creature has *yet* beheld. But as to the conditions and changes which all this implies in the *physical* condition of the earth and of our system, and in their *cosmical* relation to the rest of the universe, it becomes us in silence to await the arrangements which the great Creator shall make.

Our earth is unique in its present state of humiliation—it will also be unique in its future exaltation. As man is made lower than the angels and yet is “the embryo of the highest of all creatures,” so our earth also is made lower than the celestial worlds and yet “the noblest germ in creation.” As Judea was the least and most despised country of the earth, and yet “the *glorious* laud” (Deut. xi. 16, 41); as Bethlehem was least among the thousands of Judah (Micah v. 2) and yet the Son of

Righteousness arose there (Mal. iv. 2), so our solar system is the Judea of the universe, and our insignificant earth the Bethlehem of this holy land—poor and despised, yet precious above all; as in that prophetic dream sun, moon, and stars bent in lowly obeisance before Joseph, who yet was the least among his brethren, so shall they also make obeisance to our earth, although it is the smallest world in the universe. When at first Jehovah founded the earth, the morning stars looked on with songs of praise; when the eternal Word, full of grace and truth, left the throne of glory to clothe Himself with our nature, the hosts of heaven burst forth into this hymn: "*Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.*" Again when the Son of man shall return in the clouds, surrounded with all the glory of His eternal Godhead, to renew heaven and earth and to consummate all things, shall those messengers of His power and goodness, in whose presence even now there is joy at every new progress of the kingdom of God upon earth (Luke xv. 7), behold with rapturous delight the unfolding of that mystery of godliness, into which they now desire to look, and in louder tones and loftier strains shall they enchoir their never-ending Hallelujah (Rev. v. 12, 13).

CHAPTER III.

GEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE.

§ 1. SURVEY OF THE STATE OF GEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

Geology (or rather *Geogony*) seeks, from the present state of the crust of the earth, from the structure, the contents, and the combination of rocks, and their present mutual relation, to infer the manner in which they have become what presently they are. The difficulty of such a task must at once appear, and even a cursory glance at the present state of geology shews that, although it has been cultivated with special and unequalled zeal, its first and most important difficulties remain as yet unsolved. Thus the very first subject of enquiry as to the original relationship between the stratified and unstratified formations¹ is

¹ Generally speaking, we distinguish between *stratified formations*, which are arranged in parallel strata one above another according to a definite order which everywhere recurs, yet so that here and there one or more strata in the same formations are wanting, and *unstratified* (specially crystalline) *formations*, which, without any regularity in situation and succession lie beneath, between, and above the stratified formations, having apparently broken into the latter and interposed between them. More especially does granite everywhere occupy the highest and the lowest place, and forms both the trunk and the top in the principal mountain chains. From the position of unstratified formations, which are irregular and rise upwards, and from that of stratified formation (which depends on the former) which commonly incline towards the horizon, all individual formations of the latter terminate on the surface of the earth, and thence extend down to unexplored depths. Thus—since the same strata do not always lie uppermost—it has become possible to learn their succession and character. In themselves the rocks of the stratified formations are simple, but everywhere contain traces and remains of organic products and life. On the other hand the unstratified formations do not contain any traces of organic remains, and consist chiefly of various more or less perfectly crystallized minerals, which, instead of organic petrifications, contain a great variety of the most beautiful stones and metals. The unstratified formations are commonly arranged into two classes. The *crystalline* or *primary* formations (as they are commonly called) appear to constitute the firm framework of the earth. Among these we reckon especially the *granite*. What are called the *transition formations* are intermediate between the stratified and unstratified. They share the peculiarities of both classes, and form a link of connection between them. In that class we reckon *gneiss*, *mica slate*, *argillaceous slate*, *coal*, &c. The stratified formations

still matter of investigation and controversy. Have they been formed simultaneously or successively? Have they arisen independently of each other, or has the formation of the one been caused by the transformation of the other—and if so, have the stratified formations originated mechanically by the decay or the destruction of the unstratified, or the latter by the transformation of the former? These questions are still discussed by geologists, and cannot be satisfactorily answered till the fundamental enquiry, whether water or fire had been the substratum or the agent in the formation of the earth, shall be settled.

By far the greater part of modern geologists maintain that originally the earth was in a state of *igneous* fusion, that more especially the crystalline stones owe their origin to igneous fusion (*Plutonism*), and that the strata afterwards deposited by aqueous agency were repeatedly broken up by the upheaving of igneous fluid masses (*Vulcanism*), and partly changed by the influence of their heat (*Metamorphism*).

But *Neptunism*, which for a time seemed wholly conquered, has recovered from its defeat, and although as yet only represented by isolated individuals, has reappeared with a sufficiently formidable array of researches, facts, and experiences to assert its claims with energy and confidence of ultimate and certain victory. True, the system is not the Neptunism of the “*ancient regime*,” but rather a transformation of it, the offspring of what is known as *Chemism*. This new school owes its origin to *Nepomuk Fuchs*, the Munich Chemist and Mineralogist. One of its most zealous advocates is *A. Wagner*, whose excellent and instructive work (*History of the Primeval World*, 2 vols. Leipz. 1857) is calculated to awaken an interest in those questions even beyond the circle of geologists. That *Chemism* is really a formidable opponent of *Plutonism* may be gathered even from the circumstance that *Bischof* of Bonn, one of the most eminent geologists, although originally a zealous advocate of *Vulcanism*,

have also been arranged into two classes called the *secondary* and *tertiary*. To the secondary formation belong the lower and more ancient strata from the red sandstone to chalk. To the tertiary formation belong all strata lying above the chalk. Then comes the *diluvial land*, being the residuum of the last general flood which had taken place before the appearance of man, and, finally, the *alluvial land*, which has been formed by inundations that have occurred in historical times.

has, in the course of his chemical investigations and experiences arrived at results (see his *Manual of Geology*, Bonn 1847—54) which do not very materially differ from the conclusions of *A. Wagner*.

But, be this as it may, the theologian *as such* is not called upon to take either one or the other side in this controversy. However lively the interest he may feel, and however deep his personal and private sympathies with one or the other party—*his theology is not affected by the issue of the contest*. As *Theologian* it is matter of indifference to him whichever party may gain temporary ascendancy or have ultimate and complete victory.

§ 2. STATE OF THE QUESTION.

Even more than *astronomy*, the oldest of sciences, has *geology*, her youngest sister, been put forward to undermine the authority of the Bible. Her pretended or real conclusions have, with unexampled confidence, been placed side by side with those of the Biblical narrative of creation, and declared entirely inconsistent with it. Although the results of this science are as yet in part more unsatisfactory, and her conclusions less settled than those of any other, certain parties have not hesitated to ascribe to them a degree of reliableness, compared with which the statements of revelation must be withdrawn as the products of a childish superstition.

However, attempts have not been wanting to defend the authority of the Mosaic cosmogony, and to show that the opposition between it and geology is due to the fancy of evil-disposed or mistaken persons. The geological and theological literature of Britain, France, and Germany, numbers many works composed with that object in view. But generally the unprejudiced reader feels that these attempts at harmony are forced and unnatural, and that the cause of truth has been rather injured than advanced by them. Their chief defect lies in this, that, like their opponents, these advocates of the Bible have failed to perceive that it is an *exclusively religious* document. Information on questions connected with natural science has been looked for in Genesis, and

the words of Scripture have been twisted till they half agreed with the results of scientific investigation. It was not observed that from their very nature, the purely physical and the purely religious phases of the history of creation should be expected rather to supplement each other than to coincide—that the Bible teaches what lies beyond the domain of natural science, and, on the other hand, geology those phases of development which are beyond the purport and object of the Bible.

§ 3. THE BIBLE IS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH ANY GEOLOGICAL THEORY.

Four arguments are specially urged to show that geology is inconsistent with the Mosaic account of creation. The first is as follows :

The Bible teaches that the present earth was formed through the agency of water (Neptunism), while geology has placed it beyond doubt that fire, and not water, was the original and real agency in the formation of the crust of the earth.

We have already shown that the controversy between Neptunism and Vulcanism is not yet decided, and that the latter system, though still advocated by most geologists, is not quite so secure as it would fain appear. But assuming that such were the case, we have to meet the statement that the Bible embodies a system wholly opposed to that which in geology bears the name of Vulcanism or Plutonism.

The Mosaic record teaches that at the commencement of the six days, the Spirit of God moved on the *face of the waters*. But this only implies that the seer to whom we owe this account beheld at first only water. As a faithful witness he reports what he had actually seen. In the meantime, he leaves it undecided *whether we are to conceive that the whole material of the earth was dissolved in these waters, or that a solid terrestrial nucleus was covered by these waters.*

Let us see whether, in the course of this narrative, we can find any data for answering this query. On the *first day light* was

called forth out of darkness. If we were warranted thence to draw inferences, these would rather tend toward the second of the above suppositions. For if, as appears most likely, we trace this origin of light to electro-magnetic agency, this would accord much better with the idea that the earth was a firm nucleus (only covered by water), with manifold rocky strata, and hence offering points of polaristic antagonism, than if we were to conceive that the earth was in a state of complete fluidity, in which all those materials which presently are separated were mixed up and confused.

The origin of light on the first day might indeed be traced to another than electro-magnetic agency, and that a cause which would harmonise with the opposite view, viz., the *force of crystallisation*, by which the substances dissolved in these waters became immense crystallised mountains, which, as it were, constituted the skeleton of the earth. It is true that the process of crystallisation, even if accomplished by the agency of water, is attended by the evolution of light, and, if carried on on so vast a scale as that here supposed, it may have brought about an evolution of light sufficient to light up the whole earth with the clearness of day. But such an evolution of light could scarcely be conceived as regularly disappearing and returning, and as three times regularly alternating in light and darkness, in day and night.

The work of the first day, then, does not afford the means of satisfactorily deciding our enquiry. On the *second* day, the upper were separated from the lower waters. If, with *Ebrard*, *Delitzsch*, and *Nägelsbach*, we were to regard the *upper waters* as the substratum from which the upper heavenly bodies were formed, in a manner similar to that in which the present earth arose from the lower waters, the view that the globe existed already at the commencement of the six creative days would have to be abandoned. But this idea has (in chap. i. and ii.) been shown to be untenable. We are thoroughly convinced that the expression "upper waters" refers to the *clouds*, and that the *terrestrial atmosphere* was formed on the second day. In this view, then, the work of the second day does not throw light on our enquiries.

On the *third* day, the lower waters were, in obedience to

omnipotent command, gathered in separate places, and the dry land appeared. This separation of sea and land might be accounted for by the *formation of a compact globe*, and especially by the uprising of mountains, in which case it would seem to favour the first hypothesis. But certainly the text does not *necessarily* imply this. Just as at the flood (when the earth was likewise covered with water), the waters were again driven back within their former limits, without its being necessary for this purpose that mountains should rise, so here also the waters may have retired without any such agency. If, on the third day, the waters had been collected by the formation of a compact earth, the uprising of mountains, and the depression of valleys, it would almost appear unaccountable that this should not have been adverted to in the record. For, in that case, not the collecting of the waters, but the uprising and descending of portions of the earth would have been the most important and striking phenomenon, which accordingly the seer who wrote what he beheld would have described. But his statement leads us to infer that this process took place with much less disturbance than that implied in the case supposed. Nay, if in our interpretation of the text we strictly keep by its wording, we must admit that not only does it not indicate that firm land arose on the third day, but that it rather implies the opposite. It is as follows: "God said, *let the waters be gathered together in one place, that the dry land may be seen* (appear). And it was so."

The text refers only to the gathering of the waters, but not to the production of dry land. On the contrary the latter is supposed already to exist, and is now only to *appear*. In opposition to this view *Delitzsch* appeals to Ps. civ. 8 (comp. ch. i. § 7). While *Hengstenberg* renders this passage: "*They (the waters) go up to the mountains, they go down to the valleys,*" he translates it with *Maurer, Ewald, Olshausen*, and others, by: "*The mountains ascended, the valleys descended.*" He infers that, since this Psalm traced the progress in the work of creation, it proves that the mountains were only formed on the third day.

In former editions of this book we had adopted the view of *Hengstenberg* and controverted that of *Delitzsch*. We are now, however, constrained to recede from that position, although we still oppose the interpretation which *Delitzsch* puts on this pas-

sage, and the inferences which he draws from it. Against his translation we had formerly urged the *connection* between vers. 9 and 8. In ver. 9 we read: "Thou hast set a bound which they do not pass over, they do not return to cover the earth," evidently referring to the *waters* mentioned in ver. 6, and which no doubt are also spoken of in ver. 7: "at thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of Thy thunder they hasted away." We thought it impossible that ver. 8 should pass on to *another* subject (to the mountains and valleys), and yet ver. 9 again return to that of ver. 7 (the waters). *Delitzsch* has recognised the force of this argument, and attempted to set it aside, although in an unsatisfactory manner. He observes: "Perhaps we should interpret it thus: 'The mountains ascended; they (the waters) descended into the valleys, unto the place which thou has founded for them.' This interpretation of ver. 8 removes the objection that in ver. 7 and in ver. 9 'the waters' are the principal subject." But manifestly this is merely a device to escape a difficulty. In a grammatical point of view, indeed, both modes of translation are warranted. But from the parallelism of the two sentences and the correspondence between the words "mountains" and "valleys," and "ascend" and "descend," it is plain that we must adopt for both clauses either one or the other interpretation. A confusion of the two is as much opposed to the rules of poetry as of hermeneutics, and leads to difficulties greater than those which it is intended to remove. But, in truth, the change of subject in ver. 9 (that in ver. 8 requires not explanation) is not of very great importance. We account for it on the ground of poetical license, common especially in Hebrew.

Of greater force is the objection that the mountains, which according to this view only arise in ver. 8, are already assumed as existing in ver. 6: "The deep, as with a garment, hast Thou covered; *the waters stood above the mountains.*" To this *Delitzsch* replies by paraphrasing "the mountains"—viz., those which were to arise. But this is quite arbitrary. Mountains are not plains or valleys which may afterwards arise into mountains. If there were no other mode of explaining the difficulty, it would be impossible to render ver. 8 otherwise than *Hengstenberg* has done. But we are convinced that this need not be the case. *Olshausen* aptly remarks on ver. 8: "Mountains ascend, valleys

descend ; at least it appears so to the onlooker when the level of the water falls." The expression is then a figure of speech so simple, so natural, and so common among poets, that it removes every difficulty. It is a pictorial and poetic mode of expression which ver. 6 prevents from being misunderstood.

We have felt constrained to adopt the version "mountains ascend" from the circumstance that the other translation is in direct opposition to ver. 7, where the waters are said to flee at the rebuke of Jehovah. Manifestly the voice of God is there represented as *almighty*, and it is impossible to conceive that in the succeeding verse the waters should be described as not immediately restrained but as still in a state of rebellion. Again, our version is the plainest and most obvious, although the other is, grammatically speaking, not unwarranted.

But, as already stated, all this does not interfere with our conviction that Ps. civ. 6—9 militates quite as much as Gen. i. 9 against the view that the firm land was only formed on the third creative day. This is sufficiently shown by ver. 5, according to which the *foundations* of the earth were already laid (a conclusion confirmed by the close of ver. 8, "unto the place which Thou hadst *founded* for them")—and by ver. 6, which informs us that the *mountains* existed before the third creative day, described in vers. 7—9, had commenced.

Neither in Gen. i. nor in any other place does the Bible assert aught either as to the process, period, or mode of the formation of mountains. On the contrary these are pre-supposed as already existing, and creation commences at a time when the mountains and the earth's crust are there, but still covered by a flood which destroyed and which prevents all life, and after the removal of which the present state of the earth, with its plants, animals, and men, was immediately restored. But if this be the case, how, we ask, can the Bible not be reconciled either with any present or possible theory as to the formation of the earth? The "*thohu vabohu*" which preceded creation, and the limits, duration, action, and reaction of which are not described, affords room for the absolute sway of Neptune or of Vulcan, or indeed for any possible duration, mode, or issue of their contest. Is it thought that "millions of years" were requisite to make the crust of the earth what it presently is

—we may be as lavish in conceding as geologists are bold in demanding. The only thing we demand in return, and which no geological theory *can* or *will* deny, is, that it be conceded to us that before the appearance of man, and of the present plants and animals, the globe was covered with water. It does not matter whether this flood is regarded as the only one which had ever taken place, or as the last of a very long series; all that concerns us is that whatever form geology may assume it cannot dispense with *water* as an agent in the formation of the earth. If it insist upon *ten* floods instead of merely one, we are only the more certain that one of them must be that of which the Bible speaks. In this the religious bearing of the Word appears that it does not anticipate human science nor solve problems which fall within the province of empirical investigation. Hence the results of science can never be opposed to the Bible, nor even lead to a dangerous contest with it. Revelation leaves a “*carte blanche*” for the results of natural science. It neither advocates Vulcanism nor Neptunism; it only teaches what concerns the soul. It decides as little in the controversy between these geological parties as in that between Homœopathy and Aleopathy.

§ 4. THE BIBLE DOES NOT TEACH THAT THE EARTH WAS FORMED IN SIX DAYS.

We turn now to the second argument against the Bible drawn from geology. It is said:

The Bible teaches that the earth in its present state required only six times twenty-four hours for its formation, while geology has proved beyond the possibility of contradiction that many thousand—nay, perhaps millions—of years were required before the present earth's crust, with its many and varied formations, could be produced, or the many successive creations could take place, continue, and pass away.

However extravagant the assertions of geologists, it is not our purpose to controvert them, but rather to enquire whether,

supposing them to be true, they can be reconciled with the Bible. The common plan—adopted and supported also by *Delitzsch* and *Rougemont*—is to assign to each of the creative days not a common or terrestrial, but a prophetic and Divine duration of indeterminable length. The fallacy of this view we have already shown (ch. i. § 4, ch. ii. § 2). But we also appeal with all confidence to the conclusion at which we have arrived, viz. that the Bible gives no information about the origin and formation of mountains, but presupposes them as existing before the commencement of the creative days. If, then, these strata originated before the period of the Biblical creation, so must also the Fauna and Flora which lie buried and petrified in them. Between the first and the second, and between the second and third verses of Gen. i., Revelation leaves two blank pages on which Science may write to fill up the gaps which Revelation has left in regard to subjects which lay beyond its province. Holy Writ has only furnished an inscription, or brief table of contents to each of these “*cartes blanches*.” The first reads: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.” How this was done, or in what space of time, what followed, what evolutions or revolutions had taken place, till the period described in ver. 2—Scripture does not indicate. Human science—*if it can*—may fill up the blank. The second inscription reads: “And the earth was without form and void, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.” Revelation does not tell what effects this moving of the Spirit had produced; what formations He had called forth, what took place in those depths so long as darkness covered them, the seer beheld not and hence described not. Only when it became light, he distinguished what took place, and *there his report commences*.

In these two inscriptions has Revelation laid an immovable foundation, by which Atheism and Pantheism are at once deprived of all support. Let experience, combination, speculation, natural science, philosophy, and theology, attempt to build on this foundation. But other foundation can no man lay, and here also applies the saying of the apostle, 1 Cor. iii. 12—15, both in its warning and promise. The formation of the strata, and the history of their petrified organisms, belong to a period anterior to Gen. i. 3. But whether they should be placed be-

tween ver. 1 and ver. 2, or between ver. 2 and ver. 3, each one who is anxious to reconcile the results of human science with the statements of revelation, may settle as best he can. The defender of the Bible can feel no special interest how that question is decided—suffice it, that he has assigned to geology a place where its conclusions can without let or hindrance be inserted.

Natural science has only to investigate the present state of nature. In one respect it matters not how the philosophy of nature may arrange or explain these results, nor whether it is able to do so at all. It is certainly one of the most difficult problems assigned to that philosophy, to explain those creations which have passed away before man appeared, and which have for thousands of years lain buried in their rocky graves. Religious philosophy, and even theological investigations and speculation, may take part in the attempt to solve these riddles. Difficulties and perplexities may increase—but they neither devolve on the student of natural science nor on the exegetical student, so long as each keeps a clear conscience. The faithful enquirer into the mysteries of nature, and he who searches the deep things of revelation, may comfort themselves with the statement of the apostle (1 Cor. xiii.): “For we know in part and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.”

§ 5. THE BIBLE DOES NOT ADVERT TO THE CREATION OF THE NOW PETRIFIED ORGANISMS.

The third argument urged to show the incompatibility of the Bible with the results of natural science is derived from the successive appearance of organic formations.

The Bible teaches a simple succession of three creations: on the third day plants, on the fifth aquatic animals and

birds, on the sixth land animals and man were created. But geology shows that in each of the different periods of creation the different classes of plants and animals had simultaneously been made and co-existed, and that the progression which had taken place in them was quite different from that detailed in the Bible.

In the solution of this difficulty, those interpreters who have endeavoured to show that the geological series in the periods of organic creation coincided with the Biblical series of animals and plants destined for man, have been singularly unsuccessful. Without entering on their explanations, we are able to protect the authority of the Bible from the attacks of geological scientists. *The only possible and sufficient proof that the Bible is not incompatible with geology is derived from the frank and full admission that these two series cannot be made to agree.* Apparently contradictory events and facts may be reconciled in one of two ways. It may either be shown that they are *identical*, and that their difference is merely apparent, or arises from a misunderstanding. This mode of conciliation has been adopted by those to whom we have adverted—and their attempts have, as might be expected, signally failed. Or else it may be admitted that the difference of apparently contradictory facts is real, in which case it is no longer sought to show that they are identical, while, however, at the same time proof is led to show that they are not contradictory but true, when regarded as separate events. This is the plan which *Buckland* (in the *Bridgewater Treatise*), and after him *A. Wagner* and *Hengstenberg*, have adopted, and which we do not hesitate to characterise as the only correct one.

Above we have arrived at the conclusion that the Bible says nothing about the formation of the earth's crust and of mountains, and that the Hexameron (as well as Ps. civ.) presupposes them as already existing. Hence the organisms also which lie concealed in these strata originated not *during* but *previous* to the six creative days. We hold that the creation of plants and animals which the Bible relates is different from, and posterior to, that of the organisms which geology brings forth from their rocky graves. To the latter the Bible does not refer, since it was only concerned to narrate the creation of those animals and plants which were assigned to man. It professes to be a rule of

faith, and not a manual of geology. But those plants and animals whose creation the Bible relates are not found entombed in the strata, since the latter were formed before that creation commenced. The question as to the order in which their first representatives appeared can manifestly find no place in the Scriptures.

§ 6. DEATH ON THE PRE-ADAMITE EARTH.

We arrive now at the *fourth* and last objection, which has been urged by *Oerstedt*, the celebrated discoverer of Electro-Magnetism (in his well-known work, "The Spirit in Nature"), and by *Charles Vogt*, in opposition to Biblical statements.

The Bible teaches that sickness and death had entered the world only after the fall of man, and through him, and that the destruction of the animal body formed not part of the original arrangement of nature, but had entered at a later period. But geology shows that even before the appearance of man, disease and death had reigned upon the earth, and carnivorous animals had existed. Whole worlds of living beings had become the prey of death, and among the individual species we discover a number of carnivorous animals which, from the first, and by creation, had been so organised as to bring death to other animals which at the same time with them inhabited the earth. Manifest marks of disease in the bones of primeval animals also prove that among these animals also death had been the natural and continuous goal of life.

In this case also we will not discuss the statements of these geologists, but shall content ourselves with asserting that they are compatible with the narrative of the Bible. The argument proceeds on the supposition that man's sin had brought disease and death into the world, *i.e.*, not only among men but also among animals. This has indeed been the commonly received view, but it is not the express doctrine of the Bible. Wherever the Scriptures refer to death as the wages of sin, the expression

applies only to man ; nor does any passage expressly warrant us in applying it to animals also. This, however, has been commonly done, and the Biblical view has by a process of theological combination, analogy, and inference, been developed and generalised in accordance with this view. But if science could really prove that the inference is incorrect, we might at once drop it without in any way injuring the authority of the Bible. Nor has this statement ever been propounded as a dogma. Christianity has always proclaimed it as a fundamental dogma that by sin death has entered into the *world of man*—but not that *animals* would not have died if man had not sinned. Since the Bible is silent on the point, we hold that biblically either of the above two propositions were admissible. The original immortality of the physical life of man depended on the circumstance that he was a personal, spiritual being, created in the image of God. His mortality was due to the fact that through sin he had become separated from the great type and source of his personality. While, therefore, so far as man was concerned, death was a perversion of his bodily nature (as sin was of his spiritual nature)—this cannot be said of animals, since their nature offers no absolute ground for claiming immortality for them. If such existed, it could only be derived from the relation existing between animals and man, not from their own nature. Similarly we might conceive it possible, that from the first animals had been intended to feed upon each other, although not to attack man, as at present is the case, since he was destined to be their absolute lord. Perhaps this carnivorous tendency of some species of animals may have formed part of the original economy of nature. Perhaps man was destined, as the ruler of nature, to have restrained those excesses which have now assumed so fearful a character ;—perhaps it might even have been his to conduct the economy of nature to a higher stage in which these antagonisms would have given place to a higher harmony.

However, we will not deny it that we have adopted the opposite view from this, although we do not consider it as expressly taught in Scripture, and hence not as claiming our implicit and unconditional submission. We regard it as an amplification of the Biblical doctrine, derived from analogy and combination, and hence possibly erroneous. It must be traced not so much

to objective revelation as to the subjective Christian consciousness. The Bible, indeed, teaches expressly that sin has not only led to a disturbing catastrophe in the physical and psychical life of man, but also introduced changes in the life of nature which stands in closest connection with that of man. It is distinctly declared: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake, thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee." This statement applies, indeed, in the first place, only to plants. But the inference is almost inevitable that the animal kingdom was at that time affected in similar manner, and that when thorns and thistles sprung up among plants, rapaciousness and desire after blood appeared in the animal kingdom. This transformation must indeed have been very deep, and have affected the entire organisation of many species of animals, which are presently so constituted that the use of flesh is necessary for them. Both in the transformation of the vegetable and the animal kingdom, we cannot account for the changes by a mere degeneracy. We are obliged to assume that as the pristine tendency had been given in creation as a blessing, so this new direction must be traced to a Divine judgment and punishment. This supposition seems warranted, since it is almost implied in the curse pronounced on the ground for the sake of man. The prediction in *Is. xi. 6—9*, according to which, at the time of restitution, "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the cow and the bear shall feed, and the lion eat straw like the ox," seems also to favour this view. For even though the imagery of this description of a blessed future had been borrowed from the animal kingdom in order to exhibit a measure of peace hitherto unattained, there must be some foundation of reality in the picture, from which therefore we may draw inferences as to the original state of the animal kingdom. Lastly, we may, in corroboration of this view, appeal to the well-known statement of Paul concerning the groaning of creation, made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope that itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God (*Rom. viii. 19, &c.*). It cannot be doubted that this creation, waiting and groaning, includes also the animal kingdom.

Do we then labour to strengthen the position of our op-

ponents? Nay, but we feel convinced that it is not at all formidable to us. Their argument confounds two heterogeneous things. It proceeds on the state of primeval organisms which had been created *before* man, but not *for* him, and had not existed *along with* him. Its inference would only be warranted if it could establish that what has been the case in regard to primeval animals had continued before sin made its appearance; in short, if it could point out the remains of animals which had not only lived, but died *before* the fall. Even then the conclusion would be doubtful, since, as we have shown, the Bible does not expressly trace the diseases and the rapacity of animals to the fall of man.

Those primeval animals of which the remains are found buried in the strata, were not created in the Biblical six days; like the rocks which hold them, they belong to a period which Revelation does not describe. Theirs is a world quite different from ours, and which has perished long ago. If there we descry murder, disease, and death, this does not prove that the same must from the first have taken place in our world. Perhaps the primeval world had been doomed to destruction because it witnessed murder and death—perhaps it was meant to give place to another world which originally bore not traces of these horrors, and which might have remained without them. Thus much, however, we will admit, that the world which lies buried in these strata—in the state in which there we discover it—may not be regarded as having *thus* proceeded from the creative hand of God. As sin and rebellion have brought murder and death into our world, some element of opposition to the Deity must likewise have introduced and given them supremacy in that primeval world. To form a reliable judgment on these questions, we should have to study the history of that world. But of this we can only gather individual and uncertain features.

§ 7. PALEONTOLOGY.

We have shown that any actual or possible conclusions of geology cannot conflict with the Bible, and that it takes no part in the controversy as between Vulcanism and Neptunism. We

have also learned that the statements of the Bible and of natural science concerning the formation of the earth have a different object in view, and, instead of militating, supplement each other. Between us and geologists there is no discussion. We do not controvert either the real or the imaginary results of their investigations; we leave any such contest to themselves in the firm conviction that theology has nothing to lose or to gain whatever party may ultimately secure the victory. But there is a province of geology which has of late become the arena of the most keen theological (not merely geological) discussions. We refer to *Palaontology*, or to the science concerning that vast cemetery in which millions and billions of former organisms lie entombed. We will not withdraw from this contest, since we cannot acknowledge ourselves to have formerly been worsted, and feel that the question is of sufficient importance in a theological point of view.

§ 8. ORIGIN OF PETRIFIED ORGANISMS.

We have already frequently hinted that the stratified formations of the earth's crust form the tomb of an immense world which had at one time enjoyed life. Let us, under trustworthy guidance, seek to find our way in this labyrinth of a petrified world, and question those witnesses and monuments, to see *whether* and *what* they can tell us about themselves, or about the time, duration, and mode of their origin, life, and decay. The first enquiry which here meets us is whether or not we are to regard the origin of these organisms as identical with the creation recorded in Genesis i. In opposition to many theologians we return a negative answer to this query, and we do so from a comparison of the conclusions of Biblical exegesis with those of geognostic Palaontology. From a geological point of view, it cannot be denied that these organisms cannot be of later date than the strata in which they are found, and that their term of existence had closed with the completion of these strata. Even this circumstance would in itself be decisive. Besides, we have already shown that the Bible relates nothing about the origin of the crust of the earth, and indeed presupposes it as already

existing at the commencement of the six creative days. It cannot, therefore, be supposed to describe the origin of the palæontological Fauna and Flora, whose term must have been run before the earth was prepared to become the dwelling-place of man. Lastly, we have already seen (chap. i. § 4) that each of the creative days must be regarded not as a period of indefinite duration, but as a natural and ordinary day. But if we were to suppose that those petrified organisms were produced on the third, fifth, and sixth days, we should have to regard these days as so many successive geological periods, consisting each of thousands if not "millions" of years, in order to secure sufficient time for their origin, life, and decay, and for the formation of those immense sarcophagi in which they lie entombed.

§ 9. CONTINUATION.

Proofs of the correctness of this view accumulate as we proceed. If we compare the specimens of petrified organisms with those presently in existence, we find that they may all be ranged under the great *class*-divisions of the present vegetable and animal kingdoms. But it is otherwise when we descend to *tribes*. Admitting that *all* the old tribes are not extinct, and that some of them are still found, it cannot be doubted that the greater part of those types which perished in the primeval world has become wholly extinct, and *vice versa*, that many of the existing types were not represented in the primeval world. Further, if we compare the various *species*, it is not only probable, but almost demonstrated, that not a single animal or vegetable species of the primeval world has been preserved; at least none has as yet been discovered which may be pointed out as *identical* with any that presently exists. The vegetable and animal kingdoms of the strata are, therefore, very different from those of our world. On the other hand, it is evident that those plants and animals, of which *the Bible* speaks, were intended to continue and to remain with man on the earth, and not completely to disappear before the appearance of man. This may be gathered even from the terms in which we are told that grass, herbs, and trees—each after *their* own kind—had fruit and seed by which to propagate

their species, from the emphasis with which we are assured that every type of animals was created *after its own kind*, and from the circumstance that each obtained the blessing, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters and the earth." Besides, the Bible manifestly refers to the creation of organisms which had indeed been produced *before* man, but still, and on that very ground, were destined *for* him. For every herb bearing seed, upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which is fruit, was given to man for meat; and with reference to animals man was commanded to subdue them, and to have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moved upon the earth. The plants on which he was to feed, and the beasts over which he was to have dominion, were evidently those whose creation is related in that chapter; hence the organisms described in the Bible must also be those which were destined to live *along with man*, or, generally speaking, the plants and animals presently existing. The same inference may be gathered from the constant repetition of the statement: "and God saw that it was good." Being good, these creatures must have been destined to continue and not to perish. Lastly, the correctness of this view appears from the account of the flood, where the destruction of the animal kingdom is explained on the ground that not only man, but the earth also, was corrupt, and that all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

Thus the Bible narrative and the results of geological investigation concerning extinct organisms are opposed to each other. But this antagonism is counterbalanced by that within the domain of natural science. For the same contradictions are found to exist between the primeval and the present world, between geology and natural history. The organisms of the primeval world are not the animals and plants of the Mosaic cosmogony, but neither are they those of historical times, while the organisms of the Biblical narrative are those with which natural history presently makes us acquainted. Thus the supposed contradiction is entirely removed. The types buried in the rocks were not destined to continue perpetually, or else have not attained their destination; they were not created for *man*, and have not been his contemporaries on earth. Long before he appeared they had become extinct, and were shut up in their

rocky graves. Only after the lapse of 6000 years has man beheld their bones, and they now present an enigma which natural science will probably never solve—as if to convince us of the inadequacy of our powers at the very period when science pretends to be able to explain everything. Beyond doubt *the fossils of the rocks cannot represent those organisms whose creation the Bible relates*. It speaks not of the petrifications and Entozoa of geology: it refers only to those beings which were created for man, partly for his nourishment and partly as means of, or aids to, his own peculiar activity. On the other hand geology does not treat of *those* creatures which, according to the Scriptures, were called forth on the third, fifth, and sixth days, nor can this science take notice of them, since their types were intended to continue and not to perish, and their families were not to be petrified in strata, but each individual was to decay in the ordinary manner, so that their bones have mostly passed away without leaving any trace. As the Bible gives no countenance to the idea, that the crust of the earth was formed on the fifth or sixth day, and implies that sea and land had previously already existed, so neither does it admit the hypothesis according to which the work of the fifth and sixth days is relegated into previous days. It does not describe the origin of the crust of the earth and the creation of organic beings as having taken place at the same time, but as having occurred the one after the other.

Hence what geology relates belongs to a period anterior to that which the history of creation describes. Geology cannot serve as a witness for the truth of what the Bible reports to have taken place, but neither can it bear testimony against it. Any such attempt must be a false testimony, since it bears not on what geology has seen, but on what it has fancied or invented. Every attempt, therefore, to harmonise the Bible and geology by setting aside this relationship, or by seeking to represent the formation of the earth's crust as having taken place on the fifth or sixth day, or the creations of those days as having occurred at the time when the formation of the earth was not yet finished, does violence to Scripture and harm to the good cause. Nay, it is also opposed to the results of natural investigation, since, contrary to all evidence, it attempts to identify the

organisms of the primeval world with those of our own. But if this be the position taken up by most theologians, we need not wonder that their attempts at conciliation have proved unsatisfactory and illusory. To *Schubert* belongs the merit of having been the first in his able writings to point out the right way of treating this subject, and to *A. Wagner* belongs the credit of having successfully followed it out, thereby satisfactorily showing the agreement between the Bible and geology.

§ 10. THE FLORA AND FAUNA OF THE PRIMEVAL WORLD.

We next turn to another conclusion of palæontology which likewise confirms our view. Not less striking or important than the results of a comparison between the Flora and Fauna of the primeval and the present world, are those derived from a comparative examination of the former. The same difference of species, types and families, the same separation and isolation which we had formerly noticed to obtain between the primeval and the present world, is also found to exist between the various forms of life which occur in the different rocky formations of the primeval world.

This fact has indeed been controverted. *Bronn* mentions that different formations occasionally contain specimens of other strata. Thus the formation of St Cassian in the Tyrol is said among 422 kinds of petrification to contain 389, which are peculiar to itself, seven that are the same as those of carboniferous limestone and compact limestone, and five that are analogous to them ; four that are the same as those of the Trias (new red sandstone), and six that are analogous to them ; four that are the same as those of the Lias, and seven that are analogous to them ; one the same as a kind found in the Jura, and two analogous to them. But the conclusions of other celebrated Palæontologists are opposed to those of *Bronn*. Thus *Agassiz* remarks : " I hold it to be demonstrated that the totality of organic beings was renewed *not only in the intervals of each of those great periods* which we designate as *formations*, *but also in the stratification of each separate division of every formation*. Nor do I believe in the genetic descent of the living species from *the different tertiary divisions* which have been regarded as identical,

but which I hold to be *specifically different*, so that I cannot adopt the idea of a transformation of the species of one formation into that of another. In enunciating these conclusions, let it be understood that they are not inductions derived from the study of one particular class of animals (such as fishes), and applied to other classes, but the results of direct comparison of very considerable collections of petrifications of different formations and classes of animals."

The same author speaks of this difference in the following very guarded terms: "It cannot be controverted that each formation has its own peculiar forms, and that these constitute the *greater part* of what they contain. Similarly is it certain that different kinds do not always intermingle when two kinds of rocks are contiguous, but this only takes place in a *very few instances*. On this account we are warranted in doubting this fact till repeated investigations of well-preserved and well-defined specimens shall have placed its correctness beyond question. . . . Besides, even where outward forms apparently agree, we cannot at once infer that two specimens are the same, since the colour or appearance of the animal might have disclosed divergencies which we cannot perceive in the petrifications. At least we would be at a loss in determining living species if we were deprived of these characteristic and often indispensable marks." Even if *Bronn's* opinion were therefore confirmed, the general fact (which mere exceptions could not remove) would still remain, that there is a peculiar genetic relationship, not only between different rocks, but frequently even between the strata of one and the same formation, and the organic types which they contain, and the conclusion would still be that each formation had its own independent creation, and hence that with every formation the act of creation was renewed. But the Bible speaks only of one creation of organic life, and could, therefore, at most, allude to only one of these many creations. But that even this is not the case is manifest from the fact that the Bible refers to the organisms which were created for man, and hence still continue; while the "transition" and stratified formations only contain types which became extinct long before man appeared.

§ 11. CONTINUATION.

It has already been stated that the *primary formations* do not contain any fossils. These appear only in the "transition" and stratified formations. This circumstance cannot have arisen from the particular period when the primary formations were completed—as if the tendency to *organic* life had only appeared after that—since even those primary rocks which date from the time of the "transition" and stratified formations contain no traces of organic life. The circumstance must be due to the *nature* of these rocks, either according to *Vulcanism*, from the igneous state of their material—or according to *Neptunism*, from the crystalline nature of that material which did not admit of the formation of organic life, since crystallisation and organisation are opposite poles. If we prosecute our enquiries into fossils, we find that in the earliest periods of the earth organic beings were much more equally spread, and that the difference of longitude and latitude exercised no influence either on the variety of types or the number of the individuals. Another difference between the Fauna and Flora of the earliest and the present period of the earth is *the want of proportion between land and aquatic animals*. "Not only are land animals wholly wanting in the older formations, but even in the later stratas of the secondary period they occur very rarely, and it is doubtful whether there had been any land animals which did not inhabit the water at some stage of their existence." Some writers have laid hold on this circumstance, and largely dwelt on it as corroborating the Biblical narrative, according to which aquatic animals had been created on the *fourth*, and land animals only on the *fifth* day. But this view is altogether fallacious. It is indeed true that in the different formations we notice a regular progression in the stages of life, but *not* one such as that of which the Bible speaks. According to its statements the vegetable kingdom was first created, and after it the animal, in the following succession, viz.,—aquatic animals first, then birds, and lastly land animals. But what says geology? "It is indeed true that the highest classes of animals and plants (the

Mammalia and Dicotyledonous plants) only occur at the latest period of stratification; but even at the *earliest* period the four great types of the animal kingdom (vertebrata, articulata, mollusca, and radiata) appeared simultaneously, and, so far as the three last mentioned classes are concerned, in their highest grades; so that we only trace a progression in reference to the vertebrata. The vegetable kingdom seems at first, and during the 'transition' formations, to have been much more simple, being confined to cryptogamic plants, and to even few specimens of these." The successive progression rather consists in this, that as earlier forms became extinct, the types become more like those which presently exist. The higher we ascend the more distinct becomes this tendency, most of all in the *tertiary strata*: there strange and paradox forms wholly disappear, and the physiognomy bears a totally different expression. "Its prevailing character is that presently existing; its types, even though in part they are no longer represented in forms still existing, fit into the general order of the present period of creation. They are found within more narrow limits than during the preceding period, and their types are commonly not restricted to certain rocks, but found in others also. The majority of these animals were warm blooded. The distinction between those animals which live in salt water and those which live in fresh water, and that between land and aquatic animals, is thoroughly carried out. We find a large number of dicotyledonous plants, so that the flora of the tertiary period resembles that of the present time." From what we have said above, it is evident that all this cannot be held to be in any way opposed to the statements of the Bible. Any conflict could only arise from an attempt to confound what Scripture, science, and reason proclaim to be distinct. Here also the adage applies: "*Distingue tempora et concordabit Scriptura.*" To have left this principle unheeded is the grand objection to most of the attempts at harmonising the Bible and geology. Thus the celebrated *Marcel de Serres* was too well acquainted with geological facts to attempt distorting them. But how grievously did he wrest Scripture—despite his reverence for it—in order to bring it into accordance with geology. Others, again, have done similar violence to science. The mistakes of *M. de Serres* have been

repeatedly exposed by *Wagner*. But as his method is so frequently adopted and so much vaunted, while it offers such occasion of scoffing to adversaries, we will, in a few sentences, refute this theory also. According to *de Serres* the "transition" and secondary stratifications with their fossil organisms were formed during the second half of the third and on the fifth day, while the creation of the organisms buried in the tertiary stratifications took place on the sixth day. This theory is based partly on the hypothesis that the great coal-strata are of vegetable origin, and partly on the fact that warm-blooded land-animals appear only in the tertiary stratifications, or, at most, and in rare and doubtful instances, in the latest secondary formations. But the above hypothesis has been amply refuted by *Raumer*, *Wagner*, and others, while, on the contrary, it has been shown that in the earlier formations only, a few simple and poor specimens of plants occur, and that they only appear in any number and in the more developed form of dicotyledonous plants in the tertiary stratifications.—Nor does it require proof that the "transition" and stratified formations cannot have originated on the fifth creative day. The trifling coincidence that the Bible and geology represent aquatic animals as having originated before land animals is of no importance when placed alongside of such great divergences. We read nothing of extinct creations in the description of the fifth and sixth days, but only of such as were created for man and intended to continue for his use. Besides, while in the earliest formations, plants and animals appear simultaneously, the Bible informs us that one kingdom and one class of animals was called forth after the other. It is only necessary to read the text to see how unsatisfactory is the reply to this objection, to the effect that the Bible only referred to the preponderance of one class over the other. But enough of this. We abide by our former views. There is no disagreement between the Bible and geology. Geology does not treat of the last creation which was designed for man, nor does the Bible refer to those organisms which were only transient phenomena belonging to an embryo-age of the earth.

§ 12. CONCLUSION.

We have, by many and weighty arguments, proved that the animal and vegetable world, which lies buried in the stratified formations, was not that which, according to the Bible, was created respectively on the third, fifth, and sixth days, and that its origin must belong to an earlier period. Yet, according to *Delitzsch*, this is a mere delusion. "It is pure delusion," he observes, "to suppose that another creation of animals had preceded that which took place on the fifth day." But in view of the arguments above adduced, we venture to apply to himself his own language, and to say:

It is merely a delusion to attempt identifying the creation of the primeval fossil Flora and Fauna with those of the third, fifth, and sixth days, and at the same time to endeavour harmonising geology and the Bible.

Like this writer we strenuously assert that an impartial comparison of the results of geology with the statements of Holy Writ, rightly understood, will prove that the two harmonise. But we cannot for that purpose adopt any method which could either do violence to the plain language of Scripture, or to the well-established conclusions of geology. But the common mode of harmonising errs in both respects. For

(1). It is *evident*, that Scripture describes the creative days as natural and ordinary days (having evening and morning, light and darkness), while in order to identify the geological with the Biblical creation, it is necessary to represent them as periods of "Divine duration," each comprising thousands, nay, perhaps "millions of terrestrial years."

(2). It is *evident*, that we read only of *one* general inundation within the six creative days (Gen. i. 2—10) to which, on the third day, bounds were assigned which were not to be passed till the flood. But the above theory requires that we should suppose that a number of inundations had taken place in order to account for the numerous secondary and tertiary stratifications which are thought to have taken place on the fifth and sixth days.

(3). Scripture *plainly* states that the mountains of the earth existed, *at any rate*, on the *third* day. But this theory requires us to believe that the secondary and tertiary (if not the primary) strata and rocks had been formed on the fifth and sixth days.

(4). Scripture *plainly* states that plants *only*, and not animals of any kind, were created on the third day, and animals *only*, but not trees and plants, on the fifth and sixth days. But according to this theory, these Biblical are the same as the geological periods of which each has *both* its plants and animals.

(5). It is *evident* that the Hexaemeron only speaks of three periods of organic creation, while geology recounts as many as there are stratifications. Yet the above theory identifies the Biblical with the geological creation.

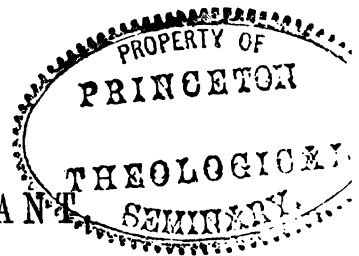
(6). Lastly, it is *evident* on the one hand that the Flora and Fauna of the primeval world had perished *before* man appeared, and hence could not have been destined to continue along with man on the earth; and on the other hand, that according to the clear and unequivocal statements of Scripture the Flora and Fauna created during the six days was created *for* man, and destined to continue on earth along with him. Yet the above theory confounds these two kinds of Flora and Fauna.

I.

HISTORY

OF THE

OLD COVENANT.



THE OLD COVENANT

§ 1. *The Incarnation of God in Christ* for the salvation of man constitutes the central-point in the history and in the developments of mankind. God became man in order to elevate mankind, that so they might share with Himself in the infinite fulness of Divine glory, holiness, and blessedness. *The fulness of time* (τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, Gal. iv. 4), for which all pre-christian history was merely meant to *prepare*, commences with this event and rests upon it. In the preparatory stage history took a twofold direction. In the first, man's powers and faculties were left to follow their own bent, the result being the various forms of pre-christian *Heathenism* (comp. § 30 and following). The second, which was continually guided and directed by Divine influence and interposition, constituted, in its course, pre-christian *Judaism* (comp. § 33 and following.) These two series of developments—differing not only in the *means* but also in the *purpose* and *aim* of their development—run side by side, until, in the fulness of time, they meet in Christianity, when the peculiar results and fruits of these respective developments are made subservient to its establishment and spread. The separation of these two series, and the point where the distinctive development of each commences, dates from the selection of *one* particular nation. From that time onward every revelation of God clusters around that nation, in order to prepare it so that ultimately the climax and the final aim of all revelation, the incarnation of God, might be attained in the midst of that people, and thence a salvation issue, adapted not only to that nation but also to all other nations. The *basis* of this history is a *covenant* into which God entered with *that* nation, and which, amid all the vicissitudes and dangers attending every human development, He preserved and directed till its final aim was attained. This covenant, whose object was a salvation which *was to be accomplished*, is designated the *Old Covenant*, in contradistinction to the *New Covenant* which God made with *all*

nations, on the basis of a salvation which, in the fulness of time, *had actually been accomplished.*

HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 2. It is the object of the *History of the Old Covenant* to present the various stages of development which that covenant has called forth during the period intervening between its starting-point and that when its final aim was attained. It exhibits these stages in their succession ; it points out their origin, tendencies, effects, and counter-effects, and it shows their organic connection with each other and with the grand aim to which each of them subserves. Further, it indicates all along its course what particular import attaches, and what effects are really due to each of the two great factors on whose co-operation the covenant depends—we mean the Divine and the human agency—and what relation they occupy to each other.

(1.) The two points which constitute the boundary lines of the history of the Old Covenant are God's entering into covenant with Abraham, the ancestor of the chosen nation, on the one hand ; and, on the other, the objective exhibition of salvation by the incarnation of God in Christ. But a historical fact, especially if it is the commencement of a new era in history which is to prove so full of life and so rich in events, does not appear abruptly and without any preparation, like a *deus ex machina*. It has always its germ and root in a former period—excepting, of course, where itself was the commencement of all time. Hence our record will have to extend beyond the period when God entered into covenant with Abraham, that so we may consider that fact in its organic connection with the past and the present, and view it both as a historical necessity and as an act of Divine sovereignty. Again, as history has not only to do with the idea, which, so to speak, constitutes the subject matter and the soul of the development, but also with the *form* in which that subject matter made its outward appearance, with the *body* used as the vehicle of that soul, our narrative will not stop short at the period when the great salvation was exhibited, but go beyond it, and follow the development of the Jewish state and nation until its final dissolution.

NOTE.—The designation of *Ecclesiastical History of the Old Testament*, formerly given to such a history, is inappropriate,

because it implies a virtual surrender of the peculiar idea attaching to the word *Church*.

RELATION BETWEEN THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT AND SACRED HISTORY GENERALLY.

(Compare Kurtz's Preliminaries for a new construction of sacred history, in the "Zeitschr. für luther. Theol. u. Kirche," 1842, Part III., and 1843 Part I.)

§ 3. The history of the Old Covenant bears continual and lively reference to the Divine plan of salvation. Hence it forms part of *sacred* history, although only as constituting one stage of, not as summing up that history. For, the latter traces that Divine plan of salvation (Eph. i. 11) from its first pregnant manifestation in the creation of the world to its final and perfect realisation in the *συντέλεια τῶν αἰώνων* (Heb. ix. 26), following all its forms and tendencies, all its developments and contests. The history of the Old Covenant only follows the development of the Divine counsel till salvation is *objectively* presented in the person of Christ, the God-man; sacred history traces this plan until, *subjectively* also, salvation shall have attained full realisation in the *creature*. The former reached its goal when God became incarnate (*ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*, John i. 14), the latter will only close when man shall be received into full communion with the Divine nature (*γενόμενοι θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*, 2 Pet. i. 4, comp. with John xvii., 21—24; 1 John iii. 2; Rom. viii. 17); in the former case the progress of history tends towards the *ἐνσάρκωσις θεοῦ*, in the latter (through the Ensarkosis of God) toward the *ἐνθέωσις ἀνθρώπου*. And, just as sacred history extends *beyond* the goal of the history of the Old Covenant, so also is its starting point at a period *anterior* to its commencement. Sacred history commences with the creation of the world, while the history of the Old Covenant only begins when God entered into covenant with Abraham. The developments which preceded this covenant are merely introductory and preparatory to our history, and we will refer to them only because and in so far as they are subservient to this aim. But such is not the relation of these events

to sacred history. They lie not beyond but within its province; they constitute not its preparatory stage, but rather are that infinitely fertile *commencement* of sacred history, containing and enclosing in germ all the various developments which shall appear at its close, and into which the latter dovetails, thereby forming a circle which cannot be broken.

(1.) The history of the Old Covenant constitutes, therefore, an organic part of sacred history. In its commencement it stands connected with sacred history by the reasons which called it into being; at its close by the results of its development. This also constitutes its religious importance. But it may also be viewed and presented separately, inasmuch as it is complete in itself, and therefore intelligible by itself; for the principle from which it started, the idea which it contained, and the aim toward which it tended, have been attained when salvation was exhibited in Christ; and this convergence of beginning, middle, and end into one whole constitutes *its scientific warrant*. Compare the addition to § 32.

CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

(Comp. Chr. A. Crusius *hypomnemata ad. theol. prophetic.* 3 voll. Lips. 1764. J. Chr. Hoffmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung im alten u. neuen Test. Nördl.*, 1851-44. Fr. Delitzsch, *die bibl. proph. Theol. etc.*, Leipzig 1845, p. 172, ff. R. Stier, *Jesaias nicht Pseudo-Jes.* Barm. 1850, p. i.-xxxiii.)

§ 4. If the incarnation of God in Christ (as the central and turning point of all history, the condition and the means of the Entheosis of man) was the predetermined aim of the Old Covenant, the goal which it ultimately reached, and if, as the very idea of a covenant implies, this goal was to be attained by the co-operation of the two parties who entered into covenant, it follows that the history of this covenant must have exhibited a *twofold* activity, a divine and a human, and that the whole of its course must be pervaded by a corresponding *double series of developments*. As the incarnation of God had not the salvation of the Deity, but that of man for its aim, the Divine agency at work in the covenant must be viewed as a manifestation of

Divine grace. On the other hand, as salvation could not be forced upon man, who is a free and personal being, but could only be received by him in an act of free determination, the agency of man at work in this covenant must be viewed as a manifestation of *human liberty*. Although at first only in a preparatory manner, yet gradually, by continuous revelations, and by divesting Himself of His supra-mundane form of existence (the *μορφῇ θεοῦ*, Phil. ii. 6); by Theophanies and visions; by symbolical representations of a future incarnation (as, for example, in the tabernacle, &c.); by communication of His knowledge, wisdom, and power to individual men (Heb. i. 1, 2)—the *grace of God* prepared the way, until the final, full, and permanent entrance into flesh took place, and the whole human nature was taken into personal union with the Deity. On the other hand, and at the same time, the people of His choice were trained for becoming capable of receiving the Divine nature, until the proper place and point were prepared, when the incarnation of God should take place for the purpose of making manifest the God-man.

§ 5. These two series of development (the Divine and the human) could not, however, proceed side by side with each other without bearing relation to one another, thus touching, penetrating, and mutually conditioning each other in their progress. Indeed, to a certain extent, the development of each depended on the living influence of the other. As every new stage in the revelation of God presupposed a new and a higher development in the free activity of the covenant-people, so the latter could only be the result and the fruit of a preceding and improved reception of the elements of Divine revelation. For, the *plan of salvation*, and the covenant by which it was to be realised, did not proceed from *man* but from *God*—the *knowledge* of the aim of this covenant, and of the means by which it was to be attained, lay not with *man* but with *God*; nor was it the *will* or the *power* of man, but, on the contrary, the will and power of God, which afforded a sufficient guarantee that, despite the disturbances and changes to which every terrestrial development is subject, this goal should at last, certainly and gloriously, be reached. Hence it is *God* who must commence each cycle of revolutions;

it is He who must initiate every new stage of development ; *His* covenant activity must give its impulse, direction, boundaries, and correction to that of man, in order that the latter may either be or remain in accordance with the purposes of the covenant. He must revive, strengthen, dispose, and direct man. But every true activity presupposes proper *knowledge*, proper *volition*, and a sufficient *power of execution*. In all these respects, therefore, human liberty requires, in carrying out the purposes of the covenant, the assistance and direction of Divine *grace*, whose influences are really *miraculous* (in the wider sense of the term), inasmuch as they are not implied in the Divine counsel of creation, but only in that of salvation. The Divine covenant-agency, which, in its very nature, is miraculous, manifests itself in the *law* as a revelation of the Divine *will*, in doctrine or *prophecy* as the revelation of Divine *knowledge*, and in extraordinary general *leadings*, as well as in individual miraculous *events* (called miracles in the narrower sense of the term), as a revelation of Divine *power*. All these manifestations of the Divine covenant operation are connected with, and mutually support and advance each other. For the Divine law and Divine doctrine afford the means for properly understanding, appreciating, and applying the Divine leadings and interferences ; while on the other hand, the latter are instances, connecting points, explanations in fact, and individual verifications, both of the word of prophecy and of the law.

(1.) But it must be borne in mind that this miraculous and covenant agency of God, which, in the history of the development of salvation, is so absolutely necessary for the successful progress of free, human covenant agency, neither destroys nor interferes with human freedom. Such, however, would have been the case, if, either at the commencement or during the progress of history, it had brought to bear upon it all that Divine power, knowledge, and purpose which the covenant was to disclose, and that without regard to the progress of human development, or without reference to the varied requirements, capabilities, and circumstances of men. And because the human development, which the Divine activity is to animate and to strengthen, to fructify and to guide, to protect and to direct, is not merely mechanical but organic, it was also necessary that the Divine agency should gradually unfold, so that, keeping pace with the

human, it may be capable of organically joining it in all its stages, and of intertwining with it.

§ 6. The ultimate aim and the highest point of the Divine covenant activity, in all its manifestations, is the incarnation of God in Christ. The purpose of all Divine operation and co-operation in the Old Covenant is to typify it and to prepare for it. The law, the word of prophecy, the general leadings of the chosen people, and the individual leadings of its more prominent members—in fine, every miraculous interposition points towards this. The *law* is the mirror where the ideal of that Divine perfection, which, since the entrance of sin, can only be realised in the God-man, is reflected; prophecy is the canvas on which the hand of the divinely-enlightened seer traces the lineaments of the God-man. At first we discern only a few bold outlines, but every advancing stage in the historical development adds new features and brings fresh colours for the completion of this picture. For while the descent of the whole fulness of God into human nature becomes *fully* manifest in the incarnation of God, this reality is also in part exhibited both in the typical representations and in the preparatory dispensations of a history, directed by the hand of God and fructified by the Spirit of God. The whole course of this history implies a continual descending and condescending to man on the part of the Divine Being. The general leadings of Israel, as well as every individual miracle, were a prophetic representation, and, as such, an earnest and a guarantee of that abiding and highest miracle which was to take place in the fulness of time. As the root of the tree already contains what will develop into flower and fruit, so the commencement of the covenant-history comprises what tends to and will issue in the exhibition of the God-man; and this tendency appears throughout the course of that history until the goal is reached. Hence the whole of this history is a continuous miracle, although this very continuity conceals this characteristic. But when this tendency operates not merely as a power of life secretly active, but manifests itself in externally visible appearances, it produces events which are pre-eminently designated as miracles.

§ 7. *Prophecy* stands in equally close connection with the de-

velopment of salvation and with its aim. It is the purpose of prophecy, by communicating the knowledge necessary for free self-determination, to convey to human consciousness the same truth which, in the history of the Old Testament, the miracle presents as a fact, viz., the abiding of the Divine presence, not merely over, but *in* this history, in order to work out and to obtain salvation in Christ, the God-man. The highest development of prophecy, towards which it tends, is to impart a full knowledge of salvation, as it has in Christ become objective for mankind generally. Every prediction, even where the future seems exclusively its subject, contains a *doctrine* applicable to *present* wants. The real meaning of prophecy is misunderstood if we consider its main purpose to be, that it affords proof of the Divine origin of Christianity, although it is indeed true that all prophecy attains its fulfilment in the gospel. It were indeed ill for Christianity if it could not stand unless verified by the fulfilment of predictions, for in that case prophecy would be degraded into mere prediction; but worse still would it stand with prophecy, if it were to attain its meaning and importance only after hundreds or thousands of years had elapsed. Prophecy is meant—and every other meaning is secondary and subordinate to this—to open up a knowledge of the present, of its relation and its purport, and that not merely of the period to which more immediately it was meant to apply, *but also of every succeeding period, IN SO FAR as the latter shall have a basis essentially similar to that of the former, and hence similar requirements and a similar aim.*

(1.) Every age is the product and the result of the past; it also contains the germ and commencement of the future. To arrive at a *full* understanding of its position and task, it is necessary to view a period, on the one hand, in the light of the past, and, on the other, in that of the future. It is the purport of prophecy to afford such light. But as the peculiar and the most puzzling questions connected with any period will only receive their solution when the future will unfold its hidden stores, prophecy naturally is principally engaged in anticipating these disclosures. Both, what the present already *has*, and what it yet *wants*, in order that it may attain fulness, prophecy discloses, bringing to her help the light which a Divine knowledge of the future lends her, in order that the men of that generation may, in the exercise of their *freedom*, make right use of what they already *have*, and

earnestly strive to attain what they yet *want*. But prophecy only busies herself with the future so far as its germ is contained in the present, and hence has already begun to appear in outward fact. Not everything which is yet to take place, nor every aspect and form of a future development, forms the burden of successive prophecy. Else the latter would either at all times and under all circumstances shed all the fulness of Divine knowledge over the future, thereby rather destroying than advancing history; or else it would, subject to arbitrary will or to chance, reveal at random one or another thing—a process which would at best give it the dubious distinction of a useless work of supererogation. But this is not the case. That aspect of a future development only, which is already *shadowed forth* in present events, and where, in virtue of the principle of life inherent in history, a tendency has already assumed a distinct direction, and historically commenced to assume an outward shape, forms the burden of prophecy. Externally and internally, in its form and in its substance, prophecy shapes itself, is guided and regulated, by the wants and the circumstances of the times. It gradually unfolds as history progresses; but in the character of a Divine *herald* it overtakes history, hastens before it, and prepares its way; like a heavenly orb, it moves *above* the events of the present to shed over them its light, and to reveal their bearing on the development of the future, that thus men may learn whither these events tend, and what would or should be their upshot. Prophecy, like history, increases during its organic progress; but this growth is not simply the result of quantitative or external additions, but takes place in virtue of an internal and divine germ of life which had lain in it from the first, involving the whole fulness of its distinctive and regular developments. This germ of life is not dormant; and prophecy unfolds more and more, until at last the great goal is reached; it can neither be destroyed nor set aside, because it has not an individual existence out of and separate from God, but the continual and personal presence of God in it is both the condition and the support of its existence and continuance. It is indeed true that the changes and disturbances in the regular progress of historic development, arising from a misapplication of man's freedom, also modify the progress, the form, and the subject-matter of prophecy. But this influence does not extend to what is properly the kernel of prophecy. The latter remains the same amid all the changes of history, however its non-essential and accidental forms and embodiment may be affected by such circumstances.

§ 8. As in its organic progress Old Testament prophecy is itself *history*, so, on the other hand, also is the *history* of the Old

Covenant itself *prophetic*, both because it foreshadows, and because it stands in living and continuous relation to, the plan of salvation about to be manifested. The former then is *word-prophecy*, the latter *fact-prophecy* (by words and by facts); again, the former is *ideal*, the latter *actual* history. Prophecy sheds light on the facts and circumstances of the present, by imparting unto it the idea of the future, and that by showing both what and how much it already *has*, and wherein present events still fall short of the *fulness* of the idea. Similarly is the present also prophetic in its relation to the future, both in virtue of what it already *has* as the consequence of a past development, of what it still wants, in order perfectly to embody the idea, and of what it therefore may yet expect to derive from a future development. But let it not be supposed that what it *wants* is antagonistic to what it already *has*; the one is rather the further formation and the complement, the perfect unfolding of the other. For as the development is *organic*, and from the first includes in *germ* all the fulness which is afterwards to be unfolded, the present never really wants anything which it does not already *possess* in potency as germ or commencement, and the want is never absolute. But, on the other hand, during the whole course of its development, it never has anything to which something were not still wanting, and which is not both capable of and requiring further unfolding. Possession and want, enjoyment and requirement, fulfilment and prophecy, always presuppose and meet each other, until at the close of the development these two antagonistic poles are perfectly reconciled, and are in Christ joined into an eternal and *satisfactory* union and fulness. With possession wants also increase. The more history becomes a fulfilment of prophecy the more intense grows the expectation of the future, until all hope and expectation are satisfied, and met in the highest and final fulfilment. As the covenant people under the Divine training and guidance advances, and what had at first been only in germ unfolds and spreads, the consciousness of what is yet wanting will also deepen and extend, just as science extends her boundaries, and her domain appears larger the more intimately the mind of the inquirer becomes acquainted with it. But *prophecy* alone fully discloses the proper and real relationship between this possession and this want, between this fulfilment and this expectation, and

that the more certainly as the subject here in question refers not to the results of merely human, but of both Divine and human agency. Without prophecy an age would at best only have an indefinite and uncertain presentiment—a kind of divination—which, however it might form a point of connection with, or render capable for receiving prophecy, would still require the latter, in order to be elevated and confirmed to the certainty of *believing*. Just as the *history of prophecy* can, in its organic progress, only develop in connection with actual history, because springing from it, so also does the *prophecy of history* require the light of prophecy to unfold its buds.

(1.) All history which springs from a living germ, is animated and supported by an inward tendency after life, and finally attains, by action and re-action, by evolutions and revolutions, *that goal* for which it was fitted and destined and towards which it had consciously or unconsciously tended, must bear a *typical* character, so that, during the progress of that history, the *goal* will always become more apparent and distinct. The typical character of history depends on the living relationship between its development and the idea which forms its soul, and toward the perfect exhibition of which it tends. The idea ever strives to assume outward form—the soul seeks a befitting body. If the tendency after life which animates a history is so strong that, despite all difficulties, it succeeds in ultimately attaining its end, we may expect that, even during the course of its development, it will be able to bring certain prominent points of its activity to light, which, in that *peculiar* stage of the development, will form suitable embodiments of the *same idea*, that becomes fully manifest when the highest stage is reached, and which, both as to the mode of their appearance and their effects, may be regarded as anticipatory representations (types) of the future. But this typical character does not always clearly appear in secular history, because its development is merely the growth of nature, without the regulating co-operation of Divine deed and Divine instruction; for, while God allows the nations to walk in *their own* ways, His wisdom and power do not become a *constitutive* factor in their history, but are merely the *regulative* factor OVER it. He merely superintends their history, in order to make it subservient to His plan of government and salvation; He does not take part in it as God *incarnate*, to *effect* by it His plan of salvation. On the other hand, the typical character of *sacred* history appears prominently, continuously, markedly, in decided outlines, and in a manner patent not only

to posterity, but, by the assistance of prophecy, to cotemporaries also, and that in measure as their spiritual capacity enables them to perceive and receive it.

The ordinary events recorded in the history of the Old Covenant are of a threefold character. They either proceed from Divine grace, or from human liberty, or from the joint operation of these two. All three point towards the climax of all history, even the manifestation of Christ, in whom the Divine and the human nature are joined in a personal union—constituting the person of the God-man. Hence all the three are anticipatory representations of a coming fulness. Whenever in the Old Testament God manifests himself in a form perceptible by the senses, or in a vision beyond the reach of the senses, or in a symbol adapted to the senses; whenever also He speaks or acts without making use of the medium of human organs—we behold a partial anticipatory exhibition of the *Divinity* of Christ. On the other hand, whenever any of the heroes of the faith—whose spiritual history may be traced to peculiarly Israelitish training, *i.e.* within the moral sphere of the revealed law, and to such a knowledge of salvation as had historically been attained by the nation—in the exercise of his freedom so shapes his course as to become a suitable instrument for man's covenant-activity, we behold in him a partial anticipatory representation of the human nature and activity of Christ. Again, wherever such an one endowed with new powers, with Divine wisdom or might, and clothed with Divine authority, becomes at the same time a medium of new covenant operations on the part of God, he becomes, in his own sphere and according to his capacity, for the men of his time, an anticipatory representation of Him who, as God-man, completed, in the fulness of time, both the Divine and the human covenant-activity, and exhibited the aim of the covenant in working out salvation for all mankind. It needs no further argument to show that events, institutions, and dispensations, as the products of personal activity, exhibit the same characteristics of being typical as the will from which they proceeded.

§ 9. If we have formerly spoken of the history of the Old Covenant as resulting from the co-operation of Divine and human activity, and have learned that those miracles and prophecies in which the Divine agency appeared were necessary as co-efficients of, and in order to support man's covenant-activity, we merely meant to shew that history could not be without either miracles or prophecy until the great goal was reached, but not that every age and every historical development required miracles. On

the contrary, as the covenant-operations of God are also intended for the training of man, shorter or longer intervals may occur during which Divine wisdom makes miracles and prophecy to cease for a time, that human activity may prosecute its peculiar task alone, and only supported by the experiences and results of a former Divine guidance and co-operation. Hence, in this case also, the Divine element is not wanting in the development; it has only become mediate, instead of being, as formerly, immediate.

HOLY SCRIPTURE.

§ 10. It is the distinctive characteristic of the history of the Old Covenant, that in all the grand stages of its development it is *sacred* history. Because, and in so far as it is such, its authentic documents and sources also must be sacred; for it were equally foolish and vain to inscribe or impress the character of sacredness to a science if the same term did not apply to its sources. Just as history becomes sacred by this, that the human *development* is regulated and directed by the continuous presence of God in it, so the channels through which its knowledge is conveyed become sacred by the fact that *divine knowledge* of this development continually regulates, directs, and is present with the human *cognition* of it. For the Divine aspect of sacred history can only be clearly and definitely recognised by means of a Divine revelation.

Hence the most important and the primary channel of information for this science is the collection of sacred writings comprised in the *Old Testament canon* (comp. § 14), as its history, doctrine, and prophecy furnish us with the material of by far the largest and fullest part of our history. They are the more important, as for that period our information is almost exclusively derived from them. However, the sacred writings of the New Testament come also partly within our range, as the first stage of the New Testament development constitutes at the same time the close of that of the Old Testament.

(1.) As the history of the Old Covenant numbered, even in

regard of its internal development, stages, and among them at least one of considerable duration and importance, when the Lord purposely ceased from taking active part in the development, we are of course obliged, in the description of these periods, to have recourse to sources of information which possess no other guarantee for their accuracy and reliableness than that of human enquiry and criticism.

Lastly, the history of which we treat is also variously connected with that of foreign nations and circumstances. But as every science, so the scientific treatment of the history of the Old Covenant requires to communicate lively information on cognate branches of information. In this respect, therefore, the sources of the history of foreign nations are also of importance in our history.

§ 11. As the facts of which they treat, so the sacred writings themselves exhibit the marks of Divine and of human causation, and that not separate from, but in living union with each other. In the one case Divine agency is present with the human development, in the other Divine knowledge of this development is present with human cognition of it. The reason of it is, that these writings proceed from the same Divinely-human sphere of life, and are not only faithful witnesses and monuments of the history of the past and present, but also severally become the living commencement and the vehicles of farther developments. But this communication of Divine knowledge to human cognition must be conceived in one of two ways. Either that which generally lies beyond human experience or human knowledge is impressed on the soul of man in prophetic vision, a sense of need, and the possession of a certain amount of knowledge, forming points of connection, or else where that which took place had been handed down in human tradition, the natural faculties of man, by which he examines and distinguishes what is true and what is false, are quickened by the Spirit of God, and raised to *relative* certainty, fulness, and depth of enquiry, (*i.e.*, to such certainty as corresponds both with the objective aim in view at the time, and with the subjective preparation that had taken place.) It is not by any means intended that this should set aside or render unnecessary human thinking, enquiry, study, collating, or sifting of evidence—in general, mental application on the part of man. On the contrary, it is only intended to

purify, to quicken, and to sanctify such endeavours. Besides, neither are the limits of development, arising from the circumstances of an age or of the individual, to be set aside. Only the measure and fulness of cognition possible within these limits are to be brought to light. On the other hand, the aid derived from natural talent and preparation, personal culture and position in life, is neither neglected nor left unemployed in the search after and in the exposition of the truth. It will readily be understood, that thereby the human mind, so far from being cramped in the exercise of its freedom, or in the display of its peculiarities and its activity, is rather enlarged, and attains its proper strength, fulness, and purity. Historical and religious truth thus obtained, will indeed share the one-sidedness, imperfection, and defective perception and representation due on the one hand to the circumstances and the mental idiosyncrasy of the enquirer, and on the other, to the law according to which we trace a gradual progress in the general development of the Divine in time, until the last and highest aim of history is reached. But it will also be free from all positive error, which might endanger or disturb the peculiar objects to be attained by the Divine co-operation in the composition of these writings, either in their bearing on practical religion, or on religious information. The object which these writings is to serve may briefly be stated as intended to present in these sacred documents a faithful historical account of God's ways of salvation with reference to man, and to serve as a powerful incitement to man to fall in with them.

(1.) As holy writ has this twofold aspect, the human and the Divine, and as the human is not absorbed by the Divine, but rather embodies, presents it in outward appearance, and so preserves it, holy writ has, as every human concern, also a history which may become object of enquiry and examination. Besides, we are entitled to seek evidence as regards its human authenticity, integrity, and trustworthiness. Its origin and composition, both in respect of time, place, and of persons, the stage of civilisation attained at the time and by the persons to whom its composition is ascribed, the resources of human investigation upon which it is based, the history of its preservation and handing down, both in its external and internal phases, &c.—are all subjects of historical investigation and of critical examination. It is, indeed, true that the spirit which the canonical

writings breathe, and which, by every person capable of receiving it, is felt to be Divine, constitutes the internal guarantee for their sacredness and credibility. Piety requires none other than this subjective and internal evidence, but science demands also external and objective proofs. Piety feels no peculiar interest in the demands and the results of criticism ; what Holy Scripture has presented to it, the results of criticism can neither render dubious nor take away ; it only seeks and wishes that what holy writ contains should become matter of personal experience in the religious life, and it obtains this when conscious need of salvation discovers in Scripture full satisfaction and spiritual support. But religious science demands the evidence necessary to knowledge, and the satisfaction of intellectual requirements ; it also looks for unity, for organic connection and harmonic agreement between all religious knowledge and all other general knowledge which may already have been attained or may yet be attained. In this respect it is not sufficient to perceive the results and fruits of a religious event, or to gather from experience their reality. Science also seeks to know the origin and progress of such an event, and the organic unity of its commencement, middle, and end.

The primary object of scientific investigation is the *human* element in holy writ, because the latter is the medium of the Divine element, which can only be apprehended in this form. But if what is human in holy writ has been proved and placed on a firm basis, then science will have to render implicit homage to the Divine, and, under such circumstances, *faith* will be expected from her no less than from mere piety. But faith is demanded by science only after the human element of holy writ has been shewn to be the vehicle of the Divine, and has, as such, stood all the ordeals of enquiry and examination.

OLD TESTAMENT REVELATION.

§ 12. The idea of *revelation* includes, in its widest sense, every manifestation of the Divine Being, will and knowledge *towards, in, and for* His creatures. In this sense, revelation commenced with the *first act* by which the creature was called into existence. Connected with the creative, we have then the *preservative* agency of God, which sustains the powers and faculties that had been granted to the creature in creation ; and His *government of the world*, which is carried on *superior* to the free development of the creature, watches over it in the exercise of sovereignty and

of judgment, overrules and controls it. This threefold direction of Divine manifestation is really one, and only exhibits different phases of one and the same relation between God and the creature, of which it indicates the commencement, the middle, and the end. By calling the creature into existence, and bestowing upon it the powers and faculties necessary to its development, He at the same time gave it a right and a claim to the preservation of these powers and faculties; and in setting before the creature an end which, in its free activity, it *should* attain, but which, by an abuse of its liberty, it *may* miss or pervert, it also became necessary, for the sake of His own purposes, that, as sovereign Lord and Judge, He should watch over this free development, keep it within proper bounds, and direct it towards its peculiar aim. Thus, even creation implies and demands the preservation and the government of the world; but then these two fully meet all the requirements involved in the relationship into which God had, by creation, entered with the world. From the stand-point of creation, no other interposition or manifestation of the Deity could have been demanded. But God has, in the exercise of *free grace*, entered into another relationship with man, different from that of merely the Creator towards the creature. In virtue of His eternal counsel of grace, He appeared from the commencement as the Guardian and Guide of man, and as such He condescended and adapted Himself to the wants of man's childhood—He, as it were, grows with him, and so draws him to Himself. When, by an abuse of his liberty, man had fallen into sin and misery, He opened up before him the salvation provided in that council, and continued it, by a progressive communication of Himself, and condescending to man, until its fulness was attained by the incarnation of God. This Divine manifestation, in virtue of which He is not merely enthroned *above* history as the Ruler of the world, but is also present in it, enters into it, works in it, and, during its progress, more and more unfolds Himself, by increasingly communicating of Himself, we designate *Revelation*, in the narrower sense of the term. When heathenism renounced the ways of God, and entered upon its own ways, it turned aside from this Divine manifestation. But the calling and election of Abraham and of his seed, furnished not only a fresh object for its exercise, but was itself a decisive progress in its development.

§ 13. The difference and the contrast obtaining between the two aspects of Divine revelation—that of creation, preservation, and government, and that of preparing and working out salvation—is of essential importance on the stand-point of the Old Testament, and deeply impressed on its religious consciousness, since the selection of Israel to be the instrument of the Divine purposes of salvation, and the opposition to heathenism which this selection involved, formed the central point of that consciousness. So much was the above difference felt, that it found expression even in the employment of a corresponding *difference in the names of the Deity*. Thus the name *Elohim* applies to the former, that of *Jehovah* to the latter sphere of his operations. The expression ELOHIM applies to God as being the fulness and the source of all life, as He who bears within Himself the potencies of all life and of every development, and who, as Creator, displays them, by causing those commencements of history which are so rich in consequences. On the other hand, JEHOVAH is the God of development, who Himself enters into the development, condescends into it, embodies Himself and co-operates in it, in order to conduct it safely to its destined goal. As *Elohim*, God is also the God of the heathen; for every manifestation of the Deity in heathenism proceeds from Elohim, and all real and genuine consciousness of the Deity in heathenism must be traced to Elohim. But as *Jehovah* He is merely the God of Israel; for heathenism, which has strayed from the development supported and directed by Jehovah, has no part in Jehovah. But it must not be thought that Elohim is as exclusively the God of the heathen as Jehovah is that of Israel. On the contrary, God manifests Himself and works in the history of Israel, not only as Jehovah, but also distinctively in His character as Elohim. For Israel's history, as that of heathenism, implies and requires, in general, the preservation and the government of the world on the part of God. Besides, the preparation and the development of salvation by Jehovah, continually requires, up to the period of its final completion, *creative* agency, to provide the germs of that development which Jehovah conducts to its goal.

(1.) On the names of God, comp. *Hengstenberg's* Authenticity of the Pentateuch, vol. i., p. 213 (Clark), and following; *Drechsler*, Unity and Authent. of Gen.; *Hävernick*, Introd. p. 57 (Clark), and following, and the Theolog. of the O. T.,

by the same author, p. 37, and following; *Tuch*, Comm. xxxiii., and following; *Wette*, the Post-Mosaic in the Pent., p. 84, and following; *Steudel*, Theol. of the O. T., p. 139, and following; *Beck*, Christian Dogm., i. 51, and following; *M. Baumgarten*, Comm. i., p. 30, and following; *Delitzsch*, Bibl. and Proph. Theol., p. 120, and following; *Delitzsch*, Symbolæ ad Psalm. illustr., p. 29, and following; Expos. of Gen., by the same author, p. 22, and following; *Kurtz's* Unity of Gen., p. lxiii., and following, and passim; *C. Keil* on the Names of God in the Pent., in the Lutheran Annuals, 1851, part ii.; *Hofmann's* Script. Demonstr. i., p. 74, and following. Even a cursory inspection of the passages, and the manner in which these two names of God are respectively used in the Old Testament, will prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, that their selection depends on a difference of ideas attaching to them. The first and most general inference, in this respect, is that יהוה is distinctively Israel's name for the Deity. God manifests Himself as *Jehovah* only in and to Israel, as being the nation chosen by Him from among all others, separated from the heathen, and sanctified by its calling and destination, by the law and worship given to it. On the other hand, He is only recognised and worshipped by Israel as *Jehovah*. To all other nations, God is only אלהים, not יהוה; and so generally used is the name Elohim, that it is not merely employed to indicate what is true and genuine in the consciousness of the heathen about God, but also, in general, whatever is Divine, even when it is viewed in a perverted and wrong manner.

But God is אלהים not for the heathen only, but also for Israel; God works and reveals Himself in Israel not only as יהוה, but also and as frequently in His character of אלהים. This observation will lead first of all to the conclusion that the name Elohim, in connection with Israel, indicates every general activity of God which manifests itself amongst the heathen as well as among Israel; and, on the other hand, that the Israelites designated and worshipped God as Elohim whenever such general activity of God, or anything else appeared, which had a place in the consciousness of God common to Israel and to the heathen. But this view does not suffice to account for every occasion on which the name אלהים occurs. We meet the form Elohim even where we read of leadings and manifestations of the Deity distinctively Israelitish. In that most important treatise of *Hengstenberg* (on the names of the Deity), to which we have above referred, this critic has attempted to solve this difficulty, by assuming that Elohim indicated a lower, and Jehovah a higher, stage in the consciousness or in the manifestation of the Deity. He maintains that during the interval between Genesis i. and

Exodus vi., *i.e.*, during the period between the creation and that of the full sanction of the theocratic covenant on Sinai, אלהים becomes יהוה, and that he fully appeared as such only on Sinai. At every former period, it was only relatively, not absolutely, that Elohim became Jehovah. It is maintained that during the developments intervening between these two termini, God was designated יהוה only in so far as in relation to previous manifestations of the Deity He had manifested Himself as יהוה, or in so far as the Divine manifestation thus vouchsafed was higher than the previous, and approached more closely to that of Jehovah, absolutely so called. On the other hand, it was also speaking relatively that He was designated Elohim, viz., in reference to higher and more perfect manifestations yet future, that thus the consciousness might be awakened and maintained, that higher and more glorious manifestations of God as Jehovah were yet to be expected, in comparison with which the manifestation then taking place was lower, and only that of Elohim. But there are many things in the book of Genesis which cannot be reconciled with this theory, however ingenious and consistently carried out. Were it correct, we should have expected that wherever and whenever, at any stage of development, any new thing made its appearance—whenever the idea of gradual unfolding to a perfect theocracy gained new ground—whenever the tendency toward this goal embodied itself in a new shape—the word יהוה should be employed. But frequently, as, for example, in Genesis xvii., this is not the case. Now, according to that view, if any occurrence in patriarchal history might claim the use of the higher name of the Deity, it was surely this, when, after long preparation, the covenant between God and Abraham was at last realised and completed, and the distinctively Israelitish sign of the covenant—circumcision—was instituted.

We must, therefore, give up the view that *in itself* אלהים indicates a lower and יהוה a higher stage in the manifestation or in the popular consciousness of God. We cannot but allow that not only does אלהים often rise to יהוה, but that as frequently יהוה rises into אלהים; in short that, in order that the development may reach its goal, Jehovah becomes as frequently Elohim as Elohim becomes Jehovah. It is the peculiar merit of Baumgarten that he was the first, in his Commentary, clearly to acknowledge this fact, and to indicate the proper way of understanding it—and that he did so correctly, in point of fact, if not of language. Since that time Delitzsch, and the author of this (in the work on Gen. above referred to), have attempted to rectify, to substantiate, and to develop the views of Baumgarten on this subject. The etymology of these two names of God points out the right way of determining the difference subsisting

between them. *Hengstenberg* (l. c. p. 266), *Hüavernick*, *Drechsler*, *Keil*, and *Hofmann*, derive the word אֱלֹהִים from the Arabic *اولد*, coluit, adoravit Deum, and intrans. *اولد*, stupuit, pavore correptus est. But even the relationship between the transitive and the intransitive form renders it more appropriate to reverse this, and to regard the verb as denominative of the Divine name אֱלֹהִים, and ultimately to derive the latter from the obsolete Hebrew root אלה = אהל (to be strong). These two forms of the verb, both having the same meaning, have each become the root of a special name of the Deity, for as that of אֱלֹהִים is derived from אלה, so that of אֱל from אהל. (Comp. *Tuch*, p. xxxix., *Gesenius* in the thes., *Delitzsch*, &c. Hence the fundamental idea attaching to the word אֱלֹהִים will be that of *strength*, while the plural indicates that the term implies both absolute fulness and a diversity which embraces and exhausts everything (comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 270, and following). On the strength of Ex. iii. 14, &c., the name יְהוָה had generally been derived from הוה = הויה, till lately *Ewald*, appealing to Gen. xix. 24, tried to deduce it from the Arabic root *هوا*, and declared that its original meaning was “*height, heaven.*” However, despite this unsuccessful attempt at interpretation (comp. the remarks of *Caspari*, *Lutheran Annals*, 1846, i., p. 164), we may keep by the old, obvious, and well established derivation of the word. It is well known that, although its original punctuation is uncertain, the word יְהוָה has, as *kri perpetuum*, the vowel points of אֱלֹהִים, (comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c. 222, following). It is erroneous to maintain that יְהוָה is the only possible form of the imperfect of הוה (comp. *Delitzsch*, *Symb.*, p. 4, and especially *P. Caspari* on *Micha*, the *Morasthite*, and his prophet. writings, *Christiania* 1851, p. 5, following). The investigations of the latter prove that among the four modes of pronunciation possible, יְהוָה—יְהוֹה—יְהוּה and יְהוָה, one of the first two has most probability in its favour. The punctuation יְהוֹה, or יְהוּה proposed by *Fürst* (in his *Dictionary*), which at first sight would almost seem to be the most obvious, cannot be admitted, as in that case the *nomm. propria composita*, which have יְהוָה for their second component part, would require to terminate in יהו and not in יהי. The Scriptures themselves furnish two explanations of the *meaning* of the word יְהוָה. In Exodus iii. 14 the Lord Himself interprets it by אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, and in

Revel. i. 4 it is paraphrased: $\delta \acute{\omega}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \delta \eta\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \delta \acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. יהוה is equivalent to $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota, \gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota, \epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$; it indicates concrete, not abstract being—such being as makes its appearance, manifests itself in history, and, so to speak, becomes historical. This meaning comes out more fully and prominently in the imperfective form of the name derived from it. Hence יהוה is God outwardly manifesting Himself, revealing Himself, living, working, and reigning in history, *ever unfolding there, more and more, His character and being*. Withal it must be evident that the name יהוה, as that of God outwardly manifesting Himself, could only have originated among a nation which either enjoyed, or at least believed that it enjoyed, the continual presence of God as their king, and whose entire development was, or claimed to be, dependent, and to rest upon a special manifestation of Himself. But as Israel claimed this Divine presence for itself exclusively, it is plain that the use of that name must also have been exclusively confined to *its* history and worship.

We are now in a position clearly to understand both the meaning of, and the difference obtaining between, these two names of the Deity. They stand in the relation of potency to evolution—of the beginning, which, in potency, already contains the entire development, to the progress, during which this potency is actually evolved in outward appearances. *Elohim* is the God of the commencement, who, in Himself has the potencies of all life and development—who, by his creative agency, presents them external to Himself, and initiates the commencements of history, which are afterwards to be so fully developed. On the other hand, *Jehovah* is the *God of the development*, who takes up the work of Elohim, who causes the potencies to unfold, and directs what was begun to a termination. Elohim is *the Creator*—absolute fulness of life, transcendent independence and superiority to every terrestrial limitation are His characteristics. Jehovah is the medium connecting the commencement with the end, the God of development and of history, who personally takes part in events, and adapts Himself to them, or to time and to space. The name Elohim indicates absolute fulness and power of life, and assures us that every product of His activity is rich in, and capable of, development, that it *may* perfectly unfold and attain its goal, but not that it certainly *shall* do so. On the other hand, the name of Jehovah guarantees the development itself, and that the potency will ultimately reach its fullest development, that what was begun shall reach its proper termination. For, in His character of Jehovah, God undertakes the development; it now rests upon Him, He becomes its coefficient, and He unfolds Himself *in* and along *with* the mundane and creature-development. Hence, despite the vicissitudes and dis-

turbances caused by the co-operation of man's free will, it must necessarily reach its goal. The guarantee for the development and the attainment of the goal offered by the name יהוה is distinctly pointed out in the explanation of that name in Ex. iii. 14, by אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר אֶתְחַלֵּק.

If the word Elohim indicates the God of the *beginning*, and Jehovah the God of the *middle*, which receives and comprehends within itself the beginning, the God of development, whose it is to guide the beginning to its end, then the name Elohim must also apply to the fulness of the end. As the God of the beginning, Elohim is, *eo ipso*, also the *God of the end*. For the end is the return to the beginning; what the latter contained in potency, the former exhibits in outward fact. As Jehovah takes up the commencement made by Elohim, in order to conduct it through all its varied developments unto the end, so Elohim also again takes up the termination, after that Jehovah has finished his work, and accomplished the development. This taking up of the end on the part of Elohim constitutes the *judgment*, for the actual termination is judged of according to the potencies inherent in the commencement. Elohim, then, is the God of the commencement and of the end; Jehovah the God of the middle, of the development, which lies between the commencement and the end.

From this point of view, the difficulty so fatal to the theory of Hengstenberg, is readily and naturally solved, and we understand how, during the course of the covenant history of Israel, Elohim changes and rises to Jehovah, and, *vice versa*, under given circumstances, Jehovah into Elohim. The latter will take place whenever, during the progressive development, a fresh *creative* commencement has to be made, or when a new potency, which Omnipotence must guide to its goal, makes its appearance for the purpose of furthering the development—or whenever a development reaches its end, whether this be a wrong end, through the sinfulness of men, or whether it comes up to the idea which it was meant to embody. In the former case, Elohim appears as *judge*; in the latter, Elohim, who, in the commencement, appeared as the fulness of life, manifests Himself as the fulness of blessedness, *ὅτι θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πάντων*.

We subjoin a quotation from *Delitzsch* (symbl. l. c.) to show in what preparatory relation Israel's consciousness of God, as manifest in these two names, stands to that of the Christian Church. He remarks—"Nomen אֱלֹהִים non quid homines duntaxant de Deo sentiant, sed qualis sit in semet ipso, effert et omnipotentem ejus naturam simul cum vita ejus immanente denotat, Deum quatenus vitam omnipotentem habet in semet ipso ac proinde omnis vitæ et principium est et finis. *Revelatio*

mysterii trinitatis pro hujus nominis explicatione habenda est (comp. also Hengstenberg's Contr. i. 268, Comment. on the Book of Psalms, v. iii., p. 42, app.) Contra nomen יהוה Deus assumpsit, quatenus progressionem generis humani a principio ad finem ipse per ætatum decursum gubernat et intra limites spatii et temporis salutariter se manifestat; quæ manifestatio in V. T. gentis israeliticæ terminis preparatorie adstricta erat, donec in hac ipsa gente Jehova humanam naturam sibi uniret nominis-que sui vim declaret. *Incarnatio pro nominis יהוה explicatione habenda est*, nam qua de causa et quo consilio Deus in V. T. Jehova nuncupetur, in facie Jesu Christi elucescit.

SOURCES AND AUXILIARY SCIENCES FOR THE HISTORY OF
THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 14. The Holy Scriptures, contained in the Old Testament, whose peculiar character we have described above (v. § 10 and 11), are the first, the most peculiar, and the principal sources for the history of the Old Covenant. We have already shown that if the Scriptures are to be properly appreciated and understood, they require to be made the subject of careful and conscientious research, study, and comment, because, like the history of which they bear record, they contain, besides their Divine, a human element also. It is the province of a *Biblical Introduction*, or rather *Biblical Literary History* (as it has been more correctly designated), to carry on this inquiry and investigation (so necessary for science) in its *historical* aspect. The student has here to enquire into the origin of the sacred writings, into the time, place, authorship, occasion, means and sources, end and purpose of their composition. He has also to examine their further history, especially that of their collection, preservation, and dissemination (1.) The *diplomatic* aspect of this investigation forms the object of *textual criticism*, which has to present us with the text, so far as possible, in all its integrity and purity, as ascertained by an examination of all the evidence that may be found on the subject. Lastly, *exegetics* undertakes the philological part of the enquiry. It seeks to ascertain, to its full extent, the meaning which every author intended to convey. For this purpose it makes use of every aid which history, criticism, and the study of languages can furnish—a task the more in-

portant, as the differences of time, of circumstances, and of the manner of viewing which obtains between an author and his commentator, lead to many difficulties, both in respect of the expressions used and of the things expressed (2.)

(1.) *Comp. Herm. Hupfeld on the idea and method of so-called Biblical introductions, with a survey of their history and literature, Marburg 1844. Among the various problems of Biblical literary history, that of the origin of the Biblical writings is at once the most important and the most difficult. On this question scientific enquiry is at this moment engaged in a controversy, the final termination of which is not yet within sight. Comp. * the author's dissertation on the influence of the historical and theological views of a critic on the criticism of the Pentateuch, in his work on the unity of the book of Genesis. Berlin, 1846, p. 5—20. The question about the authors, about the time, place, and occasion of certain Biblical writings, is of twofold importance for our special objects. They are both the *sources* of our historical enquiries and also integral portions of this history, *i. e.*, they are on the one hand the *productions* of a past, and on the other the *moving springs* of a future historical *development*.

We append a literary survey of recent general works on the introduction to the study of the Old Testament, reserving the mention of monographs till we treat of the subjects on which they respectively bear. With the exception of the brief compendium by *De Wette*, the negative and distinctive criticism of **J. G. Eichhorn* (1780), 4th ed., Gottingen, 1820-1824, 5 vols., and of *L. Bertholdt*, 1812, has not found more recent advocacy, in so far as general introductions to the Old Testament are concerned. But the opposite, the conservative, direction, has had many representatives, both among Roman Catholics and among Protestants. Since the "Introductio ad libros canon. Vet. Test., ed. III., Lips. 1741, 4," by *J. Gottl. Carpzov*, a thorough work, based, however, on the one-sided and formerly current notion of a mechanical inspiration, and not assigning, therefore, to criticism its proper place, the following works, which, in particular points, also very much prepared the way for Old Testament history, have appeared. The Roman Catholics have furnished **J. Jahn's* Introd. to the Div. Writings of the Old Test., 3 vols, Vienna, 2d ed., 1802, 1803; **J. G. Herbst* Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the Sacred Writings of the O. T., completed by *B. Welte*, Karlsruhe, 1840-44, 4 vols.; **J. M. Augustin Scholz* Introd. to the Sacred Writings of the O. and N. T., Cologne 1845, of which as yet only 3 vols. have appeared; **D. Haneberg* Contributions to a History of Bibl. Revel., designed as Introd. to the O. and N. T., Regensb., 1850. From Protestant authors we have *Ite*.

A. Hävernicks Manual of Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the Sacred Writings of the O. T., 4 vols., the 5th vol. by *K. Fr. Keil*, Erlangen, 1836-49; a Manual on the same subject by *K. Fr. Keil* is shortly expected (Erlang. 1853).¹ *E. W. Hengstenberg* has some separate treatises on certain points and subjects connected with an "Introduction to the Old Testament," which had been made the subjects of special attack. These form his "Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament, Berlin, 3 vols., 1831-39,"² a work which, according to its original design, was meant to extend over all the controverted portions of the Old Testament.

(2.) The following are the exegetical auxiliaries to the study of the O. T. which are of most use. Among *Rabbinical* commentators we note especially *Jarchi*, *Aben-Ezra*, and *D. Kimchi*, whose commentaries are placed side by side in *Buxtorf's* *Biblia Hebraica Rabbinica*, 4 vol., 4 Bas., 1618. *Jarchi* has been translated into Latin by *Breithaupt*, 3 vols., 4 Goth., 1710. Among modern Jewish commentators*, *L. Philippson's* *Isr. Bible*, Leipz., 1839, deserves mention. Among patristic writings, those of *Theodoret*, and of *Chrysostom*, of *Jerome*, and of *Augustin*, are of most importance. The most notable of Roman Catholic treatises on this subject is *Augst. Calmet*, comment. littéral sur tous les livres de l'ancien et du nouv. test., 23 vols., 4 par., 1707-16, containing also able dissertations on difficult questions. (The latter is also translated into German, and furnished with learned notes, by **J. L. Mosheim*, 6 vols., Bremen, 1743-45). Among Protestant productions, we have, besides *Luther's* deep and edifying but chiefly practical notes, the commentaries of *Calvin* on almost every book of the Bible, which constituted an era in the history of exegetics. The exegetical works of successors of the Reformers, and partly those of the latter also, are collected in such works as the *Critici Sacri*, Lond. 1690, 9 vols. fol. (and other ed.), and *M. Poli* Synopsis Criticorum Sacr., 5 vols. fol., Lond. 1699 (and other ed.) The commentaries of *G. Clericus* (†1737) on the Old Testament, specially those on the historical portions of it, are very valuable on account of their able grammatico-historical expositions, and their apt quotations from classical-profane writings, although they are considerably deteriorated, from the baldness of their Arminianism. The *English Commentary*, translated (into German), and with additional notes by *S. G. Baumgarten*, *J. Brucker*, and others, 19 vols., 4, Leipz., 1748, still deserves attention. **J. D. Michaelis's* translation of the O. T., with notes for unlearned readers, furnishes useful

¹ In this country we should also mention the well-known Introduction by Canon *Horne*.—THE TR.

² Translated by J. E. Ryland, &c. (Clark, Edinburgh.)

material. The scholia in *Vet. Test.*, by *E. F. K. Rosenmüller* (2d ed. 1821), are a full and learned compilation, for which the materials collated by Clericus have served as a basis. *F. J. V. D. Maurer's* comment. gramm. crit. in *V. T.* is only useful for grammatical purposes. The exegetic manual of **Hitzig* on the *O. T.*, Leipz. 1838 (to which *Thenius*, *Hirzel*, *Knobel*, *Bertheau*, have contributed), is distinguished for the exegetic abilities of the writers engaged in it. Its general tendency is rationalistic in various degree; but most of the contributors do not share the destructive criticism of its learned editor. The theological comment. to the *O. T.* commenced by **Baumgarten* (Kiel 1843), furnishes an explanation of great importance for the deeper theological understanding of the *O. T.*, as well as for its history, although at times manifest mistakes occur. Among popular commentaries, that by *O. v. Gerlach* (continued by *Schmieder*) deserves special mention on account of the thoroughness and originality of its treatment.¹

§ 15. The results of the investigations, devolving on biblical criticism and exegesis, furnish the principal material for a scientific treatment of biblical history. But besides history (properly so called) some other auxiliary sciences assist us in eliciting the conclusions and facts to which we have adverted. Among them we reckon first *Biblical Antiquities*, which, in the wider sense of that term, treat of biblical antiquities in all their bearings, and embrace biblical history and geography. In the narrower sense of the term, biblical antiquities differ from sacred history, the latter presenting the life of the nation in its progressive development, the former in its abiding circumstances and stationary relations. History records facts; archaeology, institutions, relations, manners, and customs. But as these are again the results of a historical development, and exercise a powerful influence on the farther development of the nation, history cannot dispense with this important auxiliary. (1.) *Biblical Geography* is frequently studied in connection with antiquities. In its narrower and more definite meaning that science must be separately treated, as, indeed, its importance requires. Its value as bearing on history is self-evident. (2.) *Biblical Chronology* is closely connected with biblical history. It may be viewed in one of three ways, either as mathematical, as technical, or as historical

¹ It is needless to mention the names of the principal British and American commentators.—THE TR.

chronology. The first of these presents to us the scientific astronomical principles necessary for the division of time; the second shews how the nations adapted these principles for the purposes of ordinary life; the third applies them for fixing the dates of historical events. The first lies beyond the province of history, the second forms a part of biblical archæology, while the third is so important an element in historical enquiry that only the peculiar difficulties, and the special importance attaching to it, can warrant us in treating it as a separate study. (3.) Lastly, in the study of the history of the Old Covenant, *Biblical Theology* forms an indispensable auxiliary. This science treats of the historical and genetic development of religious consciousness among the covenant-people, and of their subjective preparation for receiving that salvation, which is objectively, and as matter of fact, exhibited in and by history. (4.)

(1.) Among rabbinical treatises on *Hebrew Antiquities* the two works of *R. Moses Ben Maimon* (Maimonides) *יד הוקד* (strong hand) and *מורה נבוכים* (doctor perplexorum) deserve special mention. Acuteness and sobriety of reasoning are the prominent characteristics of that author. Among works written by Christians we mention first the large collection of treatises combined in *Blas. Ugolini* thesaurus antiq. ss. Venet. 1744—69. 34 vols. fol. On the character and the influence of *Spencer de legibus ritual.* Hebr. l. iii. (1686) ed. Pfaff Tub. 1732 fol.—a work learned and acute indeed, but destitute of all deeper insight—comp. *Hengstenberg's* contrib. i. p. 4. and following. *J. Lundius* Jewish Antiquities (1704), with notes by Wolf, Hamburg 1732 fol., is diffuse but edifying. The author possesses rabbinical lore, but his researches are neither original nor critical. *J. G. Carpzovii* apparatus hist.-crit. antiq. sacri codicis et gentis Hebr. 1784. 4. is a learned and exhaustive commentary on Goodwin's *Moses et Aaron.* *J. D. Michaelis* Laws of Moses Frankf. 1770, 2d ed. 1793. 6 vols. follows in the wake of Spencer. The author has collected abundant material, he is painstaking and ingenious, but too often descends to silly trivialities, is too diffuse, and especially reduces every lofty subject to the level of the merest commonplace, comp. *Hengstenberg* l. c. p. 13, and following.—*R. Rosenmüller's* Manual of Bibl. Antiq. in 7 vols. (treating only of geography and natural history) 1823, and the "ancient and modern East" by the same author, 6 vols. Leipz. 1818, are careful and useful compilations of the materials known in his time. *J. Jahn's* Bibl. Archæology 3 vols. Vienna 1824. Among more recent manuals we may mention the works of

Pareau 1817; *Scholz* 1834; *Kalthof* 1840; *Allioli* 1842; *De Wette* 3 ed. 1842. The natural history of the Bible has, in its various departments, been treated as a special branch of biblical antiquities in such works as *Celsii Hierobotanicum*. Ups. 1745; *Sam. Bochart hierozoicon* (1663), the latest ed. by Rosenmüller, Leipz. 1793—96. 3 vols. 4 (an almost inexhaustible store-house of the most choice and varied learning); finally *J. Jac. Scheuchzer Physica, or Sacred Natural Hist.*, treating of the questions in natural history alluded to in the Scriptures, 5 vols. fol. Augsb. 1731—79. *Donat.* 3 vols. 4. Leipz. 1777—79 published a condensed edition of this work. For *medical* questions consult *J. P. Trusen* the diseases of the Bible and notes on the passages which refer to medicine, Posen 1843; and *J. B. Friedreich's* Fragments on the natural hist., anthropol., and medic. of the Bible, Nurnb. 1848, 2 vols.

(2.) *Palestine*, the *holy land* is the soil on which our history develops. Besides, *Egypt, Arabia*, and the countries of Western Asia occasionally claim also consideration. A complete index of the literature of *Biblical Geography*, in so far as it refers to Palestine, is furnished in *Robinson's Palestine* ii. pp. 533 and following.¹ As sources and auxiliaries in the investigation of the geographical questions connected with our history, we have, besides the Bible, Josephus, the Talmud, and the Greek and Roman historians and geographers, especially the *tabula Theodosiana*, better known by the name of *Peutingeria*, being an index (or a kind of rough map) of the military roads in the Roman empire during the reign of Theodosius the Great, and of the distance between the various towns. This map, so long in the possession of Privy Counsellor Peutingier, is now in the imperial library at Vienna. Mannert has given an exact reprint of it (Leipzig 1829)—the section referring to Palestine will be found in *Reland's Palaest.* p. 421.—*Eusebii* onomasticon urbiū et locorū s. sacr. has only been preserved in the latin translation of Jerome. Edit. by *J. Clericus* in *Nic. Sanson's* geogr. s. Amstd. 1707. The *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* contains an index of names and distances, and dates from the fourth century. Comp. *Reland* l. c. p. 416 and following. Since then the holy land has, during every century, been visited and described by a multitude of travellers. The following works of recent travellers are among the most important for the geographical and historical knowledge of the country. *Carsten Niebuhr's* journey in the years 1761—67; that of *Ulr. J. Seetzen* in 1803—10; of *J. L. Burkhart* 1810—16; of *G. H. v. Schubert* 1839—40; of *Jos. Russegger* in 1835—41; and especially that of *Ed. Robinson*, Prof. in New York, who, in

¹ The references are throughout to the *second* edition of Robinson's Palestine.—THE TR.

company with the Rev. *E. Smith*, a missionary thoroughly acquainted with the language and the customs of the country, visited Palestine and the countries south of it in 1838, after the most careful preparation, and under the most advantageous circumstances, for the sole purpose of investigating on the spot the most difficult portions of biblical geography.¹ The diary of this journey, edited by Professor Robinson, is an *opus palmare*. In great part it has satisfactorily solved difficulties formerly felt, and explained or vindicated many portions of sacred history on which criticism had attempted to throw doubts. The extensive work of Dr Wilson, who visited the holy places in 1843 ("the lands of the Bible, 2 vols. Edinb. 1847") deserves in many respects attention, although, in point of real value, it is far out-distanced by that of his American predecessor. The journey of *Const. Tischendorf* (1844) was undertaken, in the first place, for other scientific purposes. It treats only incidentally of antiquarian and geographical subjects. *F. A. Strauss* and *W. Krafft* travelled in Palestine in 1845. They have since announced a work descriptive of Mount Sinai, and of about 30 places which they have succeeded in discovering.²

The following are the best *manuals* of biblical geography. *Hadr. Reland*, *Palæstina ex monum. vett. illustr.* Traj. Bat. 1714. 4, a book of sterling value even in our own days.—*A. Fr. Büsching*, *Geography* Pt. V. Altona 1785.—*K. Ritter* has incorporated in his geography (*Erdkunde*) 2d ed. Vols. xiv. xv. (1. 2.) xvi. (1. 2.) Berlin 1848 (Peninsula of Sinai, Palestine, and Syria), the materials of all former investigations, and furnished a masterly scientific work on the subject.—*R. von Raumer's* *Palæstine* (3d ed. Leipzig 1851) is a manual equally distinguished for its scientific merits and its Christian tone. The work of *L. El. Gratz* on biblical geography, which forms part of *Allioli's* biblical antiquities, does not come up to the present requirements of science. A popular book, of considerable merit, is the *biblical geography*, published by the *Calw Union*, 6 ed., 1846. *Fr. Arnold's* *Palæstine*, Halle 1845, shews learning, and deserves attention.

Before the work of *Robinson* had appeared, the *maps* of the Holy Land by *Grimm* and *Berghaus* were considered to be the best. They have since lost their value, on account of the many corrections and additions which the researches of Professor

¹ In 1852, Professor Robinson revisited Palestine, and has accordingly communicated additional information. The results of these two journeys have recently been combined by him into one work (3 vols., London, 1856).—THE TR.

² Since the text was written, besides minor works, the following books on Palestine claim the attention of the scholar and student:—*Rabbi Schewartz's*, *De Sauley's*, *Lieut. Van der Velde's*, and *Mr Stanley's*.—THE TR.

Robinson have made necessary. *H. Kiepert* has, with great diligence and accuracy, drawn the maps for Professor Robinson's work. A number of maps have since appeared, each mar in : the latest discoveries. Kiepert has reduced the maps to the work of Professor Robinson in size, and added to them those of the lands east of Palestine (edited by *Ritter*, Berlin 1842, and a revised edition in 1844). On a much larger scale *C. Zimmermann* drew his map of Syria and Palestine (to illustrate the work of *K. Ritter*), Berl. 1850, in 15 sheets. Of other maps we may specially mention those of *Kutschelt*, Berlin 1843, and of *K. v. Raumer* and *Fr. v. Stülpnagel*, Weimar 1844, which latter, by adding other necessary maps, satisfactorily meets the demands of Bible students generally.

(3.) The principal authorities on the study of *mathematical* and *technical* CHRONOLOGY are *Ideler's* excellent and thorough writings; the manual of mathematical and technical Chronol., 2 vols., Berlin 1825, and the manual of Chron., Berlin 1831. Comp. also *W. Matzka*, Chronol. in all its departments, Vienna 1844. The Chronographies of *Jul. Africanus* and of *Eusebius* are of special importance to *historical* chronology generally, and particularly in its bearings on biblical history. The first of these works has been entirely lost, but Eusebius made considerable use of the information it conveyed in his Chronicon, or *παντοδαπή ιστορία*. But the original of this important work has also been lost, and only fragments of it have been preserved in the writings of the Syncellist *Georgius*. *Jerome* has furnished a translation (in remodelled form) of the 2d book of the Chronicon of Eusebius. In his "thesaurus temporum" *J. J. Scaliger* has attempted, by the most laborious research and the most acute combinations, to reconstruct the whole of that work. But not many years ago an *Armenian* translation of the original was discovered at Constantinople, and edited both by *Aucher* and *Aug. Mai*. (Comp. Niebuhr's histor. inferences from the Armenian Chronicon of Eusebius, in his miscellaneous writings, 1st collect., Bonn 1828). The *Chronicon Paschale*, composed in the spirit of Byzantine historians, contains a Chronology extending from the creation of the world to the time of the emperor Heraclius, arranged according to the paschal festivities. Edit. by *du Fresne*, Paris 1689, fol., and by *Dindorf*, Bonn 1832. Besides these we have to mention the Jewish Chronicon mundi majus et minus (סדר עולם רבא וזטא) hebr., Amstd. 1711, 4; translated into latin with a Comm. by *J. Meyer*, Amsterd. 1649, 4. The former extends to the time of the emperor Hadrian. Its reputed author was *R. Jose Ben Chilpetu* (Chalipeta), who flourished about the year 130, known as the teacher of Jehudah Hakkadosh, the celebrated compiler of the Mishnah. The Seder Olam Sutha is of more recent date.

On chronology generally we have the comprehensive works of *J. J. Scaliger* (de emendatione temporum, Par. 1583, fol. ; *Seth. Calvisius* opus chronologicum, Lips. 1605, 4 ; *Dion. Petavius*, opus de doctr. temporum, Par. 1627, 2 vols. fol., edid. et auxit *J. Harduin*, Antv. 1723, 3 vols. fol. ; *J. Marsham* canon chronicus ægypt. ebr. græc., Lond. 1672 ; *Alph. de Vignoles*, chronol. de l'hist. s. et des histt. étrang. qui la concernent, depuis la sortie de l'Égypte jusqu'à la captivité de Babyl. Berl. 1738, 2 vols. 4 (*Fr. Clemencet*) l'art de vérifier les dates histor. Par. 1818.

The following works treat exclusively, or at least principally, of *Biblical Chronology* :—*Camp. Vitringa* hypotyposis hist. et chron. s. edit. noviss. Havniæ 1774 ; *Alph. de Vignoles* chronologie de l'hist. s. depuis la sortie de l'Égypte jusqu'à la captivité de Bab., Berl. 1738, 2 vols. 4 ; *Alb. Bengel* ordo temporum (1741), ed. ii. cur. *Fr. Hellwig*, Stuttg., 1770 ; *K. Chr. von Bennigsen*, bibl. chronol. of the O. and N. Test., Leipz. 1788, 4 ; *J. G. Frank* nov. syst. chron. fundamentalis, with preface by Gatterer, Göttg., 1788, fol.—a German condensation of this work appeared at Dessau in 1783 ; *J. N. Tiele* chronology of the O. T. to the first year of Koresh, Bremen, 1839 ; *A. Archinard* la chronolog. sacrée basée sur les découvertes de Champollion, Par. 1841 ; *G. Seyffarth* chronol. sacra, or enquiries into the year of the birth of our Lord, and into the chronology of the O. and N. T., Leipz. 1846.

NOTE.—When applying the *Christian* era to the events of Old Testament history, it is necessary first to place the latter into juxtaposition with cotemporary events in profane history, whose exact date has been definitely fixed. But this only becomes possible when we reach the point where Persian and Jewish history come into contact. But at this period Biblical chronology ceases to be independent. The chronology of the period preceding that of the Persian is as yet involved in such darkness and uncertainty, that it is impossible to apply any results thence derived towards ascertaining or fixing the data of Biblical chronology. This remark applies not only to Assyrian and Babylonian chronology, where we still wait for definite chronological results from the discoveries made in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and of the Tigris, but also to the history of Egypt, the *results* of which—if, indeed, they may be called results—are still so conflicting, uncertain, and doubtful that the time seems yet distant when Old Testament events may be examined and determined according to a standard furnished by them.

Bunsen imagines that in his work on Egypt (to which we shall by and bye refer), he has succeeded in so combining the data gathered from monuments with the catalogues of dynasties drawn up by Manetho and by the Greek chronographers as to

present a perfectly trustworthy Egyptian chronology, reaching as far as the fourth millenium before Christ. By means of this chronology, he proposes to rectify, not only the dates of the histories of other nations, but also those of the Bible. He supposes that the latter were not handed down by authoritative tradition before the time of Solomon, and therefore is subject of enquiry, which must yield to the results of any other enquiry that may be carried on with better appliances. (Comp. Bunsen i. 288). But the difference, and even the opposition, not only in the results obtained, but even in the principles laid down by the most celebrated students of Egyptian history—as exemplified in the works of *Champollion*, *Bunsen*, *Lepsius*, *Böckh*, not to speak of *Seuffarth*, whose labours have never been sufficiently appreciated—must convince every one that such anticipations are at least premature. The confidence with which, especially *Bunsen* and *Lepsius*, proclaim as undoubted truth hypotheses which only rest on arbitrary combinations and ungrounded assumptions, cannot mislead us. We hold that, in a scientific point of view, we are warranted, in the meantime, in abiding by that Biblical chronology, the trustworthiness of which has hitherto not been shaken by any doubts cast upon it.

J. Chr. K. Hofmann has attempted to reconcile Egyptian and Biblical chronology (on Egypt. and Isr. Chronol., Nördl. 1847) in a manner deserving attention. While *Bunsen* and *Lepsius* fix the reign of Menes, the first historical king of Egypt, 4000 years before Christ, and hence, according to Biblical chronology, at the time of Adam, *Hofmann* endeavours to show that in Manetho's lists of dynasties three different modes of calculating the time from Menes to Psammenit, each extending over 1651 years, are mixed up with each other. In this manner he brings down the reign of Menes from the time of Adam to that of Abraham.

In order to calculate the data of Biblical chronology during the pre-Persian period, according to the Christian era, we must trace Biblical events backwards from the time of Cyrus and the close of the Babylonian exile. But it is often so difficult to reconcile these data, that it requires thorough and detailed examination of certain points, on which we can only enter in detail when treating of these periods. It will therefore be best simply to follow the thread of Biblical chronology, to investigate difficulties as they occur, to calculate according to years of the world up to the Babylonian exile, and then to adopt the Christian era. Only when, at the close of our labours, every difficulty has been separately treated, shall we present, in a chronological and synchronistic appendix, a survey of our general results, applying them also to the pre-Persian period.

(4.) On the province, character, and history of BIBLICAL

THEOLOGY, comp. the excellent little treatise by *G. Fr. Oehler*, Prolegomena to the Theology of the O. T., Stuttg. 1846—the precursor of a very promising work on this science. The following are the more important books on this subject which have hitherto appeared:—*C. T. Ammon* Bibl. Theology, 2 ed., 3 vols., Erlang., 1801—02; *G. Ph. Ch. Kaiser* Bibl. Theol., 3 vols., Erlang., 1814—21; *W. M. L. de Wette* Bibl. Dogmatics of the O. and N. T., Berlin, 1813; *L. F. O. Baumgarten Crusius* elements of Bibl. Theol., Jena, 1828; *D. G. C. v. Cölln*'s Bibl. Theol., edited by *D. Schulz*, 2 vols., Leipz., 1836. Vol. i. contains the Theology of the O. T. In *W. Vatke's* Bibl. Theol., vol. i., Berlin, 1835, and *Bruno Bauer's* Critique of the History of Revelation (also under the title, the Religion of the O. T.), 2 vols., Berl., 1838, the religious history of the O. T. is constructed *a priori* on the ideas of *Hegel* about revelation. *Vatke* represents the religion of Israel as starting from the worship of nature, and becoming that of Jehovah only under the later prophets. *K. Chr. Plank's* Genesis of Judaism, Ulm, 1843, has a similar object. According to this writer, the religion of Israel had only gradually risen above the Chaldee fire-worship, which is in turn represented as identical with the service of Moloch. This direction was pushed to all its consequences in the writings of *Daumer* ("The Fire and Moloch Worship of the ancient Hebrews," 1842), and of *Ghillany* ("The Human Sacrifices of the ancient Hebrews," 1843), but in a manner not only extreme, but even palpably absurd.

All the above-mentioned books belong to the rationalistic school, the members of which more or less misunderstand the religious import of the Old Testament. But the lectures of *J. Chr. Fr. Steudel* (on the Theol. of the O. T., edit. by *G. Fr. Oehler*), as all the contributions from his pen, are distinguished by a reverence for Divine revelation in the O. T. unhappily too rare at that period. The lectures of *H. A. Chr. Hävernich* on the Theology of the O. T. (edited by *H. A. Hahn*, Erlang., 1848), are still more satisfactory, although they exhibit the defects attaching to a work which the author himself had not prepared for publication. The learned world still looks forward to the long-expected treatise on the subject, by *Oehler* of Breslau. The work on Biblical Dogmatics, by *J. L. S. Lutz* (edited from his lectures by *Rüetschi*, Pforzheim, 1847), indicates great scientific acquirements, and embodies a thoughtful and sober application of the principles and results of modern criticism of the sacred writings. *J. Chr. K. Hofmann's* Scriptural Demonstration (1st pt., Nördl., 1852) is a work which really opens a new treatment of the subject, and forms an era, however many exceptions may be taken on some special points.

In his Christology of the Old Testament (3 vols., Berlin, 1829

—35), *E. W. Hengstenberg* has treated the grand subject of O. T. theology on a purely exegetical plan. This work has led to the orthodox scientific consideration which the subject has since received. Of great importance, also, in this respect, was *J. Chr. K. Hofmann's* *Prophecy and Fulfilment in the O. and N. T.*, 2 vols., Nördlingen, 1841—44, a work which, from its arbitrary exegesis, occasionally excites opposition, but on the whole powerfully stimulates the student, and promises to advance and remodel the development of Old Testament theology. It is specially distinguished for the energy with which the author treats the subject, and insists, both in theory and in practice, on the necessity of viewing prophecy and history in their continuous and organic unity and relationship. Comp. the excellent criticism of *Hofmann's* principles and results, in *Delitzsch's* "Bibl. Proph. Theol., its development by Chr. A. Crusius, and its latest form since the appearance of Hengstenberg's Christology, Leipz. 1845." The writings of *J. J. Stahelin* (the Messian. predict. of the O. T. in their origin and development, Berlin, 1847), and of *Fr. Düsterdieck* (de rei propheticae in V. Test., quam universæ tum Messianæ natura ethica, Gottg., 1852), recognise indeed the peculiar merits of *Hofmann's* method and views, but they afford only a meagre sketch of the material presented. *A. Schumann's* *Christ, or the teaching of the O. and N. Test. about the person of the Redeemer*, Gotha, 1852 (vol. i., 1—125, Christology of the O. T.), attempts to combine a fundamental belief in Divine revelation with a refusal to acknowledge the O. T. writings as wholly revealed. Among works by Roman Catholic writers, we may mention the somewhat liberal and semi-rationalistic little treatise by *Jos. Beck*, on the development and exhibition of the Messianic idea in the sacred writings of the O. T., Hanover, 1835, and the writings of *Fr. Herd* (Explanation of the Messian. predict. in the O. T., i. 1, 2, Regensb. 1837—45), and of *J. Bade* (Christology of the O. T., 3 vols., Münster, 1850), which are strictly orthodox in their adherence to revelation and tradition, display industry, but are defective so far as scientific research is concerned.

§ 16. Although the canonical writings of the Old Testament are the special and the most important, they are not the *only* sources for which the historian of the Old Covenant has to search, or from which he has to draw. Next to them both as to the period of their composition and the spirit which they breathe are the *Old Testament Apocrypha*, which may be considered as embodying, with more or less purity and vigour, the echo and the effects of that spirit which gave birth to the canonical writings. (1)

Of greater importance, however—although the latter statement does not imply an equivalent of praise—for our purposes are the writings of *Fl. Josephus*, which are almost the only trustworthy authority for the political aspect of the age succeeding the close of the prophetic period. (2.) The *Talmud* affords many important supplementary notices, but its recesses have not yet been satisfactorily examined. (3.) Jewish *Monuments*, such as those which, in the history of other countries, form so important a link in the historical chain, are unfortunately almost entirely wanting (4); but *foreign*, especially *Egyptian* monuments, shed a grateful light on certain points which have to be discussed, and *foreign authors* furnish important assistance whenever Jewish is brought into contact with secular history. (5.)

(1.) Roman Catholic historians—such as *B. Welte* spec. *Introd.* to the deuterocanon. writings of the O. T. *Freiburg* 1844—have defended the historical authenticity of the OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA with great ability, although without always carrying conviction, against the attacks of Protestants, which sometimes were very violent (comp. especially *Rainold censura librorum apocryphorum* V. T. adv. Pontificios, inpr. *Rob. Bellarminum* 2 vols. 4. *Oppenheim* 1611; and the *Introductions* of *Eichhorn* and of *Berthold*). Comp. in defence of the Apocr. also *Aloys. Vincenci sessio iv. conc. Trident. vindicata* s. *introd. in scripturas deut. can.* V. T. *Romae* 1842—44.—O. F. *Fritzsche* and *W. Grimm* have commenced an exegetical manual to the Apocrypha (1st Part. *Leipzig* 1851).

(2.) FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS (the Jewish Livy) the son of *Mata-thias* a Jewish priest, belonging to the sect of the Pharisees, was born in 37 A.D. His work on Jewish antiquities, in 20 books, brings down the history of his people to the time of the Emperor Nero. A history of the Jewish War, of which, as Jewish general, he was an eye-witness, written at an earlier period than the antiquities, continues the history to the termination of the Jewish Commonwealth. Besides these two works he wrote two (Apologetic) treatises against *Apio*, an opponent of the Jews in *Alexandria*. The best edition of his works is that by *Sigb. Haverkamp*. *Amstel.* 1726, 2 vols. fol., which embodied the whole literature on Josephus at the time when it appeared;—that by *Fr. Oberthür*, *Leipz.* 1782—85, 3 vols., by *K. E. Richter* (which contains merely the text) *Leipz.* 1826, 6 vols., and latterly by *Dindorf*, *Par.* 1847. *Tanchnitz* has published a stereotype edition of the text in 6 vols. 1850. The *historical* credibility and the value of his writings have formerly been subject of frequent

controversy. *Caes. Baronius, Leo. Allatius, and Harduin* fiercely attacked, and *Scaliger, Gerh. Voss, and Casaubonus* as enthusiastically defended them. Josephus has, indeed, frequently enlarged and arbitrarily changed the biblical record by introducing legends, but he has also contributed to its elucidation, and sometimes supplemented its information on political questions. His primary aim was to present to educated Romans his nation and its history in the most favourable light. Hence he attempts to keep in the back ground its servitude, he paints in bright colouring, he explains away all that is miraculous and might thus raise objections in the mind of heathens, and he conceals what to him appeared the dark side; he ascribes even to the patriarchs such wisdom as the Greeks only possessed at their most advanced stage, &c. Although his work is, therefore, neither trustworthy nor of importance for the more remote periods of Jewish history, it is of the greatest value for that succeeding the exile; comp. *K. v. Raumer's Palestine*, 3 ed., pp. 428 following ("The credibility of Josephus").

The numerous treatises of PHILO, an Alexandrian Jew (born in the year 20 before Christ) are, on account of his want of acquaintance with Hebrew, of his tendency to allegorise, and his attempts at identifying platonic philosophy with O. T. modes of thinking, almost wholly useless for our purpose. The best edition of Philo is that by Thom. Mangey, 2 vols. fol., London 1742; *Pfeiffer* reprinted the text with a Latin translation, in 5 vols., 8 Erlang. 1785—92; *Richter* furnished a complete edition of the Greek text alone in 8 vols. Leipz. 1828—30. A stereotype edition of the text was published by *Tanchnitz*, Leipz. 1851.

(3.) The TALMUD (*i.e.* teaching) is an important authority for the constitution and development of Judaism after biblical times. It contains a complete system of all the religious and civil ordinances of the Jews, as settled by the traditions and the teaching of Jewish sages since the close of the Old Testament canon. Jewish traditionalism consists of two parts:—1. of the *Halacha* (*i.e.* the Rule or Statute) which forms the authorised and authentic interpretation of the law. It is binding, and may not be called in question. 2. Of the *Haggada* (*i.e.* that which is told, narrated), which properly indicates only the private interpretation of sages, and accordingly may be called in question. Hence it only embodies that which was uttered, but not what at the same time constituted the *Shemata* (that which had been heard, taught in the schools). As it principally consists of allegorical interpretations, and therefore generally appears in the shape of parables, fables, legends, &c., the term *Haggada* is often employed as equivalent for these modes of teaching. The TALMUD principally deals with the *Halachoth*. It consists of two distinct

portions:—the *Mishna* (Deuterosis, lex repetita), which constitutes the text of the work, and contains the original traditions and teaching of the oldest school, and the *Gemara* (*i.e.* perfectio, perfecta doctrina), which contains a later and full commentary on the *Mishna*. The *MISHNA* dates from the commencement of the 3d century, and was compiled by Rabbi *Juda Hakkadosh*, who belonged to the school of Hillel, and presided over the academy at Tiberias. It consists of six *Sedarim* (series', orders), which again are subdivided into *Mesiktoth* or treatises. Each Seder has a title derived from the general contents of the section, as for example Serain (seeds), Moed (feasts), &c. The six Sedarim consist altogether of 63 treatises, whose titles are again derived from their contents (for example Berachoth, Kelaim, &c.). We possess an excellent Latin translation of the *Mishna* with the commentaries of *Maimonides* and *Bartenora* by *Surenhuis*, Amst. 1698—1703, 6 vols. fol.,—and a German, but unreadable version of the text only by *Rabe*, Ausp. 1761—63, 6 vols. 4.¹ The *GEMARA* is twofold: *Palestinian* (or Jerusalem) and *Babylonian*. The former was completed at a much earlier period than the latter—according to common statement by R. Joachim, in the 3d century. However references to much later personages and events, such as to Diocletian, to Julian, &c., occur in it. The Babylonian *Gemara*, completed under the auspices of Rabbins *Ashe* and *Joses*, in the 6th century, is a gigantic work, embodying the results of the most laborious and minute investigations of collectors and expositors, carried on during three centuries. Owing to the pre-eminence of the Babylonian academies and the cotemporaneous decadence of those of Palestine, the Babylonian *Gemara* obtained special authority, and is now generally referred to when mention is made of the Talmud generally.² All attempts to translate the Talmud for the use of Christian students have hitherto proved ineffectual. The Abbé *L. Chiarini* attempted to render the Talmud into French, Par. 1831. Of this version only two volumes, however, have appeared. No more successful was the attempt of the learned Jew *Dr Pinner*, who proposed to publish the Babylonian Talmud, with a German translation, in 28 folio volumes. Only one volume of this work has appeared (Berl. 1842). Comp. also *Pinner's* compendium of the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud, Berlin 1832—4. *Seb. Rave*

¹ An excellent edition of the *Mishna*, with German translation (in Jewish letters), and a selection from the commentaries, has been published by Dr Jost, in 6 vols., Berlin 1831, &c., under the auspices of a society instituted for the purpose.—THE TR.

² In quotations the Jerusalem Talmud is generally distinguished from the Babylonian by adding the letter *J.* when the former, and the letter *B.* when the latter is referred to.—THE TR.

de eo quod fidei merentur monumenta Judaeorum sacris in antiquit, in *Oelrich's* diss. 1. 6.¹

(4.) The only MONUMENTS of Jewish antiquity left us are a few coins dating from the times of the Maccabees, denominated Samaritan on account of the letters used in their inscriptions, some ruins of the foundations of the temple and of other ancient buildings, and the triumphal arch of Titus at Rome, with its representations of the spoils taken from the temple.

(5.) Among the FOREIGN NATIONS whose history comes into contact with that of the Jews, and about whom we possess independent information, we may mention the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. The most important sources of EGYPTIAN HISTORY, both as regards authenticity and trustworthiness, are the MONUMENTS, with which, since the French expedition to Egypt, the learned world has become familiar. The very laborious and careful investigations of French, Italian, British, and German scholars, have already been attended with a measure of success far surpassing every expectation. The principal works on the subject are: *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches, qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française.* Par. (1809) 1821.—*Champollion*, monumens de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Par. 1837 (Comp. the Review by Gesenius in the Halle liter. Gaz. 1842, Nos. 110, &c., 145, &c.)—*Ippolito Rosellini*, i monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, designati della spedizione scientif. letteraria Toscana in Egitto. Pisa 1832, 5 vols.—*Wilkinson*, manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. London 1837, 3 vols. *Jul. Lud. Ideler's* (Junior) *Hermannion s. rudimenta hierogl. vet. Ægyptiorum literaturæ* ii. Partes 4, Lips. 1841, is a supplement and adaptation of the material furnished in these works. For the purposes of Biblical history and antiquities these enquiries have been largely made use of in *Taylor's* Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt, London 1838, and more especially for the explanation and vindication of the Pentateuch in *Hensytenberg's* Egypt and the books of Moses, Berl. 1841. The numerous treatises on Egypt by Seyffarth are not reliable, despite the thorough acquaintanceship of the author with his subject, on account of the preconceived opinions which give a colouring to all his enquiries. The work of *M. G. Schwartz*, Ancient Egypt, or the lang., hist., relig., and constit. of ancient

¹ Various Talmudical treatises have been translated into various languages. A recent attempt of Dr Hirschfeld's to publish the Talmud with Latin notes has failed like all other previous attempts. We will not weary the reader by enumerating the titles and translations of the various treatises. The learned labours of Frankel, Geiger, Zunz, Delitzsch, Rappaport, and others have rendered Jewish literature much more accessible.—THE TR.

Egypt, &c., Leipz. 1843-4, vol. i., sect. 1, 2 (treating only of the language), has remained incomplete.—*Rich. Lepsius*, who had distinguished himself in this department of study by an edition of “the book of the Egyptian dead,” Leipz. 1842 (from a hieroglyphic papyrus at Turin), was appointed chief of a learned expedition sent by the Prussian government to explore the antiquities in the valley of the Nile (1842-46). He is now, or has lately been, engaged in publishing the results of his investigations in his “Monuments from Egypt and Nubia,” Berlin 1850, &c.¹

The only *native Egyptian writer* mentioned is MANETHO, who is stated to have been a noble Egyptian, and the chief of the priests at Heliopolis. In composing, at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his work on Egyptian history, he is said to have made use of the archives of the temple. With the exception of a few extracts, preserved in Josephus c. Apionem and in Eusebius' Chronicon, and consisting almost exclusively of lists of dynasties, this production has been wholly lost. The value to be attached to Manetho has been matter of much dispute. According to *Hengstenberg* (in an appendix to Egypt and the books of Moses) the work is an intentional fraud, dating from the time of the Roman emperors. Hengstenberg attempts to prove this theory by shewing the gross errors committed by Manetho in treating of the religion, the manners, the language, and geography of the Egyptians. But this view is not adopted by any other enquirer. Against it comp. *Bertheau*: “Contrib. to the history of Isr.,” pp. 227, &c. The opinion of *Böckh* (in his recent work on Manetho, Berlin 1845, p. 7) is as follows: “The credibility of Manetho has, up to a certain point, been already established by the Egyptian monuments, and will probably more and more appear as discoveries proceed.” *Chr. C. Jos. Bunsen* is an almost enthusiastic advocate of Manetho. The object of his great work on Egypt (Egypt's place in history, 3 vols., Hamb. 1845) is to connect the various fragments of Egyptian history into a connected and harmonious whole, triumphantly to vindicate the authenticity of Manetho, to trace Egyptian history, by a perfectly trustworthy chronological table, to almost 4000 years before Christ, and to arrange the uncertain chronology of all other nations according to these results. The three volumes which have hitherto appeared are only *Prolegomena*; and, as eight years have elapsed since their publication, we fear we must almost despair of the continuation and completion of this work.—*R. Lepsius* attaches the same confidence to Manetho (the Chronology of the Egyptians, Introduction, and Part I.: Criticism of the Sources, Berlin

¹ Among more recent writers on this subject we may mention Osborne, Kenrick, Max Uhlemann, and others.—THE TR.

1849, fol.)—In the opinion of *Saalsehütz* (Contrib. to a Crit. of Manetho, Königsb. 1849), Manetho is an honest but somewhat uncritical compiler.

The Egyptian history of *Chæremón*, an author despised on account of his ignorance, even in antiquity, dates from the time of the Roman emperors. Some fragments of it, replete with legends, are quoted in Josephus c. Apion.

Among foreign ancient writers on Egypt and its history, the first place belongs to *Herodot.* He derived his information from personal intercourse with Egyptian priests, and from personal observation and enquiry in the country. The compilation of *Diodor. Siculus*, and the one-sided ideal description of Egyptian affairs in Plutarch, are much less important and reliable. Not so the fragments of the chronographers *Eratosthenes* and *Apollodoros*, preserved by *Georgius Syncellus*. These, although unfortunately very scanty, giving only the lists of Egyptian kings, are of very great importance. All these ancient notices and fragments about Egypt have been collated by *Stroth* (*Ægyptiaca*, Goth., 1782).

(6.) Students have long regarded the *Sanchuniaton* of Philo as the great native authority on PHENICIAN affairs. The grammarian *Philo Byblius* (who flourished under Nero and up to the time of Hadrian) had edited a Phœnician history, which he introduced as a translation of a work discovered by him, and written by *Sanchuniaton*, an ancient Phœnician sage. Only a few fragments of the work of Philo have been preserved by *Porphiry* and by *Eusebius*, in his præpar. evang. But recent investigations have sufficiently proved that the book of Philo was itself a piece of imposition, devised to introduce his peculiar system of Atheism by putting it into the mouth of a very ancient author. More doubtful even is the claim of *Fr. Wagenfeld* in Bremen (died 1846), which at the time made so much noise, who pretended, by the intervention of Pereira, a Spanish colonel, to have obtained a complete copy of the manuscript of Philo Sanchuniaton from the Portuguese monastery of Santa Maria de Merinhao. *Wagenfeld* first published in German a compendium of the pretended manuscript of Philo, with a preface by *G. F. Grotefend*, Hanover, 1836; and when accused of fraud, and pressed, he printed what he designated as the original Greek text, with a Latin translation (Brem. 1837). But this contained little that was either new or of any importance. But although well written, the gross grammatical and historical blunders occurring in it almost gave certainty to the suspicions formerly attaching to its genuineness. Comp. *K. L. Grotefend* "The dispute about Sanchuniaton, viewed in the light of an unpublished correspond.," Hann., 1836; *Schmidt von Lübeck*, "the newly discovered

Sanchun.,” Altona, 1838; *Hengstenberg* Contrib. ii., 209., &c.; *Movers’* “Spurious character of the fragments of Sanchuniaton,” in the Bonn Annals for Theolog. and Philos., and the work by the same author on the Phenicians, i. 116, &c.; *H. Ewald*, Dissert. on the views of the Phenic. on the creation of the world, and the histor. value of Sanchun., in vol. v. of the transac. of the Royal Soc. of Sc., in Göttg., 1851.

All the information which we possess about the religion and the history of the Phenicians is embodied in the classical work of *F. C. Movers*, “The Phenicians,” vol. i., Bonn., 1841, vol. ii., 1, 2, Berl., 1849—50, &c.

(7.) *Berosus*, a priest of Belus, at Babylon, who probably flourished under the first Ptolemies, is the principal *native* CHALDEE writer with whose works we are acquainted. He composed three books of *Βαβυλωνικά* (of which only fragments are extant in Josephus, c. Ap., and in Eusebius’ præp. evang., and which *Richter* has edited in a collected form in 1825.) His account is of special importance so far as Assyrian, Median, and Babylonian history are concerned. His notices of most ancient history correspond in so remarkable a manner with those contained in the book of Genesis, that it must at once occur that Berosus had partly been indebted to the Pentateuch. The few fragments of another native author, *Abydenus* (*περὶ τῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείας*), preserved by Eusebius, possess little real value. The *Greek* writers furnish only few incidental and not always trustworthy notices about Assyrian and Babylonian history. The most important of these are the fragments of *Ktesias*. Comp. *Perizonius*, *origines* *Babylonicæ* (to this day a standard work); *Palmblatt*, *de rebus* *Babylonicis*, Upsal. 1821; *Münter*, the religion of the Babylonians, Kopenh., 1827; also *Movers* *Phenicians*, vol. ii.; and *P. F. Stuhr* in his work on the Religious Systems of the East, Berlin, 1856.

We do not possess any ANCIENT PERSIAN historical work composed by a native author. The most reliable authority is *Ktesias*, the physician of King Artaxerxes Mnemon. That monarch gave him access to the Persian archives. He composed twenty-three books of *Περσικά*, of which the first six contain a history of the *Assyrian* monarchy. Diodorus, Athenæus, and Plutarch, have preserved considerable portions, and Photius scanty fragments of this work. Next to *Ktesias* in importance, are the notices of *Hærodot.*, *Xenophon*, and *Arrianus*. A careful compilation of all ancient notices about Persia is furnished in *Brissonius* *de regio* *Persarum principatu*, Arg., 1710; *Hyde*, *de relig. vett. Persarum*, Oxon, 1704. *Anquetil du Perron* brought the *Zendavesta* in 1762 to Europe, and in 1771 gave a French translation of it (transl. into German by *Kleuker*, 1776, 3 vols. 4).

The original was published by *Bournouf* in Paris in 1828. *Rhode's* Religious System of the ancient Bactrians, Persians, and Medes, Frankf., 1826, is not very trustworthy. The subject is more satisfactorily treated in *Stuhr's* Religious Systems of the East.

A new era in the study of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian antiquity commenced with the investigations made by *Le Brun*, *Niebuhr*, *Ker Porter*, *Rich*, *Schulz*, &c., into the inscriptions on the monuments in these countries. The attempts of *Grotefend*, *Bournouf*, *Lassen*, *Rawlinson*, and *Westergaard* to decipher the Persian cuneiform inscriptions had been almost crowned with entire success, when the excavations of *Botta* and *Layard*, which indicated the site of ancient Nineveh, produced the most astonishing results. When scholars shall have succeeded in reading the various kinds of cuneiform inscriptions which cover the monuments which have already, or which shall yet be excavated, we shall be in possession of an amount of information on the ancient Asiatic nations and states more ample and extensive even than that which we possess about the Greeks and Romans, and fresh light will be shed even upon Biblical antiquities. Comp. the large and splendid work by *Flaudin* and *Botta*, *monumens de Ninive*, Par., 5 vols. fol.; *A. H. Layard*, "Nineveh and its Remains;" Popular Account of the Excavations at Nineveh, by the same author; *W. S. W. Vaux*, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, a historical sketch of ancient Assyria and Persia, London, 1855; *J. Blackburn*, *Nineveh, its Rise and Ruins*, as illustrated by ancient Scripture and modern discoveries, Lond., 1850.¹

(8.) On the points of contact with Greek and Roman history, compare the later Greek and Roman writers. But their occasional notices about the internal history of the Jews are full of misrepresentations, originating in personal aversion and in manifest misunderstanding. The same remark applies to certain authors who have, "*ex professo*," treated of Jewish history, such as *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Apollonius Molo*, *Aristaeus*, *Artapanus*, *Eupolemus*; *Hecataeus Abderita*, fragments of whose writings are preserved by *Josephus*, but especially in *Eusebius' præp. evang.* l. ix. Comp. *Schult* *compend. hist. jud. potissimum ex gentiliis script. collectum*, Francof., 1700; and *Fr. C. Meier* *Judaica*, Jen., 1832, which, however, are incomplete collections of the various notices and fragments of notices on Jewish history by profane writers.

¹ Since the appearance of the first edition of this book, a number of other books on this subject have appeared. We specially mention "*Layard's Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*," and "*Loftus Chaldeæ and Susiana*." Other writers are so well known to Biblical and other students as not to require special mention.—THE TR.

For comparing the present state of the various lands adverted to in holy writ, with the statements of Scripture itself, the best work is *Dr Alexander Keith's Fulfilment of Prophecy*, Edinburgh.

LITERATURE OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 17. The Jewish Antiquities of Flavius Josephus (v. § 16, 2) may be considered the first attempt at a regular Old Testament history. Among Christian authors, we notice *Sulpicius Severus*, an African Presbyter of the fourth century, who composed a compendium, which, in elegance of style, aims to emulate Sallust. Most of the writers of *chronicles and ecclesiastical histories* in the middle ages commenced their narratives with the creation of the world, and hence treated also of Old Testament history, though in a manner wholly uncritical and unscientific. With the Reformation commenced a new stage in ecclesiastical history. But as the religious contests of that period did not draw special attention to the study of the Old Testament, the movement then begun did not affect this branch of history. Among the numerous *annals* of the seventeenth century, which treated especially of the harmony of Biblical and secular history, the work of Bishop *Usher* deserves special attention, and still retains its place. The works of *Prideaux* and *Shukford* (supplemented by *Lange* and latterly by *Russel*) are meritorious. They are meant to show the substantial and chronological agreement between the classics of foreign nations and the accounts of the Bible. Without entering on secular history generally, and as a first part of general ecclesiastical history, the following writers treated of Old Testament history. Among Protestants, *J. Basnage*, *Camp. Vitringa*, and *Fred. Spanheim*; among Roman Catholics, *Natalis Alexander* and *Aug. Calmet*. The excellent history of *Buddeus*, which has not yet been superseded, far exceeds in merit the other works which we have named. The work of *Rambach* has rather a devotional and practical than a scientific turn, but deserves notice as specially suited for such purposes. All these works are not less distinguished by genuine faith than by industry, and thorough and conscientious investigation. But their historical criticism labours under the defects connected with

the peculiar stand-point which theological orthodoxy occupied at that time. Their historical misconceptions arose principally from the mechanical theory attaching to the idea of inspiration and of revelation, which completely excluded the exercise of man's individuality and activity, both in the reception and in the delivery of the Divine revelation. The consequence of this was, that the organic progress in the Divine revelation of the plan of salvation remained unnoticed, that the different modes in which those who were the media of revelation regarded the truth were overlooked, instead of being viewed as supplementary of each other, and that it was ignored that knowledge of salvation was necessarily defective among the men of God under the old covenant. With this unfounded over-estimate of Judaism, a corresponding and still greater under-estimate of heathenism was connected. All deeper elements in heathenism and in heathen religions were overlooked, and the latter only regarded as devilish darkness and lies.

(1.) The best editions of the *sacra historia* of *Sulpicius Severus* are those by *Schöttgen* (Lips. 1709) and *H. de Prato* (Veron. 1741-54, 2 vols. 4.) The Commentary by *Chr. Schotanus* (biblioth. hist. s. V. T. s. exercit. ss. in s. scr. et Joseph. per modum comment. in hist. s. Sulp. Sev., Franqu. 1662-64, 2 vol. fol.) is comprehensive, but too extended and not sufficiently arranged.

(2.) *Humphrey Prideaux*, the Old and New Test. connected in the history of the Jews and neighbouring nations, from the declension of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ, 2 vols., London 1716-18.—*Sam. Shukford*, the sacred and profane hist. of the world connected, from the creation to the dissolution of the Assyrian empire, 3 vols., London 1728-38. The work of Shukford only extended to the death of Joshua. This hiatus was filled first by *Lange*, in his attempt at a harmony of sacred and profane writers, in the hist. of the world, from the times of the Judges to the decline of the kingd. of Isr., Bayreuth 1775-80, 3 vols.; and latterly by *M. Russell*, in "the connexion of sacred and profane history, from the death of Joshua until the decline of the kingdoms of Isr. and Judah," London 1827, 2 vols.

(3.) *Fr. Spanhemii*, hist. ecclest. vet. Test. In the first volume of his Opera, Lugd. Bat. 1701, fol.—*Camp. Vitringa*, hypotyposis hist. et chronol. s. (1698.)—*Jac. Basnage*, hist. du vieux et du nouv. test., Amst. 1704, fol.

Nat. Alexandre, hist. ecclest. veteris et novi. Test. (1676.) The best edit., Bing. 1784, 20 vols. 4.—*Aug. Calmet*, hist. de l'anc. et du nouv. test., Paris 1718, 2 vols. 4.—*J. Franc. Buddei* hist. eccles. V. T. (1715), ed. iv., 1744, 2 vols. 4.—*J. Jac. Rambach*, collegium hist. eccl. V. T., or Discourse on the ecclest. hist. of the O. T., edited by *Fr. Neubauer*, Frkf. 1737, 2 vols.

§ 18. *English Deism*, which attained its climax in the first half of the 18th century, attempted to prove itself the champion of enlightenment chiefly by peculiar comments on biblical history. Next, French *Naturalism* (the system of the Encyclopædists), addressed itself to the same task, by endeavouring to popularise the superficial rational criticism of its predecessor, by means of its own peculiar "esprit" of levity. *Saurin*, *Stackhouse*, and *Lilienthal* were the ablest opponents of this Deism, and chiefly addressed themselves to the vindication of Biblical history. An imperfect and one-sided study of apologetics only gave a stronger impulse to the peculiar spirit of those times, and opened the way to Deism and Naturalism among the theologians of Germany. Under the name of Rationalism it soon obtained to almost exclusive dominion. Here also the champions of so-called enlightenment aimed their critical missiles principally against the Old Testament, its miracles and revelations. The intellectual impotency of Rationalism appears most clearly in this, that even those portions of Biblical, and especially of Old Testament history—such as the political relations of the Jewish nation and state, their connections with foreign nations—which are important and interesting, even to enquirers who deny the Divine revelation, remained wholly unnoticed. Rationalistic literature produced, up to about the year 1820, scarcely a single monument of real historical enquiry either important at the time or lasting. The rationalistic works on Old Testament history dating from that period have long ago lost all interest, if, indeed, they had ever possessed any.

The last able representatives of orthodoxy were *Alb. Bengel* and *Christ. Aug. Crusius*. Full of pietistic devoutness, free from scholastic dogmatism, and not sharing in that merely mechanical view of history peculiar to a former stage of orthodoxy, yet retaining the belief of the Church, they deserved to become and were capable of forming the hopeful commencement of a

new development in theological science. But their age was neither able nor prepared to comprehend or to follow them. This remark applies specially to *Crusius*, who was the first to propound the principles which lie at the foundation of all proper historical conception and treatment of the facts connected with salvation. But the attempts made by them had to give way before a lukewarm supernaturalism which now entered the lists against those who denied the truth of revelation. Still some, who had preserved much of the salt of the Gospel, busied themselves with the study of Old Testament history. Among their writings we specially mention the excellent work of the Wurtemberg divine, *Magn. Fred. Roos*, who, however, was rather of a practical than of a scientific turn, and that of the Mecklenburg pastor, *Dan. J. Köppen*, which recalls the inflexible firmness of former orthodoxy. The comprehensive history of Israel by *J. Hess* of Zurich did not, indeed, wholly escape the contaminating influence of the spirit of the times. Still, it is distinguished by pious reverence for the word of God, by the ability with which the most minute traits are caught, so as, in their combination, to form an attractive and lively portraiture. The general plan of, and the progress in, the history of the Old Test., is pointed out, although generally only in the spirit of pragmatism prevalent in his time.—The Roman Catholic writer, *J. Jahn*, followed in his wake, but wanted his depth both of intellect and of faith. Indeed, he was wholly smitten with the peculiar weakness of the Supernaturalism then current. A very different spirit breathes in the work of the noble-minded *Stolberg*, a convert to the Church of Rome, but a man full of intensity and joyousness of faith to a degree scarcely met in any other writer of that period.

(1.) *Saurin* discours historiques, theologiques et moraux sur les evenemens les plus remarquables du V. et N. Test., continued by *Du Roques* and *Beausobre* 1720, &c., transl. into German with addit. by *P. E. Rambach*, 4 vols. 4, Rostock 1752, &c.—*Thomas Stackhouse*, Defence of the history of the Bible (newly edited by Gleig)—*Th. Chr. Lilienthal*, the good cause of Divine Revelat. vindicated against its enemies, 16 vols., Königsb. 1760—82. *Herder*—in his letters on the study of Theol. i. 4—rightly refers in the following terms to this work, which still possesses authority: “We have in Germany one who has vindicated

Scripture, one whom foreigners may well covet—so quietly and without excitement did he teach. His ‘good cause of Revelation’ is a perfect library of opinions *pro* and *con.*, a sea of learning and a survey of objections and replies to them, a real *Moreh Nevóchim* (doctor perplexorum) for these writings.”

(2.) *Alb. Bengel*, l. c. (v. § 13. 3). *Chr. Aug. Crusius* hypomnemata ad theolog., prophet., 3 vol., Lpz. 1764, &c.;—comp. the work (mentioned above § 15. 4.) by *Delitzsch* on bibl. and prophet. Theol.

(3.) *Magn. Fr. Roos*, Introduct. to bibl. history up to the time of Abraham,—and *his* footsteps of the Faith of Abraham in the biographies of the patriarchs and prophets. New edit. Tübing. 1835—38, 3 vols.—*D. J. Köppen*, the Bible, a work of Div. Inspir., 3d edit., with notes by *J. G. Scheibel*, Lpz. 1837, 2 vols.—*J. J. Hess*, Hist. of Israel before the time of Christ, 12 vols., Zürich 1776—88; The Kingdom of God (by the same author), Zürich 1795, 2 vols.; Substance of the doctr. about the Kingdom of God (by the same), Zürich 1826; Libr. of sacred hist. (by the same), Frankf. and Leipz. 1791, 2 vols.—*J. Jahn*, bibl Archæology (vol. ii., 1 2. polit. antiq., with Jew. Hist., Vienna 1800—01).—*Leop. von Stolberg*, hist. of the relig. of Jesus (vol. i.—iv., hist. of the Old Test.) Hamb. 1806, &c.

§ 19. Despite its incapacity of producing anything lasting, and the mischief which it had wrought both in Theology and in the Church, Rationalism was not wholly without influence for good on theological science. The orthodox mode of treating the history of salvation was also benefitted thereby. Theologians had learned, what had formerly been ignored by the orthodox, to view the Scriptures and sacred history in their human aspect and bearing also. Thus dogmatic bigotry passed away, and the idea attaching to inspiration was no longer that of the mechanical theory. To these impulses must be added those connected with the religious improvement in the spirit of the age, consequent on the German wars of liberation, and with the mighty progress which secular science had made during the first decades of our century. Besides, the deep researches into profane history, a better appreciation of heathenism, more thorough philological investigations, &c., exercised all a most beneficial influence on theological science. More particularly with reference to the Old Testament, *Steudel* formed the transition from mere supranaturalism to modern orthodox and scientific Theology. But this divine, so eminent for his piety and talent, was still in

part warped by the peculiarities of the system which was henceforth to be relinquished. Much more powerful and energetic proved the influence of *Hengstenberg* (since 1829), constituting an era in the revival of orthodox investigation into the Old Testament. Since that time the resources of scientific investigation have increased year by year. Among its champions *Hofmann* is specially distinguished, and indeed occupies a place of his own, as the representative of a new scientific stand-point. But notwithstanding the almost indefatigable activity of that school, the entire Old Testament history had not hitherto been treated in a scientific and learned manner, although a considerable number of preparatory works have appeared. We may, however, call attention to some popular books on the history of salvation among them, especially to those by *Zahn*, *Kalkar*, *Ziegler*, and by the author of this work. The little work by *Ziegler* deserves particular notice, as distinguished for profound views, and for its organic arrangement of Old Test. history, on the basis of the principles laid down by *Hamann*.

But the opposite party numbers also many and very able students of the Old Testament. Faithful to the negative tendency of their school, some attempt to develop their principles more cautiously, others in a reckless and merely destructive spirit. The latest works which have appeared on Jewish History generally belong to this school. They deny the immediate operation and influence of the Divine element in O. T. history, and reduce all to natural and ordinary causes of development. *H. Leo's* Lectures on Jewish history (1828), distinguished for their boldness, talent, and power of conception and execution, would reduce the peculiar elements of Jewish History to hierarchism and priestly imposture. The able author of this work has, however, long since acknowledged—both by word and deed—that this mode of viewing the subject had been totally false. The historical articles in "*Winer's* Real-Lexicon" are, as indeed the whole work is, models for the indefatigable industry displayed, for the trustworthy authorities adduced, for the variety of material, for the study of the whole literature of a subject embodied in them, for their moderation and caution of criticism, and for manifest readiness to profit even by the writings of opponents. The historical treatise of *Bertheau* deserves special notice and praise,

on account of its thoughtful and thorough investigation of the political and industrial aspects of Jewish history. The work of *Ewald* is not a negative and sceptical view of this subject, but an attempt at vivid apprehension of history as a purely natural process of development, and at a historical reproduction of this process. Throughout, his work is full of fresh and vigorous enthusiasm for the subject. But it proceeds on a subjective and arbitrary criticism, which at the same time, however, affects an air of omniscience and of infallibility. The historical work of *Lengerke* is comprehensive in its plan, but much inferior to the two which we have just mentioned, both in point of independent investigation and of original conception. Its merits are industry in compilation, extensive materials, and great calmness and moderation. The attempt of *Redslob* to construct a history of Jewish antiquity on the basis of very arbitrary etymological interpretations of the names of Old Testament personages and nations, setting aside all biblical notices, is really the climax of critical absurdity. The Jewish history of *Dr Jost* is written from the modern Jewish stand-point.

(1.) *J. Chr. Fr. Steudel*, Glances at the Old Test. Revel., in the Tubingen Journal of Theol., 1835; and his Lectures on Old Test. Theol. The works of *Hengstenberg* and of *Hofmann* have in part already been, and will in the sequel be farther, referred to.

(2.) *F. L. Zahn*, the Kingdom of God on earth, 3d ed., vol. i., Meurs, 1838; *Chr. H. Kalkar*, Biblical Hist., in Lectures addressed to educated persons, Kiel, 1839, 2 vols.; *J. F. A. Ziegler*, Hist. Development of Div. Revel. in its principal phases, viewed speculatively, Nördl., 1842; *J. H. Kurtz*, Manual of Sacred Hist., a guide to the proper understanding of the Divine plan of redemption, 6th edit., Königsb., 1853.

(3.) *G. Ben. Winer* bibl. Real-Lexicon, 2 vols., 3d ed. 1847. *E. Bertheau*, Contrib. to the Hist. of Israel, 2 Dissert., of which the second bears the title, "The Inhabitants of Palest., from the most ancient times to the Destruct. of Jerus. by the Romans," Göttg. 1842. *H. Ewald*, History of the people of Israel to the time of Christ, Gött., 1843, &c., 3 vols. (The third vol. consists of two parts. A special part, in the form of an appendix to vol. ii., treats of the antiquities of the people. The work has since passed through a second edition). *Ces von Lengerke*, Kenaan, a history of the people and of the religion of Israel, vol. i., Königsb., 1844. *Redslob*, the Old Testament names of the

population, both of the real and of the ideal Jewish commonwealth, Hamb., 1846. *J. M. Jost*, Hist. of the Isr. Nation to our own times, Berl., 1832, 2 vols.¹

¹ A large number of other works have since appeared, of which we shall only mention the most prominent. *Kitto's* Bibl. Encyclop., of which a new edition has lately appeared (by Dr Burgess), is, in point of thoroughness, not equal to the work of Dr Winer, which it frequently follows very implicitly. Especially does it furnish much fewer data to assist the student in making farther investigations. But it abounds in modern illustrations, and, generally speaking, is a work which, from its plan and execution, deserves the notice and respect of every Biblical student. The other English encyclopædias are chiefly for popular use. *Dr Herzog's* great "Real Encyclopædia for Protestant Church and Theology," (of which a condensed translation appears in America and in Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark) is a work every way worthy of the cause, of the writers engaged in it, and of the learned editor. So far as it has hitherto proceeded, it may indeed be characterised as leaving little to be desired. Among other subjects connected with theology, it of course gives due prominence to all Biblical questions. Among other writers on Jewish history, we may mention *Prof. Neumann*, whose work (History of the Hebrew Monarchy) is conceived in the peculiarly negative strain of his school; *Maurice's* "Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament," which exhibit the mental excellencies and the theological characteristics of that author; *Smith's* (Sacred Annals: The Hebrew People, or History and Religion of the Israelites); *Dr Raphall's* (Biblical History of the Jews, from 420 B.C. to 70 A.C.) an American Jewish writer, whose history ignores Christianity, and combines an incredible amount of self-sufficiency with defective study and want of accuracy. The "History of the Jewish Nation," by the Translator of this volume (2d ed., Edinburgh, T. Constable and Co., 1857), properly commences *after* the destruction of Jerusalem, and attempts to give a complete survey of Jewish manners—of family, social, and political life—of commerce, trades, arts, sciences, theology, &c., from the time of Christ, making continual reference to previous periods. Among more popular works, we may mention *Dr Kitto's* Hist. of Palestine (London, Ch. Knight, 1850); *The Scripture Lands*, by the same author (London, Bohn, 1850); *Rev. W. Brooks's* Hebrew Nation (London, Seeley's, 1841); and others. In German or French a number of works on special periods of Jewish history have appeared (such as those of *Salvador*, of *Herzfeld*, of *Eisenlohr*, &c.), to which reference may be made when treating of the periods on which they respectively bear.—THE TR.

II.

PREPARATORY HISTORY

OF THE

OLD COVENANT.

PROVINCE OF THE PREPARATORY HISTORY.—ITS SOURCES AND AUXILIARIES.

§ 20. The preparatory history of the Old Covenant is also at the same time the primeval history of mankind. It comprises an account of the first developments of the whole race, to the period when heathenism and Judaism diverge in different directions. But it does not fall within its province to trace, in all their relations, the developments of this period, which offers so many problems, part of which are not yet solved. It follows them only so far as they are the condition or the basis of the origin, direction, and development of the Old Covenant.

(1.) Gen. i.—xi., which hands down the traditions of the primeval period, contains the BIBLICAL SOURCE of this preparatory history. The canonical authority of this document constitutes the warrant of its *contents*. These accounts are *legendary*, in so far as during many centuries they were handed down in oral tradition, before being embodied in a written record. But these *legends* possess the authority of *history*, because they are derived from the personal experience and the recollection of cotemporaries; because they were transmitted from primeval to historical times through the medium of comparatively few members of a family consecrated to God (Gen. v. 11), (the first man lived to the time of Lamech, the father of Noah, and his grandchild Shem to the time of Abraham); and lastly, because even though these legends should, in the course of time, have been impaired by mythical embellishments, the person or persons who wrote them down were under the immediate influence of the Spirit of God, who supernaturally assisted and corrected their merely human researches. It is indeed true that part of these accounts lies beyond the range of human experience or recollection. Such, more especially, is the case with the history of creation in Gen. i. ii. In respect of this account, we can neither agree with rationalistic commentators in considering it a philosophumena suggested by primeval sages, nor with *Hofmann* (*Script. Demonstr. i.*, pp. 231, &c., 243) in regarding it as an

inference on the part of the first man, as to the mode in which all things had arisen, gathered from a *survey* of that which had arisen. With *Delitzsch* (Genesis p. 49) we trace it to Divine *Revelation*. But while this scholar regards this revelation as communicated by special *instruction*, we hold that it was imparted through a kind of *prophetic intuition*, when he who first related the legend of creation learned the history of the developments which preceded the creation of man in a manner analogous to that in which later prophets learned to know the history of the future. In both circumstances, the period in which the seers lived formed the starting-point of Divine Revelation; in the former case as the close of the past, in the latter as the germ of the future. For farther details, v. the author's "Bible and Astronomy," 3d ed., ch. iv., § 1—3.

(2.) Two questions have been raised. It is asked whether the author of the book of Genesis, as presently existing, had been the first to write down the legend of primeval history, or whether, in the arrangement and elaboration of his work, he had made use of written records already existing? and again, at what period the author or his predecessors, of whose writings he had made use in the Biblical record, had lived? But a critical reply to these enquiries is of small importance to us in deciding as to the faithfulness, trustworthiness, or credibility of these legends themselves. For their *highest* authentication we depend not on the human origin of the Biblical records, but on the Divine co-operation which supported and assisted those who wrote them. Of this Divine co-operation we are not only assured by certain express statements to that effect in the Scriptures, and by the testimonies of Moses, of Christ, and of the prophets and apostles, but also by the Divine power which has wrought and still works by them, by Christianity itself, which is their ripe fruit (for the tree shall be known by its fruit), and by the history of the world, which, on its every page, bears testimony to the Divine character of Christianity.

We may, therefore, confidently leave to critical research the task of replying to such enquiries; nor do we require to wait for the final and absolutely certain solution of every critical problem (which human science, as such, may perhaps never attain) before feeling warranted to compile a Biblical history which presupposes the credibility of Biblical records. For even if we granted to objectors like *Bertheau*, that not only the composition of the book of Genesis, and of the whole Pentateuch, as presently existing, but even that of the entire cycle of Old Testament historical records, from Genesis to 1 Kings xxv., were to be attributed to Ezra as the restorer of the law of Moses and of sacred literature generally—that this prophet had collated the present

Pentateuch from the relics of sacred literature then existing among the Hebrews, and from the legendary recollections of their history—nothing would be gained by our opponents. For in his investigations into the sacred laws and sacred history, Ezra himself was also moved and enlightened by the Spirit of God. We should therefore be warranted in regarding those relics of a former literature, which Ezra collated and elaborated, as the products of sacred historiography, *i.e.*, as historical compositions made by him with Divine co-operation. And surely to ascribe these compositions to Ezra is the utmost limit to which a *reasonable* criticism can push the point in question, at least with reference to the Pentateuch. To trace its origin, and that of the entire literature of the Old Testament, to the command of one of the Maccabean princes, is so wild a hypothesis as only to occur to the mad criticism of a *Sörensen*.

But let it not be supposed that we are obliged to make even this or any similar concession. On the contrary, it is a historical fact, better established than any other in antiquarian research, that the Pentateuch is the basis and the necessary preliminary of all Old Testament history and literature, both of which—and with them Christianity as their fruit and perfection—would resemble a tree without roots, a river without a source, or a building which, instead of resting on a firm foundation, was suspended in the air, if the composition of the Pentateuch were relegated to a later period in Jewish history. The references to the Pentateuch occurring in the history and literature of the Old Testament are so numerous and comprehensive, and they bear on so many different points, that we cannot even rest satisfied with the admission which *Bertheau* himself would readily make, that many portions of the present Pentateuch date from the time of Moses, and were only collated and elaborated by a later editor. We go further, and maintain that the whole Pentateuch, its five books, and all the portions of which it is at present made up, is the basis and the necessary antecedent of the history of the Jewish people, commonwealth, religion, manners, and literature. We have not reached that stage in our researches, when we shall submit proof for this assertion. This indeed is the object of the history which we propose to furnish in the following pages. We shall, in the meantime, therefore, only refer to some works which, in treating of Biblical introduction, have more or less satisfactorily and comprehensively discussed this train of argument. (Comp., besides *Hengstenberg's* Contributions to the Introduction to the O. T., vols. ii. and iii., and *Delitzsch's* Exposition of Genesis, p. 4, &c., the works to which we shall immediately refer.)

The necessity of considering the Pentateuch as the basis of

Jewish history, in all the relations of its internal development, on the one hand, and, on the other, the appearance, at the very period when the Pentateuch must have been composed, of the man whom Israel celebrated as the founder of its national and political history, has always induced, both the representatives of the synagogue and of the Church, to maintain, in accordance with the most ancient tradition, the Mosaic authorship of this, the fundamental work of the Old Covenant. But this principle may be held in a narrower and in a wider acceptance of it. In the former case, the whole Pentateuch, as at present existing, is held to be from the pen of Moses (of course, regarding the passage Deut. xxxii. 48—end as a later addition and conclusion written by a cotemporary who survived Moses). In the latter case, it is thought that only certain portions of the Pentateuch had been written by Moses himself, and the rest by his contemporaries or survivors (collaborators or disciples), either at his own behest, and under his own superintendence, or at least in the same spirit, and that with them the sections and fragments left by Moses himself had been combined into one work. The latter opinion has of late been advocated by *Delitzsch*, l. c.; the former (which is also the old one), has latterly been set forth in the following works:—*E. W. Hengstenberg*, Contributions to an Introd. to the O. T., vols. ii. iii. (under a special title, The Authenticity of the Pentateuch, 2 vols.), Berlin, 1836—39; *F. H. Ranke*, Researches into the Pentateuch, from the point of view of a higher criticism, 2 vols., Erlang., 1836—40; *H. A. Ch. Hävernick*, Manual of Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the O. T., vol. i. 1, Erlg., 1836 (translated into English by Professor Thomson, Glasgow, and by Dr W. L. Alexander, Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark); *M. Drechsler*, Defective Science in connection with the Criticism of the Old Test., Lpzg., 1839, and *his* Unity and Genuineness of Genesis, Hamb., 1838; *B. Welte*, The Post-Mosaic in the Pentat., Karlsruhe and Freiburg, 1841; *J. G. Herbst*, Hist. and Crit. Introd. to the s. writings of the O. T., edit. by *B. Welte*, vol. ii., Karlsr. and Freib., 1841; *J. M. A. Scholz*, Introd. to the s. writings of the O. and N. T., Köln, 1845, vols., i. ii.; *the Author's* Contribut. towards proving and defending the Unity of the Pent., Königsb., 1844, and *his* "Unity of Genesis, a Contrib. towards the Criticism and the Exeg. of Genesis," Berlin, 1846; *C. Keil* on the Names of God in the Pentat., in the Luther. Journal for 1852, pt. ii. The same view will be maintained and defended by the author in the Introduction, which is soon to appear.

In his critical investigations, *Delitzsch* rightly starts from the testimony which the Pentateuch bears of itself. The books of Exodus and Numbers contain four references to a command of

God given to Moses to record certain facts. In Ex. xvii. 14 he is commanded to write for a memorial in a book the will of God concerning the destruction of Amalek by Joshua. According to Ex. xxiv. 4 he recorded the fundamental law given on Sinai in a book (called the covenant-book, Ex. xix.—xxiv.), from which he read to the people during their solemn covenanting by sacrifice. When this covenant, broken by the worship of the golden calf, was, through the merey of God, again renewed, Moses was commanded (Ex. xxxiv. 27) to write down the fundamental laws declared on that occasion. Lastly, according to Num. xxxiii. 2, Moses kept a list of the various encampments of the people in the wilderness, manifestly the same which is given in vv. 3—49. As to the authorship, or the time and mode of composition of the other portions of these books, we derive no further information about them from the text itself. Some, indeed, think that Deut. xxxi. 9 affords such testimony in favour of the whole Pentateuch. In that passage we are informed that Moses had written "this Thorah," and given it to the priests and to the elders of Israel, with the injunction to read it to the people at every feast of tabernacles. But it can readily be shown that this expression could not have referred to the entire Pentateuch-Thorah. For when in Deut. xxvii. 8 it is commanded to grave, at a future period, all the words "of this Thorah" on Mount Ebal, and when, in fulfilment of this command, Joshua (Josh. viii. 32) there grave into stones "a copy of the Thorah of Moses," we are surely not to believe that this expression refers to the whole Pentateuch, but only that it applied either to Deuteronomy, or, perhaps, only to the legal portions of that book. The same remark undoubtedly applies, also, to Deut. xvii. 18, where the future king of Israel is enjoined to make "a copy of this Thorah," and to Deut. xxxi. 10, according to which "this Thorah" was to be publicly read once in seven years. We may add that the latter is the view handed down by the unanimous exegetical tradition of the Synagogue itself. Hence Deut. xxxi. 9 affords distinct testimony as to the authorship of the book of Deuteronomy up to this passage. But it does not appear whether the succeeding sections down to Deut. xxxii. 48 were written by Moses himself or added by another after the death of Moses (as doubtless was the case with chaps. xxxiii. xxxiv.) The Pentateuch itself gives no other explicit testimony about the composition of any of its other portions, while the distinct statement that certain sections had been written by Moses himself, seems rather to favour the supposition that the others had *not* been written by him.

In order to ascertain their origin, *Delitzsch* next enters upon an investigation into the manner in which the names of the

Deity are employed in these sections. From Gen. i. to Exod. vi. the terms *Elohim* and *Jehovah* alternate in such a manner that the exclusive or prevailing employment of one or the other of these two names constitutes a characteristic mark of entire and large sections. It is manifest that the employment of either of these peculiar terms was designed. But what, he asks, is the explanation of this design? We doubt not, he replies, in very many of these passages the special meaning attaching to these terms accounts for their use. (Comp. § 13, 1.) But this explanation evidently does not suffice to account for some other passages—especially for such where the expression *Elohim* is exclusively employed, while that of *Jehovah* is purposely avoided, and that even where the latter seemed to tally with the bearing of the passage. It appears to him that Ex. ii-6 throws light on this subject. In that passage *Elohim* declares to Moses that He had appeared to the patriarchs as El-Shaddai, but had not been known to them by His name as *Jehovah* (comp. below, § 96, 1, 2.) This declaration does not, indeed, imply that the name *Jehovah* had been wholly unknown to the Patriarchs, but it indicates that they had not had full knowledge of what this name implied concerning the Divine Being. On account of this circumstance, the historian who wrote that passage may readily have been induced to avoid the use of the name *Jehovah* in his record of pre-Mosaic history up to that period, and to prefer employing the more general name of *Elohim*. But a second historian, engaged in recording the pre-Mosaic history, may not have felt himself equally bound by this consideration. Thus, without contravening Ex. vi. 2, 3, he may have made use of either the one or the other of these names, being guided in his choice only by the difference of ideas attaching to them. We are, therefore, shut up to the conclusion that the record of pre-Mosaic history, as contained in Gen. i. to Ex. vi., was composed by two historians, whose writings are mingled and combined in the Pentateuch as presently existing. This view is further said to be confirmed by the fact that in the Elohist portions, and in these only, the name El-Shaddai frequently recurs along with that of *Elohim*, while the name *Jehovah* occurs only very rarely, in specially marked passages, and then, as it were, in a preparatory and fore-shadowing sense (as, for example, in Gen. xlix. 18). We are further told that a totally different *usus loquendi*, and certain favourite forms and terms, distinguish the Elohist from the Jehovistic sections—a difference which, if frequently, is not always accounted for by the difference of ideas conveyed by these terms. As after Ex. vi. the Elohist employs promiscuously either of the two names of God, and hence this criterion of his compositions ceases, the difference in the *usus loquendi* furnishes,

also, the means of distinguishing what parts in the later sections of the Pentateuch were written by each of these authors. Thus we gather that all Leviticus is from the pen of the Elohist, while both authors were engaged in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers. If the foregoing statements are correct, we cannot any longer be in doubt as to the manner in which the labours of these two authors were combined into one work. Manifestly the Elohist portions form the basis of the whole. After separating them from the Jehovistic sections, they form by themselves an almost complete and coherent work. No doubt the Jehovist had the Elohist work before him, and enlarged and completed it by the addition of smaller or larger sections as required. In doing so he displayed great respect for the labours of his predecessor. Generally he inserted these compositions without any alteration, but occasionally, if necessary, he re-wrote them, or (as, for example, in the history of the Fall), omitted a whole section, substituting in its place another of his own composition.

Manifestly, this mode of viewing the question, both in the peculiar criticism applied to it and in the results to which it leads, resembles in many respects what is known as the "supplement hypothesis" advocated by *Tuch* (comment. to Genesis); by *Stähelin* (Critic. Invest. of Gen., Basle 1830, and Crit. Investig. of the Pent., Josh., &c., Berl. 1843); by *De Wette* (Introduct. to the O. T.); by *C. v. Lengerke* (Kanaan). Indeed it may probably be designated as that prevalent in modern Theology.¹

¹ *Ewald's Christallisation-hypothesis* (as *Delitzsch* calls it) although based on an assumption of critical omniscience and infallibility, and hence exacting implicit reception, has not found any support among the learned. *Ewald* supposes that seven works were incorporated in the "great book of what had taken place from the first, or in primeval history" (including the Pentat. and Joshua). (1) The oldest historical work, of which only very few fragments are preserved, was the book of the wars of Jahve. Then follows—(2). A biography of Moses of which also only a few scanty fragments have been handed down. Much more has been preserved (3) of the covenant-book, or the book of covenants, written during the time of Samson, and (4) of the book of origins, the author of which was a priest at the time of Solomon. These writers are followed (5) by the third narrator of primeval history or the first prophetic narrator, a citizen of the Kingdom of Israel at the time of Elijah or of Joel,—(6) by the fourth narrator of primeval history (or the second prophetic narrator) who flourished and wrote between 800 and 750, and (7) by the fifth narrator of primeval history (or the third prophetic narrator) who appeared not long after Joel, and who collated all former authorities on preparatory history. Then commenced the purely artistic application of primeval history "when the sacred soil of this history merely served as the material for prophetic and legislative purposes." This was done first by an unknown author, in the beginning of the 7th century, and then on a much more comprehensive scale by the author of Deuteronomy, the prophet who restored and completed the ancient Law, and who lived at the time of Manassch and wrote in Egypt. Finally, during the time of Jeremiah flou-

But in the farther development of his views *Delitzsch* diverges considerably from his predecessors. *Lengerke* supposes that the Elohist flourished at the time of Solomon and the Jehovist at that of Hezekiah; *Tuch* that the former lived under the reign of Saul and the latter under that of Solomon; and *Stähelin* places the one in the period of the Judges, the other at the time of Saul. But *Delitzsch* maintains that the Elohist and primary portion of the work had been composed either during the life time of Moses, or more probably soon after his death, and that the Jehovistic or supplementary portion had been written at a somewhat later stage, but at any rate at the time of Joshua. Besides, while the above-named critics consider Deuteronomy as the last composed portion of the Pentateuch (although *Stähelin*, differing in this from *De Wette* and from *v. Lengerke*, supposes that the author of Deuteronomy was also that of the supplemental portion), *Delitzsch* regards Deuteronomy and the sections of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, which Moses himself had written (and which these other critics ascribe to the author of the supplementary sections), as the most ancient portions of the whole work.

Delitzsch sums up his general conclusions as follows (p. 27): "The roll of the law (Ex. xix—xxiv.), written down by Moses himself, and now inserted into the general historical account of the giving of the law, must be regarded as the central part, as having formed the primary basis of the Pentateuch. The other laws promulgated during the stay in the wilderness of Sinai and up to the time when Israel occupied the plains of Moab were orally given by Moses, but written down by those around him, either at his command or of their own accord. As Deuteronomy, so far from indicating that the laws formerly given had been written down, repeats them, and that not literally, it is not necessary to suppose that during the passage through the wilderness these laws had ever been committed to writing. On the soil of the holy land and at the close of an era in the history of Israel was the sacred chronicle commenced. But any account of the history of the Mosaic period necessarily implied that the whole Mosaic legislation should be engrossed, and hence written down. A man, such as the priest Eleazar, the son of Aaron, may have

rished the author of the poem entitled "the blessing of Moses." A somewhat later historian then combined the work of the author of Deuteronomy, which had originally been an independent composition, the smaller sections written by his two colleagues, and the work of the fifth narrator into one great work. Such "vicissitudes did this great work undergo before attaining its present form." Happily for us *Ewald* is able not only to assign to each of these ten authors his own part in the great work even to single verses and words, but generally also to distinguish and to characterise the sources from which each of them had again drawn his original materials!

written the large work commencing with "In the beginning God created, &c.," into which he also inserted the roll of the law, dwelling perhaps the more briefly on the last addresses of Moses that the latter had himself written them down. Then a second historian, such as *Joshua*, or one of those Elders on whom rested the spirit of Moses, supplemented the work and incorporated with it the book of Deuteronomy, the spirit of which had moulded that of the compiler himself. Thus probably was the *Thorah* formed, the two authors having certainly consulted many written documents. Both of them—the priestly Elohist and the prophetic Jehovist—are each in his own way the echo and the copy of their teacher and prototype, the great Lawgiver. Just as the Evangelists wrote the Gospel after the ascension of Christ in His Spirit, so did these two after removal of Moses write his law and the history of which it forms part. It seems as if the remarkable passage in *Ezra* ix. 10—12, where a commandment of the *Thorah* given during the passage through the wilderness is mentioned as being the commandment of the servants of Jehovah, the prophets, were due to the consciousness that the *Thorah* had been written in this manner."

If we are asked to pronounce an opinion about these conclusions of the critical investigations of our respected friend, Dr Delitzsch, we cheerfully allow that much may be urged in their favour—(1) The method by which the learned author has arrived at them is neither liable to the objection of being rash, inconsiderate, and superficial, nor to that of being tainted by dogmatical prejudices; (2) he fully admits and defends all those elements for which, in the first place, those contended who defended the authenticity and unity of the *Pentateuch* against its antagonists; and (3) he gives their due weight to some of the arguments of opponents, which formerly apologetic critics had not sufficiently appreciated, while yet he has not abated aught of the just requirements of Apologetics.

In our two critical works (to which reference has already been made) we have, at considerable pains, attempted to refute the supplement-hypothesis, as represented by *Tuch* and *Stähelin*. We cannot think that our labour has been in vain; nor will we believe that we have failed in attaining our great aim and shewing that in that particular form the supplement-hypothesis is wholly untenable, that in many respects its method is erroneous, and that its arguments are inconclusive. We have not indeed at any time concealed it from ourselves or from others that, notwithstanding the able works of Hengstenberg, Ranke, Drechsler, and our own attempts, the argument which upholds the original unity of *Genesis* (and of the *Pentateuch*) was not wholly free from difficulties. Among these the following are the principal—

(1) The almost exclusive use of the name Elohim in the sections which manifestly form part of what is called the fundamental portion of the work. Granting that the term Elohim may in many or even in most of these passages be shewn to have been naturally and necessarily chosen on account of the idea attaching to that term, still many other passages might be adduced which require to be twisted in order to admit of this explanation. If, besides, we take into consideration Ex. vi. 2, it is indeed probable that the use of the name Jehovah had purposely been avoided in some passages; (2) the absence of all reference to the blessing of Abraham (Gen. xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18; xxiv. 7; xxviii. 14—all Jehovistic sections) in Elohist sections where we should certainly have been warranted in expecting to find an allusion to it (for example in ch. xvii.); (3) frequently we notice a *usus loquendi* peculiar to each of the two sections. It is, indeed, true that *Stähelin* has urged this very much beyond what sound criticism warrants. We believe that in our two critical works we have irrefragably shewn that about nine-tenths of the words and modes of expressions which he mentions as characteristic of each of the two sections are entirely fanciful. But we confess that in some cases we have been unsuccessful in shewing that the differences in the mode of expression were due to the difference in the subjects treated. Among these we reckon the striking circumstance that the Elohist sections always designate Mesopotamia as *Padan Aram*, and the Jehovistic as *Aram Naharajim*. Comp. also the other expressions, enumerated by Delitzsch at pp. 27 and 391. But despite these difficulties, which at the time we knew we had not *perfectly* removed, we thought with a good conscience to maintain and defend the unity of Genesis. The circumstance that individual difficulties attach to a fact do not warrant us in rejecting it as untrue, especially if it is otherwise authenticated. Besides, in the present instance the weight of these difficulties is as nothing when compared with the objections attaching to the hypothesis advocated by *Tuch* and by *Stähelin*; difficulties these, which render the reception of their views—at least to our mind—an impossibility.

Two considerations had especially induced us to maintain the unity of the book of Genesis and of the Pentateuch itself. We were and indeed are still firmly convinced that the Pentateuch is the basis of all Jewish history, whether it be that of the nation and the commonwealth, or that of the religion and literature of Israel. Hence its authorship must date from Mosaic times, a view directly contrary to the supplement-hypothesis as advocated by *Tuch* and *Stähelin*. But besides we are equally convinced that whatever original historical document is supposed to have existed, must have contained some account of the Fall. Even the account of

the deluge, furnished by what is now called the original document, presupposes such an event. But *Tuch* and *Stähelin* deny this, and consider that what they call the Elohistie sections in Genesis, form when separated from the Jehovistic portions a separate work complete in itself. It must, however, be allowed that the modification of this theory, as advocated by *Delitzsch*, does not contravene either of the above two postulates which we cannot under any consideration consent to give up. For that author traces in the last instance the entire contents of the Pentateuch to the Great Lawgiver, and ascribes its composition partly to Moses himself (giving in this respect due weight to the testimony of the Pentateuch itself) and partly to cotemporaries and assistants of Moses. At the same time he also holds that the original document had contained an account of the fall. But being viewed merely from the stand-point of the writer, who was a priest, *Delitzsch* supposes that the prophet who composed the supplementary part of Genesis had felt it to be defective, and hence wholly omitted it and supplied its place by another account in accordance with the view which he as a prophet took of these events.

But we confess that with all these modifications we hesitate adopting these opinions of Dr *Delitzsch* without at least again submitting them to a searching investigation, for which of course this is not the place. In the meantime we must express our misgivings as to the correctness of the opinion that while the party who composed the supplement had (as *Delitzsch* supposes) wholly rejected the history of the fall in the original document, he had still retained its heading in Gen. ii. 4. Nor can we exactly see how, without violence or else without leaving the question in an unsatisfactory state, we can, considering the many modifications of law which Deuteronomy contains, reconcile the idea of the Mosaic authorship of that book with that of a later origin of the other books in the Pentateuch.

(3.) The following are the principal AUXILIARIES for understanding the Biblical text of the preparatory history of the Old Covenant.

I. Among *exegetical* works, composed by *Rationalists*, we mention *G. Eichhorn's* Primeval History, recast by *Gabler*. 3 vols., Altd. 1792, and the commentaries of *J. Sev. Vater* (Comment. on the Pent., 3 vols., Halle 1802—03); of *G. A. Schumann* (Pentateuchus hebr. et gr. cum. annot. perpet. Only vol. i., Genesis, Lps. 1829); of *P. v. Bohlen* (Genesis transl. and with notes, Lpz. 1835); of *Fr. Tuch* Comment. on Genesis, Hall 1838; of *Th. Sörensen* (Hist. and Crit. Comment. on Genesis, Kiel 1851). The commentary of *Vater* has no claims whatever to merit, that of *Schumann* is not without its

philological value, that of *Bohlen* is equally remarkable for its confidence, superficiality, and the frivolity and impudence of its negations without compensating for these blemishes, either by philological or archæological merit. On the other hand the commentary of *Tuch* has been of great use to Biblical criticism from the philological and archæological researches which it embodies, although it is entirely destitute of theological interest. All these works treat Genesis as being merely a collection of Myths destitute of all proper historical foundation. *Sörensen's* commentary affords a specimen of Rationalistic criticism developed to its full proportions of absurdity. In it we are informed that the Messiah of the Old Testament was the Maccabean prince John Hyrcanus, at whose command the Pentateuch was composed, as a kind of Directory for Public Worship to the Synagogue. The history of Genesis is not even regarded as a Myth, but as a deliberate fabrication on the part of the author. Most of the other books in the Old Testament, we are assured, were composed soon afterwards, in a similar manner and for the same purposes. The interpretations of the narratives in Genesis offered by this writer may safely be characterised as the climax of absurdity. His critical principles and his treatment of the sacred text are fundamentally the same as those of Hitzig and of others. But so far from employing this method even with the caution of his predecessors, *Sörensen* carries it beyond all bounds, and applies it in a manner hitherto unknown in the literature of the Old Testament. If "the commentary" had been meant to serve as a caricature of negative criticism, the writer had admirably succeeded in attaining his object only that in that case we should have expected to find some hint to that effect. *Rosenmüller's* Scholia are still useful, although somewhat superficial. The following are the more recent works of an apologetic character on the Exegesis of the Pentateuch: *Leop. Schmid* (Rom. cath.), Explanation of holy Scripture, of which only the first vol. (on Genesis) has appeared, Münster 1834; *J. N. Tiele*, the first book of Moses, vol. i. (extending only to ch. xxv. 10, Erlg. 1836; *H. and W. Richter*, Annotated Family Bible, vol. i., Barmen 1834; *O. v. Gerlach*, Comment. on the Holy Script., vol. i., Berl. 1844; *F. W. J. Schröder*, Explan. of the 1st book of Moses, Berl. 1844; *F. J. Ph. Heim*, Bible Hours, Comment. on the O. T. vol. i., Stuttg. 1845; *M. Baumgarten*, theolog. Comment. to the Pentat., 2 vols., Kiel, 1843-44; *Fr. Delitzsch*, Expos. of the Book of Genes., Leipz. 1852. The work of *Schmid* bears the character of theosophic speculation, but without that neglect of philological and historical considerations which commonly characterise that stand-point. *Tiele's* exposition is devout, although somewhat jejune, speculative, and verbose. Still, it

deserves attention, especially for practical purposes (as for preachers), and it is matter of regret that the work has not been completed. Among the popular expositions of *Richter*, *Gerlach*, *Schröder*, and *Hein*, all of which deserve attention for their original and comprehensive treatment of the text, that of *Gerlach*, is the best.¹ Notwithstanding its occasional exegetical errors, the work of *Baumgarten* (comp. § 14, 2) is distinguished by breadth of view, and by a fresh, lively method of presenting the subject. With the exception of an untenable opinion about the history of the Creation (comp. our "Bible and Astronomy, 3d ed., Berl. 1853"), and of some other mistakes of minor importance, the latest work by *Delitzsch* is equally ingenious, learned, and stirring. It is to be regretted that the second part of Genesis (from chap. xii.) had not been treated at greater length.

II. The following works claim special attention, as bearing on the *history* and the *historiology* of the subject: *J. H. Heidegger*, hist. ss. Patriarch, 2 vols., Amsterd. 1667, 4, of which the 1st vol. treats of the patriarchs and of primeval history; *J. G. Herder*, the oldest account of man, 2 vols., Riga 1774-76; *F. Pustkuchen*, the primeval history of man, vol. i., Lemgo 1821; and Hist. and Crit. Investig. of the primeval history of the Bible, by the same author, Halle 1823; *K. T. Beke*, origines biblicæ, or researches into primeval history, vol. i., London 1834; (*J. L. Hug*), the Mosaic history of man, to the rise of nations, Frkf. 1793; *F. A. Krummacher*, Paragraphs on Sacred History, Berl. 1818; *Chr. Kapp*, on the origin of men and nations, according to the Mosaic account, Nürub. 1829 (based on the Lectures of Schelling at Erlangen); *J. H. Pabst*, Man and his history, Vienna 1830; *Al. Guiraud*, phil. catholique de l'hist., ou l'hist. expliquée, Par. 1841 (theosoph.)

III. With reference to *Dogmatics* and the *history of religion*, comp. especially: *T. Beck*, Science of Christian., Stuttg. 1841; *J. P. Lange*, posit. Dogmatics, Heidl. 1851; *J. Chr. K. Hofmann*, Prediction and Fulfilment, Nördl. 1841, and the Scriptural Demonst., by the same author, vol. i., Nördl. 1852; Lectures on Old Test. Theol., by *Steudel* and *Hüvernick*.

(4.) The scientific results of ASTRONOMY, GEOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, and of COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY must be applied with great caution, but may still be considered as *subsidiary* sources, as, starting from the status quo of what appears, they trace back the history of its origin. But even irrespective of the insecurity of this method, these sciences really furnish fewer points of coincidence than might have been anticipated, because the kind of information

¹ The works on this subject written in the English language, such as those by *Henry*, *Scott*, *Clarke*, *Gill*, *Ainsworth*, *Bush*, &c., are well known.—THE TR.

which the Scriptures communicates is, from its nature, beyond the province of empirical investigation. Comp., however, *A. Tholuck*, the inferences of Science as to the primeval world, in his "Minor Works," Hamb. 1839, vol. ii. ; *C. Fr. Keil*, apologia Mos. traditionis de mundi hominumque orig. exponentis. i., Dorp. 1839, 4 ; *Dr Wiseman*, Connection between Science and Revealed Religion, London 1836 ; *Marc. de Serres*, the Kosmogony of Moses, translated into German by *Steck*, Tübing. 1841 ; *Fr. Rougemont*, fragmens d' une hist. de la terre d' après la bible, Neuchat. 1841 ; *Seb. Mutzl*, primeval history of the earth and of man, according to the Mos. account and the results of science, Landsh. 1843 ; *Andr. Wagner*, Hist. of the primeval world, with a special view to the races of men and the Mos. account of creation, Leipz. 1845 ; *A. Ebrard*, The Bible's account of the world and natural science, in his Journal: The Future of the Church, Zurich 1847 ; and our "Bible and Astronomy," 3d ed., Berlin 1851.¹

(5.) Although many works have appeared showing the resemblance between the LEGENDS of *other nations* about the primeval history of man and the Biblical account, we have not yet any trustworthy and critical treatise on the subject. It has, especially, been overlooked that the ancient writers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of heathen legends mostly belonged to the Alexandrian school of Syncretism, which, making use of the LXX., attempted to draw the Old Testament tradition into the circle of its Eclecticism. Even *Delitzsch*, who in his Commentary takes occasional notice of heathen legends, over-estimates their importance. At any rate, we do not feel disposed to adopt his opinion that some genuine historical traditions, not mentioned in the Biblical record, had been preserved in heathen legend.—Comp. *Grotius*, de verit. relig. Christ. ; *Huetius*, demonstr. evang., prop. iv., c. 3—11 ; *Pustkuchen*, l. c. (v. sect. ii.) ; *H. J. Schmitt*, Orig. Revelat., Landsh. 1834 ; *C. J. H. Windischmann*, Philos. in the developm. of history, Bonn 1827, *et seq.*, part i. ; *Stolberg*, Hist. of the relig. of Jesus, vol. i., Append. ; *Mutzl* and *Rougemont*, ll. cc. ; *H. Lüken*, the unity of races and the spread of men over the globe, Hannov. 1845 ; lastly, most recently the excellent treatise by *A. Wutke*, on the Kosmogony of heathen nations before the time of Christ and of his apostles, Hague 1850.

1 Among English works on the subject we may specially mention those of *Drs Pye Smith* and *King*, and among more modern productions *Dr Reginald Poole's* Genesis of the Earth and of Man, Edinb. 1856, and especially the *Rev. D. McDonald's* Creation and the Fall, Edinb. 1856—a work equally distinguished for its ability and its learning.—THE TR.

THE CREATION AND DESTINY OF MAN.

(Comp. *F. W. C. Umbreit*, Specimen of an Expos. of the Account of Creation, in the "Theol. Studies and Critiques," 1839, i.; (*Hengstenberg*), Account of Creation, Evang. Kirchenzeit, 1841, No. 37—39; *Chr. G. Werner*, Histor. View of the first three chapters in Gen., Tübg. 1829; *Sam. Hirsch*, Relig. Philos. of the Jews, Leipz. 1842, p. 1, et seq.; *O. Krabbe*, Doctrine of Sin and Death, Hamb. 1836, (ch. iii.); *E. Sartorius*, Doctrine of Holy Love, i. 25—85; *The Author's Bible and Astronomy*, 3d ed., ch. iv.; *Hofmann*, Script. Demonstr., sect. ii.)

§ 21. (Gen. i. ii.)—In the beginning God created heaven and earth. The earth was *desert* (without form) and *void* (1). But the Spirit of God moved over the chaotic, dark, and watery mass, and filled it with powers of life. These the Almighty word of God's creative Will individualised as the *work of six days* (2), and called them into separate existence. Starting from the broad basis of telluric life, it ascended, like a pyramid, to vegetable and animal life, and reached the goal and high-point of creative activity in *man*, who comprises in himself all the former degrees and stages of life, only in an elevated manner. In man two elements were combined; the one Divine, the other purely human—the one the *form of clay*, the other *the breath of Divine life* breathed into it. Thus man is of twofold origin. In respect of his *body* and *soul*, he belongs to nature (to the animal sphere), and is the highest product of nature. Again, in so far as a godlike *spirit* dwells in him, he is above nature, and the offspring of God (Acts xvii. 28, 29). In virtue of this twofold character, he forms the link between God and nature, and is the representative of God, the Priest and the King of Nature. The indwelling of the breath of the Lord constitutes him the *image of God*, destined for, and capable of, Divine Wisdom and Power, Holiness and Blessedness. Thus he is intended to rule over nature, and to lead it onwards to perfection. A *garden in the land of Eden* (3) is his first abode and sphere of usefulness; to dress it and to keep it is the *commencement* of an activity whose end and aim is dominion over the whole earth

But even as Nature, so man also was both *capable of development* and—*dependent*; with this difference only, that as Nature is destitute of freedom, it requires to be *conducted* to the goal of its development, while man, as a free and personal spirit, was himself to rise to it in the exercise of a free choice and of personal activity. For this purpose, it was necessary for him to emerge from the stage of mere existence, by making a personal choice and decision. *The tree of the knowledge of good and of evil*, with the command not to eat of its fruit—and, on the other hand, *the tree of life*, which, by the positive purpose it was to serve, supplemented the negative purpose of the other tree and formed its counterpart, became the occasion of this choice. But before this free development of man could commence, the absence of generic distinction must give place to *sexual contrast*. *Marriage* must be instituted as the commencement and the condition of all historical development, and as the *means* by which alone the various races of men (4) could people of *one blood* the whole earth, and have dominion over it. Man is a free and a personal being, nor could any kind of development be forced upon him. Even that of the distinction of sexes presupposes at least the *consent* of his desire and longing. To awaken the latter, the Lord brings to Adam the animals in whom the sexes were already marked—at the same time also *an act of homage* on their part as his vassals, and a means for developing his *knowledge* and *capacity* of language. Thus the desire after an help-meet of the same kind with himself is awakened in man, and then God builds from a צֵלָע (a rib? the side?) of man, woman, whom he at once recognises as flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone.

(1.) The question, what exact meaning attaches to the expression הַנְּרוֹת הַבְּרֵהוֹת—whether it indicates entire absence of life, or only that creation was *not yet* pervaded by life, or whether it implies an actual *desolation*, succeeding a former state of order and of life—is indeed of great importance to, and influence on, sacred history, but not with reference to that part of it which constitutes the history of the Old Covenant. In another place (Bible and Astron., 3d ed., Berl. 1853, ch. iv., and suppl. 1), we have expressed, and shown ground for, our opinion that the account of the creation does not oblige us to decide either one way or the other, inasmuch as the narrator, like a faithful witness,

only relates what (with prophetic retrospect, § 20, 1) he had *beheld*. At the same time, a comparison of other Scriptural statements point to it as very probable that the original Toluva-Bohu was the theatre and the consequence of the first fall, viz., that in the angelic world.

(2.) With reference to the much-noted question whether the days of creation in Gen. i. are NATURAL OR PROPHEMIC DAYS, we have shown at large in our work, "Bible and Astron.," 3d ed., ch. iv., § 4, that criticism must, if impartial, explain these creations as *natural* days, *i. e.*, such as are bounded by light and darkness, and consist of evening and morning, day and night. But of course the duration of these days, according to the measure of the clock, cannot be determined, at least with reference to the first three days. In the same work, we have also shown that the conclusions of geology may be reconciled with this exegetical inference, and that, even though we were to grant that geology could claim thousands or even millions of years for its premundane creative periods.

(3.) The question as to the GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF PARADISE has in part been set aside as irrelevant (by those who advocate the mythical view), in part given up as indeterminable on account of the changes which the flood had occasioned on the face of the globe, and in part been attempted to be answered in various ways, by a combination of the geographical data of the text with certain other inferences and conjectures. Comp. *Winer's Real-Lex.*, sub. v. *Eden*, and, besides the authorities there quoted, also *E. Bertheau* (the geographical views on which the description of Paradise is based, Göttg. 1848).² The latter has discharged his task in a thoroughly scientific manner, and brought to it an equal amount of acuteness and of learning, although the materials at his disposal were not sufficient to enable him to reach perfectly secure conclusions. *Bertheau* starts with the view that, in determining the statements of Genesis, we require wholly to discard, in the first place, our present geographical knowledge, and to keep exclusively by the most ancient opinions concerning the surface of the earth, and the geographical distribution of its countries, seas, and rivers. He identifies the *Pison*, which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, with the *Ganges*, as the Fathers and Josephus had done. Hence he supposes that *Havilah* must, according to the geographical views of the Israelites, be considered as the eastern part of the earth, beyond the country of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The river *Gihon*, which compasseth the whole land of

² Comp. also an article by *Rüetschi*, in Herzog's Real-Encycl., vol. iii., p. 642, et seq.—THE TR.

Cush (*i.e.*, according to Gen. x., the countries of the southern zone), he identifies with the *Nile*, supposing that, according to the defective geographical knowledge of his time, the narrator had supposed that it rose in Asia, and that, flowing first from north to south, then turning and encircling the Persian and the Red Sea, and finally passing northwards and through Egypt, it flowed into the Mediterranean. From a passage in Strabo (15, 1, 25), and in Arrian (6, 1), which states that Alexander the Great had fancied that the rivers of north-western India were the commencement of the Nile, and from a legend recorded by Pausanias (ii. 5 2), to the effect that the Nile and the Euphrates were the same river, the latter losing itself in the mud, and descending from Ethiopia under the name of Nile—Bertheau infers that the connection of the Persian Gulf with the Southern Ocean had been unknown in ancient times, and the rise of the Nile generally supposed to have been in Asia. He also reminds us of the settled tradition concerning the identity of the Gihon and the Nile, expressed so early as by the LXX. translation of Jer. ii. 18, and even retained by Josephus, the Fathers, and the Byzantines, long after a more accurate knowledge of the connection between southern Asia and eastern Africa had been obtained, and which obliged those who continued to hold by the above-mentioned tradition to have recourse to the supposition that the Nile flowed under ground, and suddenly reappeared in Africa. The other rivers are the Euphrates and the Tigris (the Hiddekel), with which the narrator was better acquainted, and which he therefore represents as flowing into the Persian Gulf, without making them encompass any land. The נַדְדַּי, whose branches become four rivers, *Bertheau* supposes to represent the Caspian Sea. This "river," it is suggested, recalls the Okeanos of Homer, from which all the rivers and seas of the globe are declared to derive their water, and which the poet also designates as *πρωτομύς*. Hence the land of Eden had, in the opinion of the narrator, lain on the northern boundary of the earth, even as all the nations of Asia, south of the Armenian and Persian highlands, had, from the most ancient times, placed the dwelling-place of the gods in the farthest north.

But even if the geographical views underlying the Biblical record were as defective and erroneous as *Bertheau* supposes them to have been, this would not materially affect the character of the narrative as a revelation, for revelation has only religious knowledge for its aim. Thus in the case under consideration, it is the religious purport of the narrative about Paradise to communicate instruction about the blessedness and the holiness of the original state of man, and about the starting-point of his development, which became the history of the world and of sal-

vation. Hence to describe the appearance of Paradise was absolutely necessary for the purposes which the narrator had in view. But in order to give to such a narrative a definite and stable form, he had to indicate the *situation* of Paradise. What sacred tradition recorded on the subject, the writer of Genesis only placed in the frame of the geographical views of his time. If these were defective and erroneous, it formed no part of the object of revelation to anticipate by centuries or thousands of years the progress of geographical science. *The circumstance that the sacred record is a revelation, only authenticates that situation of Paradise which the description of the text would indicate, according to the geographical notions of that time, but it does not authenticate those geographical notions themselves.*

However, we feel convinced that Bertheau's argumentation cannot by any means be taken as conclusive. We cannot believe that a writer who knew Egypt so well could have supposed, far less that it was the common opinion in Egypt itself, that the Nile and the Ganges were identical, and that the Persian Gulf, together with the Red Sea, was a lake, bordered on the south by an immense tract of land, which connected Asia and Africa. The strange (and, perhaps, merely legendary) ignorance of Alexander is the less intelligible, as Herodotus had already entertained more correct notions, nor is it warrantable, from the views current among the Greeks at a later period, to draw inferences as to the knowledge possessed by the Egyptians of an earlier age. Far less can we regard the ideas of Josephus and of the Fathers as to the identity of the Nile and the Gihon as justifying us in assuming that the author of the book of Genesis had shared the same opinion. It rather appears to us that this notion, which afterwards retained so firm a hold on the minds of writers, had originated among the Eclectics of Alexandria, and thence found its way into the LXX., Josephus, and the Fathers. Just as the inhabitants of Palestine wished to substitute the Jordan for the Gihon (Wisd. of Sir., xxiv. 28), so the Hellenists naturally sought to vindicate this honour for their Nile. The absurdity of such a hypothesis, in a geographical point of view, was no obstacle in their way. They assumed that the Gihon had forced its way under ground to Egypt, and propounded it the more readily as, even at the time of Herodotus, the sources of the Nile were unknown in Egypt. But it must be held as decisive against this view that the river in question is not designated by a term usually given to, but, on the contrary, by one which is never applied to the Nile in the Old Testament. The opinion of *Delitzsch* that the Upper Nile may have borne the name of Gihon is altogether unfounded, and does not meet the difficulty; for, had the narrator meant that river, why eschew

the name of the Lower Nile, so well known to the ancients, and choose a less known name of the Upper Nile, which would so readily lead to mistakes ?

In fact, we feel convinced that other interpretations have equal, if not greater, claims to our consideration than the hypothesis started by Bertheau. Among them, that proposed by *Calvin, Huetius, Bochart, &c.*, has this advantage, that it actually points out a river with four "arms" (manifestly the greatest difficulty in the matter). According to this interpretation the *Shat-el-Arab*, or united Euphrates and Tigris, is the *Nahar* of the Garden of Eden—the Euphrates and the Tigris, together with their two mouths, are the four *Rashim*—the Persian province of *Chusistan* is the land of Cush—and Havilah the same as the *Cholotatoi*, who, according to Strabo, lived in an adjoining portion of Arabia, celebrated for its gold. But this hypothesis also, irrespective of other difficulties which might readily be mentioned, does not agree with the description in the text of a river which divides into four branches outside of the garden.

Reland and *Calmet* identify the river Pison with the *Phasis*, which rises in the Moschus mountains and is connected with *Colchis* (= Havilah), the ancient gold-land; Gihon with the Araxes (𐤀𐤒𐤀𐤃 = ἀράττω = to break forth), which to this day bears the same name among the Persians, and also rises in the mountains of Armenia and falls into the Caspian Sea; and Cush with the country of the Cosseans in the vicinity of Media and of the Caspian Sea. Irrespective of the objection that this hypothesis does not point out any common *Nahar*, it would have seemed to us the most probable. It is, indeed, true that the explanation which identifies Cush with the land of the Cosseans contravenes the general Biblical statements concerning Cush (= Ethiopia). But perhaps the remark of *J. P. Lange* (pos. Dogm., p. 400) may meet this difficulty. He observes: "Even the Nile does not compass Ethiopia. Probably it may be assumed that the land of Cush had, so to speak, moved southwards, just as, for example, a portion of the Norwegians brought with them their Normandy and the Greeks their Hellas into Italy. Perhaps the country of the Cosseans may indicate a similar movement of the Cushites southwards."

Among the other numerous hypotheses, we only mention that of *Karl v. Raumer* (Palest., 3d ed., p. 424), although we cannot admit its correctness. That scholar also seeks the original Paraisaical abode of men in the Armenian highlands. The river Pison he identifies with the Phasis of Xenophon, which, as *Mannert* has shown, is the *Araxes*; the land Havilah, compassed by the Pison, is then the country anciently inhabited by the Chvalissi, and which had formerly been an island. The

name is still preserved, as the Caspian Sea is still called by the Russians "Chwalinskoye More." But this hypothesis leaves the *Gihon* unaccounted for.

Ireland, *Bertheau*, and *Raumer* agree in this, that the highlands of Armenia possess the highest claim to be regarded as the garden of Eden. This must appear the more certain, as the mention of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, which must have been well known to the narrator, point to this locality beyond the possibility of doubt.

Manifestly the chief difficulty in our way is presented by the wording of Gen. ii. 10. This verse is commonly rendered—"And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads (arms, branches)." If this translation is correct, we admit that it is absolutely impossible to reconcile the narrative with geographical facts. In that case, nothing would be left but to cut the knot by accounting for the irreconcilable difficulty by the geographical ignorance of the period when the narrative was composed, or by assuming that some tremendous catastrophe had so changed the appearance of Eden, that rivers which had formerly been branches of one and the same river, are now parted in their sources by hundreds of miles. To ascribe this revolution to the flood is neither warranted by the Biblical narrative, nor in accordance with the conclusions of geology. But we cannot account for it on the ground of geographical ignorance, regarding, as we do, the whole narrative as a tradition from primitive times, and not as an apocryphal collection of myths dating from a later period. For even if we supposed that the *names* of the rivers were derived from the geographical notions current at the time when the record was composed—in which indeed there might be room for mistakes—the *Nahar* and the *Rashim* into which it parts would still have to be considered as belonging to the original tradition. But a more accurate examination of the words shows that the above rendering of the verse is not correct. It is an obvious mistake to interpret ראשים as branches or arms. A figure of speech so thoroughly reversed and misplaced can scarcely be supposed in any language or among any nation. If ראש is to indicate any portion of a river, common sense would seem to demand that it should only apply to its source or upper part. A river with four heads cannot be one which, after having for some time flowed as *one* stream, is afterwards parted into four branches. Evidently it must mean a river formed by the junction of four sources. If the narrator had wished to express the meaning which our translators convey, he would have designated the נהר as the ראש, and the ראשים as the נהרים. But if these four rivers are themselves sources (heads) then the נהר of

the garden can no longer be viewed as their common origin. We are therefore inclined to adopt the oft-controverted explanation, according to which נָהָר must be viewed as a collective noun, indicating the abundance of water in the garden. This view is farther confirmed by the addition of the expression "to water," while in this light the absence of the numeral *one* (with reference to the river), by way of contrast to the *four* (heads or branches), appears also striking. Nor does the expression וּמִקְשָׁם יִפְרָד militate against this view; for the niph. of פָּרַד is never employed to indicate the divergence into many of what formerly had been one, but, on the contrary, the divergence of things which had formerly independently existed side by side with each other. Comp. especially the parallel instances in Gen. xxv. 23, and x. 32. The meaning therefore appears to be this, that the river-system of the garden (*i.e.*, the rivers which, during their course in the garden, had still flowed side by side with each other) diverged outside of the garden, and then flowed in different, and partly in opposite directions. In that case, the expression רְאִישֵׁים must, with *Luther*, *Rosenmüller*, and others (also our English authorised version), be taken as designating *flumina principalia*, a view which, in other respects, appears to be quite correct.

(4.) Some naturalists and philosophers, such as *Borg*, *St Vincent*, *Desmoulin*, *Oken*, *Burmeister*, &c., have, on the ground of the differences of colour, hair, cranium, and bodily structure among the so-called races of men, as well as on that of the difference of languages, denied the original unity of the human race. Among the vast number of those who have controverted their arguments and defended the unity of the race, we select the following:—1. Among *Naturalists*—*Buffon* disc. sur la variété dans l'espèce humaine; *Cuvier*, tableaux élément. de l'hist. nat. des animaux, Paris, 1827; *Blumenbach* de generis humani varietate nativa, Gött. 1795; *Rud. Wagner* Anthropol. ii., p. 209, et sq.; *Andr. Wagner*, Hist. of the Primeval World, Leipz. 1845; *G. H. v. Schubert*, the Kosmos, p. 651, et sq.; and especially *H. Lücken*, the Unity of the Race, and its spread over the face of the globe, Hann. 1845. 2. Among *Philosophers* we mention—*H. Steffens* Anthropol. ii. 365, et sq.; the same author's Relig. Philos. of Christ., i. 287, et sq.; and his Miscellan. Writings, ii. 365, et seq.; *Hillebrand* Anthrop. Mayence, 1822, vol. ii.; *H. H.* on the various Races, in pt. ii. of the German Quarterly; *A. v. Humboldt* in Kosmos, vol. i.; *Wuttke*, History of Heathen., i. 27, et sq. 3. Among *Geographers*—*G. A. Wimmer*, Cosmol. Propæd. to Geogr., Vienna, 1833; *Roon*, The Globe, its Nations and States, vol. iii., 1, sect. iv. The most important work is *Prichard's* Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.

London, 1828. 4. Among Divines we name—*A. Tholuck*, Miscell. Writings, ii. 239, et sq.; *J. P. Lange*, Miscell. Writings, i. 89, et sq.; and *Dr Wiseman*, Connection between Science and Revelation. The necessity of assuming the unity of the species may be shown on *anatomical, physiological* (among others, from the continuous and fruitful intermarriages of members of various races), on *psychological*, and on *ethical* grounds. But it must be allowed that the problem regarding the *formation* of different races has not yet been fully solved. The co-operation of powerful physical (especially climatic) and ethical causes during the infancy of the species must, in the meantime, be taken as affording a sufficient general explanation for a divergence which by and by became fixed.

THE FALL AND THE FIRST PROMISE OF REDEMPTION.

(*Liter.* of the subject—*J. P. Lüderwald*, the Allegor. Interpret. of the Fall shown to be unfounded, Helmst. 1701; *A. Tholuck* in the Append. to "Sin and the Redeemer;" *Krabbe* on Sin and Death, ch. iv.; *Jul. Müller*, the Christian Doctr. of Sin (transl. by Rev. W. Pulsford—Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark), vol. ii.; *Hüvernich*, the Theol. of the O. T., p. 86, et sq.; *E. Sartorius*, Doctr. of Holy Love, Stuttg., i. 86, et sq.; *The Author's Bible and Astron.*, ch. iv.; *Hofmann* Scriptur. Demonstr., sect. iii. and iv.)

§ 22. (Gen. iii.)—The hints apparently thrown out even in Gen. i. 2, and ii. 15, that *evil* already existed in the world, which, however, man was to overcome and to set aside, so far as he was concerned, are soon confirmed. The tempter, in the form of a *serpent* (1), meets man, and man is seduced by him. The tempter succeeded in introducing into the soul of man lust after the forbidden fruit, and lust brought forth sin, and sin death. (James i. 15.) It actually happened as the seducer had promised, though in malice and in an evil sense. *Their eyes were opened* (v. 7), but they only saw their nakedness and were ashamed; *they knew good and evil*, but only by their sad loss of what was good, and by their disastrous experience of what was evil. Man *became as God* (v. 22), *i.e.*, he ceased to be the representative and vicar of God, he emancipated himself from God,

and assumed independent command and action. Such "becoming as God" did not, however, make him *blessed*, but, on the contrary, infinitely *wretched* and *poor*. *Death*, the wages of sin, took hold on his whole being, and brought along with it a whole host of miseries, of sorrows, and of curses. Man, formed from the dust, who had dared to attempt *without* God to be as God, must, on account of this rebellion, return to the dust whence he was taken. But man had not of his own accord produced sin in himself. It was rather something foreign to, and forced upon him by a seduction from without, which indeed he *might* and *should* have withstood. His whole being had been *pervaded* and *poisoned* by sin, but it *had not itself become sin*. Something is still left within him that opposes sin, and does not find pleasure in it; the Divine image in man is *not* wholly annihilated (Gen. ix. 6; James iii. 9; Acts xvii. 28, 29)—on the contrary, it asserts its existence in relation to sin, as the voice of *conscience* in feelings of shame and of repentance. Hence man both *requires salvation* and is *capable* of it, and God does not leave him to himself and to his misery, but, in the prosecution of an eternal counsel of grace, commences to prepare and to train him for salvation. The first manifestation of this council is the curse pronounced against the seducer (2), when God distinctly and avowedly takes the part of man *against* the tempter, and promises to man a final and decisive victory over the author of evil. Marriage, which had been the vehicle of the *fall*, is now also to become that of *salvation*; the *seed of the woman* is to bruise the head of the seed of the serpent. *Eve*, the mother of all living, is to *bring forth children*, although in *sorrow*, and through child-bearing is salvation to be brought about. An unbroken succession of children are to be become links in the Old Testament development, and to prepare the way for salvation. But Paradise is henceforth shut against man, and Cherubim with flaming sword (3) prevent his access to the tree of life. The *ground* which had been *curse*d becomes now his place of abode and of discipline; *labour in the sweat of his brow*, to be followed by death as the sum of all earthly ills, is his *lot*, inasmuch as sin *must* meet its reward, and all its consequences must appear; all its effects must be endured, and Divine justice exact a full and unconditional vindication of its demands.

(1.) It can scarcely be called in question that the record had the agency of an evil *spiritual* being in view when it speaks of the SERPENT, although it is a point of considerable difficulty to ascertain in what manner the writer understood that the will of Satan was executed by the serpent. It is difficult, if not impossible to gather the idea in the mind of the writer from the data before us. The *reason* of this want of distinctness was no doubt a desire, instead of interrupting the childlike and simple character of the narrative (which, indeed, makes it so sublime), which was a sacred and venerable relic of primeval times, to present it in all its plainness, and without the addition of any gloss or comment. In fact, the sacred record faithfully presents the *recollections and perceptions of the first man*, as preserved by tradition. So much, however, is certain, that the teaching of the Bible concerning Satan has its foundation in what is here recorded about the history of the fall and about the serpent. So soon as man had commenced to reflect on this event, he must have gathered from it the existence of a spiritual being opposed to God. For this he did not require the aid of a special instruction or revelation. Satan had historically manifested himself in the serpent. Where facts speak, any further verbal instruction becomes unnecessary.

2. This interpretation throws light on the CURSE, as *pronounced against the serpent*. So far as its form is concerned, it seems to apply, *solely and exclusively*, to the serpent. But as, in reality, the curse was pronounced *for the sake of man*, and not for that of the serpent, the language was adapted to man's peculiar mode of conception, in which the outward appearance of the serpent and the spiritual principle of evil were not yet separated. The seducer had appeared to man as a serpent, and hence he viewed the curse pronounced against the *serpent* as applying to *the author of sin*, and the distinction of, and victory over, the *serpent* by the seed of the woman as deliverance from *his* power and influence. Thus we have here a "PROTOEVANGELIUM," which evidently conveyed to man that the relationship subsisting between the seducer and the seduced was not to continue such as it had become when the tempter prevailed. Although man had allowed himself to be drawn into fellowship with the seducer, this fellowship was not to be permanent. Instead of friendship and fellowship between them, there was to be enmity and a continual contest, which was at last to terminate in the complete defeat of the seducer. All mankind (the seed of the woman) was to wage this battle with the author of sin, and in virtue of the Divine will, to come victorious out of the conflict.

(3.) Although Gen. iii. gives little information as to the

character and import of the CHERUBIM, it affords sufficient completely to refute the views of *Bähr* (Symbol of the Mos. Rit., i. 340, et sq.), who regards them simply as the creations of Symbolic, and destitute of all objective reality—in short, as the representations of perfect creature-life. The fact that even such scholars as *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii. 643; Comment. on Revelat., translated by Professor Fairbairn—Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark); *Keil* (Temple of Solomon, p. 107—147); and *Hävernick* (Comment. on Ezek., and Theol. of the O. T., p. 80) have endorsed this hypothesis cannot affect our opinion of its character. So long as Gen. ii. and iii. are regarded as historical accounts, and not as fabulous myths or arbitrary speculations, the real, personal and historical existence of the Cherubim also is necessarily implied. The character, the original position, and the purposes of the Cherubim may be gathered from Ps. xviii. 11. From the context of that verse, we learn that properly they were the attendants and the bearers of the Divine Glory and Majesty in its presence and activity in the world. They are, as it were, the chariot in which Elohim, the God of the universe, is borne, when He manifests Himself in the world, and there displays His glory as King and Judge. A further comparison of this passage with Ps. civ. 3, 4, will prove that the Cherubim are part of that spiritual world of creatures who are elevated above this world, and whom we commonly designate by the general term of *angels*. Bearing in mind our former distinction (v. § 13, 1) between the Divine manifestation as Elohim and as Jehovah, we shall refer them, as indeed angels generally, more especially to the sphere of the former, without, however, of course, wholly excluding them from that of the latter, inasmuch as Elohim and Jehovah is one and the same God, and the two spheres of the Divine agency are not eccentric but concentric circles (do not exclude but intertwine with each other). But Gen. iii. 24 indicates the period when these angels were first transferred from the Elohistic to the Jehovistic sphere of action. “And Jehovah Elohim *drove out the man, and placed* (caused to dwell) at the east (the entrance to) of the garden of Eden, Cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned every way to *keep* the way of the tree of life. This passage is evidently intended to imply a contrast to Gen. ii. 15:—“And Jehovah Elohim *took the man and put him* (caused him to settle in) into the garden of Eden to dress it and to *keep it.*” The cherub is in the meantime to take the place of man. For man should have dwelt in the garden to *keep* it, as it contained the tree of life, the most precious treasure of terrestrial nature. However, man was also to *dress* the garden. But this duty is *not* now imposed upon the cherub. A being of different kind, he is not suited for discharging the positive duty devolving on

man. It follows that the Cherub is only intended to occupy Paradise *in the meantime*, and that *man* has the prospect of returning to it at a future period. This prospect is to become a reality at the close of the history of salvation. (Rev. xxi. xxii.) The heavenly Jerusalem in the transformed earth is Paradise renewed, enlarged, transformed, and perfected, and there we again find the tree of life, and the river of the water of life. There also man is to dwell again with, and by the side of God. Then we read no more of the Cherub. Having faithfully preserved the treasure entrusted to his keeping, he has restored it to its original possessor.

Elohim, of whom Gen. i. speaks as the God of the universe, becomes, in the second and third chapters, Jehovah, or the God of salvation. He becomes such when He plants and prepares the garden of Eden to be the dwelling-place of man, and the starting-point in his history. His throne is in the heavens, borne by Cherubim, and surrounded by myriads of angels. He now purposes to prepare for Himself also a dwelling-place upon earth; Paradise is meant to be the place of Jehovah's throne on earth, and man is intended to be *the terrestrial Cherub*, even as the Cherub is the heavenly man. But the Fall changes the whole aspect of things; man must now be driven forth, and yet Paradise, with its tree of life, be preserved. Hence God places, in the meantime, in it heavenly beings instead of man, to dwell there, and to keep it. The Cherubim of heaven are substituted for the Cherub of earth. Wherever the Cherubim are there is also God, for they bear and accompany the glory of God in the universe. The flaming sword, which turns every way to prevent the presumptuous and premature return of man on whatever side he might seek to force an entrance, symbolises the consuming fire of Divine holiness.

From that period the Cherubim appear not only as bearing the glory of Elohim in the world, but also as supporting the glory of Jehovah in salvation. Accordingly we find them in the most holy place both in the tabernacle and in the temple. They appear in the sublime vision of Ezekiel (i. 10), and in that of the New Testament seer (Rev. iv.) Ezekiel describes them as having four faces—that of a man, of a lion, of an eagle, and of an ox. According to *Hofmann* (Script. Demonstr., i. 322), these four faces “represent the union of all powers of life—that of free consciousness, characteristic of man; that of power and courage, characteristic of the lion; that of firmness and strength, characteristic of the ox; and that of certain and unchecked rapidity, characteristic of the eagle.” Besides this, the reference pointed out by *Schmieder* (in *O. v. Gerlach's Bible*, iv. 1, p. 431) is no doubt apt:—“We readily perceive that the four faces are

borrowed from the four chiefs (kings) of terrestrial creation. The lion is king of all the animals of the field, the ox king of the flocks, the eagle king of birds, and man king of all the earth." It is only from the point of view to which we have above adverted that we understand why, in the representations of art or of prophetic vision, the Cherubim assume a terrestrial shape. The Cherubim are substitutes of man. If it is objected that as man is "king of all the earth," to assume his form would itself have sufficed for the purpose in view, we reply that both this question and the other as to the reason why the Cherub was substituted for man to inhabit and to keep Paradise, are answered in Gen. iii. Before his fall, man, created in the likeness of God, was unconditionally and absolutely the climax and the sum of all terrestrial and creature perfection, and also unconditionally and absolutely lord and king over all the animals. But the Fall deprived him of this high place. The animal world has in part at least emancipated itself from his dominion; and to humble him it also appears that it even possesses powers and capabilities which man has not, at least to the same extent or in the same perfection. Hence every creature perfection found on earth, and no longer existing in man, had to be comprehended and combined along with the form of man, in order thus to exhibit in the Cherubim an appearance corresponding to the purpose in view.

The record furnishes no farther notice of Paradise or of its new inhabitants and keepers. But during the time of Moses the tabernacle is constructed, in which the most holy place (as shall more fully be shown in another volume) bears so manifest a relation to Paradise, that we cannot but recognise in it both a representation of what Paradise had been, and a type of what, in its perfect state as the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. xxii.), it shall be. The tabernacle, however, was not the immediate counterpart of what Paradise had been, but a portraiture of the heavenly and ideal pattern shown to Moses on the mount. (Ex. xxv. 9—40.) Hence between Paradise and the rearing of the tabernacle a series of events must have intervened, in the course of which Paradise, or rather that which constituted it Paradise, was taken from earth, as formerly it had been taken from man. The Lord withdrew the fulness and the powers of life which He had formerly bestowed on Paradise, to reserve them for His plan of salvation, and again to communicate them, only in higher development, to the earth and to man, in a history which was to start from a new point. When the earthly sanctuary is constructed, He again restores these powers in the meantime to His chosen people, and in the form of a symbol, but not merely as a *representation* of the Paradise which had been lost, but also as the *type* of the

real Paradise which was afterwards to be restored to man. (Rev. xxi.) It is scarcely necessary to add, that our above remarks express *our understanding* of these events, and not that which, at the time, either Adam or the Jewish Lawgiver had possessed. What Adam or Moses could understand or divine of these spiritual transactions must be gathered from the history of their time, and from a view of the stage to which they had attained in the consciousness of salvation.

The fact, inferred from Ex. xxv. 9—40, that since the Fall Paradise was removed from earth, or, to speak more accurately, that it was deprived of its paradisaical powers, which returned to Him who had given them, we conceive to have taken place at the time and to be coincident with the record in Gen. iii. 24, according to which Paradise was committed to the charge of Cherubim, whose dwelling-place is properly in heaven. Man was not only to be driven from Paradise; he was also to see and to experience that it had been entrusted to others. Hence the miraculous appearance of heavenly beings, manifest to his senses. The impression of terror and of awe which this heavenly apparition must have left on him had, no doubt, for a long time deprived him of all desire to return to the garden; and if at any after period he had been sufficiently bold to seek again for the place of his former blessedness, he would only come upon what everywhere surrounded him—thorns and briers.

This view of the Cherubim, and of their relation to the history of man's salvation, is entirely different from that which *Hofmann* has declared (Script. Demonstr. i., 179, et sq.; 317, et sq.) to be the only scriptural one, and which *Delitzsch* has implicitly adopted (Gen., pp. 145, 199, 282, 401). *Hofmann* represents the Cherubim as the vehicles of the presence of God in the world, "through whom the eternal 'To be' of God adapts itself to the world, and He 'who in Himself Is' becomes present in the world, yet as above the world," so that whenever the Cherubim appear, "the world has its beginning." "They are beings which bear the same relation to the presence and manifestation of the super-mundane God in the world as the chariot does to him who sits upon it. His appearance and manifestation rested not on the soil, but freely moved about, borne up by moving beings. In this sense we read that Jehovah *walked* (Gen. iii. 8) in the original dwelling-place of man." From this it would follow that from the first, and even before the Fall, God manifested Himself to Adam only by means of the Cherubic chariot. After the Fall this appearance becomes "terrific to man and drives him from that place." Still the Garden of Eden remained "the place of God, and the beginning of the world." Thence God reigned over the world, and thither did man turn

to find the Lord. This continued up to the period of judgment by the flood. Then the cherub-chariot mounted from earth to heaven, and ever since heaven, and not earth, is the place of God's presence in the world. God now comes down when He is about to manifest His presence upon earth, and having done so He again returns to heaven.

In proof that at the time of the flood the throne of Jehovah was transferred to heaven, Ps. xxix. 10 is quoted. We allow that the flood spoken of in that passage is that of Noah. Still, we cannot agree with *Delitzsch* that any such inference from the verse is warranted. We find no mention in it that the throne of God had been transported from earth to heaven. Even though, with *Hofmann*, we would render the passage: "Jehovah seated Himself for the flood (to send the judgment of the flood) and since then Jehovah sitteth as king for ever"—this translation, so far from enabling or obliging us to adopt his mode of interpretation, seems not to afford any point of contact for it. But the parallelism demands that we should render the לִּבְיָהוָה in the same manner as in לְעוֹלָם, *i. e.* as bearing reference to *time*.

Hence we must translate: "As Jehovah was enthroned at the flood, so is Jehovah enthroned a King for ever;" *i. e.*, as Jehovah had manifested Himself as Judge and King at the flood, so does He still, and will through eternity, continue to manifest Himself in the same capacity. Nor do we gather from Gen. iii. 24 that the record "from the first represents the presence and appearance of Jehovah in the garden of Eden only in connection with the Cherubim," or that the walking of Jehovah in the garden must be regarded "not as a touching of the ground, but as free moving, borne up by moving beings." We do not read that God had looked from Paradise upon the sacrifice of Abel, nor do we anywhere learn that man turned toward Paradise in order to find God. It is, indeed, true that when Cain became a fugitive he said "from Thy face shall I be hid," and that the narrator remarks: "And Cain went forth from the presence (Hebr., from the face) of Jehovah." But from this we cannot infer that *before* the flood the throne of God had been on earth, and *after it* in heaven, as *after* the flood, also, we are told of Nimrod that he was "a mighty hunter before (in the face of) the Lord" (Gen. x. 9), and the Psalmist entreats: "Cast me not away from Thy presence (Heb. from Thy face)," Ps. li. 11, while the expressions לְפָנַי יְהוָה and מִלְּפָנַי יְהוָה occur in innumerable places. No doubt the smoke of Noah's sacrifice after the flood ascended towards heaven, but it is to be presumed that the *same* had been the case with the sacrifice of Abel *before* the flood. It is equally undeniable that at the confounding of language Jehovah "came down" in judgment to the earth

(Gen xi. 5), and that, four hundred years afterwards, after having entered into covenant with Abraham (Gen. xvii. 22), He "went up again." But, although in the one case we do not read of His having gone up, nor in the other of His having come down, it would manifestly be unwarrantable to conclude from this that at the confounding of languages Jehovah had transferred His throne again to the earth, and continued it there till after He had entered into covenant with Abraham. We account for the express mention of His having "come down" as intended to convey a contrast to the blasphemous language of those who built the tower (Gen. xi. 4), and for the silence about the "going up," after said judgment, on the ground that the latter needed no express mention. But this very circumstance must convince us that in the manifestations of God on the earth there may have been a "coming down" and "going up," without any express statement to that effect in the Biblical record. We also hold that the word of the Lord to Cain (Gen. iv. 10): "the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground," must convey to the mind of every unprejudiced reader that it had cried *toward heaven*. Nor can we help thinking that the expression in Gen vi. 12: "And God looked upon the earth," rather implied that the Lord had looked down from heaven than that from some place on the earth He had looked abroad upon it. Hence, however ingenious in its conception and application the idea of *Hofmann* may be, it does not bear the test of examination. Thus much of truth there may be in it, that the "walking" of the Lord had, so long as man abode in Paradise, been more intimate and near by far than at any time since the Fall. Only redeemed earth and a renewed Paradise (Rev. xxi., xxii.) shall again witness such close communion.

We have to confess entire ignorance as to the derivation of the term Cherub. *Hofmann* has declared his preference for the explanation which makes כְּרֻב merely a transposition of כְּרוּב = chariot, and which attaches to the term the meaning of that word. In corroboration, he appeals to Ps. civ. 3. But we cannot agree in this view, not merely because this transposition, of which there is no other example, is too arbitrary and curious, but chiefly because the idea of a chariot as attaching to the Cherub, is not characteristic, and attaching to it under all circumstances, but only accidental, and occurring under certain given circumstances. It is well known that in the Cherubim of the tabernacle and of the temple, as well as in those of the New Testament vision, there is no allusion to "chariots." As little, perhaps even less, can we adopt the derivation suggested by *Delitzsch*, according to whom the verb כָּרַב—which nowhere occurs—is referred to the cognate root of the verbs קָרַב, עָרַב, and

supposed, according to the analogy of the Sanscrit *grih*, of the Persian *giriften*, and of the Gothic *gripan*, to bear the meaning of *to grip, to seize, to hold*. Thus the word Cherubim is interpreted as they who take hold of, or who bear the throne of God. But Scripture nowhere implies that the Cherubim seize, or hold, or take hold of the Divine Throne. So far indeed from confirming this idea, Ezekiel's vision implies that the "firmament" of "crystal" on which the throne of God stands, rests only on the tips of the outspread wings of the Cherubim. Neither can the derivation of the word from the Syriac *ܟܪܘܒ*, which is represented as equivalent to *secare, sculperere, formare*, and according to which *כרוב* means *forma, imago*, an artistic formation or representation (*Keil*, Temple of Sol., 107; *Hävernick's Ezek.*, p. 5) command our assent, if it were only on the ground, that it rests upon or leads to the erroneous opinion that the Cherubim were merely symbolical formations of art or of fancy. Considering the idea attaching to the Cherubim, we should incline to the derivation proposed by *Hyde* (*Rel. Vett. Pers.*, p. 263), who traces the term to *קרוב*, and explains it as equivalent to those who are near to God; or else to that of *Maurer* (*Comment. on Is.*, vi. 2), who explains *כרוב* = *כרם*, Arab. *كروم*, *nobilis fuit*, and hence interprets Cherubim as *nobiles principes*. These explanations would also tally with the probable derivation of the term *Serafim* (*comp.* § 79, 1), beings of kindred nature with the Cherubim. But there are philological objections to these interpretations. Perhaps the view most deserving of, and yet receiving the least attention, is that which results from a comparison of Ezek. i. 10 with x. 14 (in which latter passage, among the "four faces," that of a Cherub is substituted for that of an ox), according to which the word *כרוב* had originally been equivalent to ox (*arator*, from the Syriac root *ܟܪܘܒ* = *arare*.) But this derivation also leaves us in hopeless difficulty.

We shall not, in the meantime, enter on the relation between the Jewish view of the Cherubim, and the similar or kindred representations of other nations. Suffice it at present to remark, that however striking the analogies (especially in the Assyrian sculptures, which are now being rescued from the oblivion of thousands of years, *comp.* *Vaux* *Niniveh* and *Persepolis*, and fig. 10 and 11), this does not in any way invalidate either the originality or the historical character of the narrative in Gen. iii. These similarities, be they great or small, may all be traced back to a common source, in the oldest traditions of mankind. For the literature of this subject, *comp.* *Winer's Real Lex.*, s. h. v.

(4.) We close with a few general remarks. It has been thought strange that the canonical writings of the Old Test. contain so few, or, as some have affirmed (for ex., *Ammon* *Bibl.*

Theol., 2d ed., V, 281; *Baumgarten-Crusius* Chief Points in Bibl. Theol., p. 349; *Lengerke* Kanaan, i., p. 17, etc.) do not contain any allusions to the history of the creation and of the Fall, as related in the passage under consideration. From this it has been inferred that the "myth" of Gen. ii. and iii. had originated at a *much later* period, or had been imported into Palestine. Against this view, comp. Th. Sherlock's remarks on the views which the Jews had entertained, before the birth of Christ, about the circumstances and the consequences of the Fall; *O. Krabbe*, Doctrine of Sin and of Death, ch. vi.; and *Hofmann* Script. Demonstr., i. 364, et seq. It is indeed remarkable that special references to these events occur so rarely. But we have to remember, first, that express references to former writings were much more rare in ancient Oriental Literature than they are in ours. Even the New Test. contains only very few, and, comparatively speaking, equally few express references to Gen. i.—iii., although we might have expected to have found many more. Among the Old Test. references to these events, we may mention Ps. viii., comp. with Gen. i. 28; —2 Sam. xxii. 16; Ps. xviii. 16, ciii. 14, civ. 29, 30; Job x. 8, 9, xxxiii. 4—6; Is. ii. 22, xxix. 16, xlv. 9, lxiv. 8, comp. with Gen. ii. 7; —Is. lxv. 25; Micah vii. 17, comp. with Gen. iii. 14; —Ps. cxlvi. 4, civ. 30; Eccl. iii. 20, xii. 7, comp. with Gen. iii. 19. Equally clear is the reference of Job xxxi. 33, and of Hos. vi. 7, to the history of the Fall. Even such authorities as *Hitzig*, Exeg. Manual, i. 95; *Umbreit*, Pract. Comment. on the Prophets, iv. 1, p. 41; comp. also *Nitzsch*, System, 4th ed., p. 223, have of late declared in favour of this interpretation, for the rendering קָאָרֶם "after the manner of men," is manifestly unsuitable. The same remark applies to Is. xliii. 27, where the expression, "thy first father hath sinned," can, as the best commentators (for ex., *Hitzig*, *Umbreit*, *Knobel*, and others) have shown, only refer to Adam. However, *Hofmann*, l. c., views the latter passage as an allusion to Abraham. Let it also be borne in mind, that all the sacrificial services of the Old Test. are based on Gen. iii., nor can we be mistaken (comp. also *Krabbe*, l. c. 98, et seq.; *our Contrib.* i. 98) in finding in the expression בְּזוֹת יִבְמַת, which so frequently occurs in the Mosaic Criminal Legislation, a reference to the בְּזוֹת הַבְּמֵת of the first legislation in Gen. ii. 17. If any doubt should still occur, we submit that the facts recorded in these chapters are chronicled with a child-like simplicity, and that hence the manifold deep bearing of this narrative required a lengthened training before it could be perfectly apprehended in the consciousness of the individual. So rich and deep is always the commencement of a

development, that the *continuation* of it is not sufficient fully to bring its treasures to light. It is only at its *completion* that all which had lain concealed in it appears. As another important consideration, in opposition to the above assertion, we may call attention to the gradually increasing expectancy of salvation. Thus, while Gen. iii. 14, 15, traces salvation to the medium of mankind generally, Gen. xii. 3 limits it to the seed of Abraham, ch. xlix. 10 to the tribe of Judah, and 2 Sam. vii. 12—16 to the family of David. Here the promise attains its narrowest limits, which it henceforth preserves throughout the whole Old Testament.

THE TWOFOLD TENDENCY MANIFEST IN THE PRIMEVAL RACE.

(Comp. *Dettinger*, Remarks on Gen. iv. 1—6, 8; in the Tübingen Theol. Journal for 1835, pt. 1; *Fr. Bötticher* de inferis rebusque post mortem futuris, Dresd. 1845, p. 121, et seq.)

§ 23. (Gen. iv.)—The two first sons of Adam and Eve become immediately the starting-points and the prototypes of the twofold tendency apparent in man: the one planted and nourished by sin, the other by salvation. These two tendencies re-appear everywhere in the history of mankind, and become more and more distinct, in the one case in a believing surrender *to*, in the other in a determined alienation *from*, God, and from His plan of salvation. *Cain* (= the acquired) is the *first* fruit of Adam's marriage (1.) At his birth, Eve triumphantly exclaims—"I have gotten a *man* with Jehovah," in the belief that she had now got one who would victoriously *contend* against the seed of the serpent. But speedily she becomes sensible of her error, and accordingly calls her second son לֵבֶרֶךְ, for her premature and impatient hope had vanished like *breath*. Both sons *offer sacrifices* (2.) Abel brings the firstlings of his flock, and Cain of the fruits of the ground. The Lord graciously had respect to Abel's sacrifice, but not to that of Cain. This excites the envy and the wrath of the latter, and he slays his brother. Henceforth Cain is cursed to be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth. He dwells in the land of *Nod* (נֹד = flight) on the east of Eden, where he builds for his son *Chanoch* (Enoch) a city of that

name (3). The posterity of Cain follow in the course of estrangement from God on which their ancestor had entered. They invent arts, and they devise the pleasures of life; they deify themselves and their ancestors (4). The Cainite *Lamech* introduces polygamy, and boastingly confides in his own strength, as in his God. His son *Jabal* was the ancestor of the nomadic tribes which dwell in tents. *Jabal* invented stringed and wind instruments, *Tubal-Cain* was "instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." These statements, as well as the names of his daughter *Naamah* (the lovely), and of his wives *Adah* (ornament, beauty) and *Zillah* (shade, perhaps so called from her rich tresses; according to *Fürst* = Song) furnish abundant indications of the peculiar development in the family of Cain.

(1.) Before marriage could take place, or its fruits appear, it was necessary for man to pass beyond the stage of mere life, and to undergo the trial of his freedom, recorded in Gen. iii. For, as a thinking, feeling being, possessed of freedom, personality, and self-consciousness, man was not to be induced to this union merely by impulse like the beasts, and without being conscious of its high purpose. Indeed, this the highest stage in the manifestation of his life, presupposed his knowledge of good and evil. To this we may add as another reason, that the race was to be *one* organism, both in joy and in sorrow, in blessing and in curse, for its destination depends on this unity. Hence the unfolding from original unity into plurality could only take place after man had made choice of his peculiar direction.

(2.) Here, at the threshold of the development of mankind, we come upon the mystery of 4000 years—the institution of SACRIFICES. What was their origin, and whence the strange accord by which sacrifices are the central point in the religion of all ancient peoples? Manifestly the Biblical record does not give us light on this subject, but at the same time it seems to imply that God had given instructions concerning, and that He had instituted, this ordinance. Many theologians have thought that the statement (Gen. iii. 24) that the "Lord God made coats of skins (to our first parents) and clothed them," refers to the institution of sacrifices. The reason why the Lord had respect to the one and not to the other sacrifice must chiefly be sought in the disposition of those who offered it; Heb. xi. 4—"By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain." However, the view so often expressed that Abel's bloody sacrifice expressed a more profound religious apprehension than that of

Cain, which was "without shedding of blood," seems to agree with the general bearing of the text. The view (that man had only learned to offer bloody sacrifices after they had become cruel), founded on a statement of *Porphyry*, de Abstin. ii. 1, § 5, according to whom at first sacrifices of fruits had been brought, shows a most wretched want of criticism, assuming the vague talk of a Pythagorean as sound historical testimony, while it sets aside all real historical evidence to the contrary. Comp. *Meiner's Crit. Hist. of Religion*, ii. 3, et seq. The sacrifices of Cain and of Abel are Shelamim (peace-offerings). Their relation to the later institutions of the Mosaic law has formed subject of discussion (comp. *Deyling Observ. ss. ii., obs. 4*; *Heidegger i., Exerc. 18*; *Beland Antiqu. p. 195*; *Jken Diss. ii. 5*) which has led to no definite result.

(3.) In the circumstance that CAIN BUILT A CITY we recognise the same tendency and the same felt want on the part of man alienated from God which afterwards reached its climax in the rearing of the Tower of Babel. Nor do we feel any difficulty about the inhabitants of that city—especially considering that the expression is chiefly meant to convey a contrast to the scattered tents of shepherds. Centuries may have passed before Cain commenced to build this city. The attempts of *Bochart*, *Huet*, and even of modern writers, to identify the name of the land and of the city of Cain, are equally needless and useless. Some particulars connected with the narrative about Cain presuppose that men had already spread over the face of the globe; a view this which we hold to be quite tenable. According to hints gathered from Gen. iv. 25, the murder of Abel must have taken place immediately before the birth of Seth, or 130 years after the creation of man. During that period Adam must have had a large number of descendants. Some have felt difficulties in connection with the evident necessity of intermarriages between the nearest relations, as implying incest. But that idea cannot attach to *such* connections. In incest homogeneous points must meet. But this could only take place after mankind, which, in our first parents, were as yet one unseparated whole, had developed and settled into individual and separate families. Comp. on this subject, against the view of *J. D. Michaelis*, an article (by *Hengstenberg*?) in the evangel. Kirchenzeitung, 1840, Nos. 47—52, 58, 59, and *Br. Bauer*, Crit. of Revel. i. 192, et seq. We shall return to this subject when treating of the Mosaic legislation.

(4.) *Ph. Buttmann* (on the mythic period from Cain to the flood, in the "Mythologus, Berlin 1828," p. 152—179)—and before him many others (as, for example, *G. Vossius*, *Bochart*, *Huetius*, and others)—has attempted to trace a connection

between the NAMES of the DESCENDANTS OF CAIN and those of heathen mythologies, but for purposes different from those of his predecessors. Tubal-Cain was = Vulcan, Jabal and Jubal = Ἄβελος = Apollo, &c. The suggestion by the same author that the genealogy of the family of Cain was originally the same as that of the family of Seth (in Gen. v.), has gained more general support than the other hypothesis. According to that view Noah was the son of Zillah (Simla = Semele), and the same as Bacchos; Lamech and Chanoch occur in both genealogies; Adam was = Enosh, Cain = Kenau, Irad = Jered, Mechujael = Mahalaleel, Methushael = Methushaelach. This hypothesis has been adopted by *Tuch*, ad h. l., by *Ewald* (Hist. i. 313, et seq.), and by *Lepsius* (Chronology of the Egypt., i. 396, et seq.); it has been controverted by *Hävernick* (Introd. i. 2, p. 262) and by *Rasm. Rask.* (oldest hebr. Chronol., from the Danish, by *Mohlnicke*, Leipz. 1836, p. 37, et seq.) *Buttmann* himself allows that there is a great difference in the roots and in the meaning of these names. Besides, the two series of names are differently arranged, while some names are wholly omitted; a circumstance the more important when we bear in mind the respect paid to such data in ancient times, a feeling to which we owe the preservation of names and genealogies during the lapse of thousands of years. Still, the identity of two of these names, and the similarity of others, is remarkable. *Hävernick*, l. c., accounts for this on the ground "of the paucity of names in primeval times;" *M. Baumgarten* (Comment. i. 1, p. 93, et seq.) thinks "that, by adopting the names of the family of Cain, the descendants of Seth had intended to shew that they had taken the place of the first-born but degenerate line;" while *Delitzsch* (Gen., p. 157) infers that the two families had continued intercourse with each other. *Dettinger*, l. c. p. 9, et seq. very aptly calls attention to the fact that the text furnishes more detailed particulars about Chanoch and Lamech, whose names were so similar, in order to prevent the possibility of their being identified, and to shew more clearly that the direction in which the development of these two lines tended was opposite. Indeed, without doubt this is the reason why the genealogy of Cain is given. On this ground, also, it closes with Lamech, the sixth from Cain, in whom the ungodliness of a family which only sought after the things of this world reached its climax, as may be gathered from his polygamy, from his godless confidence in, and hymn to, the sword, and from what is recorded of his sons, who directed their energies to cultivate exclusively the worldly side of life by arts and industry. His family foreshadowed the later stage of heathenism in its twofold aspect (§ 31.) For further particulars we refer to the exposition of this chapter by

Delitzsch. *Ewald* constructs, from the data furnished in the genealogy of Cain, quite an *Olympus*, with gods, heroes, and demi-goddesses; for particulars of which we refer the curious reader to the works of that writer.

§ 24. (Gen. v.)—In room of Abel, who had been slain, Eve now gets *Seth* as *compensation*. Nor is this a misnomer. Seth is the ancestor of a family, which, continuing in the faith, become heirs of the promise, and whose aims, character, and tendency are in direct contrast to those of Cain (1.) Even during the time of *Enos* men began formally to serve Jehovah, in opposition to the worship of self and of ancestors, which had at the same time commenced in the family of Cain. *Enoch* (the dedicated), the seventh from Adam, walked with God, and was in consequence “taken away” (2.) *Lamech* (Lemech), as formerly Eve, hoped to have found in his son *Noah* (*rest*)—(probably as being the *tenth* from Adam, with whom he had anticipated this era would close)—one to comfort him concerning his work and toil, on the ground which Jehovah had cursed. Adam lived till Lamech had attained his sixty-fifth year (3.)

(1.) The separation of the race into Sethites and Cainites was not stopped by the circumstance that, according to Gen. v. 4, Adam begat many other sons and daughters. According to their respective tendencies, these would join either the one or the other party.

(2.) From Heb. xi. 5, we learn that “by faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death”—a view which certainly agrees with the purport of the original account. We do not, however, see that the explanation offered by *M. Baumgarten* has either proved “the internal necessity of this fact,” or “removed every difficulty connected with it.” That writer has left out of consideration the principal difficulty which arises from a comparison with Rom. v. 12—14, and with 1 Cor. xv. 20—23. If Enoch was removed from communion with God here to communion with Him there, the latter can, according to 1 Cor. xv. 20—23, not represent the state of perfect glory. He was translated that he should not see death, but he cannot have been exempted, any more than those to whom 1 Cor. xv. 50 refers, from those two elements connected with death, according to which it is both the result of sin and the condition of the resurrection. The manner, the character, and the place of the translation of Enoch must all be fixed within these limits. Our

ignorance of the circumstances and relations after death precludes our knowledge of further details. The son of Sirach says (xliv. 16)—“Enoch was translated, being an example of repentance to all generations,” while the pseudepigr. book of Enoch, and after it Jude, 14, 15, expressly speak of him as having, during his life-time, preached repentance and judgment. Comp. *Cave*, in *Fabricius' Codex pseudepigr.*, i. 201; *Hoffmann*, the book of Enoch, p. 69; *Fr. v. Meyer* in the “*Studien and Kritiken*,” 1841, p. 640, et seq. On Enoch, comp. generally *A. Pfeiffer decas exercit.* ss., ex. ii.

(3.) Adam attained the age of 930 years, Methusalah that of 969. On the *duration of life* among the patriarchs before the flood comp. *J. A. Kanne*, bibl. Researches and Expos., Erlang. 1819, i., et seq.; *Fr. v. Schlegel*, Philos. of History, Vienna 1829, i., 60 et seq. The attempts of others (*E. G. Hensler*, Remarks on some passages in the Ps. and in Gen., Hamb. and Kiel 1791, p. 287 et seq.; *Hufeland*, Macrobiotic i., ch. 5; *Rusm. Rask*, oldest chronol., Leipz. 1836), to bring those ages within our present limits of life by assuming that those years consisted of only 1, of 3, or of 6 months, are simply absurd. Equally unsatisfactory is the view of *H. Leo* (Evang. Kirch. Zeit. 1842, No. 36), who suggests that the names of individuals represented entire groups of generations. Against the opinion (of *Bertheau*, *Lepsius*, etc.) that these numbers indicated cyclical periods, such as we find in the mythic dynasties of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, &c., we urge the decisive fact that the only number of astronomical importance is that in connection with Enoch. The statement of *Tuch* that these numbers were meant to shew that the duration of human life was continually decreasing, refutes itself, as no such decrease appears in the genealogies. The duration of life decreases, indeed, with Mahalaleel to 895 years, but it rises again with Jared to the figure 962, which had never before been attained; with Enoch it again decreases to the minimum of 365, once more to rise with Methusalah to the maximum of 969 years, &c. The question as to the possibility of a life of 7, 8, or 9 centuries cannot be settled by the rules of modern Physiology. Any assertion of impossibility must be regarded either as a piece of arrogance or as a proof of rashness. Instances of lives prolonged for 150 or even 200 years occur almost in our own days, and if under peculiarly favourable circumstances men may attain an age three times that of ordinary duration, why should, under much more favourable circumstances, life not have attained ten times its present average length? And we are warranted in inferring that, during the first ages of our species, conditions had taken place which singularly favoured longevity, but which for thousands of years have ceased. Among them

we reckon an undiminished youthful vigour in the men of the first generations, and a corresponding deeper energy in telluric and natural life generally. All that geology discloses about the antediluvian state of the earth proves that these suppositions are founded on fact. Besides these we might urge, in support of the Biblical statement, other reasons derived from the Divine plan concerning the world and salvation.

On the CHRONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES between the Hebrew original, the Samaritan version, and the LXX., comp. *J. D. Michaelis* de chronol. Mosis ante diluvium (the 14th in the collect. of the *commentt. soc. Gott. obl.*), who attaches authority only to the statements of the Hebrew text. Comp. also the remarks of bibl. chronol. generally, and *L. Reinke*, contrib. to the elucidat. of the O. T., Münster 1851, p. 70 et seq. The two other recensions have arbitrarily altered the text, to make it agree with some of their own suppositions. Böckh rightly suggests (*Manetho* p. 86), that the Alexandrians had made the periods longer in order to reconcile the chronology of the Bible with that current in Egypt. The alterations in the LXX. would no doubt have been as readily discarded as those in the Samaritan version, if it had not been for the use made of the former by New Testament writers. *Js. Vossius*, *Joh. v. Müller*, and *Seyffarth* have followed the LXX. According to the original the flood had taken place in the year 1656, according to the LXX. in the year 2242, according to the Samaritan text in the year 1307 of the world. At present it is pretty generally allowed that only the statements of the Hebrew original are authentic. Of course this statement does not of itself imply the general credibility of these data. We can scarcely wonder that Rationalists should, in consistency with their principles, deny their accuracy. But the objections of students of Egyptian history would, if well founded, raise more grave difficulties. *Bunsen* maintains that the chronology of Egyptian history can be satisfactorily traced to the year 4000 before Christ, while *Lepsius* as confidently asserts that the Egyptian king Menes commenced his reign in the year 3893 before Christ. But even scholars who cannot be accused of entertaining prejudices in favour of the Bible have admitted that the correctness of this chronology has not yet been proved. We may, therefore, in the mean time, dismiss this objection. The same remark applies still more strongly to the ingenious hypothesis of *Bertheau* (comp. the Annual Report of the German Orient. Soc., Leipz. 1846, p. 40—58), who supposes that all the three recensions are chronological systems, drawn up in cycles, all equally trustworthy or non-trustworthy, and invented in order to fill up a gap in historical tradition. The Hebrew text—according to *Bertheau*—speaks of

1656 lunar years (= 1600 solar years) in order to assign a duration of 160 to each of the ten generations. It is scarcely necessary to comment on so arbitrary and groundless a hypothesis.

We subjoin a table of the three recensions. (A refers to the Hebrew text, B to the *Septuagint*, C to the *Samaritan* text.)

		Year of Paternity.	Remainder of Life.	Duration of Life.			Year of Paternity.	Remainder of Life.	Duration of Life.
ADAM,	A	130	800	930	JARED,	A	162	800	962
	B	230	700	930		B	162	800	962
	C	130	800	930		C	62	785	847
SETH,	A	105	807	912	ENOCH,	A	65	300	365
	B	205	707	912		B	165	200	365
	C	105	807	912		C	65	300	365
ENOS,	A	90	815	905	METHUSALAH,	A	187	782	969
	B	190	715	905		B	187	782	969
	C	90	815	905		C	67	653	720
CAINAN,	A	70	840	910	LAMECH,	A	182	595	777
	B	170	740	910		B	188	565	753
	C	70	840	910		C	53	600	653
MAHALALEEL,	A	65	830	895	NOAH,	A	500		(950)
	B	165	730	895		B	500		(950)
	C	65	830	895		C	500		(950)

THE JUDGMENT OF THE FLOOD.

§ 25. (Gen. vi.)—From the long duration of life the race increased very rapidly (1). But their alienation from God increased in the same ratio. It attained its climax when *the sons of God* intermarried with the *daughters of men* (2), and the offspring of these connections, the *Nefilim*, committed their deeds of violence. This corruption spread even into the ranks of the pious descendants of Seth, until only one man, *Noah* ("a preacher of righteousness," 2 Pct. ii. 5), was found who walked with God. But the Lord allowed other 120 years to pass to "give space for repentance" (3). In the mean time Noah had, by Divine command, built an ark of three stories, 300 cubits long, 50 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high (4). But despite all warnings men continued in their course of godlessness (comp. Matth. xxiv. 37—39).

(1.) Computations of the number of men in existence at the

time of the flood, being the result of a calculation of probabilities, become sometimes really absurd. Thus *S. Baumgarten* (contrib. to *Univers. Hist.* i., Ann. 175) computes their number at 2,238,030,282,752. Before the flood the human race apparently inhabited only a part of Asia.

(2.) The following three are the leading views about the *BNE ELOHIM*:—(1.) They are represented as “*fili magnatum puellas plebejas rapientes*,” (2.) They are supposed to have been angels; or (3.) pious persons = the descendants of Seth, while the daughters of men are supposed to have been descendants of Cain. The first-mentioned is the view of the *Samaritan* version, of *Jonathan, Onkelos, Symmachus, Aben-Esra, Rashi, Varenius*, &c., but is at present generally abandoned. The second view is that most generally entertained both by the ancient Synagogue and Church. It was possibly shared even by the LXX.—at least the authority of the Manuscripts is divided between the readings *ἰσὶ τοῦ θεοῦ* and *ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ*. It is, however, adopted (with mythic embellishments) in two old apocryphal works: the *book of Enoch*, and what is known as *little Genesis* (*λεπτὴ γένεσις*, of which Dillmann has given, in the annual survey of Ewald, a German translation based on the Ethiopic.) It is also adopted in the *epistle of Jude* (vv. 6, 7), and in the *second epistle of Peter* (ii. 4, 5), as well as by *Philo*, by *Josephus*, and by most of the *Rabbins* (comp. Eiscnmenger's *Judaism Unmasked*, i., 380), and by the most ancient of the fathers, such as *Justin, Clemens Alex., Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrosius*, and *Lactantius*. Since that time it has, however, been gradually discarded; *Chrysostom, Augustine*, and *Theodoret* contended vehemently against it, *Philastrus* directly stigmatised it as heresy, and the older German Theologians turned from it almost with aversion. It was also opposed in the Synagogue. Rabbi *Simon ben Jochai* excommunicated all who advocated this view. In our own days all the Divines who have held that the book of Genesis was mythical have adopted this view; but others also, and among them a large number of interpreters who believed in revelation, have pronounced in its favour. Among them we may mention *Köppen* (*The Bible, a work of Divine Wisdom*, i., 104; *Fr. v. Meyer* (*Blätter für höh., Wahrh.*, xi. 61 et seq.); *Twisten* (*Dogmatics*, ii. 1, p. 332); *Nitzsch* (*System*, p. 234 et seq.); *Drechsler* (*unity of Gen.* p. 91 et seq.); *Hofmann* (*Predict.* and *Fulfillm.*, i. 85 seq., and *Script. Demonstr.*, i. 374 seq.); *Baumgarten* (*Comment. on the Pentat. ad h. l.*); *Delitzsch* (*Comm. ad h. l.*); *Stier* (*Ep. of Jude*, p. 42 seq.); *Dietlein* (*Comment. on 2 Pet.*, p. 149 seq.); *Huther* (*Comment. on the ep. of Peter and of Jude*, p. 204 seq. 341).¹

¹ Dr Maitland, in his *Essay* (on False Worship, London 1856), advocates

The third mode of interpretation which we have above mentioned is advocated by *Chrysostom*, by *Cyrrillus Alex.*, by *Theodoret* (who supports it by the curious argument that Seth had, on account of his piety, obtained the *cognomen theos*, and that his descendants had on that ground been called *υιοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*), and by almost all the later orthodox Theologians. In our own days it has been zealously advocated by *Hengstenberg* (*Contrib. ii.*, p. 328, &c.) ; by *Hävernick* (*Introd. i.*, p. 265) ; by *Dettinger* (*l. c. v.* § 23) ; by *Keil* (in the *Luther. Journal* for 1851, *ii.*, p. 239), and by many others.

Weighty arguments may be adduced in favour of both the last-mentioned interpretations, so that it is almost difficult to decide on their respective claims. In favour of the view according to which the designation is applied to the descendants of Seth, it is urged (1.) that the context is in favour of it. Ch. iv. is said to give an account of the family of Cain, ch. v. of that of Seth, and then ch. vi. of the commingling of these two lines, and the corruption ensuing from it, which afterwards led to the judgment of the flood. (2.) The expression "they took them wives" seems to indicate *legitima conjugia*. (3.) The remark which follows "of all which they chose," is supposed to prove that their sin consisted not in *taking wives*, but in choosing them *according to their lusts*—a statement which could only apply to men, not to angels. (4.) In ch. iv. the beauty of the female members of the family of Cain is repeatedly adverted to. However, none of these arguments is decisive. On the other hand, it is decisive against this view that in v. 2 the Bne-Elohim are placed in contrast to the *Broth-Adam*, nor can the latter expression be limited so as to refer to others than those spoken of in v. 1. But that verse refers without doubt to the daughters of men generally, without distinction of families or of religious views. Besides the general meaning of the term Bne Elohim, as ascertained from other passages, and—unless the authority of the epistles of Peter and of Jude be denied—the testimony of the New Testament, are in favour of the other view. Deep dogmatic prejudice only could have induced any to deny that certain angels are there represented as having fallen in consequence of their intercourse with the daughters of men. Comp. *Dietlein, Stier, Huther, Hofmann*, *ll. cc.*

For the interpretation which renders the Bne Elohim by angels it is urged :—(1.) That the *usus loquendi* is in its favour. The term Bne Elohim is elsewhere always applied to angels, as in Ps. xxix. 1 ; lxxxix. 7 ; Job i. 6 ; ii. 1 ; xxxviii. 7 ; Dan. iii. 25.

this view, carrying it, however, into fanciful particulars, and deriving the whole ancient mythology from this union of angels and men.—THE TR.

The contrary reference to Deut. xiv. 1, 2; xxxii. 5; to Ex. iv. 22, comp. with Is. i. 2—and even to Gen. iv. 25, is not to the point, as the expression in the passage under consideration is not Bne Jehovah but Bne Elohim—a fact the more striking that it occurs in a Jehovistic section. Nor is there any force in the appeal to the term Elohim in Gen. v. 1, as in the sense there implied the descendants of Cain are also Bne Elohim. Of greater importance is the expression in Ps. lxxiii. 15, where, in the address to God, the pious are designated in opposition to the wicked as “the generation of thy children.” But then the expression Bne Elohim is throughout the Old Testament applied to angels, while the filial relation between the pious and God is conveyed by the term, “children of Jehovah” (Ex. iv. 22; Deut. xiv. 1; xlii. 5; Is. i. 2). Ps. lxxiii. 15 must, therefore, be understood in the latter sense. The objection that the common term “*Maleach*” would have been employed if angels had been meant, may be removed by the remark that *Malach* is the official designation of angels, Bne Elohim their *nomen naturae*. (2.) It may be argued that if the Bne Elohim had referred to men, the expression “*daughters of men*” would not convey any idea of contrast. (3.) The statement in v. 4, “The same became mighty men, men of renown which were of old,” manifestly traces the heathen mythological legends about the sons of Gods and the heroes to this event. (4.) 2 Pet. ii. 4 and Jude vv. 6, 7, are decidedly in favour of this interpretation. (5.) A consideration of the position and of the bearing of this event on history will lead to the same conviction. We call attention to the fact that it seemed to be necessary to destroy all mankind, and to commence as it were a new race—a circumstance which can only be accounted for on the view which we have advocated. It surely cannot have been an arbitrary arrangement that, when a new development of grace commenced with Abraham, the rest of mankind were allowed to continue, while in this case it seems to have been necessary that they should be destroyed. But in declaring ourselves in favour of this view, we must notice the objections urged against it. *Keil* (l. c.) lays great stress on the circumstance that the passage reads Bne haelohim (and not Bne Elohim, without the article). Haelohim, he argues, is “the true God,” and hence Bne haelohim can only apply to holy angels. But we cannot see the force of this argument. Angels are called the sons of God on account of their heavenly origin, not of their holiness, and this remains the same after as before their fall. If fallen angels may be called Bne Elohim they may equally bear the title of Bne haelohim, for *that* God from whom they derive their origin is the true God, whether they continue in or fall from their original holiness. Another argument, drawn from v.

4, has more weight. It is inferred from it that *Nefilim* had not merely been the offspring of marriages between the sons of God and the daughters of men, but also of other and not unfrequent connections. But—so runs the inference—if the *Bne Elohim* were angels, their progeny would also have been specifically different from that of any other union. This reasoning, however, rests on an erroneous interpretation of the verse quoted. The latter does not imply that *Nefilim* had been the offspring of any but the marriage of angels, and the assumption that the expression “and also after that” bears any reference to *Nefilim* in Palestine at the time of Moses is perfectly gratuitous. On the contrary the verse explicitly says: “There were (sprung up) *Nefilim* in the earth in *those days*,” *i.e.* during the 120 years of grace which the Lord granted to the race that had so fearfully deteriorated in consequence of these intermarriages. Afterwards the origin of these *Nefilim* is traced to these unions between angels and men. *Hofmann* (*Script. Demonstr. i.*, 375) translates the expression “Again, in future when they shall come and when they shall bear,” the terms “the same are the mighty men” being then a kind of inference and the whole forming a prediction concerning “a future degeneracy of mankind similar to that which had taken place before the flood, in consequence of which there would again be mighty men such as had been of old, men of renown.” But we prefer the interpretation of *Delitzsch*, who renders the verse as follows: “*Nefilim* arose in those days (of long-suffering), and also after that, when the sons of God joined themselves (came) to the daughters of men, and they bore to them—these are the mighty men, &c.” He adds, “The Divine warning did not put a stop to the connection between angels and men, which continued despite the threatening. The words ‘after that’ cannot refer to a period posterior to the flood, as the latter was intended to put an end to this iniquity—which was also done, especially as the angels who had carnally lusted were at that time bound with chains (*Jude v.* 6; *2 Pet. ii.* 4). Hence the pretension of the *Anakim* to have sprung from these *Nefilim* could not possibly have been well-grounded, although their claim was admitted by some of their cotemporaries (*Numb. xiii.* 33).” This interpretation is, on the whole, satisfactory, although it is not perfectly natural. Hence we prefer with *Dettinger* to refer the *וַיָּבֵר* not to something additional, but to interpret it as indicating an emphasis, in the sense of “just” or “since” (comp. the instances in *Gesenii thes. s. h. v.* No. 3, and especially the meaning of the word in the second clause of *Gen. xxix.* 30). The verse would then be rendered, “There were *Nefilim* in the earth in those days, and that just after the sons of God came in to the daughters of men and they bare children to them. These

are the men of renown which were of old." We cannot agree with *Hofmann* (Predict. and Fulfillmt. i. 86), in deriving the word נפיליה from נפל to be cast out, to be born (Is. xxvi. 19), in which case it would "indicate those who were cast out or born in a way different from that in which the race is commonly propagated." We prefer to abide by the old derivation of the word from נפל = to attack, and to render it by "violent men."

Dogmatical arguments are also urged against our view. These have, since the days of Chrysostom and of Augustin, had so powerful an influence on orthodox criticism, that commonly the simple and natural meaning of the words has altogether been set aside. The chief reasons against our interpretation have always been either that drawn from Matth. xxii. 30, with which it is supposed to be incompatible, or the notion that angels were merely spirits without any corporeity. To the first argument it may be replied that the statement of the Lord (that the angels of God neither marry nor are given in marriage) only implied that all sexual connection is entirely contrary to the nature of holy angels, not that they may not have fallen from their original holiness and then have been guilty of sinful conduct contrary to their nature. If we bear in mind that there is something mysterious about the love and connection of the sexes, and that in all who are not wholly sunken, the animal aspect of it—which sin isolates—is pervaded by a more elevated and noble principle; when we farther think of its importance in the history of the world and of salvation, we may perhaps not regard it as quite impossible that the angels should have not only desired to look into this mystery of human nature, but also to share in it. Comp. *Twisten* (Dogm. ii. 332): "That this idea may not be quite so absurd as it may appear at first sight, could scarcely have been more brilliantly shown than in the beautiful poem of Moore." The refutation of the objection drawn from the absolute incorporeity of angels we leave to those who can reconcile belief in this doctrine with a correct interpretation of Gen. vi. The view of *Hofmann*, with whom *Delitzsch* agrees (p. 175), is unsatisfactory. He thinks that "the possibility of progeny in consequence of the influence of a spiritual nature may be inferred from the fact that the virgin had conceived by the influence of the Holy Spirit." But the human nature of the second Adam was not *begotten* by the Holy Spirit, like that of the first Adam it was *created*. The eternal Word was *begotten into* the holy child which the virgin bore in consequence of the *creative* influence of the Holy Spirit. But no such *creative* influence could possibly be ascribed to any *created* spirit. Besides, spirit could only beget *spirit*. We can only conceive a sexual connection between angels and daughters of men if the idea of corporeity

attaches to the former, and if their body was entirely subject to the spirit which inhabited it, so as entirely to adapt itself not only to the peculiar purposes for which that spirit was created, but also to lusts which in themselves are contrary to its original nature.

The question whether the Bne Elohim of Gen. vi. were angels which had already fallen or were only *then falling* cannot be fully decided from this passage alone. The most ancient testimony (that of the book Enoch, of little Genesis, and of the oldest of the fathers) is in favour of the *latter* view, and the epistles of Peter and of Jude seem distinctly to bear it out.

It is scarcely possible to do more violence to historical facts than *J. P. Lange* (pos. Dogm. 569) has done. His statement that "the more celibacy came to be in repute in the Church the more did the fathers entertain this hypothesis" refutes itself. This "hypothesis" was generally entertained (in the 2d and 3d centuries) when celibacy was not yet, or at least only began to be in repute while it was attacked and declared to be heresy ever since the fourth century, when so much value was attached to celibacy.

(3.) Contrary to the manifest meaning and connection of the passage, *Josephus* (antiq. i. 3, 2) thinks that the period of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY YEARS was not a space given for repentance, but a shortening of the duration of life to 120 years—a view which has recently been adopted by *Tuch* p. 157, by *Ewald* i. 324, and by *M. Baumgarten* i. 1, p. 102. Against it comp. *Hofmann* (Predict. i. 86; Script. Demonstr. i. 445), and *Delitzsch* (Gen. 177).

(4.) The ARK was neither intended nor suited for *nautical* purposes. It was not meant for *navigation*, but for *carrying freight*, for which it was much more suited than if it had been constructed according to the principles of shipbuilding. The vessel, after the model of the ark, which *P. Jansen* built at Hoorn in the year 1609, was capable of carrying one-third more freight than ordinary vessels of the same tonnage, but was unfit for navigation (comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Orient. Libr. xviii. 26 et seq.). *N. Tiele* shews in his Comment. that the ark was sufficiently large to receive all those animals which were to be preserved. Of the 3,600,000 cubic feet which it contained he reserves 9-10ths for the victualling department, and assigns a space of 54 cubic feet to every species of animals, and accordingly finds that there was room for nearly 7000 different species. Fishes, worms, and insects were, of course, not received into the ark. Comp. also *Silberschlag*, Geogony ii., 63 et seq.

§ 26. (Gen. vii. viii.)—The space given for repentance had passed by unimproved, and Noah entered the ark with his wife,

with his sons *Shem, Ham, and Japheth*, and with their wives. (Shem = Name, Glory; Ham or rather Cham = Heat; Japheth or Jepheth = widely-diffused, Enlargement). Of every kind of beasts which live on dry ground he took *one pair* with him into the ark (and of *clean* beasts, *i.e.* of such as may be sacrificed, by sevens), and of all food that is eaten; and Jehovah shut him in. Then the flood began on the 17th day of the second month, in the 600th year of Noah, or 1656 after the creation of man. The fountains of the great deep were broken up, the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights, the waters rose 15 cubits above the high hills (1), and all flesh that moved upon the earth died. The ark rested upon the mountains of *Ararat*. Gradually the waters again decreased, and on the 27th day of the second month of the following year (2) Noah went forth out of the ark (3.)

(1.) The account of the flood bears all the marks of being a carefully kept diary. Hence we infer that the STATEMENT OF THE DEPTH OF THE WATERS was derived from actual measurements made on board the ship itself, which rested upon one of the tops of *Ararat*. Similarly we conclude that the expression: "all the high hills that were under *the whole heaven*" referred to the mountains in sight, *i.e.* to the highlands of Armenia. A volume of water 30 feet above the top of *Ararat* (which according to *Parrot* is 16,254 feet high), and which prevailed for almost a year, must have found its equilibrium, and thus covered the face of the whole globe. According to the calculation of *Lilienthal* (v. 69) the quantity of water necessary to cover the surface of the earth to a height of one mile above the level of the sea is only equal to the 272d part of the volume of the earth.

(2.) The flood prevailed for a year and 10 days. But although in this and other places we have certain definite data, the computation of the year of the flood (comp. the chronologies of *Bengel, Bennigsen, Tiele*, and others) is not without its difficulties, partly from the inaccuracy necessarily connected with the calculation of a year computed according to lunar months, and partly from the uncertainty attaching to the question whether or not the 40 days of rain were included in the 150 days during which the waters increased.

(3.) We have now to advert to some points of importance in the history of the flood. (1.) The GATHERING OF THE DIFFERENT ANIMALS to be taken into the ark does not imply very great difficulties when we remember the equableness of climate before the flood, and the instinct of animals, who generally gather around man in anticipation of any great natural catastrophe.

Besides, it is not necessary to understand the words of the text as conveying that literally all kinds of beasts had been taken into the ark. We know that some species have died out with the flood. The collection of *food* became more easy, as the event took place in autumn (in the second month of the year, which always commenced in autumn). It is more difficult to explain how the *animals spread* after the flood. *Prichard* (in his *Natural History of Man*) proposes one of two solutions of this question. He suggests that either the flood had only covered and laid waste that portion of the earth which was inhabited by man, or that a partial creation of animals had again taken place after the flood. In favour of the latter hypothesis he mentions that certain strange and abnormal organisms are found in Australia (New Holland). *Prichard* inclines to the latter view, and in its favour adduces as an argument from analogy that fresh creations marked every new geological period of the earth. The difficulty might also be removed by supposing that the various continents had formerly been connected together—a view borne out by geographical considerations, and supported by the legends of other nations (comp. also Gen. x. 25), especially by that concerning Atlantis. (2.) On the LEGENDS and ACCOUNTS of the flood current AMONG OTHER NATIONS comp., besides the authorities mentioned in § 20, 5, also *L. v. Stolberg* in app. ii. to vol. i. of his history; *Buttmann* *Mythologus* i., 180 et seq.; *v. Bohlen*, *Tuch*, and *Delitzsch* in their respective Comment., and *Paravey* *documents sur le déluge de Noé*, Par. 1838. On the Indian tradition comp. *Fr. Bopp*, The flood with other three of the most important episodes of the Mahá—Bhárata. Transl. from the orig. Berlin 1829. The popular accounts current both in the old and in the new world agree in part with those of the Bible in so striking a manner that we can scarcely err in supposing that the former were derived *from*—or at least *modified by* the latter. Comp. the remarks of *Hengstenberg* in *Egypt* and the books of *Moses*, pp. 242, 274. An impartial critical enquiry into the whole subject might be of importance. But however strictly carried on, sufficient would be left to warrant the remarks with which *Delitzsch* concludes his survey of this tradition: “A survey of all these traditions carries to our mind the conviction that the flood was a historical event, which had struck deep root in the memory of nations. The recollection of it extended from Armenia to Britain, and from China across Eastern Asia to America. The biblical account of this event is equally free from all mythological and merely national elements, and presents the only faithful and purely historical representation of a tradition which had spread over all the nations of the world.”

On the GEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS involved comp., besides the

works mentioned in § 20, *Bukland reliquiae diluvianae*, Lond. 1823, *K. v. Raumer* Manual of Univers. Geogr., 2d ed., Leipz. 1838, p. 395 et seq.; *Rud. Wagner*, Natural Hist. of Man, Kempten 1838, vol. ii.; *G. H. v. Schubert*, Kosmos. Erlg. 1852, p. 659 et seq.; *A. Wagner*, Hist. of the Primeval World, pp. 215, 526 et seq.; *A. Ebrard*, in the Journal, "The future of the Church" (3d year), p. 357 et seq.; *Fr. Klar*, Original state of the earth, Stuttg. 1833.

NOAH AND HIS SONS.

§ 27. (Gen. ix. 17.)—The development which had preceded the flood had not attained its goal, viz., to exhibit salvation by the seed of the woman. If this purpose was not to be given up, the former development had to be broken off by a universal judgment and a new development to be commenced. The latter begins with *Noah* as the former commenced with *Adam*. On the part of man its starting-point is that emphatic confession of his sinfulness and hope of salvation, which finds in *sacrifice* an appropriate expression. On the part of God we have a gracious acceptance of the sacrifice and the promise: "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth. . . . While the earth remaineth seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease." The result is a *new covenant* between God and the new race (1), in virtue of which He again bestows on man dominion over nature and the blessing of being fruitful, and gives them a *preliminary law* (2) to be their first (elementary) schoolmaster (Gal. iii. 24). The *rainbow* is to serve as the handwriting of the Lord, and to bear witness of this solemn transaction both in the sight of *Noah* and of all succeeding generations (3)—as it were a writing in sympathetic ink which always becomes legible when the dark storms which recall a former judgment give place to the glowing rays of the sun, which remind of the grace dispensed since that period. It is the characteristic of this covenant that through *the forbearance of God* sin is now to be passed over until the fulness of time (4.)

(1.) But even the generation which perished in the flood is not

absolutely and entirely shut out from the blessings of this covenant (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20), inasmuch as salvation was not only to spread but also to extend into the past and the future. *Delitzsch* (p. 180 et seq.) aptly remarks about the bearing of the flood on the history of salvation: "It is a universal judgment and forms a period in history, so extensive and well-marked, so powerful and universal as only to be placed by the side of the final judgment, which constitutes the outmost boundary-line of all future history. But this Judicial Act is at the same time also an act of salvation, the flood is also a flood of grace, and in this respect a type of baptism (1 Pet. iii. 21). This destruction has preservation, this drowning purification, this death of the race a new birth for its aim; the old and corrupt world is buried in the flood that from this grave it may emerge a new world. Then Ararat points to Sinai: the Elohim-covenant into which God enters with the holy seed which He had preserved and with all nature points to the covenant of Jehovah; the few and brief precepts given to the decendants of Noah are the commencement of a positive Thorah, and in their contents and purpose the basis and the commencement of the law given from Sinai."

(2.) From this preliminary legislation the Synagogue has derived the seven Noachic ordinances, which were held to be binding on all heathen proselytes (of the gate). These are (according to Buxtorf *lex. talm. s. voce גג*, p. 407 et seq.), (1.) prohibition of Idolatry, (2.) of Blasphemy, (3.) of Murder, (4.) of Incest, (5.) of robbery and theft, (6.) of eating blood and strangled animals, (7.) injunction of obedience to magistrates.

(3.) The impression conveyed by the text is that the RAINBOW appeared then *for the first time* in the firmament. Some have inferred, among other passages, from Gen. ii. 5, that rain had not fallen before the flood. *De Luc* and *Schubert* have, on grounds drawn from natural philosophy, maintained the probability of this supposition. Comp. also *Hofmann* *Script. Demonstr. i.*, 247.

(4.) The Lord admits the fact of universal sinfulness as something actually existing—it forms an element in the economy of His government and in part determines its direction (comp. the significant word "for" in the promise Gen. viii. 21). The *compassion* of the Lord, who, until all possibility of his salvation has passed away, regards and pities the sinner as one *wretched* and *miserable*, and His *long-suffering* which bears with the sinner and spares him so long as his return is possible, retard the second and final *universal* judgment of Divine *Holiness*—which must view and punish this sinfulness as *guilt*—until His *grace* shall have accomplished all that it had afore devised and determined for the salvation of sinful man. Comp. also *Hofmann* *Script. Demonstr. i.*, 448 et seq.

§ 28. (Gen. ix. 18 et seq.)—*Noah* became an husbandman, and planted a vineyard. And when he drank of the wine he was drunken, and lay uncovered in his tent. *Ham*, his youngest son, mocked him, but *Shem* and *Japheth* covered the nakedness of their father, their faces being averted from him. In this apparently insignificant act—the first on the part of Noah's sons in the new development—their hidden character and tendency became manifest. These traits could only develop in their race as the peculiarities of character descended in their generations. When Noah awoke and knew what had been done he predicted, in the language of prophetic blessing and curse, the fate of the nations which would descend from his sons:

(v. 25.) "Cursed be Canaan !

A servant of servants be he to his brethren !

(v. 26.) Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem,

And Canaan shall be his servant !

(v. 27.) God enlarge Japheth !

May he dwell in the tents of Shem,

And Canaan shall be his servant !"

(1.) *Clericus* understood THE BLESSING AND THE CURSE OF NOAH to refer to the subjugation of Canaan by the Greeks and Romans; *von Bohlen* considers it as a prediction *post eventum* referring to the passage of the Scythians through Asia at the time of Josiah (according to Herod.), and *Movers* (Bonn Journ. for Philos. and Cath. Theol. Fasc. 18, p. 97 et seq.) applies it to the subjugation of Canaan by the Hebrews, and to the cotemporary subjection and expulsion of the Phenicians from their colonies by the Greeks who took their place. According to this writer this blessing could only have been uttered or written down at that period. *Tuch*, viewing it from his peculiar stand-point, aptly remarks (p. 193): "It cannot possibly be intended to convey that conquerors descending from Japheth would take possession of the provinces held by the descendants of Shem. *The statement refers rather to the co-operation of these two brothers, who are influenced by similar pious considerations, and to point out the ideal union in which as the ancestors so their descendants also shall combine for higher purposes.* The idea, which is soon afterwards more distinctly expressed, that the salvation of man is to flow from Shem (Gen. xii. 3) appears here for the first time, and in the most general outlines." Viewed along with the context the expression can certainly not imply that Shem was placed

at disadvantage. Noah intends to bless Shem, not to curse him. For farther particulars we refer to *Hengstenberg's* Christol. i., p. 47, &c.; *Hofmann's* Predict., 89 seq.; *Hävernich's* Theol. of the Old Test., p. 120 et seq.; *Baumgarten* and *Delitzsch* ad h. l. Hengstenberg renders it: "*Japheth* shall dwell in the (spiritual) tents of Shem," *i.e.* he shall be received into the fellowship of that salvation which is to proceed from the race of Shem. *Hofmann* (Script. Demoustr. i., 161) and *Baumgarten* decide in favour of an interpretation less suitable. They render: "*Elohim* shall dwell in the tents of Shem," *i.e.* as *Onkelos* had already explained it: May the Shechina of God dwell in the tents of Shem. *Delitzsch* has (p. 210) well shewn that the subject in the second clause of v. 27 can only be Japheth. He observes: Even the expression, "*Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem,*" implies that God's gracious presence was to be with Shem. But that Japheth is the subject of the clause in question may be inferred from the fact that v. 27 treats of Japheth, as vv. 25 and 26 had respectively treated of Canaan and Shem. Besides, the short and enigmatic exclamation: "*May Elohim enlarge Japheth,*" is in favour of the supposition that the following clause is supplementary to it; the God of Shem is designated as Jehovah in contradistinction to Elohim, the God of Japheth; the term "*enlarge*" indicates local extension; and, lastly, the childlike and delicate action which Shem and Japheth had performed in concert may be expected to point to such a final blessing as would involve a mutual relationship of concord between these two sons of blessing. Comp. Ps. cxxxiii. 1. At any rate the prediction of Noah connects itself with the promise of salvation in Gen. iii. 15, adapts it to the new circumstances, and thus further develops it. *Jehovah*, the God of salvation, who had decreed and who executes the council of salvation (comp. § 57, 2) is the God of Shem; Shem is the chosen one of Jehovah: the promised salvation of man is to come not from the race of Japheth, nor from that of Ham, but from the tents of Shem. The judgment of the flood had destroyed sinners, but not sin. Sin again makes its appearance in Ham, as formerly in Cain; and the twofold tendency which in the primeval race had been represented by the descendants of Seth and of Cain (§ 23) is now reproduced in the races of Shem and Ham. The descendants of Japheth occupy an intermediate position. With reference to Ham, but not to Jehovah, they stand in the same relation as the descendants of Shem. *Jehovah* is not properly the God of Japheth, but *Elohim* prepares for Japheth a way to the tents of Shem, where he is to find both Jehovah and His salvation. His participation in salvation is brought about through Shem.

The enquiry why the curse was pronounced against Canaan,

and not against Ham who had transgressed, is not without its difficulties. *Hofmann* thinks that the sorrow which Ham, the *youngest* son of Noah, had occasioned to his father was to be required by similar sorrow occasioned by Canaan, whom he supposes to have been the youngest son of Ham. But Gen. x. 6 can scarcely be held as bearing out this supposition. The table of nations in that chapter is manifestly arranged on a principle different from that of comparative seniority. The difficulty would be removed if we were warranted in assuming that Canaan was at that time the only son of Ham. Besides, Canaan is no doubt singled out because of the special relation in which he stood to Israel. Hence, what is said of Ham's son, *as such*, applies equally to all his sons. Comp. also *Drechsler* l. c. pp. 114, 115. From the fact that deliverance from the curse of bondage and participation in the salvation of Shem are not *promised* to Ham, it may not be inferred that such will never take place. On *this* occasion Ham is only to be *cursed* and not to be *blessed*. The blessing which, proceeding from the tents of Shem, was designed to extend to the later descendants of Ham was on *this occasion* to be still withheld from him. In his peculiar state at the time, Ham was not capable of receiving, nor was Noah, indignant against his son, capable of prophetically apprehending or apportioning such a blessing. Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 32.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES AND THE DISPERSION OF NATIONS.

§ 29. (Gen. x. xi.)—From the Highlands of Armenia (1) the descendants of Noah first journeyed to the plain of the land of *Shinar*, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. In the presentiment that their dispersion would soon become necessary, they are anxious to fix upon a central point of union; with a presumption like that of the Titans, they attempt to reach unto heaven, and thus, by a combination of all the forces of man, to oppose Him who dwelleth in heaven (2.) But Jchovah descends, and rends the only remaining bond of unity, *that of language*, which was the first and the most necessary condition of common action (3.) God breaks up their sinful union, and scatters them abroad, in order afterwards again to combine them into a true union. Henceforth every nation is to pursue its own course (Acts xiv. 16) till they at last again meet in the tents of Shem. Thus this course of development also has not led to the goal; it

also must be broken off and another commenced. The *period* of this catastrophe is not definitely fixed (4.) The *table of nations* (in Gen. x.) (5), constructed on the twofold principle of descent and of geographical settlement (6), exhibits the dispersion, of which the Divine interposition was the occasion.

(1.) *Raumer* (Palest. App. v. p. 447, et seq.), and after him more fully *Rud. Wagner* (Nat. Hist. of Man, ii. 256, et seq.), have well shown the importance of Mount ARARAT, not only geographically, from its central position, but also in respect of civil and natural history, as being the *central and starting point* of civilisation, of languages, of the various races of men, and even of domestic animals, and of all plants that are cultivated. In opposition to *Bredow* (Researches into Ancient Hist., p. 130, et seq.), who identifies the *land of Shinar* with the neighbourhood of Babylon, *P. Schleyer* (Reply to Obj. against the Predict. of the O. Test., Friburg, 1839, § 48—52) has shown that it—(“the country enclosed between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and extending from the southern border of Armenia to the Pasitigris”)—included a much larger tract of land. Its peculiar name is still preserved in Mount *Sindschar* (*Niebuhr*, Journey, ii. 338.) The expression “eastward,” as applying to the land of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2), must be understood as referring not to the point whence the wanderers started, but to that which the narrator occupied.

(2.) It is somewhat difficult to determine the precise INTENTION, and hence the degree of ungodliness, OF THOSE WHO REARED THE TOWER. *Josephus*, Antiq., i. 4, 2, says that they had wished to set the vengeance of God at defiance, and to protect themselves against another flood. To this *Perizonius* (*Origines Babylonica*, ch. 10—12) replies:—*Turris illa (𐤇𐤛𐤏 = σημεῖον) futura erat signum, quod ut aquila legionem Romanam in acie sic hosce homines (pastores) per pascua et prata vagantes cogeret denuo et colligeret identidem in unum et proprium sibi locum, ne singuli facile dispergerentur etc.* Similarly *Ed. Nügelbach* (the prophet Jeremiah and Babylon, Erlg. 1850, p. 7): “If we consider that those who reared the tower regarded the earth as a large disk, and that they expected that an increase of the population would lead to its being peopled to its utmost boundaries, we can readily conceive that they sought to prevent any estrangement on the part of those who might be scattered to the utmost ends by erecting a great monument of which the top would be visible from all points of the disk.” But fear of dispersion seems only to have been a subordinate element; the chief consideration was: “let us make us a name (𐤇𐤛𐤏)” which *Shem*

seems to bear some reference to the *Shem* in ch. ix. 26, 27. It is the more probable that a hostile antagonism to the race of *Shem* and to the salvation which was to proceed from it was intended, as according to ch. x. 8—12 the statement of *Josephus* that this rebellious movement had originated with *Nimrod*, the descendant of *Ham*, is apparently correct. In their rebelliousness they refuse the $\square\psi$ appointed by God, and wish to make themselves a $\square\psi$, and to prepare salvation for themselves by combining all human forces; they are, so to speak, the socialists and the communists of primeval times. Besides, v. 6 distinctly indicates that God had regarded this building of a city and tower as only the commencement of a much more dangerous course, the further development of which the confusion of tongues was intended to arrest. On the probable ruins of the tower comp. *S. Preiswerk*, "The East," for 1839, Fasc. i. Commonly this tower is identified with that of *Belus*, of later times, described by *Herodotus* (i. 181) and *Strabo* (i. 16 c. 1) (comp. *Prideaux* i. 98; *Universal Hist.* i. 308 et seq.; *Münter*, *Relig. of the Babylon.* p. 48.) But this opinion is rightly controverted by *Preiswerk*, who identifies the hill *Amram* on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates* as the ruins of the temple of *Belus*, and the *Birs Nimrud* on the western bank of that river as those of the tower of *Babel*. *Delitzsch*, however, deems it improbable that "stone ruins of this edifice reared by the race after the flood should still be preserved."

(3.) It is very difficult to realise the PROCESS OF THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES. In his treatise de confusione linguarum (in his observ. ss. i. 1) *C. Vitringa* objects to the view commonly entertained, and attempts to shew that so far from the dispersion of nations having been caused by the confusion of tongues, the opposite had been the case. The expression: "And the whole earth was of one lip and of the same words (of one language and of one speech)" applies in his view to their agreement of thoughts and councils, which they were about to perpetuate by the building of a tower; the "confusio labii," of v. 7, he explains as a "dissensio animorum, per quam factum sit, ut, qui turrem struebant, distracti sint in contraria studia et consilia," just as we read in *Ps. lv. 9*, "Divide their tongues." He also argues that the verb ψ in v. 7 does not necessarily mean *intelligere*, but as in many other passages *auscultare*, *obtemperare*. According to another view (*A. Feldhoff* the table of nat. in *Gen. Elberf.* 1837, p. 5 et seq., and *Hofmann* *Predict.* i. p. 96) the problem may be solved by assuming that the organs of language had been violently affected in this catastrophe, while according to the common interpretation language was divided and multiplied by a miracu-

lous and direct interposition on the part of God. In deciding in favour of the latter view as being indicated by the language of the text we would not, however, absolutely set aside the other two, but rather incorporate them with ours, and especially wish to call attention to the *natural* aspect of this event, and to the *natural* basis from which the diversity of tongues sprang. Since the fall all the relations which in the life of man primeval had been joined into unity have become separated and disjointed. But this separation was not sudden, nor did it take place immediately after the fall, but only after the powers derived from original creation, which had still preserved the unity of man, had been consumed, and the elements which caused the separation had accumulated; and even then only in consequence of a violent catastrophe, in which the separating obtained the victory over the binding and uniting forces. Thus the death of the body only takes place after a life of 900 years' duration, the climatic changes in nature only after the flood, and lastly the separation of men in respect of language, nationality, and race, only by the violent catastrophe here recorded. But as death or the separation between body and soul in the life of the individual is the condition of a future and real re-union of the two (in the resurrection), so are these revolutions also in the life of nature and of mankind.

If an empirical, one-sided, and unphilosophic Anthropology has raised objections to the Biblical doctrine of the unity of races, a mistaken Philology controverts, in connection with the objections already mentioned, the Biblical statement concerning the original UNITY OF LANGUAGES; and as the former maintains that man had gradually developed from the lower and animal stage, so the latter would attempt to derive human language from a gradual development of sounds natural to animals. In opposition to this, comp. the opinions and conclusions of eminent philologists, such as *Adelung*, *Fr. v. Schlegel*, *Merian*, *Klaproth*, *Abel Remusat*, *Prichard*, *Lepsius*, and above all, *W. Humboldt* (on the Kavi-language, *Introd.*, Berlin, 1836—40); *J. Grimm* (on the Origin of Language, Berlin, 1852). *Delitzsch* (Jesurun Grammae, 1838) has, by showing the relation between the Shemitic and Indo-Germanic languages, most satisfactorily established his belief that a comparison of different languages affords a glimpse of their former and original unity. Comp. for the elucidation of this subject, also *Tholuck*, *Mutzl*, and *Wiseman*, ll. cc. (§ 20, 4); *G. P. Chr. Kaiser* on the Original Lang., Erlg. 1840; *Leop. Schmid*, *Explan. of H. Script.*, Münster, 1834, i., p. 423, et seq. It is another and not less important or difficult question, which had been the ONE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE, and in what relation the languages presently existing stand to it. In former times, it was universally held that the Hebrew was the

original language, preserved from primeval times,—a view which *M. Baumgarten* (i. 155) still entertains. Comp. *V. E. Löscher*, de causis Linguae Hebraicæ, c. iii.; *Morinus* de Lingua Primæva; *G. Carpzovii* Critica S. Lips. 1748, p. 174, et seq.; *J. Buxtorf*, Dissert. Philol. Theol., Basil. 1662, Diss. i. et ii.; *Calmet*, Bibl. Researches, with Notes by *J. L. Mosheim*, Bremen, 1741, i. 1, et seq. On the other hand, even *Gregor Nyss.* (Orat. 12 c. Eunom.) already maintained that the oldest language had been lost. The same view was afterwards advocated by *Grotius* ad Gen. xi. 1; by *Huetius* Demonstr. ev. Prop. 4, c. 13; and especially by *Clericus*, in the Diss. de Ling. Hebr. in vol. i. of his Comment. Of late, the view that all existing languages are only derived from the *one* original tongue, and are of nearly the same age, has almost generally been entertained. Comp. *Delitzsch* Gen., p. 230, et seq. The principal ground for the former opinion—in the fact that the Biblical names from the time before the flood are all of Hebrew derivation—is not convincing. It proves no more than what we already know—that the Hebrews had preserved these ancient traditions. In general, the *word*, but especially the *name*, is the body with which the mind clothes its representations and ideas. But if the descendants of Shem had carried with them the representations and the recollection of the persons and facts of primeval times through *that* catastrophe in which the capacity of the mind to form language underwent so thorough a transformation, these, even as all other representations and ideas, had to be re-moulded, in accordance with the altered principle at the basis of the formation of language, in order to be capable of being communicated. Nor may we overlook the fact that in antiquity—and that increasingly as we ascend—a most intimate connection subsisted between the idea attaching to a person and the name of that person.

(4.) It has rightly been supposed that Gen. x. 25 furnishes an approximative indication of THE TIME OF THAT CATASTROPHE —“The name of one (son of Shem) was *Peleg*, for in his days was the earth divided.” Accordingly, some have fixed the date of the dispersion of nations as in the year 101 after the flood, being the year of the birth of *Peleg*. But against this we have to urge, first, that the expression “in his days,” seems to indicate a later period, when *Peleg* was already a man of note; then, the common use of names; and lastly, the impossibility that so many persons as would have been requisite for the building of the tower should have existed at that period. *Peleg* lived 239 years, and we may therefore place this event towards the close of the third, or the commencement of the fourth century after the flood. For the want of definiteness in the Biblical

statement, we may account from the fact that the narrator designedly follows the chronological thread only *in* and *for* the race to whom the promise attaches. Others (as for ex. *Kapp*, l. e., § 119, et seq.; *Kaiser*, "the Original Language") understand by this division of the earth a severance of the continents; and *Kaiser* thinks that the expression "let us go down," (Gen. xi. 7) refers to the natural event which caused this separation, (and rendered a return impossible to those who were scattered abroad).

(5.) For an explanation of the REGISTER OF NATIONS, comp. the monographs of *Bochart*, Phaleg et Canaan, in vol. i. of his works; *J. D. Michaelis* Specilegium Geogr. exteræ post Bochartum, 2 vols., Goett. 1769, 4; *Rosenmüller's* Biblical Archaeol., vol. i.; *A. Feldhoff*, Table of Nations, Elberf. 1837; *W. Krücke*, Explanation of the Table of Nat. in the book of Gen., Bonn. 1837; *Beke* Origines Biblicæ, or Researches in Primeval History, Lond. 1834; *Görres*, the Table of Nations in the Pentateuch, vol. i., Regensb., 1845: the Descendants of Japheth; *A. Knobel*, the Table of Nations in Genesis, Giess., 1850; also *Ch. Forster*, the Historical Geography of Arabia, 2 vols., London, 1844; and besides the Comment. and Diction., *Fr. v. Meyer*, Bible-Interpretations, p. 155, et seq.; "Pages for Higher Truth," xi. 65, et seq.; *J. P. Lange* Misc. Works, i., 122, et seq.; and *v. Braunschweig*, Outlines of Univers. Hist., Leipz., 1833, p. 8—27. As to the historical character of this register of nations, comp. *Hävernick* Introduct., i., 2, p. 273, et seq.; *Hengstenberg* Egypt and the books of Moses (transl. by Robbins and Taylor; Edin. T. & T. Clark.) As to their importance in Univers. Hist., consult the opinions of *J. v. Müller* in *J. G. Müller's* Examin. of the Bible, ii. 458; and of *Fr. v. Schlegel* Philos. of Hist. i. 227 et seq. *J. G. Müller* l. c. aptly describes it as "a genealogical map of the world, shewing how the descendants of Noah had settled in the vicinity of that part of Asia." It brings down the development and the spread of nations to the time of Moses (comp. Gen. x. 19, *Ewald* Hist. i. 278 et seq., and the *Author's* Essay on the original inhabitants of Palest. in the Lutheran Journal for 1845 Fasc. 3).

To take THE NAMES OCCURRING IN THE TABLE OF NATIONS as applying merely to single individuals or to founders of tribes, is to misunderstand the eastern mode both of viewing and of writing history. They chiefly refer to groups of nations, the later name of a nation being transferred to its ancestor, as according to oriental ideas a tribe and its founder are in reality one. Besides in many cases the same name applies both to the land and its inhabitants. Thus the names Canaan, Aram, &c., were in the first place transferred from the country to the nation and then from the latter to its founder, who represented the nation in its

totality and unity. When the personal name of the founder of a tribe was not preserved by the remembrance of events connected with him, it gradually sank into oblivion, and the name of the nation took the place of that of its founder. Besides, we have to bear in mind that the table of nations starts with the *status quo* at the time when it was written down, and only solves the problem of the origin of nations *formally* by shewing their *evolution* (from one to many), while *materially* it proceeds on the plan of *reduction*, inasmuch as it only traces the origin of those nations which were either of importance at the time or lay within the horizon of the water. With *Hengstenberg* and *Delitzsch* we regard patriarchal tradition enriched by that acquaintance with the history of nations which the Israelites derived from the Egyptians as the *source* of this table of nations. *Hengstenberg* has in part shewn that the knowledge of other nations, which, as the monuments prove, was possessed in Egypt, was also rendered available for constructing this table of nations. *Knobel* fixes the composition of this portion of Genesis (as forming part of the original document) about the year 1000 before Christ, and hence concludes that assistance had only been derived from Phœnician sources. On the importance of this table for *sacred* hist. comp. *Ranke* Research. i., 182; *Drechsler* Unity, 110; *M. Baumgarten* i., 132 et seq.; *Delitzsch*, 212 et seq. The preservation of the names of these nations, while sacred history is about to leave them to pursue their own ways, indicates that they are not to be wholly erased from the records of sacred history, and that they are not entirely omitted from the council of eternal love. The special interest for the history of the old covenant attaching to this table consists in this, that it generally "indicates the genealogical position which Israel holds among the nations of the world." Besides, as all primeval Biblical history, it forms a striking contrast to the philosophical notions and to the myths of heathenism which speak of gods, of heroes, and of millions of years.

It has been specially objected to the HISTORICAL CREDIBILITY of the *table of nations* that the affinities of languages render it impossible to credit this account of the origin of nations. More particularly while we are here told that the Canaanites were descended from Ham, their language, it is asserted, proves their affinity to the race of Shem. But even granting that in the present defective state of our knowledge of the relations then subsisting it were impossible satisfactorily to remove these difficulties, it is certainly very unhistorical to set aside definite historical data for any abstract and *a priori* reasoning or presumption such as that of the affinity of languages; especially when not a single tenable argument has been brought forward to shew that these data are false. With reference to *Canaan* it has indeed

been urged (as for ex. by *Tuch* p. 245) that the national hatred of the Israelites had induced them to represent the former as the descendants of Ham; but to this it has often been replied that although the Israelites had no doubt cherished similar prejudices against Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Amalek, such feelings did not induce them to deny that they had sprung from the same stock. Besides, this method of tracing the peculiarities of the table of nations to supposed sympathies and antipathies is entirely refuted by the similar mention of Elam and Ashur. On the other hand the statement of classical writers that the Phenicians had originally inhabited the southern zone of the earth, whence confessedly the nations sprung from Ham had migrated, furnishes an important, because an entirely independent, historical testimony in favour of the Biblical account of the affinity between the Canaanites and the nations belonging to the family of Ham. Comp. *Bertheau* Contrib. to the Hist., &c., p. 172 et seq., and *Ewald* i., 328 et seq., 436 et seq. In our opinion *Knobel* has (l. c. p. 315) completely removed the difficulty by suggesting that when the Canaanites migrated into Palestine they adopted the Shemitic language spoken by those descendants of Shem who had resided there before their arrival, comp. § 45, 1. The same remark most probably applies to the descendants of Terah who at a later period migrated under Abraham into Palestine (§ 46), as from Gen. xxxi. it may safely be inferred that the ancestors of Abraham had spoken the Aramean and not the Hebrew language.

(6.) THE DIRECTION WHICH THE DESCENDANTS OF NOAH TOOK on their dispersion was neither the result of mutual accord, of choice, nor of chance. They followed each an unconscious and, as it were, instinctive motive, a kind of internal "rapport" between their character and that of the zones towards which they directed their steps. Japheth, easily excitable, was only adapted for the north and for the temperate zone. His descendants, who constitute the moving and impelling element in history, settled in northern Asia and all over Europe (comp. *Hor. Od. i., 3: audax Japheti genus*). Ham turned toward the south—the heat of a southern sun corresponded both with his name and his character. He settled at first in the southern peninsulas of Asia, from whence he migrated into Africa. The race of *Shem* forms the stable fixed element in history. In accordance with this its character it was probably less affected than any other by the storm that caused the migration of the nations. It struck its roots in anterior Asia. The circle described by the settlements of Shem is drawn by *Ewald* (i. 327) as "commencing in the south-east with *Elam* (Elymais), on the other side of the Tigris by the Persian Sea, extending thence through *Assur* (the Assyrians)

northwards, along the Tigris, turning with *Arpaxad* to the northwest, then continuing with *Lud* (the Lydians) westwards to the Shemitic nations of Asia Minor and again returning with *Aram* in a south-easterly direction to the Euphrates." This threefold division of nations according to the sons of Noah, does not, however, completely tally with the division of races as at present exhibited. Comp. *Feldhoff* l. c., p. 134 et seq., and *J. P. Lange* l. c. i., 127 et seq. The latter rightly remarks that this very circumstance speaks in favour of our table of nations. It were inconceivable that the three kindred original types, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, should at that period have already become completely separated and formed into individual races. The formation of races must necessarily have taken place at a later period in the development of the life of these original tribes. The descendants of Japheth develop into the Caucasian race; the African descendants of Ham into the negro race. The sympathy subsisting between Shem and Japheth and the antipathy between them and Ham, as well as the fact that the two former had settled beside each other around Ararat, occasioned the common features in their bodily conformation and their difference from the race of Ham, while the Mongolian conformation of the race of Ham in southern Asia and in the north-east of Africa, which holds an intermediate place between the Caucasian and the Ethiopian or pure negro race, indicates the many points of relation in intercourse, commerce, culture, and language which subsisted between the descendants of Ham and those of Shem and Japheth. For an excellent sketch of the peculiarities of each of the three great races we refer to *Görres* l. c. i., 52 et seq.

HEATHENISM.

(Comp. *Ad. Wutke* Hist. of Heathen. in its bearing on Relig., Science, Art, Morality, and the State, vol. i., Bresl. 1852; *J. A. Möhler* Heathenism, in the Munich hist. polit. Journal iii., p. 185 et seq.; *Volkmueth* on the paed. Rel. of the anc. World to the Christian age, Bonn (Roman) Catholic Journal, Fasc. xxv., p. 38 et seq.; *J. P. Lange* Life of Jesus i., 45 et seq.; *J. H. Steffens* Anthropol. i., 354 et seq.; *Schubert* View of the dark side of Nature, &c., 4th ed. 1840, pp. 50 et seq. 241 et seq.; *K. H. Sack* Christ. Apologetics, 2d ed. Hamb. 1841, p. 92 et seq.; *J. Seb. v. Drey* Apologetics, Mayence 1843, vol. ii., 53 et seq.; *J. B. v. Hirscher* Chr. Ethics 3d ed. i., 346 et seq.; *M. Baum-*

garten Apost. Hist. (transl. by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, Edinb. T. & T. Clark) ii., p. 159 et seq.)

§ 30. The birth of heathenism may be dated from the moment when the presumptuous statement was uttered: "Go to, let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name." Viewed in its *negative* aspect it is the principle of heathenism to deny the living and personal God and to slight the salvation which He has afore-determined; viewed in its *positive* aspect, heathenism cherishes the vain hope that man is able, even as he is shut up, to deliver himself by his own power and wisdom, and hence is an attempt to bring about salvation with the means at the disposal of man (1.) The undertaking to which the text refers brought this principle for the first time clearly to consciousness. Thus the building of the tower became the commencement of a new development which, as it could neither attain its goal nor was to be cut short by a universal judgment like that of the flood (Gen. viii. 21 et seq., comp. § 27, 4), could only terminate in ruin. But the Providence of God could render even this ruin subservient to its purposes and yet ultimately conduct towards salvation even this development which had formerly renounced the way of salvation (2.) The circumstance that the text represents the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of nations in which it resulted as being a *judgment* and a *punishment* does not exclude—it rather implies that it was also the *natural consequence* of the development which had commenced, and that as being a *means of chastisement* it was also fraught with *blessing* in its bearing upon the development which was yet future. While God allows the nations to follow *their own* ways, He has set even to these ways a goal, in agreement with *His own* good pleasure, and while He *leaves* them to themselves He does not *forsake* them. In *this* sense heathenism also has its *Divine Sanction*.

(1.) Even *Josephus* is of this opinion. Of Nimrod, whom he describes as the originator of the scheme for building the tower and as the father of heathenism, he says (Ant. i. 4, 2): "He persuaded them not to ascribe it to God, as if it was through His means they were happy, but to believe that it was their own courage which procured that happiness."

(2.) *Heathenism* is the *prodigal son* whom, because he will no longer remain in his father's house and under his special superintendence, care, and instruction, the father allows to depart into the world, well knowing that when at last he shall have wasted all his goods and would fain fill his belly with the husks which the swine eat, both present wants and past experience will make him willing, gladly and thankfully to occupy the place which had been kept ready and open for him. The relics of his original state, of primeval times and of primeval religion, these are the portion of goods which the son takes with him and which he wastes in the riotous worship of nature—but they are also the solemn and ever-present monitor who had followed him; “the law written in the heart” followed him wherever he strayed, and however far he may have wandered from his father's house it still constitutes a bond of connection with it. Hence the drawing which is the consequence of his descent and affinity as the “offspring of God” (Acts xvii. 29), hence also the felt want within which ever manifests itself, and the longing after the lost peace of heart which can never be wholly suppressed. The prodigal could not find the bliss for which he had hoped in those ways which he had chosen. On the contrary, they led to misery, hunger, and nakedness. But still these thousands of years of wandering were not to be wholly lost nor to pass without leaving any result. On his wanderings he was to acquire experience and possessions, he was to develop powers and capacities, with which on his return he could become the more useful and serviceable to his father's house, that *there* they could not have been acquired in *the same* measure, because there the whole energy and all the force of development was in the first place to be applied for the attainment of other and more important objects which could only be realised there.

§ 31. We have to acknowledge the existence of, and to distinguish between, a brighter and a darker aspect in heathenism. If from this point of view we regard first the *religious* development of heathenism, we must admit that it was not entirely destitute of every element of truth. Else, whence the almost inconceivable fascination and the seductive power which it exercised during its brightest period? Falsehood, if unmitigated, is not attractive—it only attracts by means of the partial truth which it contains (1.) Among these elements of truth we reckon not only the relics of a primeval religion, but also and especially its anticipations of future truths. Heathenism was throughout and wholly Pantheistic; it was a religion for time, and wholly

ignored both a future salvation and a hereafter. It wished to *enjoy* where it could only hope, to *know* where it could only have anticipated, to *behold* where it should have believed. It turned away from the living God, because He was a God not only *at hand* but also *afar off*, because He pointed His people to the future and to a hereafter, while on the other hand it wholly surrendered itself to nature, whose fulness of life and of enjoyments was ever present and at hand. It broke through the boundary-lines of organic development, it anticipated that truth which could only make its full and healthy appearance at a later period, and hence presented it not as truth but immature, and as a caricature of the devil's invention. The nature-worship of heathenism is a hot-house in which the exotic plant of a future and of a hereafter is made to grow on soil foreign to it, through powers not natural to it, and with a premature development. Thus for example the Shibboleth of Pantheism "that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 28) is such a truth. But it is a truth which can only attain its full and perfect realisation after thousands of years of development, and at the termination of the present order of things. But heathenism anticipated this truth and placed it at the top of its development. The hot-house plant bore *blossoms* among them, some that were lovely, but they could not ripen into fruit. This mixture of truth and falsehood, of the Divine and the devilish, this premature anticipation, this deceptive splendour of early blossoms constituted both the power and the seductive fascination of heathenism. Its power could only be broken when what was false in it had wholly absorbed every remainder of truth, when the blossom had faded and was fallen off without giving place to the fruit. Then it could no longer withstand the charge of hollowness and of entire impotence to satisfy the cravings of the soul. At that stage it had reached both its natural and necessary termination, and the Divinely decreed goal of its development.

(1.) If heathenism had been *merely a delusion* and *entirely a lie* it could not again and again have entangled in its meshes the people of God, who were daily witnesses of Divine omnipotence, and possessed in their worship the richest and most profound mysteries. Nor could it have enabled its adherents to make those unparalleled sacrifices which they continually and willingly

rendered in its service. It could not have been merely an empty superstition which produced the resignation necessary for offering to the gods whole hecatombs—it could not have been ordinary madness which induced the priests of Cybele to make themselves eunuchs—it was not low carnal lust which induced the noblest virgins to give themselves up to any stranger in the temple of Mylitta—nor was it want of love to their children or unfeeling cruelty which induced parents to throw their children into the arms of Moloch, &c.

§ 32. In respect of *worldly civilisation*, heathenism was intended to lead to another issue than that of its *religious* development. It was not *negatively* only, but also *positively*, to prepare the way for the perfection of the kingdom of God. In this respect heathenism also was to furnish materials for that magnificent building, the kingdom of God, which was designed to cover everything. Indeed, what heathenism has produced in philosophy and poetry, in art and science, or, in general, in worldly culture, remains, and is in part unsurpassed, while it has also materially aided that Christian culture which is destined to pervade every department, and to render it sacred. *These* blossoms were followed by fruit, which remain and form the imperishable and living bases of Christian culture. On this ground heathenism has its preparatory character as well as Judaism, and occupies a parallel and independent place. These two directions could only be joined into one, when both had attained maturity—and the fruit of their union is Christian culture.

(1.) Our remarks about heathenism refer, of course, only to the period *before the coming of Christ*. Its later stage is wholly without the Divine sanction, which, in some measure, attached to its former era. Ancient heathenism, as well as Judaism, had fulfilled its purpose at the time of the Lord. In its present shape, heathenism as well as Judaism is only a caricature. It may be compared to decaying ruins, or to lifeless and decaying members of the body. Hence, neither art, nor science, nor culture, can develop in it.

APPENDIX ON THE LIMITS OF A PREPARATORY HISTORY.

H. A. Hahn (in Reuter's Repert. 1849, P. 9, p. 201) has objected to the limits within which we have traced this preparatory

history. This critic holds that sacred history bears, after the time of Abraham, essentially the same character as before that patriarch; and he would extend the bounds of the preliminary history to the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, where, in his view, the history of the Old Covenant really commenced. We cannot, however, share this opinion. We do not agree with this scholar that "the covenant with Abraham was essentially the same as the transference of the promises to Shem, and from the latter to Arphaxad, with this difference only, that the latter transferences were not expressly recorded." We are not warranted in inferring this, since it is not mentioned in Scripture. On the contrary, the silence of the text implies that no such transference had taken place. The register of names in Gen. xi. 10, et seq., as well as the short remark in Gen. x. 21, are only of importance in respect of genealogy, not of historiography, while Gen. x. 25 has only a chronological bearing, and cannot be regarded as a testimony that the promise had been exclusively transferred to Peleg. If such had taken place, we would, in agreement with the plan and spirit of the record, have expected that, just as in the case of Isaac and Jacob, so in that of the patriarchs in Gen. xi. 10, et seq., the fact would have been expressly mentioned. Besides—and this decides the question—the character of the history before the calling of Abraham is essentially different from that subsequent to that event. His selection constitutes a new principle in sacred history, which continues to develop till it reaches its climax in the incarnation of God in Christ, so that in Abraham and in Christ we have the beginning and the end, the promise and the fulfilment, of this one and unbroken portion of sacred history. The giving of the law on Mount Sinai does not break off this development, as the judgment of the flood and of the confusion of tongues had broken off former series' of development. The history which commences with Abraham continues unbroken till the judgment which Titus was called to execute against the covenant-people. The giving of the law on Mount Sinai is only a high point, although the most prominent, in the history between Abraham and Christ. It is not the commencement of a new history. True, it is called *a covenant*, but it does not differ essentially from that with Abraham. It does not stand in the same relation to the Abrahamic as the latter to the Noachic

covenant. The covenant with Noah was made with all mankind; the covenant with Abraham was made with him as the ancestor of the holy people, while that on Sinai was made with the people as the seed of Abraham. When the building of the tower commenced, the principle of heathenism appeared indeed for the first time, and after that all nations followed in their own ways. But at that time not only the descendants of Japheth and of Ham, but even—although at a later period, yet no less decidedly—those of Shem also went astray, as, according to Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, even Terah, Abraham's father, had been an idolater. Then, if ever, a new period must have commenced; and this really took place when God chose, called, and entered into covenant with, Abraham. Hence we do not think that the separation of the nations in the plain of Shinar is the point where heathenism and Judaism, or, more correctly, where the two antagonistic series' of development in the history of the world before Christ, which appeared in heathenism and Judaism, diverged. The latter only takes place when Abraham is called; and here the separation of the two really commences. *Hahn* is indeed right in thinking that the history of the *Theocracy* only commences with the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. But then we write the history of the Old Covenant, and not that of the Theocracy. The Noachic covenant is indeed *more ancient* than the Abrahamic (which is called the *old* in contradistinction to the *new* covenant). If we had treated of this covenant, we should have commenced with the history of Noah, and brought it down to the period when, by means of the missionary activity of Paul, the descendants of Japheth entered the tents of Shem. Lastly, we do not intend to write—what *Hahn* would entitle—"A History of the Pre-Christian Development of the Kingdom of God," else we should have commenced with the Fall, if not with the Creation. Nor could we have *scientifically* finished our undertaking. If the *kingdom of God* is the subject, a scientific treatment of the subject would require that it should be continued to its perfection at the end of time.

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HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

THE MEANING, PURPOSE, AND GOAL OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 33. After the Fall, *deliverance* from sin and from its consequences had become the object and aim of history. This salvation was to appear among men as the fairest blossom, and as the climax of all historical development, directed as it was by the Divine purpose of grace. But soon afterwards this development took a direction contrary to the will of God and fundamentally wrong, and that to such an extent that a universal judgment from the Lord had to break it off, because, had it continued in the same direction, it would have led, not to salvation, but to absolute *destruction*. One man only was rescued from the general ruin, and he became the commencement of a *new* development, which again tended to the goal formerly set. But it also degenerated, not, indeed, to the extent of necessitating another universal judgment in order to preserve the Divine plan of salvation, but so far as to become incapable of sustaining or carrying out the Divine purpose of grace. Yet, if not in a *positive*, still in a *negative* manner, this development might prepare the way for the coming deliverance. Having started with confidence and reliance on personal power and wisdom, it could only end in despair of all possibility to attain the salvation of man *by its own efforts*. But this also prepared the way for the advent of that true deliverance which *God Himself* had in the meantime prepared.

§ 34. Although the descendants of Shem had resisted longer than others the threatening aggressions of the principle of heathenism, they ultimately succumbed to it. (Josh. xxiv. 2, 14.) It is manifest that when even the race, in whose tents, according to the promise, salvation was to be wrought out, fell victims to the antagonistic power, something new required to be created, in order to prepare the way of salvation. A new development, in direct opposition to that of heathenism, required

to be commenced, the *positive* fruits of which could alone give import and value to the negative results of heathenism. Connecting itself with the former prediction and in fulfilment of it, this new development must proceed from the race of Shem. As a brand plucked from the burning *one* man was to be rescued from this race which had already become entangled in the common degeneracy and to be transplanted into fresh soil, there to be placed under new conditions and to be furnished with fresh powers and new aid. With this chosen one God entered into covenant; *he* is destined again to become the commencement of what was to prepare the way for salvation. The care of the sanctuary is committed to him and to his successors; they become the centre of all revelation and of every preparatory institution; there the salvation is prepared in which, when it has appeared, all nations are to share. Hitherto deliverance had been expected through *the seed of the woman*; now the circle narrows and all nations of the earth are to be blessed in *Abraham's seed*.

§ 35. This third commencement in the development of salvation is distinguished by its *Particularism* from the *Universalism* of the two former commencements. The *latter* principle lay at the foundation of the two former series' of development: the care of the sanctuary had formerly been committed to *mankind generally*. This arose from the circumstance that in each of the two former cases the development had always commenced with one universal ancestor. *Creation* had given a universal character to the first, the *general judgment of the flood* to the second series. But if the new development of salvation were a third time to have been committed to mankind *generally*, the whole degenerate race, with the exception of that individual with whom the new development was to have commenced, would have required to have been swept from the earth by a universal judgment. But its corruption was not so manifestly and entirely contrary to God as it had been at a former period, when a universal judgment had become absolutely necessary. It had rather taken a direction which, despite its erroneous character, did not render it *wholly* incapable of coming under the influence of salvation. But this susceptibility was so much pushed into the background that it could only re-appear when the seeds of destruction, by

which it was overshadowed, had attained to maturity, and then and thus destroyed themselves. Mankind was therefore still capable of being brought within the pale of salvation. But this could not be done either in a sudden manner or by violent and magical means, nor could it be immediately applied to mankind generally. Mankind had to be prepared for salvation, and this salvation prepared for them. Hence the deliverance about to be commenced started from a *particularistic principle*, and tended towards a *universalistic goal*. As every true development of the creature must organically unfold and progress, salvation also had to unfold from germ to fruit, and to grow from the one root into the tree with its many branches; it bore the character of separation only till it had matured so far as to become capable of becoming universal. And as salvation destined *for man* could only develop *in man*, it could only be entrusted to one single individual, with the development of whom salvation also was to develop. Hence we see Judaism develop by the side of heathenism—the *latter* was to prepare mankind for salvation, the *former* salvation for mankind.

§ 36. Judaism and heathenism are two series' of development running parallel and yet opposed to each other, conditioning and yet excluding each other. In distinct *contrast* with heathenism the chosen race exhibit from the first the characteristics of deep humility, of confident faith, and of longing, hope and waiting. These traits appear also throughout the whole course of their history in so far as the latter was in agreement with the idea and the requirements of the covenant. This people does not expect anything from its own power or wisdom, but everything from the interposition of Jehovah. It does not expect deliverance from anything present but from something future—thither its longing gaze is directed, thither do predictions, worship, and national institutions point. Israel is emphatically the people of longing and expectation; the voice of one that crieth in the wilderness "prepare ye the way of the Lord." True, the common corruption of the human heart appears frequently in this race also, and that the more painfully the more it contrasts with everything around. Too frequently the spirit of the world claims this people also as its own, and too often does it voluntarily subject itself to the

essential principle of heathenism ; but under the discipline of God the manifestations of its own peculiar tendency by and bye always re-appear again, and that generally in each case more distinctly than formerly. On the other hand heathenism and not Judaism is distinguished by art and science, by culture and worldly civilisation. But that which was wholly wanting in heathenism appeared the more richly in the people of God. It is rich in religious culture and in Divine wisdom, it is strong in hope and mighty through a faith which conquers the world. *Science*, art, worldly culture, and in general the vessels for the coming salvation *were to be prepared by the heathen, but SALVATION itself solely by the Jews* (John iv. 22). However this is not to be understood as if heathenism had in the fruits of its development become serviceable only and for the first time to Christianity, as the perfection of Old Testament revelation. Heathenism exercised also a mighty influence on the development of the preparatory religion of the Old Testament (1) ; and that to such an extent that the history of the Old Testament might even be divided into periods according to the heathen elements under which it developed (2.) Israel is brought into contact with all the forms of heathenism, and all of them give a fresh impulse to a new and more full development of its religious consciousness.

(1.) This influence of heathenism on Old Testament revelation is threefold. It is *formal* in so far as heathenism offers a suitable form in which its contents may be presented. This remark applies specially to religious *Symbolic*. Another source of influence may be designated as *material* and that *negatively* in so far as the lie of heathenism became the occasion and motive for the unfolding of the opposite truth ; and *positively* in so far as the distorted and prematurely developed truth in heathenism passed through the sanctifying and purifying flame of the Old Testament religious principle, and of the progressive Old Testament revelation, thereby losing its distortion and impure additions, and then became an element in the religious consciousness of the Israelites.

(2.) The banks of the Euphrates and of the Tigris were the common birth-place of heathen culture. Without doubt the races which sprung from Terah, and to whom through the seed of Abraham the chosen race belonged, had shared in this common original culture. And when this original culture had separated into various forms, Israel shared in each of them whenever they

had each attained to maturity. In the sense above explained Israel came first under Egyptian, then under Phœnico-Babylonian, then under Persian, and finally under Greco-Hellenistic influences.

§ 37. It is the *purpose* and *aim* of the old covenant to exhibit that salvation which is indeed to *proceed from* Israel alone and is *intended for* Israel, yet not for *Israel* alone but in him for *all nations*. From this twofold point of view we gather at what period salvation shall make its appearance, and with it the history of the old covenant close. That fulness of time in which the two series' of development—the Jewish and the heathen—with their fruits and results meet and unite to produce a Christian and all-comprehensive culture, presupposes that an objective and subjective development have at one and the same time attained to maturity. As in Judaism so in Heathenism that which each had to exhibit—the one salvation, the other science—must have attained to *such* a degree of maturity as is requisite if the meeting of the two is to lead to appropriate results. Again, viewing it *subjectively* both Jews and heathens must have become meet, or rather everything must have taken place by which they might be rendered meet for *individually* receiving salvation. Then have both Heathenism and Judaism reached their destination, and if either of them should seek to continue any longer it has lost its Divine sanction and with it its import in the history of the world. Henceforth it is only a dead body from which the living soul has fled—nor is there other hope left for it but this, that when the breath of life shall breathe on the dead bones that they may return to life (Ezek. xxxvii.) it also shall arise and become part and member of the living body.

A.—THE SCENE OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

(Comp. the works mentioned in § 15, 2.)

BOUNDARIES AND NAME OF THE HOLY LAND.

§ 38. Separated from the great mountain chain of Western Asia, and like an advanced post to oppose the irruptions of the

Mediterranean, a mountain tract rises from the valley of the ² Eleutherus, extending eastward to the wilderness of the Euphrates, southward to that of Arabia, and westward to the Mediterranean. The first and most northerly division of that country includes two parallel mountain-chains extending from north to south-west, embracing in the west, *Lebanon*, which descends in many gradations from the snow line to the valley of the Leontes, which above Tyre flows into the sea; and in the east, *Anti-Lebanon*, which stretches farther south, and, in the snow-covered *Great Hermon*, attains a height of more than ten thousand feet. Between these extends the valley *el-Bükâ'a*—some hours broad,—the ancient *Cœlesyria*, from which in a southerly direction the Leontes and in a northerly the Orontes flows into the sea. At the foot of Hermon, but separated from the valley *el-Bükâ'a* by a low mountain-chain running parallel to Hermon, commences the *Jordan valley*, which divides the southern continuation of this mountain-chain longitudinally also into two parallel mountain-ridges, running from north to south. This country, on both banks of the *Jordan*, bounded on the east by the desert of the Euphrates, on the south by that of Arabia, on the west by the Mediterranean, on the north-west by the valley of the Leontes, and on the north-east by Hermon (1), was the scene of our history and the place where all the institutions preparatory to salvation were enacted. The central part of this country, its western division (2), bore the name of *Canaan* from its former inhabitants. Since the time of the Romans the whole country has been called *Palestine*.

(1.) Comp. *C. Iken* diss. iii. de *fnibus terrae promissae* ii. 95 and following, and *L. de Laborde* comment. géogr. sur l'exode et les nombres. Paris 1841 ad Num. xxxii. xxxiv. For a geographically accurate indication of the boundaries of the land assigned to the people of God v. Numbers xxxiv. 1, &c., with which for the eastern division comp. Num. xxxii. 33—42, and Joshua xiii. 1, &c. According to these passages the country east of Jordan extended southwards to the banks of the Arnon, while the country west of Jordan stretched from the southern shore of the Dead Sea to the river of Egypt or the Wady el-'Arish (in Coptic *auradsh* = boundary), called by the Greeks, *Rhinocorura*. It is more difficult to trace the northern boundary. According to Joshua xiii. 5, 6, and Num. xxxiv. 8, all Lebanon, together

with the country of the Sidonians, *from* Hor (probably = הַר = Hermon) *till you come to Hamath*, formed part of the territory of Israel. The expression “till you come to Hamath” is probably meant to indicate the northern part of the Orontes valley, el-Büká'a, which forms the northern entrance to the country. *Hamath* is either the modern Hamah on the Orontes (the Ἐπιφάνεια of the Greeks), comp. Burkhardt's travels i., p. 249 and following, or Hums, lying a few miles to the south of it, called by the Greeks Emesa. It follows that properly the whole mountain-range which we have above traced, including the two Lebanons, which with Palestine forms an organically connected whole, was originally *destined* for and *given* to the Israelites, with the exception only of the barren wilderness south and east. This territory they never wholly possessed. Gen. xv. 18 (comp. Ex. xxiii. 31, and Deut. xi. 22—24) seems to promise a still greater extent of country, from the *Nile* in the west to the *Euphrates* in the east. In opposition to *Iken* and *Laborde* we maintain that the *river of Egypt* means the Nile, and may not be confounded with the rivulet of Egypt or the Wady el-'Arish. But against *Hengstenberg* we hold that the passage in question is not meant to give an exact geographical account of the boundaries. In perfect accordance with the prophetic contents of that passage the general extent of the land of promise as situated between the two great historical rivers, or rather between the two empires which they represent, is there delineated. According to this promise the country which the seed of Abraham was to possess would be of *such* importance as to maintain its independence by the side of the powerful Egypt, and the still more vast Asiatic empires—and all other nations and empires which might rise between these two great monarchies would either be unable to maintain themselves, or else, on account of their insignificance not deserve special mention.

(2.) The NAME OF CANAAN כְּנַעַן (= low country) is always exclusively applied to the country west of Jordan. It is as much the name of the people as of the country. The strange circumstance that a land so decidedly mountainous should obtain such a name becomes only intelligible by the historical statement in the table of nations Gen. x. 15—19, according to which the Canaanites had first settled in the *low country of Phœnicia*, whence they gradually spread to the Dead Sea. The name Παλαιστίνη sc. Συρία is the Greek mode of pronouncing the word פְּלִשְׁתִּים which originally applied to the territory of the Philistines along the southern shore of the Mediterranean, but was extended by the Romans to the whole country (comp. Ptolem. v. 16: “Palestine, which is also called Judea.”) In the

Bible the following names also occur: the land of the Hebrews, Gen. xl. 15; the Lord's land, Hosea ix. 3; the holy land, Zech. ii. 12; the coast, or the land of Israel, Judges xix. 29; Ezek. vii. 2; the land of promise, Heb. xi. 9.

THE JORDAN VALLEY.

(Comp. *W. F. Lynch*, Report of the Expedition of the United States to the Jordan and the Dead Sea; *K. Ritter's* Geogr. vol. xv. (1.))

§ 39. The Jordan valley commences at the foot of Hermon, and runs parallel with the sea-shore, at about eight geographical miles to the east of it, from north to south between the two mountain chains which issue from Lebanon. The deep *depression* of the valley below the level of the sea, and the *abrupt rise* of its mountain sides, induce enquirers to account for the peculiarity by some *volcanic disturbance* which had taken place at a period anterior to history (2.) *Jordan* itself issues at the foot of Great Hermon from three or four sources, which unite in *Lake Merom*, a beautiful, deep hollow in the valley (3.) From the mountains which enclose this lake, the Jordan falls, and rapidly flows for about two geographical miles, to pour its waters into the charming Alpine lake of *Gennesareth* (4.) Issuing from this lake, which is fringed and shut in by high and fertile mountains, the Jordan takes innumerable bends and windings, forms twenty-seven larger, and about eighty smaller waterfalls, and very rapidly passes—having gained a breadth of from thirty to seventy paces—through the *Jordan valley*, the el-Ghôr, a valley thirteen German miles long, and, on an average, about two hours broad, and shut in by steep and bare, calcareous mountains (5), and then flows into the *Dead Sea*, a deep hollow, in a valley surrounded by steep and naked rocky mountains, which occasionally rise to a height of 2500 feet (6.) On both sides a number of wadys and defiles, which intersect the high lands, carry the streamlets from the mountains, either to the Ghôr or to the Dead Sea. But for three-fourths of the year, these wadys are dry, and indeed are only filled with water during the rainy sea-

son. Perennial streams flow into the Jordan only from the eastern high lands (vide § 42.) It is at present impossible to determine whether the valley of the Jordan, together with the southern portion of the Ghôr (the Arabah), had at one time (before historical records existed) been filled with water, and thus the waters of the Jordan flowed into the Red Sea (7.)

(1.) However often the Holy Land had formerly been visited, the course of the Jordan and the Dead Sea had never been properly investigated, and attempts to NAVIGATE *both* have only been made within the last twenty years. The *first* attempt was made in 1835 by *Mr Costigan*. In a small open boat, which was conveyed from the Mediterranean to Tiberias, and only accompanied by one Maltese servant, he made the bold and almost romantic attempt to navigate Jordan and the Dead Sea. But he succumbed under the terrible heat, the continuous labour of rowing, and the want of provisions. His servant was obliged to hasten to Jericho for assistance, leaving his master half dead on the shore. He was carried to Jerusalem, where he died after a few days. Having only left illegible short notes of his journey around the margin of some of his books, the results of an undertaking, so dearly purchased, were wholly lost. (2.) Two years afterwards, *Messrs Moore* and *Beek* renewed the attempt. But impediments thrown in their way by the authorities, and the refusal of the Arabs to assist, forced them to abandon the undertaking. A few measurements were the only result of it. *Schubert*, who soon after, from Jericho, visited the Dead Sea, was not a little surprised to descry on its waters a small boat adrift, bearing the British flag. (3.) The expedition under Major Scott and Lieutenant Symonds, sent by the British Admiralty to survey the coast of Syria, attempted also (in 1841), under the direction of Lieutenant Symonds, an investigation of the Dead Sea. Hitherto only the principal results, bearing reference to the measurement of level and of depth, have been published. (4.) In 1847, Lieutenant Molyneux had his ship's boat conveyed by camels from the Bay of Acre to the Lake of Tiberias, and, for the first time, not only succeeded in navigating Jordan and the Dead Sea, but made a tour which rendered essential service to science. Although all his sailors had fled to Tiberias on account of the attacks of Bedouins near Jericho, he was not deterred from prosecuting his undertaking. With only two companions, who, however, were ignorant of navigation, he explored the Dead Sea. But the immense fatigues of the journey exhausted even his vigorous constitution. He returned to Beyrout completely worn out, and died before he could scientifically elaborate the

observations he had made. (5.) The last and most successful navigation was that made, at the instance of the United States Government, under the direction of Commander Lynch, in 1848. With two iron boats, which were conveyed by camels from Acre to Tiberias, Lynch commenced, on the 10th April, the navigation of the Jordan, and nine days after, that of the Dead Sea, where he remained for twenty-two days. At the same time, a caravan, under the command of Lieutenant Dale, explored the western bank of the river. When returning through the valley of Kedron to Jerusalem and Jaffa, the comparative levels of the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea were ascertained. The important results of this expedition were communicated to the Admiralty of the United States, with the intention that, previous to their official publication, they should be scientifically elaborated. But when Mr Montague, one of the members of that expedition, published a popular and superficial account of this interesting journey (Philadelphia, 1849), Commander Lynch felt obliged to anticipate the proposed full and scientific description by giving, in the meantime, a correct account of his journey, in a style adapted for the public generally (London, 1849.)

2. On the FALL OF LAND, in which the Jordan valley must have originated, comp. *G. H. v. Schubert*, *Cosmos*, Erlang., 1852, p. 261:—"Where the hollows on the surface of the globe (which arose when it was formed) approached each other most closely, where its vaults came out more distinctly from among the vast continuous mass of its surface, there these vaults sometimes fell in, and the hollow which had formerly lain below the surface of the soil became a longitudinal or cauldron-valley. It was such a fall of these vaults above former subterranean hollows and caverns which gave to the bed of the Jordan a depression unique among all other similar phenomena on our planet." This savant was the first to call public attention to the *unexampld* DEPRESSION of the valley of the Jordan, of the lake of Tiberias, and of the Dead Sea. But his measurements, for which his former long journeys through the wilderness had only left him one barometer, and that one defective, are not so accurate or reliable as might be desired. But in general his observations were confirmed by the careful measurements of *Russegger* and *Bertou*, as well as by the survveys of *Symonds*. No doubt the most reliable measurements were those made by Lynch, who had the best instruments, the most able assistance, and most leisure at his command. The depression of the valley commences at the bridge of Jacob, half an hour below the place where the Jordan issues from Lake Merom. Here the river is on a level with the Mediterranean. Thence it falls so rapidly that, after a course of about twelve hours, the surface of the sea of Tiberias is, ac-

ording to the measurement of Lynch, 653 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The depression of the Dead Sea amounts to 1235 feet, so that where the Dead Sea attains its lowest depth, it is 2462 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and 3800 feet lower than the mountain chains which surround it.

(3.) JORDAN (יְרֵדוֹן = the flowing down, called by the Arabs *Sheriā*, or *Sheriāt el Kebir*, i.e., the great place of watering) rises, according to the statement of the ancients, from two sources, near the town of Paneas (the modern Bâniâs), at the southern base of Hermon. One of these sources, the Nahr Bâniâs, rises in a large cavern, hollowed in the side of a perpendicular rock. The other, called by Josephus the *fountain of Dun*, or also *Little Jordan*, rises at the Tell-el-Kâdy, to the W.N.W. of Bâniâs, and joins the Nahr Bâniâs about an hour below the Tell. But there is a *third* source of the Jordan, near Hâsbeiya, at the north-western base of Hermon, which supplies a much larger quantity of water than the Nahr Bâniâs, although the ancients do not mention it. It is called the *Nahr Hasbâny* (Hâsbeiya). The Nahr-el-Kharâb, to the west of this source, which comes from the beautiful valley Merdj' Ayûn, and joins the Nahr Hâsbeiya, is commonly regarded as a *fourth* source of the Jordan. After having, for a short time, flowed separately through the broad plain Ard-el-Hûleh (probably the same as the "valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon," Josh. xi. 17) the two principal streams (the Nahr Bâniâs and the Nahr Hasbâny) join their waters in *Lake Merom* (יַם מְרוֹם = upper waters, called now Bahr el-Hûleh). Although the waters of Hermon abundantly supply this lake, its rapid descent renders it in summer soon dry, when it resembles a marsh covered with reeds.

(4.) LAKE GENNESARETH is so called from the shores גִּנְזָר (Chald., probably = garden land, country of gardens) around it, and designated in the Old Testament "the sea of Chinnereth," Josh. xiii. 27; Numbers xxxiv. 11; or of *Chinneroth*, Josh. xi. 2 (from כִּנְרָה cithara, from the sound of its falling waters), and in the New Testament as the "sea of Galilee," Matt. xv. 29, and "the sea of Tiberias," John vi. 1; at present, Bahr T'übariyeh. It is somewhat more than eleven geographical miles long, and from five to six miles broad.¹ Its limpid waters are full of fish. Its neighbourhood is charming, rich, and fertile. It belongs to the most attractive spots on the earth, nor is there any part of Palestine which for beauty can be compared with it.

(5.) The valley between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, called at present the EL-GHÔR, was the "plain of Jordan," or

¹ F. the measurements of Lynch and Robinson.—THE TR.

simply the plain of Gen. xiii. 10, 11, 12, &c., and “the region round about Jordan” (Matt. iii. 5) of the LXX. and the New Testament. The name *Ha Arabah*, which at present applies only to the southern part of the valley from the Dead to the Red Sea (Wady el Arabah), included in the Old Testament also the Ghôr (comp. Robinson, ii., p. 186.) As to the meaning of the word *Arabah*, comp. *Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 231, &c. The climate of the Ghôr is hotter than that of any other part of Palestine, on account of the steep and rocky mountains, which compress the heat, and prevent the westerly winds from cooling the air. Under these circumstances, when left without cultivation, it became a dry parched wilderness. In the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea stretches *the plain of Jericho* (the plain of the valley of Jericho, Deut. xxxiv. 3, or the plains of Jericho, Josh. iv. 13) at present a barren and uncultivated track, but capable of great fertility, and formerly an almost continuous forest of palms. On the opposite side lie *the plains of Moab*, Numb. xxii. 1. Of the place where the pilgrims bathe, near Jericho, Lynch writes as follows (l. c., p. 264, &c.) :—“Notwithstanding the most diligent inquiry, I could procure no information to be relied on, respecting the river, in Tiberias. To my consternation, I soon found that the Jordan was interrupted in its course by frequent and most fearful rapids. . . . We had to clear out old channels, to make new ones, and sometimes, placing our sole trust in Providence, plunged with headlong velocity down appalling descents. So great were the difficulties, that on the second evening we were in a direct line but 12 miles distant from Tiberias. On the third morning I was obliged to abandon the frame boat from her shattered condition. No other kind of boats in the world than such as we have, combining great strength with buoyancy, could have sustained the shocks they encountered. . . . The great secret of the depression between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea is solved by the tortuous course of the Jordan. In a space of sixty miles of latitude and four or five of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles. The river is in the latter stage of a freshet—a few weeks earlier or later, and passage would have been impracticable. As it is, we have plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great many of lesser magnitude.” Lynch found that the depth of the river varied from two to twelve feet. The level of the water seemed to fall every day two feet. In the Dead Sea a decrease of seven feet from what in that year had been its highest level was distinctly noticeable. The Jordan surrounds also a number of little islands. Lynch discovered on either side many larger or smaller tributaries which had not previously been marked on any map.

(6.) The DEAD SEA (mare mortuum Justin. 36, 3. 6; *θάλασσα ἡ νεκρά* Paus. 5, 7. 3), is called in the Bible יַם הַמֶּלַח, the Salt-sea Gen. xiv. 3; יַם הַקְּדֹמִי, the Eastern Sea, Ez. xlvi. 18; Joel ii. 20 in opposition to the Mediterranean or *Western* Sea; יַם הַקְּרָבָה the Sea of the Arabah, Deut. iv. 49, by Josephus and the Classics *λίμνη Ἀσφαλτίτις*, by the Arabs Bahr Lût. For the views and opinions current with the Romans, compare Jos. B. jud. iv. 8, 4; Strabo xvi. p. 525 f.; Plin. n. h. v. 15; Tac. hist. v. 6, 7. Little was known about the Dead Sea up to the time of *Robinson*, who was the first to make careful investigations about its situation, nature, and constituents (vol. i. 509, &c., ii. 187, &c.) In this respect also the United States expedition under *Lynch* communicated facts as important as they are surprising. According to the measurements of *Lynch* the surface of that sea is 1235 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Its length amounts to about forty geogr. miles, its breadth, which is much the same along the whole of its extent, to between seven and nine geogr. miles.¹ It lies in a deep cauldron, surrounded by almost perpendicular rocks. The rays of the sun striking into this hollow make it almost intolerably hot, and convert the tributaries of the sea into hot vapours. All around is sterility and death-like solitude. The salt marshes along its shores, the overpowering heat, and the vapours which ascend, render the neighbourhood unhealthy. But the tales current about its pestiferous atmosphere are mere fable. Pieces of sulphur and nitre scattered about, hot fountains, &c., shew the volcanic origin of the district. On an average the water of the lake holds from 24—26 per cent. of different salts in solution (*Robinson* i. 514.)² On this account (*possibly* with the exception of some species of shellfish) no living animal can exist in it. The southern fourth of the Dead Sea is separated by a large peninsula which from the eastern shore stretches into the sea (the el-Mesraa.) *Lynch* very aptly compares its appearance to that of a wing spread out. *K. Ritter* has called the channel between this peninsula and the western shore, which is two or three miles broad, the *Lynch channel* in honour of the celebrated explorer of that name. *Lynch* himself gave to the northern cape of the peninsula the name *Point Costigan*, and to the southern that of *Point Molyneaux*, in honour of his unsuccessful predecessors. The most remarkable result of *Lynch's* investigations is certainly this, that the Dead Sea consists of two very different portions, separated by the peninsula el Mesraa. The

¹ The author erroneously represents the above as *English* and not *geographical* miles. A comparison with *Lynch* and *Robinson* will show the mistake which we have also corrected in regard to *L. Tiberias*.—THE TR.

² We have here also corrected the text.—THE TR.

southern part, commencing at Point Molyneaux, comprises about one-fourth of the entire extent of the sea. Its greatest depth is sixteen feet, while in some places along its southern margin it scarce measures one foot. There salt marshes everywhere cover the ground, which is heated by hot springs rising from beneath. The northern basin on the other hand has, along the whole of its extent from north to south, commonly a depth of more than 1000 feet, while a long part of it, to the north, measured no less than 1227 feet. Lynch channel is also very shallow along its southern portion. This difference between the two basins proves incontrovertibly that the origin of the southern belongs to a different period, and must be traced to different causes from those of the northern. This circumstance affords a remarkable confirmation of the account in Gen. xix., according to which a catastrophe had, during the time of Abraham, subverted the whole district of the southern valley (the valley of Siddim, Gen. xiv. 3; xiii. 10.) *Lynch* writes on this subject (p. 380): "Upon ourselves the result is a decided one. We entered upon this sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was sceptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaic account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken, we are unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the scriptural account of the destruction of the cities of the plain." With this *K. Ritter* perfectly agrees, and even *Ewald* (vol. i., 2d ed., p. 636) writes: "The buried cities must have stood in the place now occupied by the southern portion of the Dead Sea; the bottom there is remarkably shallow. Only the larger northern basin, which is much deeper, had existed previous to the last great revolution in the soil. . . . The peninsula looks exactly like a piece of land preserved during the catastrophe" (comp. also § 61.) At the south-western border of the Dead Sea Mount *Khashm-Usdum* (*i.e.* Nose-bridge of Sodom) arises to a height of from 100 to 150 feet, and extends two-and-half hours in length. The main body of the mountain is a solid mass of rock salt (*Robinson* ii. 108.) The *Salt valley* of 2 Sam. viii. 13 must have been the Ghor south of the Dead Sea, which bordered on this salt mountain. This salt valley is bounded on the south by a fringe of steep calcareous rocks, which rise to a height of upwards of 100 feet, and are called in the Bible עֲקָרָבִים (*i.e.* scorpions, Num. xxxiv. 4.)

"The SALT in the Dead Sea," says *Ritter* (l. c. p. 765), "and in the layers of rock salt in its neighbourhood, is one of those remarkable phenomena which probably could only be accounted for if the various geognostic circumstances of the entire crust of the earth were known and taken into account. . . . According to the most recent observations *three great salt zones* extend through the north of Africa, running in parallel lines through

almost the whole of its extent from west to east. The most northern, or Algerian, extends to the southern point of Sicily; the second runs from the date-zone, Datt or Daumas (which contains a good deal of rock salt), to Tripolis; the third commences on the islands of Cape Verd. The salt basin at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and the rock salt formations of Usdum, form the extreme links of this chain as drawn toward the north-east. From this it would follow that the rock salt formation at the southern end of the Dead Sea was in its origin not connected with the plutonic period in which the Ghor sunk. That connection, although pre-arranged, was only accidental (secondary), due to local contact, and the circumstance that the Dead Sea is at present saturated with salt was, therefore, not due to its original state. The garden of the Pentapolis till you come to Zoar (Gen. xiii. 10, or the valley of *Siddim* Gen. xiv. 3), compared to the garden of Egypt (watered by the Nile) was, therefore, at that period not watered by a salt lake, which would have destroyed all vegetation, but fertilised by sweet waters that caused the neighbourhood to be clothed with richest verdure."

(7.) Formerly it was usually assumed that the *Dead Sea* had only existed since the destruction of Sodom, and that previous to that event the waters of the Jordan had flowed through the Arabah into the gulf of 'Akabah. *Robinson* was the first to shew the improbability of the former (ii. 188), and the impossibility of the latter supposition. His investigations have shewn that in the middle of the Arabah, a few miles from the gulf of 'Akabah, a water shed intervenes between it and the Dead Sea. The discovery of the great inequality existing between the level of these two seas has given undoubted certainty to the views of *Robinson*. But it is another question whether or not the great valley which extends from Lebanon to Elah may not in pre-historic times have formed the bed along which the waters of Lebanon flowed into the southern ocean. *Ritter* decides in favour of the probability of this view (xv. 773.) Founding on a statement of *Leopold v. Buch*, who would apply here also his "elevation theory," he suggests that "the porphyry elevations with the layers of sandstone on their back which are found in the middle of the whole eastern portion of the Wady Arabah" may have been accompanied by an elevation of the water shed, forming, as it were, a cross bolt in the long valley, and that the catastrophe in the valley of *Siddim* may also have stood in some connection with it. According to this view the gulf of Elah would originally have extended to *Jebel el Sheich* (Hermon.) But "such an elevation of the soil, which it is well known may, during centuries, be gradually produced on the crust of the earth, while the men who inhabit the soil may not be aware of

it, might long before the memory of man have impeded the original course of Jordan and converted it into a sweet lake" (which had by gradual evaporation sunk to so deep a level), "until the catastrophe (at Sodom) put a termination to the whole process by a sudden and terrible explosion, which caused the saltness of the waters (by pouring into them the contents of a layer of rock salt which was then brought into contact with it) and the consequent devastation of the neighbourhood." But although so great an authority is in favour of it we confess our inability to believe in the possibility of the *imperceptible* elevation of a whole track of country by plutonic agency. The arguments of *A. Wagner* (original Hist. of the World, Leipzig 1845) have completely convinced us of the futility of the whole hypothesis; and we therefore regard the elevation in the Arabah which now serves as water shed, as having been formed at the same time with the Ghor. If this view is correct the idea of a connection between the waters of Lebanon and of the Red Sea of course falls to the ground.

THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS OF PALESTINE.

§ 40. The soil of the country west of Jordan is rich, and capable of producing a variety of crops, to an extent unequalled within the same narrow limits in any other district. The highlands west of Jordan, which commonly rise from the valley of the Jordan to a height of from 2000 to 3000 feet, and gradually slope down towards the shore of the Mediterranean, comprise the second and third portion of the mountain chain which commences with Lebanon. The second branch of this chain, forming the *highlands* of Galilee (1), is separated from Lebanon by the valley of the Leontes, and from the south-western termination of the Great Hermon by the valley Merj'-Ayûn (which is traversed by the western source of Jordan.) It extends southward about twelve German miles to the *plain of Jezreel* (2), through which the Kishon flows into the sea. The *southern highlands*, which run into the desert et-Tih in Arabia, rise from this plain, and form the third branch of the chain of mountains to which we have referred. The northern portion of it is called *Mount Ephraim* (3), the southern the *mountains of Judah* (4.) The highlands of Galilee consist of wide and undulating plains,

and of swelling hills, with circular deep valleys, of volcanic origin. The southern highlands have not so many of these plains, and are frequently rent by steep and jutting mountains, by deep chasms, hollows, and cauldrons; but the mountains of Judah have a greater number of large plains, and of deep and broad valleys, capable of cultivation, than the mountains of Ephraim. A straight line drawn through the highlands of Galilee, over Sychem and Jerusalem, and to the wilderness of Arabia, would almost indicate the water-shed of the whole highlands west of Jordan.

(1.) The following are the most marked portions of the HIGHLANDS OF GALILEE. From the upper valley of the Jordan (north of Lake Gennesareth) rise abruptly the *Mountains of Naphtali* (Joshua xx. 7), called at present *Jebel-Safed*, to a height of 2500 feet, and form a sweeping and undulating high plain, in the form of a triangle, running to a point toward the south (near the town of Safed.) The north-western side of this triangle rises from the valley of the Leontes, the south-eastern side being formed by a long branch running down from the white Promontory (promontorium album, Râs-el-Abyad.) Passing southwards through a wild mountainous country, we reach the *plain of Zebulun* (el Bettauf), fringed by steep, white, calcareous mountains, which extend from east to west to a breadth of from two to three, and a length of from three to four German miles. The soil is very fertile, but at present completely uncultivated. At the eastern extremity of this plain, rises what is known as the *Mount of Beatitudes*, Kûrûn el Hattin, *i.e.*, the horn of Hattin. The waters of this plain fall into the Kishon. Still farther south-east, we come upon the deep and circular plain *Ard el Hamma*, shut in by the terminations of Tabor and the mountains along the border of the Sea of Galilee. The waters of this plain run into the Jordan. Thence the mountains slope gradually towards the west into the plain of Acco, and more abruptly towards the south-west to the plain of Jezreel. Towards the south-east rises the beautiful Mount Tabor (*i.e.*, mountain-top, at present, *Jebel el-Tur*), a calcareous and isolated cone, 1748 feet high. On the top of Tabor, an oval and level plain stretches for about a quarter of an hour in extent. Toward the south the mountain extends far into the *plain of Jezreel*.

(2.) The southern slope of the highlands of Galilee, and the northern elevation of Mount Ephraim, are intersected by three plains, which are connected among themselves, and run across the highlands west of Jordan, from the sea-shore to the banks

of the Jordan. These are—the plain of Acco by the sea, the plain of Jezreel, and that of Bethshean, which stretches towards Jordan. The PLAIN OF JEZREEL, or of Esdraelon (Joshua xvii. 16, at present, Merj' Ibn Amir) is exceedingly fruitful. It is the most extensive valley of Palestine. Its connection with the two others makes it the most open plain in the country. Hence it always formed the central point of military evolutions. According to the barometrical measurements of *Schubert*, it rises 439 feet above the level of the sea. It is four German miles long, and from two to three German miles broad, and runs to a point towards the south-east. A narrow rocky valley to the north-east, which runs between the base of Carmel and the projecting ledges of the mountains of Zebulun, connects it with the plain of Acco. The *Kishon* (Nahr el-Mukatta), which rises at the foot of Tabor, flows through the whole extent of these two plains into the sea. At the north-eastern termination of the plain of Jezreel rise Mount Tabor in majestic beauty, and south of it, running from east to west for about two German miles, the chain of hills called *Little Hermon* (Jebel el-Dahy); still farther south, and stretching to the north-west, *Mount Gilboa* (Jebel Fekûah.) A rocky elevation forms the watershed, and connects the western terminations of these two mountains, embracing at the same time the plain of Bethshean, which extends to the banks of Jordan.

(3.) From the plain of Acco, the north-eastern side of *Mount Carmel* (Jebel Mâr Elyâs) rises abruptly to a height of 1500 feet, forming a fruitful field, the hills of which are watered by many rills, and covered successively by meadows, with their rich bloom, by pleasant valleys, by fruitful vineyards, olive groves, and corn fields. It runs for three German miles (from south-east to north-west) to the Mediterranean. There it terminates in a promontory—bearing the same name (1200 feet high)—in which nature has formed thousands of caverns, which have served for the dwelling, first of Troglodites, and then of monks. The south-western side of the mountain slopes into the plain of Sharon. As Carmel to the north-west, so Mount Gilboa to the north-east, forms a kind of advanced post of MOUNT EPHRAIM. The latter rises abruptly from the plain of Jezreel, and attains its highest elevation in the neighbourhood of Sychem. There the *valley el-Mekhna* (probably the same as מִיְהִנָּה, the place of encampment of the patriarchs), which runs from north to south, and is four hours long, and one hour broad, forms a watershed. From this valley numerous wadys run in all directions, and often deeply intersect the mountains. Towards the north, and in a somewhat westerly direction, this valley is connected with that of *Sychem*. Mount Gerizim rises at the southern side of the

valley of Sychem to a height of 2400 feet. Opposite, and at the northern side of the valley of Sychem, stands *Mount Ebal*.

(4.) Mount Ephraim imperceptibly merges towards the south into the HIGHLANDS OF JUDEA. The mountains of Judah (in the narrower sense of the term) form the central part of this district. The south country of Judea descends in a southerly direction towards the desert el-Tih; the wilderness of Judea extends eastward towards the Dead Sea. To the west, towards the sea, the mountains slope into the plain of Sefelah, while to the north they extend into the possessions of Dan and of Benjamin (Josh. xi. 16.) The latter is a mountainous district, on either side frequently intersected by deep chasms. The valleys along the *western* slope of this district are numerous, extensive, and much ramified. They all run into the large *Wady Serâr*, which debouches into the sea below Joppa. According to Robinson (vol. ii., p. 21), the *valley of Terebynth*s (1 Sam. xvii. 2, at present, Wady el-Sûmt), forms the extreme south-eastern arm of this wady. The *valley Menj' Ibn Omeir* runs from below Bethoron, forming a long arch from north-east to south-west, and merges into Wady Serâr, near the sea-shore. By the side of the long hill which encloses this beautiful and broad valley lies the village of Yâlo. We therefore conclude that the valley in question is the same as the well-known *valley of Ajalon* (Josh. x. 12; Robinson, vol. ii., p. 253.) The valleys which run toward the east join near Jericho in Wady Kelt, probably the same as the brook *Cherith* (1 Kings xvii. 3; Rob., vol. i., 558.) The MOUNTAIN OF JUDAH (Joshua xv. 48) reaches its highest elevation in the neighbourhood of *Hebron*. The city of that name lies in a valley, connected with the great Wady el-Khalil. It is surrounded on all sides by hills, and lies 2700 feet above the level of the sea. The mountain ridge is about eight German miles long, and about two German miles broad. Compared with Mount Ephraim, which is so frequently intersected, it may almost be described as level. *Wady el-Khalil* commences north of *Hebron*, and along its whole extent divides the mountain ridge in a southern direction, then turns westwards to the sea, and bears the name of the valley of Beersheba, Wady es-Seba. The *wilderness of Judea* (Joshua xv. 61) is formed by the eastern descent of the mountains, where, between high rocky tracts, many a place of pasturage is found. Then it descends precipitately, being intersected by many chasms, which reach to the very base of the mountain, and terminates at the Dead Sea. From *Wady Fikreh*, through which the waters of the Arabian wilderness that flow eastward are carried to the Dead Sea, to that dreary and desolate rocky chasm through which the *brook Kidron* flows from Jerusalem to the sea, from fifteen to eighteen

of these chasms and passes have been traced. The largest of these is the pass of *Hazezon-Tamar* or *Engedi* (Ain Jidi), 2 Chron. xx. 2, which stretches to about the middle of the Dead Sea. Towards the south, the mountains of Judea form a high wall, through which only one door opens (the Wady el-Khalil); to the west also, and toward the southern sea-shore, they form a high wall, through which only few and narrow wadys open. The southern declension of the mountain chains towards the wilderness of el-Tih, which is also called *the mountain of the Ammorites* (Deut. i. 7, 19, 20, 44), bore the designation of the south country of Judea (Joshua xv. 21.) The country is terraced, and extends from six to eight German miles in breadth, rising gradually from the wilderness, and in its ascent occasionally forming broad meadows. It surrounds the mountains in the shape of an arch. The ascent opens by the *pass of Zephath* (Judges i. 17, at present, Nakb es-Sefah.)

THE SEA-SHORE.

§ 41. South of Tyre, by the sea-shore, rises the promontorium album (Râs el-Abyad), and still farther south, along with the Râs en-Nâkûrah, the rocky shore of Tyrian ladder. Thence the coast becomes more flat, and round the arched bay of Accho forms the beautiful and broad *plain of Accho*, where the Belus falls into the sea. South of this plain, where *Kishon* falls into the sea, rises Carmel, the high and steep promontory of which reaches so close to the water that only a narrow road along the coast is left. South of Carmel, a plain commences, which is generally very fruitful, and extends for thirty German miles to Wady el-'Arish, the boundary line between Palestine and Egypt. This plain becomes broader as it runs southwards, so that near Joppa it is four, and near Gaza six miles broad. A projecting hill, near Joppa, bounds its northern portion, which is formed by the *plain Sharon* (1), about ten German miles long. From below Joppa to Gaza extends the plain of Sefelah (2), about eleven German miles long. South of Gaza the fertility of the coast decreases, and long before the traveller reaches the 'Arish, he passes through a complete wilderness.

(1.) During spring the *plain* of SHARON is fragrant with flowers. Its splendour and fertility were proverbial (Is. xxxv.

2; Song. ii. 1.) Only small brooks, commonly winter torrents, flow through it into the sea. The principal of these are the Nahr Zerka (called by Pliny the river of crocodiles), south of it the Nahr Arsûf, and still farther south the Nahr Audjeh. The Nahr el-Kassab, probably the river Kanah of Joshua xvi. 8, is a tributary of the Arsûf.

(2.) The *plain* of SEFELAH is broad and fruitful. Rocks project towards the sea. The waters of Wady Serâr flow through Nahr Rubin, below Joppa, into the sea. Farther south, near Askelon, Wady Simsim debouches.

THE HIGHLANDS EAST OF JORDAN.

§ 42. The *country east of Jordan*, called in the Bible the *land of Gilead*, or the *country on the other side of Jordan* (1), is a mountainous district, extending from *great Hermon* (2) all along the valley of Jordan and the Dead Sea. Thence it continues by the name of *mountain of the Edomites* to the Gulf of 'Akabah. Toward the west it rises abruptly from the Ghor, to a height of from 2000 to 3000 feet. On the top of this elevation, a vast sweeping and almost uniform *level plain* (3) extends, gradually sloping eastwards into the desert steppes of the Euphrates. Extensive oak forests alternate there with pasturage. The waters of the highlands east of Jordan flow into the Jordan and into the Dead Sea, generally through deep valleys, which are shut in by almost perpendicular mountain sides.

(1.) Properly speaking the name GILEAD applied only to the mountain of that name. By and bye it was also used to designate all the country east of Jordan. The expression "on the other side Jordan," as designating the east country, arose from the circumstance that the west country was regarded as the central part of the land. Hence this expression was also employed even where the party who spoke resided in the east country (comp. *Hengstenberg* Contrib. iii. 313.) *Wette* (The post-Mosaic elements of the Pentateuch, p. 176) accounts for the use of the expression in the above circumstances by the fact that the term עֵבֶר may apply equally to "this" and to "the other side" Jordan. *Hengstenberg* has refuted the objections which that author has urged against the view which we have above mentioned (*Balaam* p. 27). (Comp. also *Keil*, Commentary on Kings, p. 56.) But sometimes, for the sake of greater distinctness,

the term **מְזֻרָה שָׁמַשׁ**, or others of similar import, are employed (for ex. Deut. iv. 41; Josh. i. 15; 1 Chron. vi. 63.) Occasionally the country west of Jordan is designated in the Pentateuch and in the book of Joshua—but only in these writings—by **עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן**. This is accounted for on the ground that at that time the *east* country was properly the home of the Israelites. If the east country is in Deuteronomy designated as on “the other side,” this arises from the circumstance that the writer passed from the subjective and temporary point of view which he then occupied, and took the objective and permanent stand-point of the future. Comp. *Hengstenberg* ll. cc.

(2.) *Great HERMON*, Psa. xlii. 7 (according to Arab etymology = mountain top) was according to Deut. iii. 9 called by the Sidonians **שְׁרִיין**, and by the Amorites **שְׁנִיר** (= cuirass.) At present it bears the name *Jebel es-Sheikh*, or that of *el-Tseldsh* (snow-mountain.) This enormous mountain ridge, the snow-covered top of which is more than 10,000 feet high, forms the northernmost boundary of the country east of Jordan. Its southernmost branch is *Jebel Heish*, which runs to the northern shore of the sea of Galilee (perhaps the same as the *Sijon* of Deut. iv. 48.)

(3.) The *eastern high plain* rises only on two points to the height of mountains, viz., in the north-east as *Mount Hauran*, and in the south-west as *Mount Gilead*. The northern portion of these highlands is intersected by the *Yarmūk* or *Sheriat el-Mandahūr* (called by Josephus the *Hieromax*), which carries the waters of *Mount Hauran* through narrow and deep defiles into the *Jordan*, an hour-and-a-half below *Lake Gennesareth*. Six German miles further south, the foaming waters of *Jabbok* or *Zerka* gush through a narrow defile, 500 feet deep, right in the middle of *Mount Gilead*, towards *Jordan*. *Nahr Ammon*, a tributary of *Jabbok*, separated the land of promise from the territory of the *Ammonites*. The *brook Heshbon*, *Wady Hesban*, bursts through a narrow and rocky pass and debouches into the plain of *Moab*. The *brook Meon*, *Wady Zerka Main*, flows into the *Dead Sea*; so does *Arnon*, whose deep and almost perpendicularly cut bed formed the boundary between the land of *Israel* and that of *Moab*. The country which stretched north and south of *Mount Gilead*, and comprised the *plain of Hauran* and *Mount Hauran* is called in the Bible *Bashan*. This *plain* has many fertile meadows and corn fields; the *mountains* are covered with rich forests. *Mount Gilead*, the highest top of which is called *Mount el-Osha* (*Hosea*), has most extensive forests of oaks, and great abundance of olive and other fruit trees. The high plain which stretches south of this mountain to the river *Arnon* is called in the Bible *Hamishor* (Deut. iii. 10), i.e. the plain (at present designated *el-Belka*, a district which includes the moun-

tain to the brook Jabbok), and offers the richest and the most extensive pasturage.

ADAPTATION OF THE HOLY LAND FOR ITS PECULIAR PURPOSES.

(Comp. *K. v. Raumer*, Pal. p. 88 and following; *Bertheau*, Contrib. to the Hist. of the Isr. p. 119 and following; *Ewald*, Hist. i. p. 258 and following; ; *J. P. Lange*, Life of Jesus ii. p. 24 and following.)

§ 43. In itself and in its relation to other countries, the country which the Lord had chosen as a nursery for his kingdom was, from *its soil and position*, better adapted for this purpose than any other on the face of the globe. The covenant-people was in the organism of mankind to be the heart of the nations. There fresh and healthy blood was to be prepared, and thence it was vigorously to circulate through all mankind, everywhere carrying with it renewed youth and fresh life. Separated and shut out from other nations, Israel was under the quickening influence of the Divine counsel to become the soil where the germ of future salvation was to be deposited, nourished, and matured, that when ripened the fruit might be offered to all nations of the earth. But the relations between a nation and its country are similar to those between body and soul in the individual. Hence the land of Israel must have been suitable for the purposes which that nation was to serve. If Israel was to unite in itself the two requisites of greatest seclusion from all other nations and yet of occupying the most central position among them, the country in which these purposes were to be realised must have corresponded to them. And in point of fact Palestine united in itself, in an unparalleled and wonderful manner, the apparently opposed characteristics of being secluded from, and yet central to, all other countries. In truth, whether viewed *geographically*, *politically*, or *commercially*, Palestine is the "umbilicus terrarum" of the ancient world. Lying right in the middle of the three then known parts of the world (1), it may in some respects be regarded as belonging to all the three. From this central position Palestine became also the central point of all *political movements and of the commerce of the world* (2.) On the other

hand it will readily be perceived that the Holy Land was also almost as secluded as an island. South and east inhospitable deserts, to the west the sea, shut it off from other lands, while Lebanon on the north bounds it by an almost insurmountable wall, stretching from the sea to the eastern desert. This characteristic of seclusion appears even more distinctly and prominently when we bear in mind that (as is abundantly evident) the highlands west of Jordan were the central portion of the country, assigned to the covenant-people, where it was intended that all the principal events in its history should, and where they actually did, take place. The district in question rises like a mighty, lofty, and impregnable rocky fortress, from the wilderness of the south, from the sea shore in the west, and from the deep valley in the east. These high mountains, with their steep rocky sides, their chasms, caverns, and defiles; these high plains, with their numberless hills, and deep valleys, could not but impede equally the destructive progress of conquering armies and the corrupting influence of foreign *spiritual* elements. On the other hand—despite the numerous population which inhabited these valleys, and the continual intercourse and interchange all around—the peculiarities of the country would also offer special advantages for the quiet, undisturbed, organic development of all the powers and faculties inherent in, or bestowed upon, the peculiar and independent culture of its inhabitants, both in its social, moral, and religious aspects. Like the people, the land of Israel may be compared to a vineyard well fenced in, watched over, and planted (Isa. v. 1), where everything had been done that could be done.

(1.) To this *central situation* of the land of promise, Ezekiel v. 5 (compare Lament. ii. 15) also refers. In our opinion this interpretation of the passage is not, according to *Calvin* and *Hävernick* ad. h. l., a childish Rabbinical fancy unworthy of the prophet. We hold that the ethical meaning of the verse, which Hävernick advocates, does not exclude, but includes, its physical application. Comp. also the appropriate remarks of Theodoret on the passage in question.

(2.) All the *routes*—both by water and by land—which connected the three parts of the ancient world, passed through Palestine. The commerce between Asia on the one, and Europe and Africa on the other hand, had its centre in the great mer-

cantile cities of Phenicia and Philistia. Toward the south the Araba led to the Gulf of Elath, and the Sefelah to that of Heroopolis, while toward the east the ordinary caravan road led to the neighbouring Euphrates, to the Persian Gulf, and thence to the important countries of southern Asia. Even the highways which connected Asia and Africa touched Palestine. A much frequented commercial route led from Egypt to Gaza, and from Damascus over the plain of Jezreel to the Phenician coast.

§ 44. While thus the Holy Land was negatively and positively adapted for the destiny of its inhabitants, in a manner almost unique, it also presented peculiar advantages to the development of the covenant people. It was intended that, by the immediate guidance of Jehovah himself, by Divine blessing or punishment, by mercies or chastisements, the people should be trained for what they had been designed. But there is not another country on the face of the globe where blessing or curse might so readily be realised, as a space so narrow does not, in any other part, present so numerous sources either of the one or of the other. In no other country do fertility and barrenness pass into each other by so rapid transitions—nowhere else do flourishing fields, laden with blessing, so readily change into the wilderness on which the curse rests. Thus the almost Paradiſical valley of Siddim becomes, in one night, a pool of destruction, whence everything that has life flees, thus showing the solemnity of Divine judgments to all succeeding generations; and over against it, to the north, lies its counterpart—a lake whose shores present in combination all the various attractions of nature, and which thus continuously exhibits the mercy and goodness of God. The peculiarities of climate and of soil in Palestine presented, besides the richest promise of blessing, also many means of punishment and of chastisement, through barrenness and failure of crops, consuming winds from the wilderness, and earthquakes, swarms of locusts, and destructive diseases, such as pestilence, leprosy, &c. On the other hand, the exceedingly favourable circumstances of the country, and its political position, offered indeed numerous advantages to its inhabitants, but also continual temptations to neighbouring nations, and to the great powers to subdue the land, and to crush its inhabitants: and however strong and secure its situation had rendered it,

swarms of hostile nations, who poured over it, and the armies of the great powers could—when they were sent to execute the *Divine* judgments—find their way into the heart of the land, over seas and through deserts, over mountains and through defiles.

(1.) On the former FERTILITY of the promised land, comp. *S. Deyling*, *Observ. ss.*, ii., *diss. ix.*, and *Raumer*, *Palest.*, § 88, &c. Holy writ offers almost innumerable evidences of this extraordinary fertility. In contrast with the difficulty which attended the cultivation of land in Egypt, the spontaneous fertility of the land of promise (*Deut. xi. 10—12*) is extolled. With this agree the testimonies of Tacitus (*Hist. v. 6*), of Justin (*xxxvi. 2*), and Ammianus Marcellinus (*xiv. 8*.) The *data* of Josephus as to the fertility of the land, the almost unexampled number of its population, and its numerous cities and villages, must at least be regarded as a generally correct historical statement (comp. *Raumer's Palest.*, *App. ii.*, p. 427, &c.) The best evidence of the ready adaptation of the land either for blessing or for curse, is afforded by comparing its present with its former state. Even the Rabbins of old had clearly perceived this adaptation of the land to the blessing or the curse of God. We read in *Jalkut Rubeni*, fol. 72:—*Terra sancta non dependet a natura, neque manu armata capi potest, sed dependet vel a meritis vel poenis, quae per potentiam Dei supremi benedicti immittuntur.* On the climate, meteorology, as also on the cultivation and products of the country, comp. v. *Lengerke*, *Kanaan*, i., pp. 49—177; *Arnold*, *Palest.*, pp. 57—79; but especially *Schubert's Journey*, iii., p. 112, and following; also *Russegger's Journey*.

THE INHABITANTS OF THE LAND OF PROMISE BEFORE ITS
POSSESSION BY THE COVENANT PEOPLE.

(Comp. *Bochart*, *Phaleg et Canaan*; *J. D. Michaelis*, *Spicil. Geogr. Ext.*; *Rosenmüller*, *Antiquities*; *Raumer*, *Palest.*, p. 312, and following; *Bertheau*, *Contrib. to the Hist.*, p. 137, and following; *Ewald*, *Hist. i.*, p. 272, and following; *Lengerke*, *Kanaan*, i., p. 178, and following; *Gesenius*, *Thes. s. sing. vv.*; *Knobel*, the *Table of Nations in Genesis*, *Giess. 1856*; *G. Baur*, the *Prophet Amos*, pp. 76—96; *K. Ritter*, *Geogr.*, vol. xv., sect. 1, pp. 91—118; vol. xv., sect. 2, pp. 91—151; vol. xvi., sect. 1, 168—192; *Hitzig*, the *Original History and the Mythology of the Philistines*, *Leipz. 1845*; *Hengstenberg*, *de reb.*

Tyriorum, Berol, 1832; *Mover's* Contrib. to most Ancient Hist. (in the Magaz. for Philos. and Roman Cath. Theol., New Series, v. 2), and *Mover's* Phenicians, vol. ii., sect. 1; the Author's Treatise on the Original Inhabitants of Palestine (in the Lutheran Journal for 1845, part 3); *K. Keil*, Comment. on Josh., pp. 40, &c., 217, &c., 230, &c., 242, &c.)

§ 45. Considering the character and position of the country, we can scarcely wonder that this narrow space of about 11,000 square English miles,¹ should have been the scene of migrations and tumults of nations, such as had not taken place in any other country. The most diverse nations, the descendants of Shem, of Ham, and of Japheth—nomadic wanderers, agriculturists, and inhabitants of towns—commercial nations and conquering powers, have by turns contended for the possession of this land; nor is there any nation of importance in history which had not, at an earlier or later period, with more or less success, attempted to hold it. With reference to the nations who had possessed the land before the Israelites, we gather that its first inhabitants, after the scattering of the nations, were in all probability *descendants of Shem*, and probably of the tribe of Lud (Gen. x. 22.) Below or beside them, the *Canaanites*, a powerful tribe of the race of Ham, settled, having come from the east. At first they occupied a position subordinate to that of the former inhabitants of the land, and adopted the Semitic language; but repeated migrations into Palestine gradually gave them a decided preponderance (1). At a later period, the *Philistines*, who were, through Mizraim, likewise descended from Ham, came over the sea, and drove the Canaanites, in the first place, from the southern sea-coast (2). Then followed a still more powerful inroad on the part of the races of *Terah* (which are traced to Terah, the father of Abraham.) Branches of these races, such as the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, &c., had, from the first, settled along the eastern and southern borders of the land, and either destroyed, subjected, or absorbed the Canaanitic tribes which inhabited these districts. But the main body of this race, the Israelites, had to pass through a peculiar training, and to submit to protracted domination on the

¹ According to Kitto.

part of strangers, before, under Divine guidance, they were to take possession of the land destined for their inheritance. It is the object of this treatise to describe the development of the races of Terah in general, and of the Israelites in particular, and their collisions with the original inhabitants, and afterwards with the conquering powers of the ancient world.

(1.) Gen. x. 15—19 details the ORIGIN OF THE CANAANITISH RACES. Of the eleven tribes mentioned in that passage, we only meet again with five on the territory which was afterwards assigned to the Israelites. The name of the other six may with certainty be traced in some of the cities north and north-east of Sidon. But besides these, a number of nations are mentioned as inhabiting Palestine, but whose names do not occur among the Canaanitish races in the table of nations, and of whose migration into the country no trace is discoverable. Hence recent writers (*Bertheau, Ewald, Lengerke, Baur, Knobel, Ritter, Delitzsch*) have regarded them as aborigines (of *Shemitic* descent), who had possessed the land before the Canaanites migrated into it. But *Hengstenberg, Movers, Keil*, and the author of this, in the treatise to which we have above referred, suppose them to have been of Canaanitish descent. Before entering on this question, we shall, in the meantime, collate what is known about the names and the settlement of these nations. We commence with the names given in the table of nations. (1.) The *Hittites* inhabited Mount Ephraim and the mountains of Judea, as far as Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 7; Num. xiii. 29.) They appear to have been one of the most important of the Canaanitish tribes; and the word "Hittite" is in Joshua i. 4, 1 Kings x. 29, 2 Kings vii. 6, employed to designate the Canaanites generally. (2.) Below them, in Jerusalem (Jebus) and its neighbourhood (Num. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3; xv. 8, 63; xviii. 28; Judges xix. 11) dwelt the *Jebusites*, apparently a much less important branch of the race. (3.) The most powerful and warlike among the Canaanites were the *Amorites* (from אַמֹּרִי, Is. xvii. 9, *i.e.*, that which is prominent, specially, the top; hence the name is generally interpreted as "inhabitants of heights," but may more properly be rendered as "the prominent or high nation." Comp. our treatise on the original inhabitants.) At the time of Abraham the Amorites inhabited the neighbourhood of Hebron and of Hazeron-Thamar (Gen. xiv. 7, 13), the mountain of Judah and its southern declivity (Num. xiii. 29; Deut. i. 7, 19, 20; Josh. xi. 3), which hence also bore the name of "mount of the Amorites" (Deut. i. 7, &c.) They were also found further north, as far as Sychem (Gen. xlvi. 22). if indeed the word Amorite in that passage

was not meant in a more general sense, comp. Gen. xxxiv. 2. At a later period the Ammorites spread across the Jordan, and took from the Ammonites and Moabites all the country (between the Jabbok and the Arnon) which the latter had formerly taken from the Rephaim (Num. xxi. 13—26; Judges xi. 13, &c.) The name is also frequently used to designate the Canaanitish tribes generally (Gen. xv. 16; Josh. xxiv. 18; Judges vi. 10.) (4.) Scripture does not furnish many particulars about the Girgashites. From Joshua xxiv. 11, we gather that they lived in the country west of Jordan. (5.) The *Hivites* inhabited the district of Gibeon (Josh. xi. 19), that of Sychem (Gen. xxxiv. 2), and also the neighbourhood of Hermon (Josh. xi. 3; Judges iii. 3). (6.) We read also repeatedly of the *Canaanites* in the narrower sense of the term (Gen. xv. 21; Exod. xxiii. 23; Deut. vii. 1, &c.), who, according to Num. xiii. 29, Deut. xi. 30, Josh. v. 1, seem to have chiefly inhabited the sea-coast, and also the valley of the Jordan. In Joshua xi. 3, they are expressly designated as the “Canaanites on the east and on the west.” The reason why the general name of Canaanites is specially applied to this tribe must probably be sought in the circumstance that their places of settlement corresponded with this designation. In all probability they were a commercial people, and hence the name Canaanite is often used simply for “merchant.” (7.) Lastly, we read in Gen. xv. 20, and afterwards, whenever the seven Canaanitish nations which were to be exterminated are enumerated, of the *Perizzites*, as in Exod. iii. 8, xxiii. 23; Deut. vii. 1, &c. Their name indicates that they inhabited the flat country (comp. *Hengstenberg*, *Contrib.* iii. p. 186.) The name does not occur in the table of nations among the sons of Canaan. *Bertheau* ascribes this to some oversight, and argues that the eleven, there enumerated as Canaanitish nations, point to the fact that originally twelve had been recounted. But we rather account for it on the ground, that at that, and even at a later period, the name was chiefly used in the sense of an appellative. Probably they inhabited the high plains of the west country (Gen. xiii. 7; Josh. xi. 3.) Sometimes the two names “Canaanites and Perizzites” are combined (Gen. xiii. 7, and xxxiv. 30), to indicate all the inhabitants of Palestine, so that by the former we are to understand the commercial inhabitants of the sea-coast, and by the latter the agricultural and pastoral tribes of the highlands.

The following races which are commonly regarded as among the original inhabitants of Palestine do not occur in the table of nations. (1.) The *Rephaim*, LXX. γίγαντες *i.e.* the tall, comp.

جفجف = altus, eminentis fuit, the common name of certain races distinguished by their gigantic stature (*Ewald* i. p. 275.) Another

common name of these tribes of giants was that of *Enakim* or sons of Enak (*i.e.* long-necked, gigantic), with this difference, however, that the giants on the east of Jordan are specially designated as *Rephaim* (Deut. ii. 11; iii. 11, &c.), and those west of the Jordan as *Enakim* (Deut. ix. 2; Num. xiii. 22, &c.) But the expression *Rephaim* is also employed for the giants on this side Jordan, in Joshua xvii. 15; and 2 Sam. xxi. 15—22. To the *Enakim* of the country west of Jordan belong also the *Avim*, Joshua xi. 21, &c., comp. with Joshua xiii. 3, and 2 Sam. xxi. 15—22. This tribe inhabited the southern sea coast. The *Enakim* of the highlands (in Mount Judah, and especially in the neighbourhood of Hebron) existed till the time of Joshua (Deut. ix. 2; Num. xiii. 28), by whom they were exterminated, Joshua xi. 21, &c. The *Avim* at the sea coast had at a former period been expelled by the Philistines, but remnants of them still continued in the towns of Philistia, Deut. ii. 23; Joshua xi. 21, 22, xiii. 3. The following are the giant tribes who inhabited the country east of Jordan. (*a.*) The *Emim*, *i.e.* the terrible, who, according to Gen. xiv. 5, dwelt in *Shaveh* (or the plain) *Kiriathaim*, between the Arnon and the Sared. Thence they were either expelled or exterminated by the Moabites, Numb. xxi. 12, &c. (*b.*) The *Susim*, *i.e.* the prominent. They are mentioned in Gen. xiv. 5 in connection with the predatory excursion of Chedorlaomer. As the account given in that passage is manifestly most accurate in its description of localities, we gather from the position assigned to them that they inhabited the district between the Jabbok and the Arnon. They are, therefore, the same as the race of giants whom the Ammonites that expelled them, called the *Zamzummim*, Deut. ii. 20; Judges xi. 13, &c.; Joshua xii. 2. (*c.*) The *Rephaim* in the narrower sense of the term who lived in the neighbourhood of *Ashtaroth-Karnaim*, in *Edrei*, Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. i. 4, and hence on the high plain of *Bashan*. The Israelites exterminated them and their king at the time of Moses. Among the original inhabitants of the land, who were not of Canaanitish descent, recent writers have also included, 2dly, the *Horites*, *i.e.* dwellers in caves. At the time of Abraham they lived in Mount Seir, which, at a later period, became the mount of the Edomites, Gen. xiv. 6, and where many large caverns and grottos are found (Joseph. de hillo jud. iv. 9, 4; Robinson ii. pp. 68, 154.) Even before the time of Moses they had either been exterminated by, or else amalgamated with, the Edomites, Deut. ii. 12, 22; Gen. xxxvi.—3dly, We read in Gen. xv. 19 of some other tribes which are also supposed to have been original inhabitants of the land, and to have descended from Shem. Among these we reckon the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites. At a later period a branch

of the Midianites, with whom Moses became related by marriage, bore the name of Kenites, *i.e.* those who carry lances. They separated from their own tribe, and dwelt peacefully among the Israelites (Judges i. 16, iv. 11 ; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29.) Another tribe of Kenites belonged, according to Num. xxiv. 21, &c., to the enemies of Israel. (On the probable connection between these two tribes, comp. below vol. 2.) No further particulars are given about the *Kenizzites*, *i.e.* the tribe of hunters, but the name occurs afterwards in one of the families of the tribe of Judah. Of the *Kadmonites* also nothing farther is said. These three tribes probably inhabited the south-eastern borders of Palestine, and so early as the time of Moses had either been extirpated or absorbed by the side branches of the races descended from Terah. *Ewald*, *Lengerke*, and *Knobel* (p. 200) rank the Amalekites among these old Arabic tribes. At so early a period as that of Gen. xiv. 7 they appear to have inhabited the great wilderness between Palestine and Mount et-Tih, in the Sinaitic peninsula, while in Num. xxiv. 20 they are mentioned as among the original inhabitants. The Arabs trace them to *Laud* (= Lud) as their ancestor. On the other hand *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii., p. 303, &c.) appealing to Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16, regards them as a branch of the Edomites. This view appears to us correct, chiefly because the name Amalekites does not occur in the table of nations. For we cannot believe that a nation so powerful, which had so frequently exercised an important influence on the history of Israel, and remained independent so late as the time of the Jewish kings, should not have been specially mentioned in that list if it had not been of Terahitic descent. In fact the Amalekites are not mentioned in any of the numerous passages in which the names of the original inhabitants of the country are detailed. In Gen. xiv. 7 we read—according to a very frequent prolepsis—of the *country* but not of the *people* of the Amalekites. In Numb. xxiv. 20 they are indeed designated as “the first of the nations,” but this does not imply that they were “original inhabitants,” but that they were the first among the heathen nations to oppose Israel (comp. *Hengstenberg’s Balaam*, p. 188, &c.) It does, however, seem strange, that if the Amalekites were (according to Gen. xxxvi. 12 and 16) descended from a son of Esau, they should, at the time of Moses, already have become so powerful a nation. But it may be supposed that the Edomitic Amalekites had increased in a manner similar to the main branch of the tribe of Edom, who, within so short a period, became of importance, by having subjected and absorbed other races (such as the Horites, &c.) Lastly, we read that in the southern part of the country, besides the Amalekites, the following races had lived (1 Samuel xxvii.

8), viz. :—the *Geshurites* (Joshua xiii. 2) ; the *Girzites* ; and, according to Judges x. 12, 1 Chron. iv. 41, 2 Chron. xxvi. 27, the *Maonites* on Mount Seir, where their name is still preserved in the town of Maon (Robinson, vol. i., 494, &c.) These three tribes cannot with certainty be farther traced back. Probably they were offshoots of Terahitic races, dating from a time posterior to that of Moses.

We now address ourselves to the enquiry, whether or not the races above mentioned (the Rephaim, Horites, &c.) were, as most recent investigators have maintained, ORIGINAL INHABITANTS, who preceded the Canaanites, but were not of the same descent. To this question, we had, in a former edition, given a negative reply ; but a renewed examination has convinced us that the preponderance of argument is in favour of the *opposite* view. True, we do not find that these tribes had inhabited the land before the entrance of the Canaanites, nor that they were expelled or even attacked by them ; while they appear to have been expelled or exterminated by those later arrivals, the Philistines and Terahites. Neither can it be denied that the Rephaim, the Enakim, Horites, &c., are frequently designated simply as Canaanites or Amorites. But all this is satisfactorily explained if we regard the entrance of the Canaanites into the country, not as a hostile irruption, but as a peaceful settlement among and by the side of the Shemitic original inhabitants. If the Canaanites, as seems probable on other grounds (comp. Knobel, l. c., p. 315), gradually migrated into the country, we can readily understand that they should have amalgamated with its former inhabitants, and become Shemitic both in manners and language. But by repeated migrations, to which Gen. x. 15—18 points, the Canaanitish element obtained so decided a preponderance over the original inhabitants, that the latter were partly absorbed by the former ; and the name of Canaanites or Amorites became the general designation for all the inhabitants of Palestine, without distinction of their descent. Although all the arguments urged in favour of this view are not satisfactory, this one seems to us decisive, that we can only account for the Shemitic language of the Phenicians and the Canaanites generally, if the above explanation is correct.

According to the statement of classical writers (Herod. i. 1, and vii. 89 ; Strabo, l. i., p. 42, and l. xvi., pp. 766, 784), the Phenicians had, by their own statements, and by those of the Persians, migrated into the country by way of the Erythrean (*i.e.*, in Herod. the southern sea), or more accurately, according to Strabo, by way of the Persian Gulf. Following *Bochart*, (l. c. iv., c. 34), *Perizonius* (Aeg. p. 348), and *Vitringa* (Obs. ss. i. 1, § 13) —*Hengstenberg* (de rebus Tyriorum, Berol., 1832, p. 93, &c.).

Movers (Phenicians, ii. 1, p. 23, &c.), and *K. Ritter* (l. c., p. 95, &c.) have controverted the accuracy of these data, on the ground that, according to Gen. x. 15—19, the Canaanites had from the first settled on the shores of Palestine, and that not a trace of any former inhabitants could be discovered in the Bible. But the latter statement is erroneous. But even if correct, it would not prove anything, as against the testimony of the classics, since Palestine might have been still uninhabited, even if the Canaanites had not at once, and immediately after the dispersion of the nations, migrated into it. The first assertion of these critics is not borne out by Gen. x. 15—19. On the contrary, there is nothing in that passage inconsistent with the view that, before taking possession of Palestine, the Canaanites had previously been settled in other places, as the table of nations is only meant to indicate the relations of nations as they existed at the time of Moses. We would even go farther, and assert that it contains hints which lead to the supposition that the Canaanites had not migrated into Palestine immediately after the dispersion of nations. It is reasonable to infer, that as the descendants of Ham migrated southwards, and Palestine lay outside the range of their settlements, the Canaanites had at first followed in the direction of the other descendants of Ham, until, at a later period, and for some special reason, they had left, and struck off in a different direction. The expression in Gen. x. 18, "afterward were spread abroad," may point to this later migration of the Canaanites, which was independent of the first and general dispersion of nations. Even the circumstance that Canaan is named last among the tribes of Ham, may indicate that, in point of fact, this race had been the latest offshoot from the main tribe, and the last to take an independent direction. For, as the table of nations records the *birth of nations*, not that of single individuals, its arrangement is not according to the age of ancestors, but according to the earlier or later origin or settlement of nations. But if the statement of the classics, so far from contradicting that of the Bible, tallies with it, it must also be considered as in *itself* deserving of historical credence, being an authentic testimony on the part of these nations themselves, and that more especially since the Biblical statement concerning the descent of the Phenicians from Ham, the correctness of which has frequently been controverted on philological grounds, agrees so remarkably with it. For the classics represent, as the mother-country of the Phenician settlers, that very spot from which, according to the Bible, all the movements of the races of Ham must have issued. Comp. also *Bertheau*, l. c., pp. 163—186, and *Knobel*, l. c., p. 314, &c.

If linguistic considerations render it necessary to suppose that

the oldest inhabitants of Palestine were of *Shemitic* descent, this view is confirmed by the relative positions of the races of Shem since the dispersion of the nations. In this respect both the arrangement of the table of nations in Gen. x., and still more decisively the Arabic accounts of the original position of nations, lend the greatest probability to the supposition that Palestine had been occupied by the Shemitic tribe of *Lud* (Gen. x. 22), a view which the careful investigations of *Knobel* (p. 198, &c.) has established. With *Bertheau*, we account for the circumstance that these, the original Shemitic inhabitants of Palestine, are, in the table of nations, not enumerated according to their individual tribes, on the ground that when the Israelites took possession of the land, they had already lost their independent existence, and been either absorbed or expelled by the Canaanitish, Philistine or Terachite settlers. For it must always be borne in mind that the table of nations is only meant to detail the ethnographical state of that time (comp. § 29, 5.)

2. Our investigations on the ORIGIN and the MIGRATIONS of the Philistines must be based on the following Biblical accounts:—In *Gen.* x. 14, the Casluhim and Caphtorim are mentioned as the two last branches of the Chametic tribe Mizraim (Egypt), and after the word Casluhim, we have it within parenthesis—“Of whom came the Philistim.” In *Jer.* xlvii. 4, the Philistines are called the remnant of the isle (the coast?) of Caphtor. In *Amos* ix. 7, Jehovah says, “Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?” In *Deut.* ii. 23, we are informed that the Caphtorim came forth out of Caphtor, and destroyed the Avim, even unto Gaza. In *Ezek.* xxv. 16, and *Zeph.* ii. 5 (comp. 1 Sam. xxx. 14, 16), we have, instead of the term Philistines in the parallel clause, that of Cherethim (LXX., κρητες and πάροιχοι κρητῶν). In 2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7, the body-guard of king David is called הַכְּרִיתִי וְהַפְּלִטִי, in 2 Sam. xx. 23, הַכְּרִי וְהַפְּלִטִי (but the Kri has it also הַכְּרִיתִי), and in 2 Kings xi. 4, 19, that of queen Athaliah הַכְּרִיתִי וְהַרְצִיתִי.

The question which we have now to answer is, WHAT COUNTRY WAS CAPHTOR? According to *J. D. Michaelis* (Spic. i. p. 292, &c.), it was the isle of *Cyprus*, which, according to *Swinton* (Inscript. Cit., Oxon, 1750, pp. 78, 85) was designated on a Phœnician coin as כְּבֶרֶךְ. But however the situation of this island would tally with Gen. x. 14, this hypothesis must be given up, as it has been shown that *Swinton* had not read the inscription correctly (Gesenius Monum. Phœn. ii., p. 320.) Latterly, *Redslob* (the Old Testament Names, Hamb., 1846, p. 15, &c.) has again asserted this theory, and attempted to show that כְּפָתָר

is either a modification of the word כַּפְר, or at any rate a combination of כַּפְר and כְּתֹר, which he thinks he is the rather warranted to infer, as the plant כַּפְר was in Greek designated by *κύπρος*. But irrespective of the unsatisfactory character of this argumentation, we shall immediately show that the country in question must have been Crete. *Bochart* (Phal. iv. p. 32) attempts to uphold the correctness of the ancient versions (LXX., Vulg., Syr., Chald.), according to which Caphtor is the same as *Cappadocia* (a view towards which *Gesenius* also inclines, Thes. p. 709; comp. also *Keil*, Comm. to the book of Kings, p. 15.) He asserts that as Cappadocia had formerly extended to the Pontus Euxinus, it may well have been designated as an יָם.

With this he thinks the passage in Gen. x. 14 agrees, inasmuch as Colehis (the same as Casluhim) was contiguous to Cappadocia. But however important the agreement of the various versions may be, it cannot counterbalance the data of the Old Testament itself, and of classical writers, all of whom show that Crete was the country meant. Besides, the explanation of the term יָם, by "sea-coast," is, to say the least, in the present instance, unsatisfactory, both on philological and other grounds (*Hitzig*, l. c. p. 15), while the remarkable agreement of the versions may be satisfactorily accounted for from the similarity of name between Caphtor and Cappadocia, which had probably misled them (according to Lassen, Ancient Persian Cuneiform Inscript., p. 88, the latter name was originally written Katpatuk.) Since the appearance of *Calmet's* Bibl. Observ. (iii. p. 25), and of *Lakemacher's* Observ. Philol. (ii. p. 11, &c.), the view that Caphtor was the same as Crete has been more and more generally received. The arguments in its favour have been most clearly set forth by *Bertheau* l. c. p. 186, &c., and by *Hitzig* l. c. p. 14, &c. The passages 1 Sam. xxx. 14, 16, &c., Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5, in which the Philistines are distinctly called Cretes, fully decide the question, as it is impossible with *Michaelis* to interpret that name as an appellative, equivalent to "Exsules." This view is also confirmed by the well-known names of the royal body-guard, which, after carefully weighing the arguments for and against it (which shall be detailed in the sequel), can only be regarded as the patronomics of Philistine tribes. The Greeks and Romans also bear testimony to the correctness of this opinion. In *Tacitus* Hist. v. 2 we read: "Judæos Creta insula profugos novissima Libyæ insedisse, qua tempestate Saturnus, vi Jovis pulsus, cesserit regnis: argumentum e nomine petitur: inclytum in Creta Idam mortem, adcolas Idæos; aucto in barbarum cognomento Judæos vocitari." The manifest mistake in this passage arises from confounding the Jews and Philistines, an error common

both among the Romans and Greeks, as even the name *Palæstina* = *Judæa* shows. But in that view the passage, which we have quoted, affords distinct testimony for the descent of the Philistines from Crete. Again if it were maintained that the above statement has no historical foundation, resting as it does on a mere etymological combination of the words *Judæi* and *Idæi*, it must of course fall to the ground. The former opinion is advocated by *Bertheau* and *Hitzig*, while the latter has been adopted by *Gesenius*. In defence of the identity of the Philistines and Cretes, it may be urged that the name *Idæi* is nowhere mentioned as that of a nation, and that making every allowance for the very defective knowledge of Jewish history on the part of classical writers, the mythic *Dactyles* (Cretan Demons to whom legend traced the art of working iron), and who bear the epithet of *Idæi*, do not in any way seem capable of being brought into connection with the Jews. The combination of *Idæi* and *Judæi* would scarcely have led to the assumption of a migration from Crete into Palestine. On the other hand it may readily have been taken as affording confirmation of the above historical tradition. We also read in *Steph. Byz.* s. v. *Γάζα* that that city was also called *Μινώα*,—which, however, does not afford a very secure basis for argumentation on account of chronological difficulties (according to *Hoch*, *Crete* i. p. 360, *Minos* only lived about 1300, while according to *Gen.* xx. 2, and ch. xxvi. *Philistine* kings reigned in Palestine even at the time of the Patriarchs.) The *Casluhim* have, since the time of *Bochart*, been generally identified with the *Colchi*. According to *Herod.* ii. 104 they stated that they were of Egyptian descent. But *Hitzig* controverts this view. According to him the similarity between the names is only accidental, and if *Caphtor* is Crete and not *Cappadocia*, the chief ground of the above view—the neighbourhood of *Colchis* to *Cappadocia*—would be taken away; while the statement of *Herod.* applied probably to a transportation of exiles from Egypt to *Colchis* at the time of the Assyrian conquests (comp. l. c. p. 87, &c.) But *Knobel* (p. 290, &c.,) rightly controverts this opinion. He finds that the most ancient settlements of the *Casluhim* were by the sea-coast, from the *Pelusian* mouth of the Nile to Palestine, which district *Ptolemy* calls *Cassiotis* (iv. 5, 12.) Their transportation to *Colchis* on the *Black Sea* may have taken place in consequence of the campaign of *Sesostris*, or perhaps at an earlier period, as according to an ancient legend, in *Diodorus* i. 28, *Egyptians* had migrated even before the time of *Sesostris*, and founded *Colchis*.

The name *Philistines* is commonly derived from the root פלש = *migravit*, which is still in use in *Ethiopic*. Accordingly it would mean *emigrants*—a rendering with which that of the

LXX., who translated Ἀλλόφυλοι, agrees. *Hitzig*, who, as we shall see, takes the Philistines to have been Pelasgi, traces the name to an Indo-Germanic root (p. 35, &c.), and supposes that it is derived from the Sanscrit word *valaksha* = *white* (from the colour of their skin), being the same as the root of the name Pelasgi. But this view falls together with the above-mentioned untenable hypothesis.

With reference to the DESCENT of the Philistines, we have first to consider the difference between Gen. x. 14, according to which they came from the Casluhim, and the other passages of the Old Testament, according to which they came from Caphtor or Crete. The easiest solution of this difficulty is to assume a corruption in the text (the words in parenthesis having originally stood after Caphtorim and not after Casluhim.) *Tuck*, *Bertheau*, and others decide in favour of this view. But this solution is not satisfactory, as the expression occurs again in the same manner in 1 Chron. i. 12. It will, therefore, be more advisable to attempt another solution without interfering with the text. *M. Baumgarten* (ad. h. l.) thinks that the Caphtorim were a sub-division of the Casluhim and had settled in Crete, while the main body of the tribe had migrated into Colchis. *Hitzig*, p. 90, &c., appeals to the expression of Tacitus "*novissima Libyæ*," and infers that the Casluhim had, in pre-historic times, migrated from Crete, and settled along the eastern borders of Egypt. Thence the colony of Philistines, mentioned in Gen. x., had migrated into the neighbourhood of Gerar, where alone, at the time of Abraham, Philistines seem to have been settled. Afterwards, in historical times, he supposes, the Caphtorim, another colony of Philistines, to whom Amos and the writer of Deut. allude, had migrated from Crete and settled along the coast of Palestine, to the north of Gaza. At any rate we have to distinguish two different bodies among the Philistines of Palestine: the פְּלִשְׁתִּים and the כְּרֶתִים (Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5) probably the same which in other places are respectively designated as the כְּרֶתִי and פְּלִשְׁתִּי (2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7.) This removes every difficulty. We have already seen that the Cherethim must be traced back to the Caphtorim (Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7), while from Gen. x. 14 we learn that the Philistines must be traced to the Casluhim. The Casluhim, who were the first to migrate into Palestine, obtained the name of *Philistines* (i.e. emigrants.) The Caphtorim or Cherethim, who were related to them, arrived at a later period, and were probably much fewer in numbers. Hence they were included under the general name of Philistines, while, when a more accurate determination was desired, they were distinguished as the Cherethim from the Philistine proper.

Ewald (i. p. 289), however, thinks that only one colony of Philistines had migrated into Palestine, and that its settlement had taken place during the first half of the period of the Judges. He accounts for the occurrence of the name of Philistines at the time of Abraham, Gen. xx. xxi. xxvi., and at that of Moses, Exod. xiii. 17, &c., by supposing it to be a prolepsis, and that the historian designated the tribe inhabiting the south-western portion of the country by a name of later origin, with which he was familiar. But even *Lengerke*, l. c. i. p. 196, &c., and *Hitzig*, l. c. p. 147, &c., have controverted this view. In Gen. xx. xxi. (vv. 32, 34), and in Exod. xiii. 17, xv. 14, the historian refers indeed only to the *country* of the Philistines, and these passages might tally with the hypothesis of *Ewald*. But in Gen. xxvi. 1, 8, Abimelech is distinctly called the king of the *Philistines*, and in verse 18 his subjects are designated as Philistines. It is manifestly impossible to assume a prolepsis in this case. Thus we may imagine that in a history of America before its colonization, the district which at present bears the name of Pennsylvania might *per prolepsin* be so designated, but not that its original inhabitants might be called Britons. According to Deut. ii. 23, and Joshua xiii. 2, 3, Philistines inhabited the country even at the time of Moses and Joshua. Judges iii. 3 also refers to princes of the Philistines. During the first period of the Judges, the Philistines attempted to oppress Israel, and were beaten by Shamgar (Judges iii. 31, comp. with x. 11.) If *Ewald* appeals to the circumstance that the Philistines are not mentioned when the Israelites first took possession of Canaan, we answer with *Hitzig* that this is readily accounted for on the ground that no part of the territory of the Philistines had been gained by them. Again, when we read in Judges i. 18 that after the death of Joshua the tribe of Judah had taken the cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron, which, however, are not expressly mentioned as cities of the Philistines, any inference *e silentio* would not prove much. Lastly, the fact that the Philistines only became so dangerous at the time of Samson and Eli does not prove that they had settled in Palestine at a later period than the Israelites, since Judges iii. 31 and x. 11 show that they had before that time attempted to subject the Israelites, although without permanent success.

With *Hitzig*, *Knobel*, and *Ritter*, we therefore suppose that there were two settlements of Philistines in Palestine. As the first of these we regard the migration of the Casluhim, which must have occurred before the time of Abraham. That migration was probably not from Colchis, which was a later settlement of the Casluhim, but from their earliest seats, in the neighbouring Cassiotis. The second migration of Philistines was that of the

Caphthorim or Cherethim, as they are called, who left Crete and arrived in Palestine during the period between Abraham and Moses. Of the latter we read in Deut. ii. 23 that on their arrival from Caphthor they had destroyed the Avim unto Gaza. But Philistines lived south of Gaza—for Gerar lay at any rate further south—even so early as the time of Abraham. These must therefore be distinguished from the Caphthorim, and hence regarded as Casluhic Philistines.

We now return to the question of the *descent* of the Philistines. The two tribes, the Casluhim and the Caphthorim, are, in Gen. x. 14, traced back to Ham, through Mizraim. But *Knobel* denies the descent of the Casluhim from Mizraim. He thinks that the expression rendered "Out of whom came Philistim," does not prove the derivation of the latter from the Casluhim. He holds that the term **מִשְׁם** refers only to the *locality*. If the writer had wished to mention their descent, he would have used the term **מֵהֶם**. Hence he infers that the passage only intimates that the Philistines had at one period dwelt beside the Casluhim, but that afterwards they had removed to other settlements. He adds that the Biblical writer had not mentioned the *descent* of that tribe, because he had been unable to ascertain anything about it. However much may appear to be in favour of this view, we cannot, with *Delitzsch*, assent to its correctness. Is it possible to conceive that at that period the Philistines should already have lost every tradition about their descent and their former settlements? But if they had preserved any such tradition, how could it have escaped the observation of so careful an enquirer (who manifestly was thoroughly acquainted with this subject) as the writer of the table of nations? We allow that the term **מִשְׁם** applies, in the first instance, to *locality*. But does not the whole table of nations bear the character of an ethnographical index of localities? Besides, what other term could the writer have employed to indicate the descent of the Philistines from the Casluhim? According to *Knobel*, he would certainly have used the expression **מֵהֶם**, instead of **מִשְׁם**. But he also admits that this would not have entirely removed the difficulty, as the term **מֵהֶם** may also be understood of local derivation. We therefore repeat the question, how could the writer have indicated more distinctly that the Philistines were a colony of Casluhim? To have connected them with the descendants of Mizraim (like the other branches of the family of Mizraim) by means of the nota acc. **אֵת**, would have been to misrepresent the real state of the case. Again, from the peculiar construction of the sentence, it was impossible to introduce them simply as the descendants of the Casluhim. Any want of precision is

readily explained from the parenthetic character of the sentence. As for the Capthorim or Cretan Philistines, Gen. x. 14 distinctly proves their descent from Ham.

We hold therefore that the descent of these two tribes of Philistines from Ham is established; and that the opinion of *Ewald* (i., p. 284) and of *Bertheau* (p. 190, &c.), who, referring to 2 Sam. xx. 23, 2 Kings xi. 4, 19, hold them to have been a Shemitic, and more particularly a Corian tribe, must be rejected, as also that of *Knobel*, who would trace them to the Shemitic tribe *Lud*. The hypothesis of *Hitzig*, who employs all his ingenuity and learning to show that the Philistines were of *Pelasgic* origin, and that any relics of their language must be traced to the Sanscrit, is wholly groundless.

B. THE PEOPLE OF THE OLD COVENANT.

DESCENT OF THE COVENANT PEOPLE.

(Comp. *Bertheau*, l. c., p. 200, and following; *Ewald*, l. c. i., p. 327, and following; *Lengerke*, l. c. i., p. 208, and following; *Knobel*, Table of Nations, p. 168, and following.)

§ 46. The prophetic declaration of the common ancestor had already pointed out the race of *Shem* as that from the tents of which salvation was to be expected (comp. § 28.) From *Shem* the line of promise descends through ten generations—(*Shem*, *Arphaxad*, *Shelah*, *Eber*, *Peleg*, *Reu*, *Serug*, *Nahor*, *Terah*, *Abram*)—to the ancestor of the chosen race (1.) The Biblical record points to the land of the Chaldeans, *Ur-Chasdim* (2), as the place where the youngest members of the above line had originally settled. Thence the first and nomadic tribes of the *Terachitic* races migrated in company with *Terah*, the father of *Abram*, from motives which can only form subject of conjecture (3.) To this division of races belonged also the chosen people, who bear the distinctive name of *Hebrews* (4.) The destination of the tribes was *Canaan*, but they settled by the way in *Haran*, in Mesopotamia (5.) There *Terah* died. *Nahor*, the brother of *Abram*, remained in *Haran*, while the latter, in consequence of an express command of God, passed into *Canaan*, accompanied by *Lot*, the son of *Haran*, *Abraham's* brother, who had died in *Ur-Chasdim* (6.)

(1.) The CHRONOLOGICAL thread of sacred history is now connected with the GENEALOGY OF SHEM, as before the flood it had been with that of Seth. Here as before, differences of numbers occur in the Hebrew text, as compared with the LXX. and the Samaritan. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, *Sent. de Chronol. Moses, a Deluvie ad Abrah.*, *Comment. xv.*, and the treatises of *Bertheau* and of *Reinke* (l. c. p. 76, &c.) mentioned above in § 24, 3. In this case, there is the additional difficulty, that the Alexandrians insert between Arphaxad and Shelah a name which does not occur in the other two texts, viz., that of KAINAN (Kenan.) But irrespective of all the critical testimonies in favour of the reading in the original, this addition becomes more than suspicious, by the fact that they give the same numbers to Kainan as to Shelah. But as Cainan is mentioned fourth in the genealogy of Seth (ch. v.), just as here in the version of the LXX., it seems probable that his name may, for some reason or other, have been transferred from thence. It will scarcely be deemed a decisive testimony against the Hebrew original, that Luke, who always makes use of the LXX., retains this name in his genealogical table (Luke iii. 36.) However, recently *Ewald* (i. p. 313) has maintained the genuineness of the name, as "many reasons" (which he does not recount) are in favour of it. According to the statements of the original, Terah, Abram's father, died A.M. 2081, and in the year 525 after the flood. We close by giving a comparative table of the three texts. A refers to the Hebrew text, B to the LXX., and C to the Samaritan version.

		Year of Paternity.	Remainder of Life.	Duration of Life.			Year of Paternity.	Remainder of Life.	Duration of Life.
SHEM,	A	100	500	600	PELEG,	A	30	209	239
	B	100	500	600		B	130	209	339
	C	100	500	600		C	130	109	239
ΑΡΦΑΧΑΔ,	A	35	403	438	REU,	A	30	207	239
	B	135	400	535		B	132	207	339
	C	135	(430)	(565)		C	132	107	239
			303	438					
CANAAN,	A				SERUG,	A	30	200	230
	B	130	330	460		B	130	200	330
	C					C	130	100	230
SHELAH,	A	30	403	433	NAHOR,	A	29	119	148
	B	130	330	460		B	179	125	304
	C	130	303	433		C	(79)	(129)	(204)
							69	148	
ΕΒΕΡ,	A	34	430	464	TERAH,	A	70	(135)	205
	B	134	270	404		B	70	(135)	205
	C	134	(370)	(504)		C	70	(75)	145
			270	404					

Manifestly both the Samaritan and the LXX. version attempt to extend the interval between the flood and Abram, which they deemed far too short in the chronology of the original text. The same difficulties were also felt at a later period. With respect to them, *G. H. v. Schubert* ("Original World and Fixed Stars," 2d ed., p. 275, &c.) remarks:—"Recent chronologists have deemed this period far too short to account for the existence of so large a number of men as are implied in some events which took place at the time of Abraham. But if we consider that, as the history of medicine has shown, by a wonderful process of equalization in nature, a terrible pestilence, for example, is succeeded by a period of such general increase, that marriages which for many years had been without children, are blessed with them, and twins are very frequently born—and that to all appearance (Gen. x. 2, 6, xi. 11, 13, 15, 17, &c.) something similar, but on a much larger scale, had taken place after the flood—if, farther, we suppose that during the first generation after the flood, the sons of Noah had each, on an average, ten children, making altogether fifteen pairs, and that then each pair had, during each succeeding generation of about thirty years, on an average, only about four pairs, or eight children, the number of men, not including any surviving parents, grand-parents, &c., may, during fourteen generations, or 420 years, at any rate have amounted to one thousand and six millions." Considering that the *possibility* of such an increase is capable of demonstration, its apparent improbability, which cannot have escaped the writer, must, according to the rules of historical criticism, be rather considered an evidence for the accuracy and the historical character of the record.

(2.) In the table of nations in Gen. x. 22, we find among the descendants of Shem, besides ARPHAXAD, also the names of *Elam*, *Ashur*, *Lud*, and *Aram*, whose settlements were in western Asia. With *Joktan*, the brother of Peleg, a number of nations separated from the race of Arphaxad, and settled in southern Arabia, while the main body of the race remained with its other branches in the district where it had originally settled. The latter—as, since the time of *Bochart*, it has been generally held, except by *Schleyer*, l. c., p. 302, &c. (who identifies the land of Arphaxad with Sinear)—is Ἀρραξαίτις (Ptol. vi. 1), or the northern part of Assyria, at the southern boundary of Armenia. *Bohlen* and *Benfey* interpret the name as meaning "the country lying close by Aria" (Arjapakshatá.) *Michaelis*, *Gesenius*, and *Knobel* (deriving it from ⁵⁻²ארץ, border, and כשד = כשד, Gen. xxii. 22, whence כשדים, Chaldees) render it by "border of the Chaldees." In a similar manner, but not so well,

Ewald derives it from *رب* = "to bind," "to make firm," and renders it "the fortress of the Chaldees." With this the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, 4) agrees, who states that the Chaldeans were derived from Arphaxad, as also the inference derived from *Isa.* xxiii. 13, and from other data, which show that the original settlements of the Chaldeans had been in that neighbourhood. *Ewald* (i. p. 333) identifies, with great probability, UR-CHASDIM, the country of Terah—which name he regards as that given at the time of the author of Genesis—with this Arrapachitis. Rejecting the interpretation of *Bertheau*, who derives it from the Zend root *Vare* = country (i. c., p. 205), he thinks that a comparison with the Arabic *رب* (according to *Freitag.* v. and viii. "continuit se in loco, permansit") is sufficient to prove that it meant place of residence, with which the translation of the LXX., *χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων*, also agrees. The most common interpretation is that first propounded by *Bochart* (i. c. L. 2, c. 6), and adopted also by *Delitzsch* (p. 240), according to which *Ur of the Chaldeans* is the same as the Persian fort *Ur*, mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* (xxv. 8, 7), six days' journey west of Hatra. The statement of *J. D. Michaelis*, who, for the sake of his favourite hypothesis, that the original settlement of the Chaldeans had been between the Black and the Caspian Seas, regards the word *Ur* as an appellative (= fire), and derives it from the Naphtha fountains, near the town of Baku, scarce deserves mention. *Delitzsch* is certainly mistaken in thinking that the view of *Ewald* is incorrect, on the ground that as *Ur* stands connected with the genitive *Kasdim*, it cannot refer to a country, but only to a residence. If the word *Ur* can be shown to mean place of residence or country, his statement falls to the ground. Comp., for example, the name England = country of the Angli.

(3.) On the ground of the supposed derivation of the name *Ur* from the Zend root *Vare*, *Bertheau* (i. c., p. 206), and after him *Lengerke* (i. p. 213), think that a probable irruption of Arian races was the MOTIVE FOR THE MIGRATION OF TERAH. Considering the uncertainty of all such hypotheses, it is better to confine one's-self to the data furnished in the book of Genesis. In point of fact, we there discover (*Gen.* xiv.) traces of extensive migrations among the races at this time. The irruption of Chedorlaomer in *Gen.* xiv. took place shortly before the birth of Ishmael, or eleven years after the entrance of Abram into Palestine (*Gen.* xvi. 16.) But as the five cities in the valley of Siddim had, for twelve years previous to this, been tributary to Chedorlaomer, the first expedition of that king must have taken place just about the period when Terah also left his former settlements.

(4.) Opinions have always been divided as to the origin of the

NAME HEBREWS. Some (among them latterly especially *Ewald*, i. p. 134, &c., and *Lengerke*, i. p. 213, &c.) regard it as a patronimic, and derive it from the patriarch *Eber* (Gen. x. 25, xi. 16.) Others, and among them *Hengstenberg* (*Balaam*, p. 206, &c.) consider it an appellative, and accordingly interpret the term by "*Trans-Euphratics*." The chief objection to the latter view is that עֵבֶר is not in any other place used as an equivalent for עֵבֶר הַנְּהָר. But irrespective of the fact that in Num. xxiv. 24 it is used in this sense (for the connection, the parallelism, and the whole tendency and bearing of the prediction manifestly do not admit the application of the term עֵבֶר to the Israelites, comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c.)—the correctness and suitability of this interpretation is proved by the use of the analogous terms בְּנֵי-קָדְם, קְדֹמֵי, while it is readily accounted for by the circumstance that the *Euphrates* was to the inhabitants of Syria and of Palestine the stream *κατ' ἔξ*. On the other hand, many and decisive arguments can be urged in favour of this derivation. That the name is used in the Old Testament ONLY—"ubi alienigenæ loquentes inducuntur, . . . vel ubi ipsi Israelitæ de se ad alienigenas dicentes sistuntur, . . . vel ubi aliis gentibus opponuntur." . . . (*Gesenius*, *Thes.*, 987)—shows that it is not a name which (as *Ewald* and *Lengerke* are obliged to argue) Israel gave to itself, but one of which the other nations among whom they lived made use, and "that it originated more especially with the *Canaanites*, and designated the Jewish emigrants in contradistinction to *them*" (*Hengstenberg*, l. c.) *E. Meier*, in his dictionary of roots, p. 273, curiously remarks:—"Everything (??) speaks against such a designation (as *Trans-Euphratics*), more especially that manifestly the name must have originated with the Hebrews themselves, and not with any foreign nation, and that they would not have adopted it if it had come from the *Canaanites*, just as any other victorious nation would not adopt a name applied to it by those whom it had conquered." But this statement completely ignores two facts—(1.) That the ancestors of the Israelites had for two hundred years dwelt among the *Canaanites* as unimportant and merely tolerated strangers, and not as conquerors among the conquered; and (2.), that in the Old Testament the Israelites are not represented as *adopting* the name in question, but only as using it by way of accommodation to the heathens who had applied it to them. But Gen. xiv. 13 (where even the LXX. render העֵבֶרִי by ὁ περᾶτης) is decisive as to the origin of the name. We read—"And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Ibrî." On this passage *Hengstenberg* aptly re-

marks:—"In this place, while the term which the fugitives employed is retained, it appears that the *natives* sought protection and assistance from the *strangers*." Equally decisive is Gen. x. 21, where, after *Shem*, and before his children are enumerated, it is added, "who was the father of all the children of Eber." A geographical reference is the more natural in this verse, as immediately before (v. 19) we are informed that the *Canaanites* had taken possession of this side Jordan. To apply the expression, "all the children of Eber," in the sense of a patronimic, would, considering that Eber is only mentioned as the third member from *Shem*, be as inadmissible as it were to confine the above expression to the Israelites alone, since it applies to *all* the children of Eber. Lastly—and this by itself refutes the view of our opponents—it is quite inconceivable and incongruous with the character and the general analogy of the most ancient history of Israel—(difficulties which only increase, if, as our opponents would have it, this history is mythical)—to suppose that the Israelites would have called themselves after a person of whom tradition had preserved nothing beyond the mere name, (so that it would have been much more natural that they should have called themselves after the name of *Shem*), and who would yet be described as the father of *many other* nations. This argument is the more weighty, as they did not even take their name from *Abram*, an ancestor whom they so highly revered. The interpretation of *Ewald*, who derives the name from עִבְרַיִם (= to indicate, explain, interpret), and renders it by "he that speaketh distinctly" (*Hist of the Isr.*, i., p. 7), is a hypothesis devoid of all probability. The same remark applies to the view of *E. Meier* (comp. l. c.), according to whom עִבְרַיִם meant originally "contraction, connection," hence a connected and compact *mass of men*—in short, a *people* or a *nation*; nor is it at all supported by the fancied analogy of French assumption of the title—"Un de la grande nation."

(5.) No doubt exists as to the POSITION OF HARAN (LXX. : Χαρράν.) It is the *Kάρραι* of the Greeks and Romans, afterwards celebrated by the defeat of Crassus, and which *Ammian. Marc.*, xxiii. 3, designates as "antiquum oppidum." The town lies in one of the extensive plains of Mesopotamia (to the south-east of Edessa), and is specially adapted for a residence of Nomadic tribes. This accounts for the fact that the progress of the emigrants, who had come from their Chaldean home in the north-east, was arrested in this district for a considerable time.

(6.) When treating of the table of nations in Gen. x. we readily admitted that the names there mentioned were chiefly those of races, and not of individual ancestors. This we stated from

a conviction that the writer of that table would have his statements to be understood in this manner. This seems implied in the general plan, tendency, and details of that table itself, as also by the undoubted import and form of most of the names in it. But in the genealogy now before us we may not thus generalize the names, since the writer of it manifestly refers to individuals, as appears from the detailed chronological data, and from the many special historical reminiscences which attach to these names.

Still, it were a sad misunderstanding if, misled by the continual and exclusive prominence given to leading individuals, and overlooking the occasional statements to the contrary, we were to limit the original number of settlers to those few persons who are expressly *named*. These are rather represented in the record as *heads of tribes*, or *Nomadic chieftains*. To this conclusion the statements as to the immense number of flocks possessed by Abram and Lot (Gen. xiii. 5—7) point, and still more clearly the circumstances that Abram could furnish for an expedition 318 trained servants, born in his house (Gen. xiv. 14), and that at a later period Esau could meet Jacob at the head of 400 men (Gen. xxxiii. 1.) Such a number of men capable of bearing arms pre-supposes some thousand souls at least. Even if some of these servants belonged to a different tribe (Gen. xvi. 1, xv. 2), the principal number must have belonged to the same tribe as the chieftains, and have stood in close and familiar relationship with the family of their prince (Gen. xv. 2, xvi. 2, xvii. 12, 13, xxiv. 2, &c.) The more the family of the chieftain increased (irrespective of those numbers who afterwards separated from the family and founded new tribes), the more did any differences between the descendants of the chieftains and those of the subordinate family disappear. This process of equalisation was the more rapid that not the least trace of a difference of castes existed, and that the servants of Abraham were by circumcision placed, in reference to worship and religion, on the same level with his direct descendants. The increase of the side-branches of the Terahitic race appears to have been hastened and furthered by the absorption of the remainders of nations whom they had subjected, but not destroyed, and whose country they had occupied. It was otherwise with the Israelites, and hence their development into a complete nation and state was more slow than that of the other Terachites.

In conclusion we present a SURVEY OF THE VARIOUS branches of the race of Terah. The sons of Terah were Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Haran died in Ur-Chasdim, leaving behind him Lot, Milcah, and Iscah. According to Jewish tradition (Jos. Act. i. 6, § 5) Iscah is the same as Sarah, the wife of Abraham.

comp. Gen. xx. 12. The name Sarai (= Principatus, comp. § 58, 1) may have only been given to her at her marriage, when she became the wife of a *chieftain*. Nahor was married to Milcali. The whole family left the land of the Chaldeans, and settled in the first place in Mesopotamia, in the neighbourhood of Charræ. Nahor remained there, and according to Gen. xxii. 20—24 became the ancestor of twelve *Nahoritic* tribes. *Abram* journeys in company with *Lot* to Canaan, where the two tribes soon separate. Moab and Ammon, the sons of Lot, become the ancestors of two nations, the *Moubites* and the *Ammonites*, who inhabit the country east of the land of promise. The descendants of *Ishmael*, Abram's son, form as the *Ishmaelitic Arabs* another offshoot from the main tribe (Gen. xxv. 12—18.) So do the sons of Abram by Keturah or the *Keturian Arabs* (Gen. xxv. 1—4), of whom the Midianites were the principal branch. These two races occupy extensive tracts along the north and north-east of Arabia, and bear the title of Arabized Arabs (*Arabi facti, adscititii*) in contradistinction to the southern or *Joktanidic Arabs* (Gen. x. 26—29), who call themselves Arabic Arabs or real Arabs (comp. *Hottinger* Hist. Orient. p. 210; *Herbelot* Bibl. Orient. p. 501; *Abulfeda* Hist. Anticisl. ed. *Fleischer* p. 281.) Lastly, Esau or *Edom*, the grandson of Abram, forms the powerful offshoot known as the *Edomites*, who take mount Seir, and from whom the tribe of the *Amalekites* sprung. The latter soon become an independent nation, and occupy the southern border of Palestine. After all these offshoots, the *Israelites* alone remain, who develop more slowly but more certainly than others into an independent nation, being always under special Divine superintendence and guidance.

THE GREAT PERIODS IN THE COVENANT-HISTORY.

§ 47. The history of the Old Covenant passes, from its commencement to its termination, through *six* stages. In the **FIRST** stage it is only a *FAMILY-history*. During that period we are successively made acquainted with each of the three patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*. The twelve sons of the latter form the basis of the national development. In the **SECOND** stage these *twelve tribes* grow into a **PEOPLE**, which under *Moses* attains independence and receives its laws and worship. Under *Joshua* it conquers its country, while during the time of the Judges the covenant is to be farther developed on the basis of what had already been obtained. The **THIRD** stage commences with the

institution of ROYALTY. By the side of the royal office, and as a counterpoise and corrective to it, the *prophetical office* is instituted, which is no longer confined to isolated appearances, but remains a continuous *institution*. The separation of the one commonwealth into two monarchies divides this period into two sections. The FOURTH stage comprises the EXILE AND RETURN. Prophetism survives the catastrophe of the exile, so as to rearrange and to revive the relations of the people who returned to their country, and to open the way for a further development. The FIFTH stage, *or the time of expectation*, commences with the cessation of prophecy, and is intended to prepare a place for that salvation which is now to be immediately expected. Lastly, the SIXTH stage comprises the time of the FULFILMENT, when salvation is to be exhibited in Christ. The covenant-people reject the salvation so presented, the Old Covenant terminates in judgment against the covenant-people, but prophecy still holds out to them hopes and prospects for the future.

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FIRST STAGE OF THE COVENANT HISTORY.

THE FAMILY.



CHARACTER AND IMPORT OF THIS STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE OLD COVENANT.

§ 48. It is the purport of this period to lay a foundation on which the great salvation is ultimately to appear; during its course the nation among which this salvation is to develop is being prepared, and the germ of that deliverance, which is to unfold in and with this people, appears from the very commencement. Hence it is the goal of the whole history of this period to form the chosen race into a nation. But as, according to § 35, the preparation of salvation was no longer to be entrusted to *all* mankind, but was to have one particular starting-point, so that *one* individual, and in *him* his posterity, were, for this purpose, to be separated from the existing race, it will necessarily be *characteristic* of this period of history that it should move within the narrow circle of a *FAMILY*. Hence we also infer that the principal element in the development of that period must be the *increase of that family*, so that the one individual who was called and separated might unfold into a plurality. For however it must necessarily have *commenced* with the individual, manifestly the *progress* in the development of salvation demanded that this unit should become a *multitude*. If the germ of salvation was not always to remain a germ; if the different aspects, tendencies, and capabilities which lay yet undeveloped in this germ were to appear and to assume form, they could not continue or remain concentrated in one individual. For human nature is so limited that the totality of forces and capacities can only concentrate in *one individual*, so long as they remain capabilities and commencements, and that in the farther development only some of them, and especially those which are peculiarly strong in that individual, ripen into realities, while the rest remain in germ. It is therefore necessary that a *number* of individuals should mutually complement each other, in order that, in the totality of forces, each of them may separately evolve.

(1.) As the *commencement* of the preparation of salvation requires the selection of one individual, and as its *progress* depends on the development of this Monad to a plurality, so, *vice versa*, at its *goal*, it must return again from being a plurality to a unity. For when salvation was *perfected*, and about to be offered to all mankind for whom it had been prepared, it was not to be presented as something broken up into fragments and distributed among a number of individuals, in which case it would have passed away without producing any effect. But this concentration and combination of all the various forms in which salvation had appeared was not only demanded by the *objective* purport of salvation when complete, but also by its *subjective* character. By itself, and irrespective of its external object, salvation was only completed when unity was again attained, for, as the commencement, so the completion of a development pre-supposes such unity. But what was impossible to those who had occupied the intermediate place, who had been the representatives of salvation during its development, because they were merely men and hence limited, that became possible in Him who closed and summed up the series. He exhibited salvation in all its perfection, because He was elevated above all such limitations, uniting in His nature both divine and human powers. Thus was the history of the covenant to *commence* with a Monad, which was to contain in germ all that was to be finally evolved; during its progress towards this goal these manifestations were to be exhibited in a plurality of individuals, while at its completion all the separate manifestations were again to be combined and reduced to a unity, and to be thus completed and absolutely perfected.

This circumstance imparts a singular importance to the most ancient history of Israel. It stands in peculiar and living connection with the *total* development, both with that period in which the totality of this unity of capabilities unfolded into actual plurality, and also with the completion, when this plurality was again to *become* the unity which it had been at the commencement, while, at the same time, that which had merely been capability had then ripened into perfection.

We glance, in the first place, at the *relation between the earlier and the later history*, or, rather, between the patriarchal family and the nation which had sprung from that family. With that family *commences* not only the history of Israel, it also becomes the *prototype* thereof, according to which it is afterwards to assume shape and form. For in that family the germs and capabilities of the character, tendency, and aim, which in the regular farther development of the family into a nation are unfolded, already appear in all their distinctness and fulness.

Hence the history of the Patriarchs is the commencement and the type of all later history, both in its divine and in its human aspects—both as exhibiting human liberty and as manifesting divine grace. The character and the leadings of the ancestors of Israel exhibit the same peculiarities as those of the people who sprung from them, at least in so far and so long as it did not forsake its source of life or forget its character and destiny. The peculiarities of Patriarchal times, as represented in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (with whom, in some respects, Joseph may be classed, as forming a special type of life), reflect to future generations in Israel their own likeness. Besides, the standing designation of the God of Israel as the *God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and many passages in the history, teaching, and predictions of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, prove that this significancy of Patriarchal history was not unnoticed by the people. As an instance, we quote the prophetic utterance in Isa. li. 1, 2 :

“Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness,
Ye that seek Jehovah!
Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn,
And to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged,
Look unto Abraham your father,
And unto Sarah that bare you!
For I called him alone,
And blessed him and increased him.

The relation subsisting between the Patriarchal period and that of the *completion* consisted in this, that in both all the powers and manifestations of salvation were concentrated in *one* individual—in the first case merely as capabilities and commencements; in the second as evolution and completion. This in part to the stage of the commencement a greater similarity with that of the end than is found in any of the intervening stages. This totality and fulness, this unity and concentration in the manifestation of salvation, implied, despite the undeveloped character at that period, so evident a type of its completion that, even more distinctly than the later, it appeared as an anticipation of evangelical elements. This characteristic comes out more clearly from the absence of the law during this the age of childhood in history (as in every age of childhood.) True, as in the relation to which we have above referred, so in this instance also, the difference and the gradation from *οὔπω* to *οὐκέτι* (in the first case the law has not yet intervened; in the second, it is already fulfilled) obtains; but still the *οὐ* common to both remains their common characteristic.

§ 49. All the revelations and leadings of God, and all the hopes and resolutions of the chosen family, move, during this period, round these two points—the *seed of promise* and the *land of promise*. The SEED OF PROMISE, the substance of this history, the medium by which salvation is to be prepared, is to be the fruit of generation. In its first as in its last member this was to be *παρὰ φύσιν*, that from the first the truth which was to be manifested in the end should appear, viz., that the salvation about to be developed could not reach its goal by natural means, but only by those of grace. The same law, according to which the connection and the ordinary bonds of nature were rent asunder (in order that the bonds of grace and of calling might become the more firm), and on which depended the selection of the individual who was to commence this history, is also continued during the course of that history. We notice its continuance during the first stages of this history in the peculiarities of generation; it occasions the separation of several of the descendants of the family, until at last the twelve heads of tribes become the basis for a proper national development. We may, therefore, sum up the *contents and the object of this period*, so far as it bears on the appearance of the promised seed, in the following statement: *one branch is taken from the tree of the Shemitic race, to which the promise had been given (§ 28); it is transplanted into other soil, where, under the fostering care of the great husbandman, it takes root; there it is purged from all offshoots, which are the product of nature, and so grows up into one trunk, which shoots into twelve strong branches*. Of no less importance is the connection between this period and the LAND OF PROMISE. There, and nowhere else, was the foundation for the new development to be laid; there and nowhere else was the promised seed to be conceived and born; there was the history of Israel to pass through its age of childhood, in order that, from the first, the mutual relation between the country and the people might exercise its powerful influence. If the selection of Palestine to be a nursery to the kingdom of God was neither casual nor groundless (§ 43), and if a lively and mutual relation obtains between a country and its inhabitants, this influence was also to be exercised during the infancy of this nation, because the time of childhood is also that when

influences of this kind are most readily received. There, where the chosen race was to dwell after it had grown into a nation, and where it was to discharge its peculiar task, it was also to spend the time of its infancy, in order that the people might ever regard it as their proper home, and that, as such, it might obtain that deep hold on them which only a home has upon the heart. For a man's home, to which his affections attach, is the place *where he was born*, where he has spent his childhood, with its joys and its sorrows, with its hopes and its longings. And, in truth, this object was, in this case, attained in larger measure than in any other recorded in history. Again, the land of promise was, in the first place, given to the chosen family only *as a land of pilgrimage*, while *its possession was only promised* for the future. Thus was faith to grow and to become strengthened. The circumstance, also, that in its transition from being a family to becoming a nation, Israel had occasion for four centuries to be absent from the land of its childhood, of its prospects and hopes, has its deep meaning, which will appear in the course of history (§ 92, 7.)

§ 50. If we consider the peculiar revelation vouchsafed by the Lord during this period, we shall anticipate that, as a basis was to be laid for a new development, and as its beginnings were even then to appear, a more than common and peculiarly marked manifestation of God's superintendence should take place. In point of fact, we find that historical reality quite answers this expectation. True, the fresh commencement now made cannot be the same as the first or paradisaical, because sin, which had put an end to the latter, was not yet overcome and removed. The time when the Lord dwelt by and with man in the garden of Eden, when He walked continuously and visibly near him (Gen. iii. 8), cannot return until renovated earth becomes again a Paradise, and man is restored to his original position. But this, so far from being the commencement of the history which now opens, cannot even be its goal and end, but only the goal and end of a history which at that time lay in the far distant, and the commencement of which was to coincide with the close of our history (Rev. xxi. xxii.) The goal of *our* history is the incarnation of the Son of God, when the whole fulness of the

Divine being entered bodily and personally into essential and permanent union with human nature. This goal was to be attained in the course of a historical development, and hence by a successive progress, in which this development continually unfolded and approximated towards the goal. In *patriarchal* history we witness the first beginnings of this development. Hence we shall also expect there to meet only the first, the most simple, and, in a certain sense, the most elementary manifestations of the Divine plenitude of miracles and of prediction. In point of fact, history answers this expectation. The communication and interpositions of Divine power and wisdom generally take place without any intervening medium, *i.e.*, almost always God Himself performs the miracle or makes the prediction, while during the progress of the succeeding historical stages this state of matters is gradually changed. We have not yet reached the period when Divine power and knowledge are assimilated with the covenant history, and have become a gift which God communicates to men, and over which man has control, as having been entrusted to him as his property, although, of course, within certain defined limits. Hence at that period miracles are not yet performed by man; rarely even does he utter predictions. On the contrary, Divine power and knowledge interposes side by side with human activity, and as something foreign and external to it (comp. § 97, 1.) Hence also the forms which revelation takes in patriarchal history are chiefly either that of immediate *inward communication*, when God speaks in the soul of man without employing the medium of the senses, or that of *Theophany*, when, by way of revealing Himself, He assumes human form. The latter manifestation was either *internal*, being then a *vision* or a *dream*; or *external*, when He appeared in bodily form (1.) The principal, and perhaps the only form of this second mode of Theophany, is by means of what is designated as the *Angel of the Lord*, in whom Jehovah appears and manifests Himself to the senses (2.) This mode of manifestation occurs for the first time in patriarchal history.

(1.) It would be mere idle presumption to attempt ascertaining in every case why the Lord had chosen one or other *form of manifestation*; but it falls within our province to enquire, in every particular instance, what form had actually been selected.

We are indeed convinced that Scripture attributes the same importance to what is revealed, whether it have been by the medium of inward communication, of a dream, of a vision, or of a literal Theophany. At the same time, we expect to find, in every case, sufficient indications for inferring, beyond doubt, in what form the revelation had taken place; and we would therefore repudiate the arbitrary criticism of those who refer events to dreams or visions, as it suits their own peculiar system. On the contrary, we feel that we are only warranted in speaking of a dream, or in supposing an ecstatic state of mind, when such is expressly mentioned in the Biblical record. In every other case we suppose a state of wakefulness and of consciousness. But, on the same ground, we also assume a real Theophany only when such *apparitions* of God are expressly mentioned. All those revelations to the Patriarchs in which, without farther defining the medium, we simply read that God spake to man, we class with what we have designated as inward communications.

(2.) The opinions of interpreters on the question who THE ANGEL OF THE LORD was, may be ranged under two classes. One party understand it to have been a manifestation of God in human form, patent to the senses, and hence a prototype of the incarnation of God in Christ. Others think that this was merely an ordinary angel, but that he is represented as *Jehovah*, and even speaks and acts in that character, inasmuch as he appears in the name and as the representative of Jehovah. The former view was that of the earliest theology of the Synagogue, and was formulated in the doctrine about the *Metatron*, who had emanated from God, was equal to Him, and in whom He revealed Himself. But in course of time foreign elements were mixed up with this view (comp. *Hengstenberg*, *Christol.*, i. 1, p. 239, &c.) Most of the fathers and of the old Protestant divines also advocated this opinion (*Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 249.) Latterly it has been most distinctly and fully set forth by *Hengstenberg*, l. c., pp. 219—251. With the fathers and the old Protestant divines, he regards the Angel of the Lord as God manifest, the Logos of the Christian dogma of the Trinity, and supposes that this mode of viewing the subject was at least so far current throughout the Old Testament history of revelation as to afford a basis for the teaching of John about the Logos (comp. *Hengstenberg's* *Comment. on Revelation*, i., p. 613.) Even before that time, *Sack* (*Commentatio Theoll.*, Bonn, 1821) had, in treating of this subject, declared that the expression "Angel of the Lord," was equivalent to Jehovah, but had at the same time maintained that it only indicated the mode in which Jehovah appeared, but not a distinct personality. Hence he preferred rendering the term by "*embassy*," rather than by "*ambassador*" (comp. his *Christian*

Apologetics, 2d ed., p. 172.) In the wake of these two writers, the author of this history had attempted to follow, in a paper that appeared in *Tholuck's "Anzeiger"* for 1846, Nos. 11—14. There we endeavoured to show, that in the Old Testament the Maleach Jehovah was "God appearing, manifesting Himself, entering into the limitations of space and time, and accessible to the senses, in contradistinction to the invisible God, whose supersensual existence is far above all limitations of space and time, and hence not perceptible—which, however, does not necessarily imply that men were quite conscious whether this distinction was merely ideal or also real, and whether it was to be viewed as merely temporary, or as permanent, and based on the nature of the Deity." The chief portions of this paper were reproduced by us in the *first* edition of the present work. The same view has also been advocated by *Delitzsch* (Bibl. and Proph. Theol. p. 289), *Nitzsch* (System), *T. Beck* (Christ. Dogmat.), *Keil* (Joshua, p. 87), *Hävernick* (Old Test. Theol., p. 73, &c.), *Ebrard* (Christ. Dogmat., vol. i.), *J. P. Lange* (Posit. Dogmat. i., 586), *Stier* (Isa. not Pseudo-Isa., p. 758, &c.), and others.

The other interpretation of the term "angel of the Lord" has been advocated by *Augustin* (De Trin. iii. 11), and since then by Roman Catholic theologians, in order thus to establish the worship of angels, and by Socinians, Armenians, and Rationalists, from a dislike to the orthodox view of the Trinity. But of late some who were free from these prejudices, and whose opinion is entitled to all weight, have pronounced in favour of it. Among them we mention *Stuedel*, in his Program for 1830, and in his Old Testament Theol. p. 252, &c., *Hofmann* (Predict. and Fulfilment i. 127, &c., and in his Script. Demonstr. i. 154—159, 321—340), *Baumgarten* (Comment. i. 1 p. 195), *Tholuck* (Comment. on the Gospel of John, 6th ed., p. 52), *Pelt* (Theol. Encycl. p. 241), and latterly, retracting his former view and supporting that of *Hofmann*, *Fr. Delitzsch* (Comment. on Genesis p. 249, &c.) *Stuedel* and *Hofmann* differ in this respect, that according to the former the Maleach Jehovah was an angel specially commissioned by the Lord for every individual case, leaving it uncertain whether one and the same angel was always employed, while according to *Hofmann* it is always one and the same prince of angels, who at first as Maleach Jehovah, then as Captain of the host of the Lord (Joshua v. 14), and as the angel of His presence (Isa. lxiii. 9), bearing the name of *Michael* (Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1), presides over the commonwealth and history of Israel as the representative of Jehovah (Predict. and Fulfil. pp. 131, 132.) But in his latest work *Hofmann* has so far modified his views as to state that although it was always a definite angel of Jehovah who performed one or another duty, he was not

selected for this purpose once and for all, it being still held by him that Israel has its special prince and angel, who bears the name of Michael (Script. Demoustr. i. 157.)

Barth has attempted to combine in a peculiar manner the views of *Hengstenberg* and of *Hofmann* (The Angel of the Covenant, a contribution to Christology in a letter to Schelling, Leipz. 1845.) With *Hengstenberg* he holds that the Malcach Jehovah was a Divine person, with *Hofmann* that he appeared as an angel and as a creature, and he combines these two statements by supposing that the Logos had at a former period taken upon Himself the form of an angel in the same manner in which He afterwards took upon Himself the form of a man. But this view is wholly unsupported, and deserves no farther notice.

Our own position with reference to the question under discussion is similar to that of *Delitzsch*. However decidedly and zealously we had formerly advocated the view of *Hengstenberg*, and controverted that of *Hofmann*, we have to confess that a renewed study of the subject has convinced us that we had been mistaken. We felt it no easy matter to surrender a long-cherished conviction, but truth has compelled us to yield, and to adopt the view of *Hofmann*.

Our former reasoning has by many been deemed successful, and frequently referred to with approbation. We therefore reproduce it in the form in which it appeared in the first edition of this work, and add to it a justification of our change of views. We wrote as follows:—

“Even the *name* is decidedly in favour of the view that the *person* of the Malcach Jehovah was unique and the same on all occasions. Grammatically, the expression מלאך יהוה and מלאך האלהים, can only be rendered *the* angel of Jehovah, *i.e.* the definite and known angel of the Lord, called so κατ' ἐξοχήν. It is indeed true that the circumstance that these two forms have the character of definite article, does not always necessarily imply ‘an absolute identity with something known, but may arise from a graphic mode of representation, which transports the reader into the scene’ (*Baumgarten*.) Thus בן ישי is the son of Ishai, of whom the passage speaks, but does not imply that Ishai had not other sons also. Similarly in Malachi ii. 7 *the priest* is called מלאך יהוה—עבארת, and in Hagg. i. 13 *the prophet* מלאך יהוה, in which cases it were manifestly impossible to suppose that these parties were identical with the Malcach Jehovah so frequently mentioned in Genesis, &c. But still whenever we read about the son of Ishai without the express addition that one of the older sons of Ishai was meant, we shall without hesitation apply it to one and the same well-known son of Ishai, *viz.* to David. Similarly after *the* angel of Jehovah has

in Gen. xvi. appeared in so striking and significant a manner, we apply this expression always to the *one* known and distinguished 'angel,' unless, of course, the text expressly bears that another definite individual was meant, as is actually the case in Mal. ii. 7 and Hagg. i. 13, but in no other instance."

"As the name Maleach Jehovah indicates that He was unique and always the same *person*, so do His *predicates* and *attributes* shew that His was a peculiar and a divine *nature* and *agency*. All that the Biblical writers say or record about Him clearly proves that they regarded and represented Him as God becoming manifest in a manner accessible and patent to the senses. His appearance and His claims, His words and His actions are so peculiar, so striking and distinct, that nothing analogous to it occurs within the entire compass of holy writ. But these peculiar and distinctive characteristics, which distinguish His first appearance, remain the same, equally remarkable in each of His frequent manifestations and revelations. Always and without exception He speaks and acts as if He were Himself the Creator and Director of all things, and the Covenant-God of Israel; nor does He anywhere appeal to a Divine mission as the warrant of His appearance or activity; He never rests His claims to obedience on a commission with which God had entrusted Him; never does He in word or deed point to a difference of nature between Himself and Jehovah; He determines by Himself and immediately the fate of nations and of individuals; He claims Divine power, honour, and glory, and allows sacrifices and worship to be offered to Him, as something to which apparently He has a right. More or less all to whom He appears are impressed with the fact that Jehovah Himself had appeared to them, and they address and honour Him as God—yea Jacob blesses his grand-children in the name of this angel (Gen. xlviii. 16.) The sacred writers also always represent His appearances as Theophanies, in the proper sense of the term; in their narratives they use, without hesitation, alternately the terms Maleach Jehovah and Jehovah, nor do they ever give the slightest hint that they regarded Him as different from Jehovah, either in His nature and being, or in His power and dignity."

"These facts are so far admitted by our opponents, but they think to avoid the conclusions which we draw from them by applying in this case the principle: *Quod quis per alium fecit, ipse fecit*. They maintain that the angel is called, or designates Himself, acts and speaks as Jehovah Himself, because He is the medium by which the Lord reveals Himself, and hence the representative of Jehovah. But while it is true that occasionally those who act as the representatives of God among His creatures (such as princes, judges, &c.) bear in the Old Testament the

name *Elohim*, as being invested with Divine authority (Exod. iv. 16, vii. 1, &c.), we do not anywhere find that the name Jehovah is applied in the same manner, nor indeed could anything be more contrary to the spirit of the Old Testament than to transfer that title to any creature. Nor is it in point to appeal to the circumstance that the prophets utter Divine decrees and declarations announcing them in the first person as if they were Jehovah, and not prefacing, as is most commonly the case, by a 'Thus saith Jehovah.' But, manifestly, this does not prove that a created angel might behave himself, speak, and act as the Maleach Jehovah did. For (1) the fact is left out of view that such declarations of the prophets, without an appeal to a Divine commission, are very rare exceptions from the rule, while in the case of the Maleach Jehovah they are the invariable rule. Hence with the prophets this unusual and exceptional mode of speaking must be held to be fixed and limited by that which they commonly and regularly employed. But in the case of the angel of Jehovah the constant recurrence of the peculiarity to which we have adverted shows that it may not be ascribed to a momentary and oratorical personification of Jehovah, but must be traced to a permanent right of nature;—(2) Besides, in the case of the prophets no misunderstanding which would result in worship of the creature, and by which the person representing would be confounded with the person represented, was to be apprehended, while in that of an angel or being from a higher world there was imminent danger of it. Hence an angel could not have acted as one of the prophets would have done without endangering the observance of the first commandment;—(3) Such an *Enallage* was natural and true only when the prophets had reached the high point of prophetic inspiration, when, absorbed by the object in view, they wholly forgot themselves, their personality, and their intermediate position, while the Maleach Jehovah always speaks and acts in this manner, even under comparatively ordinary circumstances, so that the calmness of His manner and of His speech indicates that He speaks and acts *in propria persona*;—(4) Even where a prophet so far loses sight of his individual position as to speak of Divine decrees and leadings as if he *himself* had decreed them, or as if he *himself* were the Almighty who would execute them,—he does not in any case allow himself to be regarded as God, or to be worshipped by those whom he addresses, nor does he receive their sacrifices. Would Jacob on the ground of Gen. xlix. 7, or Elijah on account of the occurrence mentioned in 1 Kings xvii. 1, have allowed their audience to adore or to offer sacrifices to them? would they not rather have acted like Paul in Acts xiv. 14, 15?—(5) Lastly, the Biblical writers represent the Maleach Jehovah as

acting like Jehovah, not only when they dramatically and graphically describe His appearance, but they also designate him by that title in plain and purely historical passages. But no historian ever applied the title of Jehovah to any *prophet* who came and spake in the name of the Lord."

"If with this we compare the appearance of what we cannot doubt were created angels—as for example in Gen. xix. 1—16—we are sensible of a vast and essential difference between them and the Maleach Jehovah. An ordinary angel does not of his own accord determine the fate of men; he does not lay pretence to Divine power or dignity; he does not allow sacrifice or worship to himself; Biblical writers do not ascribe Divine titles to him. Such angels, on the contrary, make a wide distinction between their own persons and that of God (Gen. xix. 13, 14); they expressly appeal to a Divine commission with which they had been entrusted (Gen. xix. 13), and very pointedly refuse all Divine homage or worship (Rev. xix. 10.) Besides, created angels are generally employed in a totally different sphere. Their ministry is commonly called into service in the general administration of the Divine government of the world, while that of the Maleach Jehovah belongs to the economy of salvation. He is the proper and permanent medium of all those revelations which bear reference to the development and furtherance of the Divine counsel of salvation. Hence also independent appearances of ordinary angels are, compared with that of the Maleach Jehovah, extremely rare in the Old Testament—in the New Testament this relationship is of course changed."

"But replies *Hofmann* (Predict and Fulfil.): 'What more plain than that מְלֹאךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ does not mean the King himself, nor מְלֹאךְ יְהוָה Jehovah Himself, but some one different from Him and hence not God the Son, but a created being?' But it is to be remarked that the angel of the Lord does not more frequently indicate His identity with, than He makes a distinction between Himself and Jehovah (comp. the proofs in *Hengstenberg*); He is different from Him in reference to His personality, but the same in nature, power, honour, and dignity. We do not indeed maintain that the doctrine of the Trinity was dogmatically taught in the Old Testament; but we hold that the general cast of Old Testament teaching is in the direction of this doctrine, and that it came out more and more clearly as time proceeded. But we regard the manifestation of the Maleach Jehovah, to whom on the one hand all the attributes of the Deity were ascribed, while on the other He was represented as sent by Jehovah, and hence as distinct from Him,—whether men were conscious what a consistent carrying out of this view implied or not—as one, and that a very important, element in the develop-

ment of the doctrine in question. In the Old Testament the Maleach Jehovah is represented as God manifest and revealing Himself, in a manner perceptible by the senses, and as distinct from the invisible God, in His supersensual and therefore non-perceptible existence. This, however, does not necessarily imply that men fully understood whether this distinction was merely ideal or essential, merely momentary or permanent, and based on the nature of God. The Old Testament does not clearly indicate the character of the relationship between the *modes* of Divine revelation and the Divine Being Himself; the requirement to frame this relationship in clear and sharply defined notions had not yet been felt. But as the Divine activity unfolded and enlarged in the covenant-history of the Old Testament, the hypostatic distinction in God—between the ultimate ground of all, the Logos as God manifest, the Creator and the Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit as the source of life and light, and He who perfecteth all things (Gen. i. 2)—increasingly manifested itself *objectively*, and would in the same measure also be *subjectively* apprehended and recognised.”

“If it is said that the term *Maleach*, applying as it did to a definite class of spiritual beings, could on that account, in the case under consideration also, only refer to a being of this kind, we answer by appealing to Mal. ii. 7, and Hag. i. 13. Our opponents forget, when making this assertion, that *Maleach* is not a *nomen naturee*, but a *nomen officii*, of angels, and hence that by itself it conveys nothing about the *nature* of those who bear it. Similarly, the name *ἀπόστολος* is in the New Testament (Heb. iii. 1) assigned to Christ, although it was manifestly not meant to convey that the term applied to His nature as it did to that of the other apostles. And yet the word *apostle* became as much a fixed designation of the disciples of Jesus who were sent forth, as that of *Maleach* for the ministering spirits of heaven.”

“‘Agnin,’ continues *Hofmann* (Predict. and Fulfil.), ‘if the view of our opponents is correct, how are we to render the New Testament expression *ἄγγελος κυρίου*, which is manifestly a translation of *Maleach Jehovah*, especially in such passages as Matt. i. 20; Luke ii. 9; Acts xii. 7?’ We agree with *Hofmann* that the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* who there appeared was not the Logos but a created angel, although in Acts vii. 30 it is said that the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* had appeared to Moses in the burning bush where the expression is manifestly a translation of the Maleach Jehovah in Exod. iii. 2. We maintain, however, that in Acts vii. this expression designates another person than that referred to in the three New Testament passages in which the term occurs, and we assert this on the ground that the former is in reality a

quotation from the Old Testament, while the other three are New Testament statements. For the Maleach Jehovah called such *κατ' ἐξοχήν* belongs properly only to the sphere of the Old Testament. In the New Testament *Christ*, the incarnate Son of God takes his place. The Maleach Jehovah is the *future*—Christ the *present*—God-man; the former is a *prototype* of the eternal plan of salvation, the latter its *plerosis*. With the incarnation of God in Christ, the Lord ceases to appear and to act as the Maleach Jehovah, inasmuch as He has entered into permanent and real union with the Man Jesus. Hence if that *name* is again employed it no longer designates the Maleach Jehovah *κατ' ἐξοχήν*; it has lost the unique and prominent definiteness which it bore in the Old Testament, and has again become a general term. The *ἄγγελος κυρίου* is only in words, but not in meaning, the same as the Maleach Jehovah of the Old Testament; bearing no longer reference to the Maleach Jehovah of the Old Testament, he is only a created being. But this remark does not apply to Acts vii. 30, where we are again on Old Testament ground, and hence must view the subject from the Old Testament stand-point. There the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* must, therefore, mean the same as the Maleach Jehovah in the Old Testament passage, from which the verse is quoted (Exod. iii. 2.) On the objection of *Steudel*, based on Exod. xxiii. and xxxii., comp. our exposition in *Tholuck's Anz.* l. c. pp. 108—112.”

“But *Baumgarten* objects to our view, observing that: ‘Those who regard the Maleach Jehovah as the Logos must surely have forgotten that the angel of Jehovah first appeared to an Egyptian handmaid’ (Gen. xvi.) *Delitzsch* (l. c. p. 289) has replied to this by a quotation from the objector himself (i. 1 p. 517): ‘from this we gather that the Revelation of Jehovah was one by which the Gentiles also were to attain to faith in Jehovah.’ We reply: the Maleach Jehovah is the covenant-God, who visibly appears in the form of a man to perform the Divine covenant-work. His interpositions are confined to the house and race of Abraham, to the development of that covenant which He had made with Abraham and his seed. He can and does only appear after that covenant was actually made—and this had only taken place in the chapter preceding that in which Hagar’s flight is recorded. That He should have first appeared to Hagar arose simply from the circumstance that her flight was the first event after the conclusion of the covenant which called for an interference on the part of Jehovah;—that *He appeared* to her at all has its ground in the fact that Hagar belonged to the household of Abraham, that she stood in most close relationship with Abram, and that the seed of Abram, to which she was about to give birth, was

included in those general promises of blessing which had been made to the seed of Abram. Lastly, we account for the fact that He appeared as the Maleach Jehovah, on the ground that, of all the modes of visible manifestation on the part of the Deity, this was the most condescending, the most encouraging, and the most gracious."

Thus we argued in the *first* edition of this book; we have now to add the following retraction:—

The principal defect of our former discussion lay in this, that we had confined ourselves exclusively to the Pentateuch, and had not at all, or only in passing, taken notice of the manner in which the doctrine about the angel of Jehovah was treated in the later writings of the Old Testament, and in those of the New Testament. At any rate, we had not assigned their proper place, nor given their due weight to these passages. We feel that if we look at the Maleach Jehovah only as He appears in the Pentateuch, and in the historical books of the Old Testament, the preponderance of evidence will be in favour of the view of *Hengstenberg*, more especially if, as all the advocates of this view are in the habit of doing, we weigh the arguments according to our occidental, and not according to the oriental standard. But even in these books there are data which must be strained, and then also only with difficulty tally with this view. But the case is entirely changed when we examine the writings of the later prophets, especially of Daniel and Zechariah. Here the interpreter will, if impartial, and not prepossessed in favour of a theory which he has drawn only from the Pentateuch, soon learn that these prophets had not regarded the angel of the Lord as of the same nature with Jehovah. If from the prophets we pass to the New Testament, it requires certainly a large measure of self-deception, or of want of consideration, to maintain that the *ἄγγελος κυρίου*, there so frequently spoken of, was the Logos, or God manifest, in contradistinction to the hidden God—a mistake this, with which, however, neither *Hengstenberg* nor the author of this treatise are chargeable—although it may, at least in part, be imputed to *J. P. Lange*, as will appear from the following extract (*Posit. Dogmat.*, p. 588):—"Kurtz should not have made an arbitrary distinction between the term 'Angel of the Lord,' as occurring in the New Testament (*Matt. i. 20, and Luke ii. 9*), and in the Old. For the angel of the *Annunciation* must certainly be regarded as the angel (?) of the future (?) God-Man. Again, the angel of the Lord interferes for the deliverance of Peter (*Acts xii. 7*), because the apostle is only awakening to consciousness, and obtains, as it were, only a night-glimpse (?) of the presence of Christ, his real Deliverer."

To return. If therefore we were, on the ground of our sup-

posed inferences from the Pentateuch, to believe that the Maleach Jehovah of patriarchal and pre-prophetic history was the Logos, or God manifest,—in other words, in His own nature, Jehovah himself,—it would imply two different modes of Scripture teaching and interpretation, and that not only in the sense that one and the same subject had been apprehended and developed under two different aspects, but that it had been presented in a manner twofold and wholly irreconcilable. It follows that we must either suppose that Scripture contains contradictory and irreconcilable dogmas, or else that the view concerning the Maleach Jehovah, which we had gathered from the Pentateuch, rested on a mistake and misunderstanding. We suppose that we had misunderstood the passages in the *Pentateuch* bearing on this point, and not that we mistake those in the prophets or in the New Testament, because the latter are not only plain and unequivocal, but also because we expect there to find a clear, deep, and comprehensive view of the nature and being of all that enters into the history of salvation. Hence in any case of doubt, we deem it proper to explain the earlier by the later representation of an event or a person.

It were in truth a discovery totally reversing all our well-grounded ideas about the continuous development and progress in the knowledge of salvation, as presented in the Scriptures, if we were to conclude that at the commencement of Old Testament history so clear a consciousness of the difference between the hidden God and God manifest had obtained, and that this consciousness had gradually become obscured in the Old Testament, until at last, under the New Dispensation (when the revelation and knowledge of the history of salvation had reached their climax) it had entirely disappeared; and that indeed the New Testament writers had not even the most distant conception of the important position and meaning of the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* under the Old Testament.

Even if the LXX. had not formed a connecting link between the Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament, beyond doubt, philologically speaking, the expression *Ἄγγελος Κυρίου*, whether with or without the article, is exactly equivalent to מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה (just as *ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ* is equivalent to מַלְאָךְ הַאֱלֹהִים.) But if Matthew or Luke had even had the slightest conception that the expression *ἄγγελος κυρίου* indicated in the Old Testament the Son of God, who in Christ became incarnate, they would not have applied the term so frequently and unhesitatingly—nay, they would not have applied it at all to a created angel (comp. Matt. i. 20; xxviii. 2; Luke i. 11; ii. 9; Acts v. 19; viii. 26; xii. 7; xii. 33; xxvii. 23; x. 3.) *Hengstenberg* takes no notice of this difficulty; and we have to disown the

solution which we had formerly attempted, and which, indeed, had never appeared to us wholly satisfactory. Nor can we now (as we had formerly endeavoured to do) plead that at least Acts vii. 30 was in accordance with the supposed Old Testament *usus loquendi*. For, irrespective of the circumstance that the reading *ἄγγελος* (instead of *ἄγγελος κυρίου*), as proposed by *Lachmann* and *Tischendorf*, appears to be correct, the point in question is not what idea the author of Exod. iii. 2 had attached to the מַלְאָכֵי יְהוָה, but what both Stephen and Luke had meant by the expression *ἄγγελος κυρίου*. But this question can only be decided according to their *usus loquendi*, from which we conclude that if in nine out of the ten passages in which he employs the term, Luke had, beyond doubt or controversy, meant a created angel, the inference is plain that he meant the same thing in the tenth passage. *J. P. Lange* would indeed apply even Matt. i. 20 and Luke ii. 9 to the Logos. In reply, we ask whether the incarnation of God had commenced when Jesus was conceived, or only when He was born? And if, in order to maintain the above hypothesis, the latter opinion were adopted, we would farther ask whether it can be maintained that the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* who in Luke ii. 9 announces to the shepherds that the birth of Jesus had taken place was the God-man who was to appear? We will not comment on *Lange's* curious explanation of Acts xii. 7 (to which we have above referred), and only ask with *Delitzsch* (Gen. p. 255)—“Why should the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* who announces the birth of John the Baptist be different in nature from him who announces that of Samson? Why should the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* who smites Herod Agrippa, so that he dies, be different in nature from him who, in one night, destroyed the host of Sennacherib? Why should the *ἄγγελος κυρίου* who encourages Paul in his bonds be different in nature from him who comforts Hagar when she is driven forth?”

But we go farther, and maintain that express data are not wanting to show that the New Testament writers understood the Maleach Jehovah of the Old Testament to mean a *created* angel. Frequently and clearly do we find it in the New Testament that the law was received “by the disposition of angels,” that it “was spoken by angels” (Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2); nor can it possibly be doubted that created angels are meant in these passages. Even the Old Testament affords a basis for this view in Deut. xxxiii. 2, comp. with Ps. lxxviii. 18. It is indeed true that *Jehovah* Himself descended in fire upon Mount Sinai (Ex. xix. 18); that *God* spake all these words (xx. 1); and that the voice of God then shook the earth (Heb. xii. 26.) But it is equally true that the ten thousands of saints with whom He came (Deut. xxxiii. 2) were *not merely* His attendants, but also acted

as ministering spirits, by whose mediation the law was ordained (Gal. iii. 19), and the word of God was spoken (Heb. ii. 2.)

We gather, therefore, that the Lord did not Himself and immediately utter the words of the law, but had, so to speak, employed angels as His mouth-piece. When *Stephen* only refers to *one* angel (Acts vii. 38) who had spoken on Sinai, he of course means the angel of the Lord; but the mere fact that he calls him simply *ἄγγελος*, without adding any more specific determination, shows that he had an ordinary, and hence a created angel in view. Still more clear is the evidence derived from Heb. ii. 2, according to which the pre-eminence of the gospel as compared with the law, consisted in this, that the latter had been announced only “*δι’ ἀγγέλων*,” but the former “*διὰ τοῦ κυρίου*.” Hence the *ἄγγελος* who had, according to *Stephen*, spoken with *Moses*, could only have been the mouth-piece of, and not the *κύριος* himself.

It amounts also almost to a proof in the same direction, when in Heb. xiii. 2 we are told, in recommendation of hospitality, that some had entertained *angels* unawares. It is generally acknowledged that the allusion refers to the visit of the three men to *Abraham* in “the plains of *Mamre*” (Gen. xviii.) If, then, it had been understood that *Jehovah* had been one of these three, the writer would certainly have specially pointed out the fact that hospitality had been so much owed, that on that occasion the Lord allowed Himself to be entertained.

Leaving the New Testament, let us farther consider what the prophets of the Old Testament say concerning the angelic medium of Divine revelations. Turning first to *Daniel*, we find that the prince of angels, who, in ch. x. 13, 21, and xii. 1, bears the name of *Michael*, and is distinguished as *מִיכָאֵל הַגְּבִרִים*, and as one of *הַשָּׂרִים הָרְאשִׁימִים*, occupies exactly the same position which, in the historical books (comp. especially Josh. v. 13), is assigned to the *Maleach Jehovah*. This is clearly shown by *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. i., p. 165; Revel. i., pp. 66, 612, &c.), and admitted by *Hofmann*. But *Hengstenberg* maintains that *Michael* also was God manifest, the *Logos* of the New Testament; while *Hofmann* holds that he was only a creature, although a prince of angels. The mere fact, however, that he is not the sole *שָׂר* *גְּבִרִים*, and only one among many equal *שָׂרִים רְאשִׁימִים*, proves that *Michael* was not the *Logos*. In Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21, we read of another prince of angels (archangel), under the name of *Gabriel*. Job xii. 15 adds *Raphael*, and 4 Ezra iv. 1, *Uriel*, so that it is not improbable that the seven angels of the book of Revelation (viii. 2), who stand continually before God, may be the same as the angel-princes in the book of *Daniel*. *J. P.*

Lange attempts to get rid of this difficulty in his own way, by resolving these exalted beings into mere ideas, although they manifestly appear as independent and distinct personalities. According to this view (*Dognin.*, p. 589), "they are all manifestations of one and the same Jehovah-angel, only individualised in accordance with the different operations of the coming Saviour. Gabriel was a vision of the coming Redeemer of the world, Michael of its coming Judge, Raphael of Christ as the physician of men, Uriel of the Logos as shedding light over the world." But however ingenious spiritualistic interpretations like these may appear, they cannot lead us away from the plain truth. As we believe in only *one* Logos (as being one distinct personality), so also would we, if Michael were *as* prince of angels the Logos, only look for *one* prince of angels, while Daniel refers to several.

That Michael occupied, in point of *nature* and *being*, the same place as the other princes of angels, appears still more clearly from a comparison of ch. x. 13, 21, with ch. xi. 1. *Michael* is the prince of *Israel* (x. 21), who standeth for the *people of Israel* (xii. 1.) Another prince of angels, whose name is not mentioned, presides over the empires of the world. The latter informs Daniel (x. 13, 21) that none had held with him in the contest with the prince of the kingdom of Persia (probably an evil spirit), except Michael. But he also adds, that *he had stood to confirm and to strengthen Michael* (xi. 1.) A statement like this can scarcely be reconciled with the notion that Michael was the Logos, or God manifest.

Thus far briefly; for a more full argumentation of the point, and the proofs that the Michael of the book of Daniel referred no more to the Logos than do passages such as Jude v. 6, and Rev. xii. 7 (despite the reasoning of *Hengstenberg*, *Contrib.* i., pp. 166 and following, and *Comment.* on Revel. i., pp. 611, &c.), we refer the reader to a later portion of our investigations.

The prophecies of *Zechariah* also make mention of the angel of the Lord. But even ch. i. 12 clearly shows that the prophet had regarded him as not only personally distinct from, but also as subordinate to, Jehovah—in fact, as a created being. The statement in Is. lxiii. 9 is based on Ex. xxiii. 32, 33, and must be explained in accordance with it, as the prophecies of *Isaiah* do not contain any passage which might appear decisive either as to one or the other mode of viewing the question. Mal. iii. 1, where Messiah is expressly called מַלְאָךְ הַבְּרִית, gives most countenance to the interpretation of *Hengstenberg*. But it is no more than a gratuitous assertion that the "angel of the covenant" and the "angel of the Lord" are the same. If *Malachi* had, by the term "Maleach of the covenant," meant the Maleach Jehovah, he would have designated him by that title. The truth

is, that this prophet, who (generally speaking) uses the term Maleach in its primary and proper meaning (= messenger, see chs. ii. 7, iii. 1), designates Messiah as the messenger and mediator of a new covenant, in contradistinction to the servant of the Lord (iii. 22), who was the mediator of the old covenant. Besides, if Maleach Jehovah meant the Logos, the emphasis of the expression would lie on the word *Jehovah* (not on Malcach), which gives it the peculiar and distinctive character attaching to it. But this very word is wanting in the expression used by the prophet, and instead of it another word is employed, which places the Maleach in the same category with Moses, who—it needs no proof—was also *a messenger* (or mediator) *of the covenant*.

We need not here discuss the appearances of the angel of Jehovah, recorded in the historical books, as they are quite analogous with that chronicled in Genesis, to which we shall by and by refer. But Ex. xxiii. 32, 33, has something peculiar about it, which renders special remarks necessary. According to Ex. xxiii. 20, an angel accompanies the people on its pilgrimage from Egypt. Him Jehovah designates (v. 23) as מְלֶאכִי, and of Him He says (v. 21), “*My name is in Him*” (שְׁמִי בְקִרְבּוֹ). Even the designation מְלֶאכִי shows beyond doubt that this angel is the same who, in patriarchal history, so frequently meets us as the Maleach Jehovah. This view is confirmed by Ex. xiv. 19, where he is expressly called מְלֶאכֶךָ הַאֱלֹהִים. As in patriarchal history, so in Ex. xiii. 21, &c., his activity is designated as that of Jehovah. From this *Hengstenberg* infers that in both places the Logos is meant. But he supposes that Ex. xxxii. 33 refers to a different personage. According to him, God threatens the people, after their sin of worshipping the golden calf, that instead of the Logos, or uncreated, a subordinate and created angel was to be their guide (xxxii. 34), which punishment was afterwards withdrawn, in answer to Moses' prayer (xxxiii. 15.) But manifestly the passage does not refer to *two* angels. It is the same angel who, both before and after the intercession of Moses, is appointed to accompany the people. This appears, not only from the circumstance that, according to ch. xxxii. 2, the supposed inferior angel has exactly the same task assigned to him as that of the supposed higher angel in ch. xxiii. 13, but also from this, that in ch. xxxii. 34, Jehovah designates this supposed inferior angel as מְלֶאכִי, just as he did the supposed superior angel in ch. xxiii. 23. Besides, it cannot be doubted that the term מְלֶאכִי, as used by Jehovah, is equivalent to the מְלֶאכֶךָ of the narrator. *Hengstenberg* endeavours to evade the force of this argument, by assuming (contrary to the express statement of ch. xxxii. 33) that v. 34 contains, not the language

of Jehovah, but of the Maleach Jehovah, and that the term Maleachi referred to the Maleach of the Maleach Jehovah. But this view is wholly arbitrary and unfounded, and necessitates an interpretation which *Hofmann* rightly designates as impossible (comp. Script. Demonstr., i. pp. 156, &c.) The difficulty of the view, according to which, before the intercession of Moses, Jehovah is unwilling to go up Himself (xxxiii. 3), and hence is about to retract the שָׁמַי בְּקִרְבֵי, predicated of the angels in ch. xxiii. 21, lest He should be obliged, by the way, to destroy the stiff-necked people, while, in answer to the prayer of Moses, He again condescends to allow "His presence" to go with them (xxxiii. 14), in consequence of which the angel who accompanies them becomes again the מִלְאָךְ פְּנִי (Is. lxiii. 9)—has been satisfactorily cleared up by *Baumgarten* (Theol. Comment., i. 2, p. 109.)

We return now to the consideration of the Maleach Jehovah of patriarchal history. Above we have admitted that thence, and from the later historical books, the view advocated by *Hengstenberg* derived its chief support. Passages occur which, regarded irrespective of the general bearing of Scriptural teaching, and of the oriental modes of viewing, thinking, and speaking, appear to admit of only that peculiar explanation. But if we enter more particularly upon this subject, we will even there discover points which are scarcely, if at all, compatible with the above view.

Among these we reckon: (1.) The peculiar statements concerning the three angels who visited Abraham in the plain of Mamre (Gen. xviii. 19.) It will be noticed that not only the angel who remains behind with Abraham represents Jehovah, but that the other two angels also (xix. 1) who went to Sodom are addressed by Lot, so soon as he recognises them to be heavenly visitors, by the title אֱלֹהֵי (which peculiarly applies to God), and that this designation is not only given to one of them but to both (xix. 18), in phraseology similar to that of Abraham (xviii. 3) and of the writer of the whole narrative (xviii. 1.) It would, then, appear that Lot had considered the appearance of the two angels as being a representative manifestation of God. Besides, the angels themselves, who in ver. 13 had expressly stated "*Jehovah* has sent us," personate the Lord in v. 21. In that passage the writer of the narrative introduces the two angels as one, and as Jehovah who manifested Himself in them (vv. 17, 21), just as Lot had addressed the two as if he spake only to one. We had formerly thought that the angel (*the Maleach Jehovah*) who had remained behind with Abraham, had, during the interval, again joined the other two angels.

But this view, although not open to the sarcastic objections of *Hofmann*, has no warrant in the text, and is hence arbitrary.—(2.) Several objections may be raised against the assertion that the angel of the Lord is a personality distinct from, but in being and nature identical with, Jehovah. In fact, both assertions are true. Sometimes he appears, both in personality and nature, as distinct from, at others as in both respects identical with, Jehovah. To say that whenever the Maleach Jehovah speaks of Jehovah as “*I*” he identifies himself with Jehovah, as to His nature but not as to His personality, is purely arbitrary. The same stricture applies to the assertion that whenever he speaks of Jehovah in the *third person*, he intends to indicate only a difference of personality, and not of nature also.—(3.) This change in the language, in the use of the pronouns “*I*” and “*He*,” employed alternately by the Maleach Jehovah, proves that they are not identical in nature, on which supposition we should always have had the pronoun “*I*.” But the promiscuous use of “*I*” and “*He*” quite agrees with our supposition that the Maleach Jehovah appeared identical with the Lord only when sustaining the character of His Representative.—(4.) If the writer of the narrative had known that so important a difference of nature obtained between the Maleach Jehovah and the other angels, he would certainly have only spoken of him either as Maleach Jehovah or else as Jehovah and not simply as an *angel*. But the latter is done not merely by Stephen in the New Testament (Acts vii. 38, and, according to the correct reading, also in v. 30), but even by Moses (Numb. xx. 16), and that in a passage in which it is impossible to gather from the context that this angel differed from others, and where yet it appears important for the argument to ascribe the guidance of Israel not to an ordinary angel merely.—(5.) Nor is it without significance in deciding this question that the Maleach Jehovah appears for the first time in the history of Hagar. If he were the Logos, the God-man who was about to become manifest, and if his peculiar appearance were a personal and real manifestation of the Lord Himself, resulting from the covenant of God with Abraham, we should have anticipated that He would not for the first time have appeared to an Egyptian handmaid, who, along with her seed, was to be excluded from the history of salvation, but rather as taking part in an event which directly and immediately subserved to the purposes of the covenant. Farther, as the events tending towards the incarnation of God commenced not with the calling of Abraham but immediately after the fall, may we not ask with *Hofmann*, why, from the commencement of the history of salvation, and not from the time of Abraham merely, the manifestations of God, in so far as

they bore on the preparing for the coming of Christ, were not related as appearances of the Maleach Jehovah?—(6.) Lastly, it is not and cannot be explained how the designation Maleach Jehovah should have been chosen to denote a personal and real appearance of God manifest. *Hofmann* is perfectly right in saying that by every rule of language the מַלְאָךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ means not the king himself, nor the מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה Jehovah Himself, but in each case a distinct and subordinate messenger of the king or of Jehovah; just as in Revel. i. 1 and xxii. 16 the “angel of Jesus” indicates not the Lord Himself but an angel sent by Him, and that although that angel speaks as if he were Jesus (comp. xxii. 6, 12: “Behold I come quickly and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.”)

We have yet to consider the grounds which, according to some writers, render it absolutely necessary to believe that the Maleach Jehovah was Himself a Divine person. These grounds may be summed up as follows: (1) The Maleach Jehovah expressly identifies Himself with Jehovah; (2) those to whom He appears own, designate, and worship Him as true God; (3) He accepts of sacrifices and prayers without protesting against such acts of worship; (4) Biblical writers frequently designate Him as Jehovah.

It has already been pointed out that all these facts are accounted for by the lively consciousness that Jehovah personally appears and speaks in this angel, and that the difficulties and the strangeness connected with the representative character of the Maleach owe their origin in our minds to our modern and occidental mode of viewing which deals chiefly in the abstract and renders it next to impossible to transport one's-self into the modes of viewing, thinking, and speaking of the ancients, and especially of orientals who dealt chiefly in the concrete. But to enter more fully into each of the above four points. Ad. 1: We cannot deny that the prophets also frequently identify themselves with Jehovah. But—it is objected—in their case such is the exception, while in that of the Maleach Jehovah it is the rule; in their case it only takes place in moments of highest prophetic afflatus, in that of the angel always in ordinary circumstances. To this we reply: Such afflatus can only be expected to take place in human beings, not in an angel, and in Revel. xxii. 6, 12 he whom all own to have been merely an angel says, and that without being under any such influence: Ἰδοῦ, ἔρχομαι ταχύ &c. Besides, an angel always rejoices in fulness of communion with God, while the prophet only enjoys a temporary elevation beyond the bounds of self and of his nature. Nor is it quite proved that such a personification of another only takes place (either with prophets or men generally) in moments of fullest afflatus. *Delitzsch* has

cited some striking instances of such personifications, occurring in profane writers. Thus in the Iliad 18, 170 Iris, the messenger of Juno, speaks as if she were Juno herself: in the Iliad 4, 204, Talthybios speaks as if himself had sent. Other instances in point, from prose and historical writings—especially of eastern authors—might no doubt be found. AD. 2: On this point secular historians afford numerous analogies. Comp. *Delitzsch* p. 253: “In Herodot. 1, 212 (ed. Gron.) Tomyris replies to the messenger of Cyrus as if he were Cyrus; similarly, in Herodot. 3, 14 Psammitit speaks to the messenger of Cambyses as if he were Cambyses; in Xenoph. Cyrop. 3, 3, 56 (ed. Zeune), Cyrus addresses the ambassador of Cyaxares as if he spake to the latter personally. For other instances comp. Cyrop. 5, 4, 25; Anab. 1, 4, 16.” AD. 3: We allow that it were high treason if one in the employment of a king claimed, or even accepted unsought, such rights and honours as only belong to the king himself. But it is not high treason if, in the name and by authority of the king, and as the representative of his person, he accepts for example the loyal acknowledgment of the subjects. Such in reality is not made to him, but to the king whose person he represents. Similarly also may an angel אֲשֶׁר שָׁם יְהוָה בְּקִרְבּוֹ (Ex. xxiii. 21) accept the sacrifices and the worship of those to whom he is sent as the personal representative of God, without being guilty of high treason against the Divine Majesty. AD. 4: If the writer felt convinced that in this His messenger Jehovah Himself had appeared, spoken, and acted, he might readily have given prominence to and made mention of the contents rather than the form of this manifestation, following in this the concrete modes of expression current in his time and among his people.

The above investigations lead to the same result as that which *Delitzsch* has presented in the following sentences (Gen. p. 256): “Jehovah presents Himself in the Maleach, but by the medium of a finite spirit, and hence in a manner which one who occupies a lower stage of communion with God could more readily bear. But let it also be borne in mind that God manifests Himself as a person in this personal, living, and finite spirit. Jehovah is not without, but in the angel—שָׁמַי בְּקִרְבּוֹ, *i.e.* he is the medium of God’s revelation of Himself, for the name of Jehovah is the Lord bearing witness of Himself and thereby making Himself known. The relation between Jehovah and the Maleach Jehovah is, so to say, intermediate between taking the form of, and merely deputing an angel—it is less then the former and more then the latter; less then a ‘unio personalis,’ more then using a merely dynamic medium. It bears analogy to the presence of God in the prophets, but is only a type of, and preparation for, the presence of God in His incarnate Son. As the prophet so the

Maleach also has given up his whole being for the service of the God of Revelation, that the latter may speak and act through him. But the manifestation of God is much more transparent in an angel than in a prophet, inasmuch as the former is a purely spiritual and sinless being. In and through the angel it is indeed not the Deity exclusively who appears, but it approximates that result, as the angel wholly and passively surrenders himself an instrument to Divine activity, and transmits the rays of Divine glory unbroken and undarkened."

In conclusion we have to reply to two queries. First: Is the Maleach Jehovah one and the same personage throughout the whole history of salvation, or is he indeed a definite person chosen for every appearance, but not always one and the same personage? Philologically speaking, either of these views were admissible. For as מלאך is not the designation of a person but of an office, the מלאך יהוה need not always indicate one and the same person, but only *that* personage to whom the office pointed out in the *status constructus* is entrusted, viz., to represent the personal presence of Jehovah. This question, therefore, can only be answered by a study of the history of this subject. From Dan. x. 21 and xii. 1 we learn that among the angelic princes one, who bears the name of *Michael*, presides especially over Israel, being deputed by the Lord and employed by Him to watch over the history of the chosen race. But this angel manifestly occupies the position which the more ancient historical books had assigned to the Maleach Jehovah. We therefore agree with *Hofmann* (*Script. Demonstr.* i. 33) in the opinion that *this* angel is specially meant whenever the Angel of Jehovah appears as engaged in some service particularly connected with the history of Abraham and his chosen seed. But this reasoning does not hold good in cases when an angel-representative of the Lord is sent to persons who are beyond the circle of the chosen seed, as for example to Hagar and to Lot.

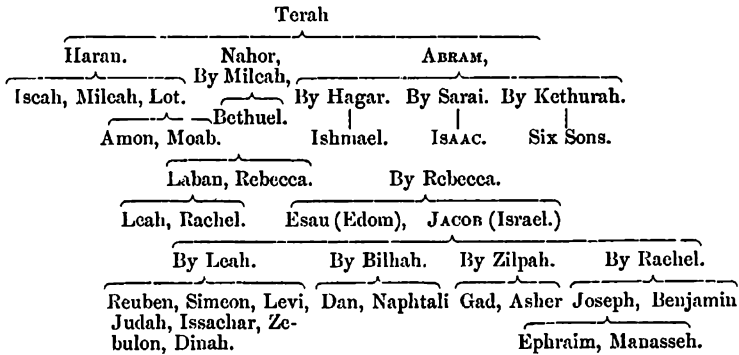
It may farther be asked whether this manifestation of God in the Maleach Jehovah was the only form of theophany in the Old Covenant, or whether the Lord had personally appeared in another manner than by the medium and through the representation of an angel, deputed for that purpose. *Hofmann* adopts the former view (*Script. Demonstr.* i. p. 331.) He argues that, "as afterwards the two expressions מלאך יהוה and יהוה יורה are used promiscuously whenever manifestations of God are recorded, and evidently mean the same thing, we are not only warranted but bound to apply the inference derived from this to all manifestations of God." We cannot allow that this argument is conclusive, although we are inclined to regard every manifestation of God, made patent to waking and sensible consciousness

(as for example in Gen. xii. 7 and xvii. 1), as having taken place through the Maleach Jehovah. This suggestion we would support by the following reasons:—(1) Man has since the fall become so much estranged from his original communion with God that he is no longer able to bear an immediate manifestation of God. "We behold in a glass darkly" (1 Cor. xiii. 12.) In the history of the patriarchs, the Maleach Jehovah, the vision, the dream, the symbol and the Word of God, whether as voice from heaven audible to the ear, or only as inward suggestion, represented these "mysterious (dark) glasses." (2) Considering the important position assigned to the Maleach Jehovah in the whole history of the Old Covenant, it is probable that even the first visible manifestation of the Covenant-God (Gen. xii. 7;—according to Acts vii. 2, Gen. xii. 1 would also belong to this category) had taken place in a form which seems afterwards to have been so constantly adopted. (3) We conceive that the outward appearance of the Maleach Jehovah was like that of an ordinary man, as those who for the first time beheld him supposed him to be such (Gen. xvi. 8, xix. 2; Josh. v. 13; Judg. vi. 13, xiii. 6, 8, 15), and only afterwards perceived his heavenly origin. It is otherwise in the case of Abraham, Gen. xviii. 3. At the first view of his exalted guests he recognises and salutes Jehovah in them. This mode of manifestation seems, therefore, not to have been new to *him*; and the event recorded in Gen. xii. 7 was probably the occasion of his first becoming acquainted with it.

Since then the Maleach Jehovah is a created being in whom God makes His personal presence known to man, in a manner accessible to his senses, and through whom in accordance with His Covenant purposes He actively interposes in the events which were to prepare the way of salvation—what relation, we may ask, does this manifestation of God bear to the high point of all these manifestations, we mean, to the incarnation of God in Christ? In our opinion the Maleach Jehovah, viewing him as we have done above, was typical of the incarnation. The whole preparatory history of salvation points forward to the incarnation, and, from the first, God overruled and directed all things in such a manner that every event tended towards that great fact. The manifestation of God in the Maleach Jehovah was a testimony and an earnest of His purposes in that respect, and of their ripening. The history of salvation had indeed not as yet so far progressed in its development that God could become incarnate in a man, for *He* in whom alone this miracle of grace could take place had not yet come and could not yet come. But to manifest Himself in a transient, *i.e.* to some extent in an *illusory*, human form would not have been in

accordance with the solemn reality of the case. We conceive that any form which the Lord had called forth for the purpose of a momentary outward manifestation of Himself would, especially if the form so chosen had been that of a *personal* creature, have been real, and hence also permanent. It was on this ground, we venture to suggest, that God chose for the purpose of manifesting Himself an individual from among the holy angels. The Maleach Jehovah is a type of the incarnation of God. But it is not God Himself who immediately takes human form; *the angel* in whom He appears takes the form of a man, and he can readily do this, because he has already a corporeal form which is either in itself analogous to that of man, or at least can readily accommodate itself to it.

NOTE.—For the better understanding of the history of this period, we prefix to it a genealogical table of the family-connections to which it refers.



FIRST CYCLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHAL FAMILY.

ABRAHAM.

CALLING AND PILGRIMAGE OF ABRAHAM.

§ 51. (Gen. xii. 1—9.)—The Lord chose Abram, the son of Terah—according to the genealogy handed down to us, the tenth in the series of patriarchs since the flood—to commence with him a new stage in the development of salvation (1.) His *calling* took place when he was in the seventy-fifth year of his age (2.) It involved a forsaking of what was behind, and a seeking after something new. It consisted in a *call* to leave his country and kindred, to sever those ties which bound one that was childless to his people and family (3); and in a *promise* that instead of his former home, shared by those whom he was now to leave, he would find a new home, which would belong to him alone, and that instead of those advantages which a connection with the collateral branches of his family held out, *himself* should become a great nation, and that *from him* blessings and salvation should issue *to all nations* (4.) In every relation *grace* was to take the place of *nature*, as the *covenant* into which his calling introduced him was entirely *one of grace*. Abram was not to expect anything from nature, but everything from grace. This Divine *promise* called forth his *faith*, the Divine *command* his obedience: he believed, renounced, and obeyed. With his wife *Sarai*, and accompanied by *Lot*, his *sister's* son (5), he goes forth without knowing his destination. In the "plain" of *Moreh*, near Sychem, he is informed that he has now reached the end of his journey. Jehovah appeared unto him, and said, "Unto thy seed will I give *this* land." Abram then consecrates the place where Jehovah had appeared to him, by building an altar. After that he pitched his tent on a mountain between Hai and Bethel.

There also he built an altar, and called upon the name of the Lord (6.)

(1.) The *separation* and *exclusion* which the calling of Abraham and of his seed implied, was necessary, and prepared the way for a dispensation *which was to embrace all nations*. God had indeed conferred a high distinction; but to enjoy it, the world and self had to be renounced, while all along the chosen people were subjected to a discipline and training, and visited by punishments and judgments, such as no other people required. Together with the distinction so vouchsafed, a yoke was laid on the chosen people which every other nation would have felt intolerable. Besides, it required a disposition of character which is not readily found. It must also be remembered that God chose in Abram a people which as yet did not exist, and which He was to call into being by His almighty power, *παρὰ φύσιν*, from a sterile body which was as good as dead.

(2.) It has always been matter of dispute whether the calling and journey of Abram had taken place during the lifetime or after the death of Terah. If the latter had been the case, Abram must have been born in the 130th year of Terah. The statement (ch. xi. 26) "Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran," must then be understood as meaning that Haran (the oldest of the three) was born when Terah was seventy years old, but that sixty years elapsed between his birth and that of Abram, the youngest son. But in our view the statement in ch. xi. 26 (as that in ch. v. 32) is intended to furnish a chronological datum, and refers to Abram (who is first named among the three sons), in whose history the chronological thread is continued. This passage leaves it therefore undecided which of the three sons was the oldest. But as Terah died at the age of 205 years (xi. 32), and Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed, the latter event must have taken place in the 130th year of Terah, or sixty years before his death. Despite these indubitable data, the departure of Abram has generally been supposed to have taken place in the year when Terah died, because, misunderstanding the historical style adopted in Genesis, it has been assumed that Abram left after the death of Terah, inasmuch as the latter event was recorded before the former. Hence the *Samaritan* version alters, in xi. 32, the age of Terah from 205 to 145 years, while in Acts vii. 4, Stephen expressly states that Abraham had departed *after* the death of his father. But the arbitrary alteration of the Samaritan text deserves no more credit in this than in other instances, while the statement of Stephen can only be regarded as indicating what, at the time, was the view current among the Jews. Many chronologists and

interpreters, however (such as *Usher, Frank, &c.*), have deemed themselves bound to submit to the authority of Stephen. Some have attempted, though in vain, to reconcile the two views above mentioned. In general, comp. *Kanne, Bibl. Researches*, i., p. 8 and following; *Ranke, Investig.* i., p. 198, &c.; *Tiele, Chronol.* p. 28; *Reinke, Contrib. to the Explanation of the Old Test.*, Münster, 1851, p. 86, and following; and others. According to the chronological data of the text, the calling of Abram took place when Terah was 145 years old, or in the year of the world 2021, and 365 after the flood.

(3.) The COMMANDMENT of *Jehovah*—"Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee," imports both something objective and something subjective. The Divine interference with (the negation of) the attempts at ungodly (because godless) human development, which commenced with the confusion of tongues and the scattering of the nations, became complete when Abram was singled out. In the former case, the separation was forced, in the latter it was voluntary; in the former case, it was merely the act of God, in the latter that of God and of man. In the former case, God had merely interfered to prevent; in this, we perceive more than mere interference—a *positive* purpose. There God interfered in *judgment*; here *grace* is manifestly the final purpose of the judgment. He judges in order to bless; He separates in order to unite. A new order of things was to commence with Abram. He had therefore to forsake what was behind, to be separated from his kindred and people, else he would have remained only a member in the old chain, the chief of one of the common nomadic tribes; even irrespective of the fact that to retain his former connection would have involved imminent peril, as idolatry had made rapid strides among those by whom he was surrounded. (*Josh. xxiv. 2, 14.*) Had he remained with his kindred, the peculiar religious and political development of his descendants would have been impeded and retarded; sooner or later he or his posterity would have been lured back, and their national life sprung up and grown on the soil of nature and heathenism. Again, viewed subjectively, the call of Abram implied a trial and confirmation of his obedience of faith, by exacting renunciation and self-denial, hoping and waiting. These were to become the distinctive characteristics in the popular and national life of the covenant people, and hence were also typically brought into the fore-ground as the characteristics of their ancestor.

(4.) Abraham obtained this PROMISE (comp. *Hengstenberg, Christol.*, i., p. 53 and following; *Sack, Apologet.*, 2d ed., p. 267, &c.; *Hofmann, Predict.* i., p. 97)—"*I will make of thee*

a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." In this promise the blessing first given to *Shem*, in Gen. ix. 26, 27 (comp. § 28), is again taken up, continued, and more fully unfolded. In the promise, "Unto thy seed will I give this land," the sentence of bondage, to which Canaan had been condemned, is implied, and again confirmed, but this time only in so far as it was a blessing to Abram, and not as a curse upon Canaan. Similarly is the promise that Japheth was to find Jehovah and His salvation in the tents of *Shem* again taken up in the words—"In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed," only that it is no longer restricted to the descendants of Japheth, but extended to all the nations who do not refuse the blessing coming from the seed of Abraham. That which gives its emphasis to this blessing is, that at the time Abram was childless, and his wife barren. The glorious fulness which is treasured up in this blessing rests upon a physical impossibility. Only a miracle of almighty power can bring a numerous progeny from the dead womb of Sarai. This very circumstance elevates the whole development above the sphere of mere nature, and transports it into that of grace. The promise starts at a point where the isolation is most marked, and it advances till it reaches a point where it embraces all. Blessing and salvation are to extend from chosen and blessed Abram to all mankind. This prediction contains both the foundation and the aim, the commencement and the close of the new history which commenced with him. But the blessings which are to extend through Abram to all nations cannot be other than those which had been first vouchsafed to Abram and his seed, viz., the knowledge, fellowship, and love of the one true God, and all those benefits of salvation which flow from this source. If it is asked whether this prediction was *Messianic*, we answer—if by that expression (as its terms, strictly speaking, bear) only such predictions are meant which imply consciousness of a future, *personal* Messiah—*No*. On the other hand, we answer the question *affirmatively*, if every reference to the great salvation is designated as *Messianic*, even where the knowledge of a personal Saviour was wanting. For nothing is more certain than that this prediction does not as yet contain any hint which might have called such knowledge into existence. The seed of Abraham, *i.e.*, the people which descended from Abraham, in its totality and unity, is to be the medium of salvation. The hypothesis of *Hengstenberg* (l. c., p. 57), who admits this, but suggests as more than probable that Abram had obtained another revelation, not recorded in the text, and in which what in this blessing remained

indefinite was clearly explained, is not only entirely groundless, but even inadmissible. As yet the hope of the patriarchs of a coming salvation was dependent on their expectation that from the one ancestor a great nation was to spring. Only after this hope had become a reality could the expectation of salvation, which had depended upon this, concentrate itself, and rise into waiting for a personal Messiah. For a more full argumentation on this subject, we refer the reader to § 94, 3. If from the close relationship in which Abram stood to God (Gen. xviii. 17), we were to suppose a deeper insight on his part, we might as well infer that he had been Divinely instructed in all religious mysteries. The saying of the Lord, (John viii. 56), "Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad," must be taken as uttered in the fulness of New Testament consciousness. What had been promised to Abram, filled his heart with joy and longing; and Christ designates as *his day* the period when the promise which Abram had seen in spirit and realised by faith, was fulfilled. *Delitzsch*, who takes the same view, aptly remarks, p. 261:—"The salvation of Jehovah is to be brought about by the medium of Abraham! Thus far has the promise of salvation been unfolded. Already it points to the union of Divinity with humanity; but its human aspect is as yet indefinite, and points to a אָבְרָם , an expression which might either apply to a race or to a person. The real basis of the promise is still found only in its Divine aspect, according to which Jehovah is to make use of the seed of Abraham, in order to bring about the salvation of man. As yet it is not revealed that Himself is to become incarnate, and to take upon Him the seed of Abraham." This second promise, then, rests on the same foundation of indefinite generality as the first in Gen. iii. 15. But already distinct progress has been made in the transition from the one to the other. In the former case, the promised salvation was described as coming through the human family generally; in this it is limited to the seed of Abraham. In the former case, only an assurance was conveyed that destruction would be averted; in this, positive blessings are already held out.

It is a thorough misunderstanding on the part of *W. Reuter* (in *H. Reuter's* Repertor. for 1846, p. 122), when he says that "if the New Testament commandment, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you,' &c., really proceeded from Divine revelation, the promise of Jehovah, 'Him that curseth thee I will curse,' &c., cannot be regarded as in the same manner revealed." The two statements cannot be held side by side with each other. It is not that here, as in many other places (for example, in 2 Kings i. 10, as comp. with Luke ix. 54, &c.), we have to bear in mind that the stand-point of the Old was different

from that of the New Testament, but that in the one case it is *God* who speaks as the just and holy judge and avenger, in the other it is *man* who is addressed, as a sinner who requires grace and pardon, and who having obtained pardon and grace, should again unconditionally forgive and love even those that had offended against him. There is no analogy in this respect between the conduct of God and that of man, either in the Old or in the New Testament. In the latter, it is written as distinctly (Heb. x. 30) as in the Old Testament (Deut. xxxii. 35, &c.), "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," and one and the same rule must always apply to the dealings of the great Judge, viz.. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." Besides, Abraham is here not viewed as an individual, but as the representative of the chosen race, and as the medium by which the great salvation was to be developed. Hence those who cursed Abraham were not his personal enemies, but rather those who opposed and disturbed the Divine plan; in Abraham and in his seed they hated, not the person, but the calling and the place which God had assigned to it in reference to other nations. The curse of God therefore implies his retributive justice, manifested in the *history of the world*, by which the curse which the nations and kingdoms of the world would bring upon the chosen race is thrown back upon themselves. The whole history of Israel, and of its collisions with other nations, shows that God was in earnest in pronouncing this curse, and that it was literally fulfilled. One after the other, the Egyptians, the Amalekites, the Edomites, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Syrians, and the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans have fallen under this curse. But let it not be thought that such threatenings and denunciations would, in Abraham and his posterity, have excited hatred or resentment towards the heathen. The opposite of this is the case. For when God says, "Vengeance is mine," He clearly intimates that its execution was not to be left to Abraham; and when He adds, "in thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," He plainly indicates that theirs it was to bless and not to curse.

(5.) God had not intended that *LOT SHOULD JOIN Abraham on his journey*. This is sufficiently manifest from his later history. But God allowed it, probably from condescension to Abraham's attachment to his family.

(6.) We add some explanations as to the localities to which we have referred in the text. The pilgrims passed through the plain of Jezreel, which, so to speak, formed a large gateway into the land (§ 40, 2), and then turned to the mountains of Ephraim. *SYCHEM* (the present Nabalus) lies in the beautiful and fruitful valley which divides Mounts Ebal and Gerizim; to the south,

the broad plain of el-Mūkhna joins this valley. The name which it still bears ("place of encampment"), reminds us of the time when the patriarchs passed through it. *Robinson*, who entered the valley of Sychem through Mūkhna, describes it as one of the most attractive portions of Palestine. "All at once (he writes, vol. ii. p. 275) the ground sinks down to a valley running towards the west, with a soil of rich black vegetable mould. Here a scene of luxuriant and almost unparalleled verdure bursts upon our view. The whole valley was filled with gardens of vegetables and orchards of all kinds of fruits, watered by several fountains, which burst forth in various parts and flow westward in refreshing streams. It came upon us suddenly, like a scene of fairy enchantment. We saw nothing to compare with it in all Palestine." *Such* then must have been the first view which Abraham got of the land of promise. The plain (or rather the wood) of *Morch*, where Abraham settled, probably derived its name from the Canaanitish proprietor of that district. Abram journeyed southwards for the sake of pasturage. The town of BETHEL was originally called *Luz* (Judg. i. 23; Josh. xviii. 13), and here only bears the former name "*per prolepsin*." According to *Robinson* the ruins beside the little village of Makhṛûn, which by the people are called Beitin, are the remains of ancient Bethel. They lie five geographical miles to the south of Sychem, two geographical miles north of Jerusalem, and at the entrance of a valley which debouches into Wady Kelt (compare § 40, 4, *Robinson* vol. i. pp. 448 and 449.) The agreement both of situation and of name affords decisive confirmation that Beitin is the ancient Bethel. The Arabic termination *in* for the Hebrew *el* is not an unusual change. Latterly this view has been quite established by the discovery of the ancient Ai. *Robinson* vainly sought to discover traces of Ai, which, according to Joshua vii. 2, viii. 1, lay on the east of Bethel, and not far from it. But he supposes it probable that this city is represented by a ruin half-an-hour to the south-east of Beitin, and near the village Deir Duwân (vol. i. pp. 443 and 575.) But *Krafft* and *Strauss* (compare *Krafft*, Topogr. of Jerus. p. 9, and *Strauss*, Sinai and Gogtha, 2d ed., p. 365) discovered about an hour to the east of Jeba (the Gela of Saul), and hence about two hours to the east of Beitin, some ruins upon a height, overhanging Wady es-Suweinit, which bear among the Arabs the name Medinet-Chai, and which they identify with the ancient Ai. *Strauss* describes them as follows. "The mountain on which Gibeah is built descends on the eastern side of the town, and runs into a plain which stretches eastward. Following it, we reached in half-an-hour a hill-like elevation, where we discovered the ruins of Medinet-Chai, or Ai. They consist of a considerable quantity of ruins, surrounded by a

circular wall, and the place is further protected by the precipitous rocks which form the sides of the valley of Farah to the south, and of the valley of Suweinit to the north (which join half-an-hour farther east.)” We shall by and by see how well this description tallies with the statements of the Old Testament, especially with the account of the expedition of Joshua against Ai. With such testimonies in its favour, the hypothesis of *Thenius* (in *Kauffer's* *Bibl. Stud.* II, p. 129, &c., to which *Keil*, *Comm.* on the Book of Kings, p. 325, &c., and on the Book of Joshua, p. 112, &c., has also adhered), who identifies Bethel with the little village Sinjil, to the south-west of Seilun, and Ai with the village of Turmus 'Aya (*Robinson* ii. p. 267), not far to the east of Sinjil, cannot bear investigation. It is indeed true that some weight attaches to his reasoning against the identity of Beitin and Bethel, but his arguments are not so strong as to set aside the similarity of the names. Still less important is the suggestion of *Gross* (in *Tholuck's* *Anz.* 1846, No. 54, &c.), who, admitting the identity of Beitin and Bethel, finds Ai in the village Taiyibeh, about half an hour to the north-east of Beitin.

ABRAM IN EGYPT.

§ 52. (Gen. xii. 10, &c.)—But soon the joy of Abram, occasioned by the beauty of the land which he had entered, and the possession of which had been promised to his seed, gives place to sorrow. A new and a heavy trial awaits him. The country which had been assigned to him in room of all he had surrendered, is visited with famine, and he and his numerous dependants can no longer find sustenance in it. To avoid the impending danger, he leaves the land of promise, and, without waiting for direction from on high, journeys into fertile Egypt, to the borders of which he had approached during his nomadic migrations through the land of promise. Thus he escapes indeed the trial which God had prepared for him, but he rushes into an ordeal much more trying and severe. He is in danger of not only losing the land of promise, which himself had now given up, but also the other and much more important part of the blessing, the promised seed. As he could not but fear that the beauty of his wife might become a source of danger to him among the voluptuous Egyptians (1) (~~2~~), he passes her off as his sister, deeming it sufficient excuse that she was in reality a half sister (ch. xx. 12) (2.) In

point of fact her beauty attracted the attention of Pharaoh's princes, and, contrary to Abram's expectation, she is sent for to Pharaoh's harem, while numerous presents which would be of value to a nomadic chief are given to her supposed brother. But unlike Abram, *Jehovah* does not surrender her who was to be the mother of the promised seed. He visited Pharaoh and his house with great plagues. Thus the attention of the king was aroused, and by and by he ascertained the true state of the case. He addressed to Abram reproaches not wholly undeserved, although they scarcely excuse his own conduct, and returned to the Patriarch his wife without having touched her (3.) Conveyed by a royal guard of honour, Abram returns to Palestine.

(1.) Some have taken exception to the *historical character* of this narrative, on account of the *age of Sarai* (which must have been between sixty-five and seventy years.) But we must remember that at that time a man's life commonly lasted twice as long as at present. Besides a noble nomadic princess, such as Sarai, must have led a life free from all trouble and anxiety, while the beneficial influence of continual exposure to fresh air must have contributed to preserve her health and beauty. Nor can we wonder that Sarai seemed to the Egyptians of rare beauty as compared with their own women, who, from all accounts, ancient and modern, are commonly sunburnt and in attractive.

(2.) ON ABRAM'S CONDUCT IN EGYPT, compare the essay by *Hengstenberg* on the unholiness of holy persons, in his *Contrib.* vol. iii. p. 526, &c. We have first to consider what Abram could gain by pretending that Sarai was merely his sister. If she had been introduced as his wife, any one who wished to possess her could only attain this by violence, which would have *greatly endangered* the life of Abram. But if she passed for his sister, it seemed probable that overtures would be made, and thus time, in this case the one thing requisite, gained. Besides, he probably hoped that *Jehovah*, who had destined his wife to be the mother of the promised seed, would vindicate the honour of his promise. With regard to the moral character of Abram's evasion, Jews and Christians have emulated each other in attempts to remove every slur from the "friend of God." Even *Luther* was so much under the influence of this traditional prejudice that he supposed that Abram "had conceived this purpose in the exercise of a very strong faith, and by inspiration of the Holy Spirit" (Ed. of *Walch* i. p. 1188.) *Hirsch* (in his *Rel. Phil. of the Jews*, p. 486) has suggested that a *divorce* had been agreed upon in case the worst should happen, that thus all possibility of criminality had been

avoided, and that the character of Abram appeared in this very transaction in the brightest light. The same writer further supposes that, in taking his wife from him, God had subjected Abram to a trial similar to that when afterwards He took his son from him. *Calvin*, in his Comm. on Gen. xx. 12, was the first impartially to view the transaction, and the majority of Reformed and Lutheran theologians have since followed in his steps. Comp. for example *Heidegger* Hist. Patr. ii. p. 149, *Rambach* Eccl. Hist. of the Old Test. i. p. 273. It is no excuse under the circumstances to say that in some sense Sarai was really the sister of Abram (being either the daughter of Terah by another mother, or what is not improbable, the daughter of Haran.) The defence set up by *Augustine* (c. Faust. 22, 3): "indicavit sororem, non negavit uxorem; tacuit aliquid veri, non dicit aliquid falsi"¹—misses the point in question. However, we may conclude that at that stage in the history of revelation, the moral consciousness was by no means so clear and settled as now, and hence we must judge of the conduct of Abram with charity. Despite the weakness manifest in this virtual denial of his wife, we may suppose that Abram's faith had come out even here, and that the prayer, "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief," had, so to say, embodied itself in his conduct. *Delitzsch* is right in observing that this account is given not to cast blame upon Abram, but to reflect honour on Jehovah, and *Hengstenberg* also is warranted in stating that the object of the writer was not to honour Abram, but Jehovah.

It is well known that the name פְּרִעָה, LXX. Φαραώ, Arab. فرعون, is the common official name of all the Kings of Egypt in the Old Testament. *Rosellini* and *Lepsius* suppose that it is the ancient Egyptian word Φ—PH, i.e. the sun, used to indicate the royal dignity. But *Gesenius* Thes. 1129 and *E. Meier* (Dict. of Roots, p. 703) retain the former derivation of the word (*Joseph. Ant.* 8, 6, 2) from the Coptic ουρο (or with the masculine article πουρο), i.e. King. The chronology of ancient Egyptian history is so uncertain that it is impossible to fix upon either the dynasty or the place of residence of this King at the time of Abram. But it is both important and remarkable that we do not at this period observe any trace of the prejudices entertained at a later period in Egypt, when nomadic shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians. This fact affords decisive testimony in favour of the antiquity and of the historical character of this narrative.

(3.) All suppositions as to the kind of PLAGUES which God

¹ He pointed her out as his sister, but did not deny that she was his wife. He withheld part of the truth, but said nothing that was false.

sent upon Pharaoh and his household are entirely destitute of foundation. Even the analogy of Gen. xx. vv. 6 and 17 is uncertain, although it is probable that the plagues were of such a nature as to point to their true cause. If, in accordance with the religious views of antiquity, Pharaoh regarded these plagues as a *Divine* judgment, he or his magicians and soothsayers must readily have traced them to Sarai, who had at any rate been violently and unjustly taken from the house of Abram. Under the circumstances it would be easy to learn the true state of the case, either from Sarai herself or from the servants of Abram. As Pharaoh had destined Sarai—the supposed sister of a nomadic chief—to be not merely his concubine but his *wife* (v. 19), both custom and law demanded that sometime should elapse ere the union could be completed—compare Esther ii. v. 12.

(4.) Following the indication in Psalm cv. vv. 8 to 15, *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii. p. 532) infers that this fact shews that “the Providence of God watches over His elect, that he delivers him from difficulties into which his own sin had led him, and from which merely human wisdom could never have found an escape. While Abram in his carnal wisdom does all that lieth in him to annul the promise, God preserves it through the chastity of her who was to become the mother of the chosen race; and the most powerful King of that time has to bow before Abram, who yet is apparently utterly helpless and defenceless. Pharaoh must restore to the Patriarch what he had unjustly taken away.” But the circumstance that this took place in Egypt, the *country bordering* on the land of promise, and which held out the temptation of riches, of worldly culture and wisdom, thus forming a type of the kingdoms of this world in their power and glory, gives to this event a peculiar import. Indeed, all throughout, Egypt was to the chosen race, as it were, like the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. As in Abram we trace the germ of the later developments of his posterity, so does his life form a type of the relationship into which his descendants stood towards Egypt. The same wants brought him and them to Egypt, the same danger threatens them, and the same mighty arm delivers and brings them back, enriched with the precious things of that country.

ABRAM AND LOT. MELCHISEDEC.

§ 53. (Gen. xiii.)—Abram returns to Canaan with his flocks increased, and again settles in his former place of residence, between Bethel and Ai, where once more he formally worships Jehovah. Hitherto Lot had accompanied him in all his journeys.

But this communion had its origin in the *old* development, and hence as gradually the *new* development appeared it was to be dissolved, as improper and contrary to the Divine intention towards His elect. Abram was unconscious of this circumstance, but in the Providence of God His purposes are realised by means of certain occurrences. The pasturage which the Canaanites had left did not afford sufficient room for the flocks of Abram and of Lot. Disputes arose between their shepherds, and ultimately led to a peaceable separation. Abram, who was already accustomed to exercise self-denial, left the choice to Lot. The latter following the suggestions of his self-interest, which as frequently so here also was made subservient to the plans of God, chose the neighbourhood of Jordan which lay beyond the boundaries allotted to the seed of Abram, a country well watered everywhere as the garden of the Lord. He took up his abode at Sodom (1), without being deterred by the corruption of the place, which already called to heaven for vengeance. Abram, now left alone with his God, obtains again a more full and definite promise (2) of the land. He journeys through it in the length and in the breadth of it, and at last settles *in the plain of Mamre* (the wood of Mamre) where he built an altar unto the Lord.

(1.) On the situation and the natural features of the district chosen by Lot, comp. § 39, 6 and § 61, 2.

(2.) The PROMISE of *the land* to Abram and to his seed becomes more full, being assigned to him for an eternal possession עַד עוֹלָם. With reference to his *seed* it is now promised that it shall become like dust of the earth in number. On the expression עַד עוֹלָם *M. Baumgarten* remarks: "Only that is eternal which rests upon an intrinsic necessity. . . . Hence the words indicate that Abram and his seed should obtain possession of the land in virtue of such a necessity on which implicit reliance could be placed. The bond therefore between the people and the land of promise could not be broken by any power from without." We add that this bond still continues, even though Israel has been banished for seventy and again for 1800 years from the land of its inheritance. As the body is adapted and destined for the soul and the soul for the body, so is Israel for that country and that country for Israel. Without Israel the land is like a body from which the soul has fled; banished from its country, Israel is like a ghost which cannot find rest.

(3.) The wood of MAMRE derived its name from the Amorite

princes of the neighbourhood—Vide chap. xiv. 13. *Hebron* is one of the oldest cities of the world, having been built seven years before Zoan (Tanis), the ancient capital of Egypt (Numb. xiii. 23.) In Abram's time it also bore the name of the *city of Mamre* from its possessor (Gen. xxiii. 19, xxxv. 27.) Afterwards when the *Enakim* took the city, it was called the city of *Arba*, after their prince. But the original name of Hebron came again into use when, at the time of Joshua, the Israelites retook it from the *Enakim*. Comp. Numb. xiii. 23; Josh. xv. 13 and 14; *Kanne Invest.* i. p. 102, &c.; *Hüvernick Introd.* i. 2 p. 306, &c.; *Hengstenberg Contrib.* iii. p. 187, &c.; *Welte Post-Mos.* p. 166, &c. The present name of Hebron, el-Khulil (*i.e.* the friend), was given in honour of Abram, whom the Arabs call "the friend of God," a title which he bears in Scripture also (2 Chron. xx. 7; Isaiah xli. 8; James ii. 23.) For a history of the town comp. *Robinson* ii. pp. 73 to 94, and *Preiswerk* in the "Orient" for 1840, p. 33; compare also especially *K. Ritter* xvi. 1, pp. 209 to 260. The neighbourhood of Hebron presents some of the finest scenery in Palestine. *Schubert* (ii. p. 463) observes: "The neighbourhood of this city resembles an extensive and fertile olive-grove; the declivity of the hills and the valley present the richest verdure and gardens which, in the direction of Jerusalem, are intersected by beautiful vineyards."

§ 54. (Gen. xiv. 1—16.)—Lot imagined that he had chosen an excellent place of residence, but his mistake soon became manifest. The kings of the five cities in the lower valley of the Jordan (Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Bela, which is Zoar) where Lot had settled, had for twelve years been tributaries of Chedorlaomer, the powerful king of Elam (Elymais in the Persian Gulf.) In the thirteenth year they revolted, assisted by three other (vassal) kings. Chedorlaomer marched against them, made an incursion into the valley of Jordan, everywhere carrying fire and sword, defeated the rebels, and took rich spoil and many captives—among them Lot himself. One that had escaped told this to Abram, who immediately armed three hundred and eighteen trained servants born in his own house, and, being joined by his neighbour Mamre, and his brothers Eshcol and Auer, he followed the victorious army in its march northwards, surprised it during the night, smote it (2), pursued the fugitives unto Damascus, and brought back all the captives, together with immense spoil (3.)

(1.) For the political motives, from the peculiar position of the five cities, which had induced Chedorlaomer to war against them, and for geographical details of the expedition described in the text, compare the excellent paper of *Tuch* (notes to Gen. xiv.), in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (vol. i., No. 2, p. 161, &c.)

(2.) Abram overtook the enemy near DAN—not the same as the town of Laish or Leshem, which only obtained the name of Dan during the time of the Judges (Josh. xix. 47; Judges xviii. 29.) Probably it lay in the north of Palestine, and was the same which in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 is called Dan Jaan. Comp. *Hävernick* Introd. i. 2 p. 310; *Hengstenberg* Contrib. iii. p. 192, &c.; and *Welte* Post-Mos. p. 166. Any objections as to the improbability that so small a band could be victorious over the army of the allied kings have been satisfactorily answered by *Schleyer* (Remarks on the prophecies of the Old Test. p. 285, &c.) The success was principally due to the faith of Abram, and to the assistance of God. At the same time we must not forget that the reinforcements of his neighbours may probably have increased the army of Abram to a thousand men, while it is erroneous to suppose that the army of Chedorlaomer which was only intended for a foray, would be very considerable. Besides, we have to keep in mind that the enemy thought himself perfectly secure, was suddenly overtaken during a dark night by the army of Abram, who evidently came upon them from different directions (v. 15), and that confusion and panic must have ensued. Abram's host was also swelled by many who had escaped from the cities of the plain, and, during the contest, those who had been led away captives must have joined their deliverers.

(3.) *Ewald* (Hist. i. p. 353, &c.) speaks in enthusiastic language of this account, and supposes that it constitutes the only record handed down from the time of the Patriarchs which bears a strictly historical and entirely reliable character. "All at once we descry a *totally different mode of viewing history*, and gain the most clear perception of what had really taken place. . . . Nothing therefore is left us but to be thankful for the rare fortune by which this unique piece has been preserved. For if any one were inclined, with this piece before him, to doubt the real existence of Abram and Lot, or the historical greatness of the former, he could scarcely be supposed to have commenced the study of the marks by which any really historical circumstance can be recognised." Although, from the peculiar views which have brought upon our author this sudden fit of enthusiasm, we cannot quite share it, we are grateful for the testimony which it embodies in opposition to the critical absurdities of those who would entirely deny the existence of Abram, and trace his

name to Brama, and that of Sarai to Sarasvati (*Bohlen* Gen. p. 195; *Hitzig* Ps. ii. p. 42; *Vatke* Relig. of Old Test. i. p. 689; comp. against it also *E. Meyer* Dict. of Heb. Roots p. 282, &c.) *Bertheau* i. p. 216 also thinks that "the position of this narrative in the book of Genesis, its peculiar contents, and the whole character of the account, shew that it was a fragment from a larger historical work written for a *totally different purpose from that of the book of Genesis*, and indicate a very accurate knowledge of antiquity." According to *Tuch* also, "Gen. xiv. is beyond doubt a very ancient document, of genuine historical value." In opposition to such testimonies from his own friends, the false criticism of *Hitzig* (Ps. ii. p. 176), who declares that this account is a pure invention intended to imitate the campaign of Sennacherib, appears quite untenable. This kind of criticism may safely be left to refute itself (comp. also *Bertheau* p. 217, note.) It is otherwise with the statement of *Ewald* and *Bertheau*, who think that the style and mode of thinking in this chapter is totally different from the plan and purposes pursued in the book of Genesis. We admit that Genesis xiv. embodies a document which had existed before the composition of Genesis, but we also maintain that it was inserted by the writer of Genesis because it tallied with the purposes and the plan of his work. Wherein, may we ask, consist these elements which are supposed to be so different from the plan of Genesis? *Bertheau* states that the book of Genesis was not intended to record the *martial achievements* of Abram, and that therefore the narrative under consideration was, by way of exception, loosely inserted. But it is *not* the case that the narrative is either *loose or unconnected*. On the contrary it presupposes what precedes it (for it is one of its purposes to shew that Lot's selfish choice had borne bitter fruit), and it is necessary in order to explain what follows, for it accounts for the circumstance that in the following chapter Jehovah encourages and comforts Abram. Nor can we admit that this narrative *forms an exception*, as it is quite possible that this may have been the only martial achievement of Abram. Equally incorrect is it to suppose that the main purpose of the narrative had been to recall the martial glory which Abram had gained, or his disinterested attachment to his relatives. All these were only secondary, not primary objects in view. It is indeed true that affection for Lot may have been the *motive*, and his deliverance from captivity the *object* of Abram's expedition. But both this and his victory had a higher meaning when viewed *objectively* and in their bearing upon history. It is not the purpose of the narrative to exalt *Abram*, but to shew the wonderful *leadings of God* towards his elect, by which everything is brought into immediate relation with the Divine plan.

Abram is intended to become the possessor of the country ; it is therefore his province to protect the land or to deliver its inhabitants from all violence on the part of enemies, while God, who has chosen him to be the possessor of the land, gives him the victory. His success presents him to the inhabitants in the light of one who brings protection and blessing on the country, while in his own mind it must have appeared as an earnest that the *promised* possession of the land was as secure to him as its future *actual* possession, and that he was even already called to be its possessor and protector.

§ 55. (Gen. xiv. 17.)—On his return, Bera, king of Sodom, went to meet Abram as far as the *Kings' valley* to the north of *Salem*, where the roads to Hebron and Sodom diverge (1.) *Melchisedec*, king of Salem, and a priest of the *Most High God*, also came to salute the victor, and, in his function of priest, entertained him with bread and wine, and blessed him in the name of the Most High God, who had given him the victory. And Abram gave him titles of all the spoils he had taken (2.) Bera offered him the goods re-taken from the enemy in reward for his assistance, but Abram swore by the Most High God that he would not take from a thread to a shoe-latchet. Not the king of Sodom, but Jehovah had called and blessed him, and *He* would also enrich him. At the same time he claimed for his *allies* the portion which by right was theirs.

(1.) SALEM is the ancient name for what afterwards became the capital of the Jewish commonwealth. *Jerusalem* (according to *Hengstenberg* Ps. iii. p. 331 = *ירוש שלם*, the peaceful possession, while *Hofmann*, *Predict.* i. p. 102, derives it from *ירר* and *שלם*, and interprets it as *κρίσιμα εἰρήνης*, from a comparison of the meaning of *ירר* in Genesis xxxi. 51, and the name *ירושלם*, 2 Chron. xx. 16) is either an enlargement of the name Salem, or the latter is an abbreviated form of Jerusalem. Psalm lxxvi. 3, where Salem is certainly the same as Jerusalem, points to this inference, which is borne out by the later Jewish tradition in Onkelos and Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 10, 2.) Another confirmation is derived from the name Adonizedec = Melchisedec (*Josh.* x. 3), which the king of the Jebusites bore, as had been the custom of all the rulers of that city. The place also where Abram met with Melchisedec—the Kings' valley—points to Jerusalem. For, when in 2 Sam. xviii. 18 we read that Absalom erected a monument for himself in that valley, we may be pretty

certain "that this was not in some out-of-the-way corner, but in the vicinity of the capital" (*Hengstenberg*—comp. also *Krafft*, *Topogr. of Jerus.* p. 88; *Josephus*, *Antiq.* 7, 10, 3.) *Raumer* (*Palest.* p. 303) supposes that this valley is the same as that of *Jehoshaphat*, lying to the north of Jerusalem, and traversed by the brook *Kidron*. *Robinson* (vol. i. p. 270) remarks, "Before reaching the city and also opposite its northern parts, the valley spreads out into a basin of some breadth, which is tilled and contains plantations of olive and other fruit trees." Tradition also confirms the identity of the valley of *Jehoshaphat* and that of the king by fixing, although incorrectly (comp. *Krafft* l. c. p. 89), on a monument in the valley as that of *Absalom*. We cannot attach any weight to the objection that Jerusalem had borne the name of *Jebus* before it was taken by David (*Judges* xix. 10.) The same remark applies to this name as to those of *Hebron*. *Salem* or *Jerusalem* was the original name, although that derived from its *Canaanitish* possessors was also current, and only fell into desuetude after the time of David. Strictly speaking it cannot even be proved that Jerusalem ever bore the name of *Jebus* (comp. *Hofmann* l. c.), as that name (in *Judges* xix. 10, comp. verse 11) may have been the designation of the people. Besides if the name *Jebus* had alone been in use at a former period, that of *Jerusalem* must have been given by David. But of this there is no trace, nor does it appear likely considering that this name bears no reference to any event which had then taken place. *Rosenmüller*, *Bleek*, *Tuch*, and *Ewald* suppose that *Salem* was the same as the place on the other side *Jordan*, where *John* baptised (*John* iii. 23.) This statement rests on the erroneous opinion that on his return from *Damascus* to *Sodom*, *Abram* may and indeed must have passed through *this Salem* and not through *Jerusalem*. But this is utterly ungrounded, and depends on the hypothesis that *Abram* had made a considerable detour and passed by *Sodom* to *Hebron*. But his resolution to have nothing to do with the king of *Sodom* appears so clearly that we cannot suppose he had taken this route. On the other hand the way from *Damascus* to *Hebron* leads through *Jerusalem*. *Krafft* rightly observes, "The king of *Sodom* passed up through the modern *Wady en-Nâr*, which is a continuation of the valley of *Kidron*, and leads to the *Dead Sea*, while *Melchisedec* descended towards that valley from his neighbouring mountain fortress of *Salem*." Despite the confidence of *Tuch* in the correctness of his interpretation, we take leave not only to doubt, but with equal confidence to declare it erroneous. We do not see that *Abram* must have passed down the *Jordan* valley as far as *Sodom* in order to bring back the captives whom he had rescued. The text does not indicate that he either did this, or

that there was any necessity for it. To suppose that there was a Salem in the neighbourhood of Sechem is an untenable hypothesis, derived from a mistranslation of Gen. xxxiii. 18, where *Shalem* is equivalent to "in good order" (comp. *Hengstenberg* l. c. and § 46, 3.) The best defence of the correct view on this subject is furnished by *J. D. Michaelis*, *Typical Theol.* Preface pp. 14 to 72; *Tiele*, ad h. l.; *Hofmann*, l. c.; *Hengstenberg*, l. c.; *W. Krafft*, *Topogr. of Jerus.*, Bonn 1847, p. 87, &c. We will immediately shew that it is of great importance for our history that Salem was Jerusalem.

(2.) The question as to the import and the *person* of MELCHISEDEC, who is so suddenly introduced to our notice, and the typical interpretation of his history in Psalm cx. 4, but especially in Hebrews vii. ("Without father, without mother, without pedigree, having neither beginning of days nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God"), has led to the most curious interpretations (comp. *Heidegger* *Hist. Patr.* ii. p. 38, &c., *Deyling* *Observ.* ss. ii. p. 71, &c.) Most of the *Rabbins* took him for *Shem*, *Jurieu* for Ham, *Hulsius* for Enoch, *Crigen* for an angel, *Kloppenburg* for a man, purposely and immediately created by God, *Ambrosius*, *Cunaeus*, *Hottinger* for Christ Himself, and the sect of the Melchisedecites for the *Holy Spirit* (*Walch* *History of Hersies* i. p. 556), while *Josephus* supposes that he was an ordinary Canaanitish king. But if we bear in mind that in all probability the original inhabitants of Palestine had been descendants of *Shem* (through the race of Lud), who were driven back or absorbed at a later period by the Canaanites, and if we farther consider the peculiar position of Melchisedec among the later possessors of Canaan, we shall probably infer that he was of Shemitic and not of Canaanitish origin, and more particularly that he was the last independent representative of the original Shemitic population, which had already been vanquished by the Canaanites. This view tallies, at least, better with the blessing of Noah, recorded in Gen. ix. 25, &c., while it sheds a new light upon the narrative of the text. For the most full explanation of the whole circumstances, we refer to *Hofmann* l. c. i. p. 101, &c. Abram, the elect of Jehovah, and to whom so many and so comprehensive promises had been made, is blessed by Melchisedec, and gives tithes to him. This subordination is the more striking as Abram was conscious of his high calling, and immediately afterwards took care to vindicate before the king of Sodom the dignity and honour of his position. Hence Melchisedec must have stood—at least relatively—higher than Abram, and the latter must have known and recognised this circumstance as distinctly as he did his own superiority over the king of Sodom. We say with *Hofmann*, "the greatness of

Abram consisted in his hopes, that of Melchisedec in his present possession." Melchisedec has at the time what Abram yet wants and what is only promised to him as still future, and he bows before this exalted personage who meets him, perhaps quite unexpectedly, and whose existence may have been quite unknown to him. Melchisedec is a *priest* of the living God whom Abram served, while the Patriarch is as yet only a *prophet*, the medium of that "which Jehovah is to bring about." To Melchisedec God has manifested Himself as the God of the present, the possessor of heaven and earth, as the Most High; to Abram as the God of the future, who promises salvation, and as Jehovah. Melchisedec is recognised as the possessor and king of the country which is indeed promised to Abram, but of which as yet he does not possess any part. True, the future will, when unfolded, be much more glorious than the present, and Abram would, in a much higher and more perfect degree, become in his seed what Melchisedec was at that time. But the *possession*, although it be smaller, imparts for the time being a higher character than the *prospect* of greater privileges to come. All this Abram and, as it seems, Melchisedec also recognised. Hence Melchisedec owns in appropriate manner the future by blessing Abram, while Abram recognises the present in giving tithes to Melchisedec. Melchisedec is the last remaining blossom of a past development; Abram is the germ and commencement of a new development, fraught with blessing and with hope. Melchisedec is still within the old Noachic covenant, which rested on a universal, Abram is within the new covenant, which rests on a particularistic basis—and even in this respect the position of Melchisedec is more exalted. But this universalistic covenant terminated in one individual, just as Melchisedec stands alone among a degenerate race which had apostatized from God and adored the powers of nature. He is the only remaining servant and worshipper of the God who had entered into covenant with Noah. On the other hand the particularistic covenant which commences with Abram is to enlarge into the fullest and most comprehensive universalism, destined to bring salvation to all nations—and in this respect the position of Abram is higher. Viewed from this point all that might seem strange, as also the typical bearing of this narrative, as explained in the epistle to the Hebrews, is vindicated and accounted for. Melchisedec is the highest and the last representative of the Noachic covenant; he is a type of Christ, the highest and last representative of the Abrahamic covenant. Melchisedec unites in his person the royal and the priestly offices. Abram does not possess as yet either of these dignities, but both are promised to him; he or his seed after him is to become a Melchisedec only in much higher degree. In *Aaron* Abram

attains one part of the position of Melchisedec; in David the other. But as yet the two are separated, nor have they so far matured as to be capable of being combined. Hence in Abram both Aaron and David bow before Melchisedec. But in Christ Aaron and David are united. Hence Christ is, like Melchisedec, higher than Aaron or David. But He is also infinitely higher than Melchisedec, as the latter closes the old and past development while the *former* crowns and completes the new and everlasting development. *Melchisedec* is only a shadow and a type, *Christ* is the reality and the antitype. We enter into some farther particulars: The *name* Melchisedec implies that he is king of righteousness—his residence, that he is prince in the citadel of peace. Both united point him out as the representative of that kingdom where justice and peace kiss each other (Ps. lxxxv. 11.) Under any other circumstances this might be considered as merely an accidental concurrence; in sacred history it is full of meaning (Heb. vii. 2.) The text does not mention his father nor his mother, the day of his birth nor that of his death. It is certainly characteristic and striking that although in the book of Genesis so much care and attention is bestowed on genealogical tables, the pedigree of a person so exalted that even the honoured ancestor of the chosen race bowed before him, should not be at all mentioned. However, it may be *possible* to account for this silence by supposed ignorance on the part of the writer, we know that a higher power watched over the sacred penmen. In supreme wisdom He opened to, or shut from, them the sources of historical investigation. Hence any such omission in their narratives gains special importance. With the epistle to the Hebrews (chap. vii. 3) we may infer that, from this point of view, the silence of the text indicates that the position and dignity of Melchisedec did not merely depend upon his natural descent, and that this typified the idea that the office of the perfect royal priest should derive its authority and its warrant not merely from human descent. Besides *Jerusalem*, the *royal city* κατ' ἐξοχήν, is the residence of Melchisedec. Jerusalem is queen among the cities (Ezekiel v. 5), as Palestine among countries. It was such by nature and situation (as we shall by and by show), nor did it attain its rank either through David or even through Christ. Abram is to become Melchisedec. In David the royal dignity is attained, and hence the city of Melchisedec becomes that of David. We agree with *Hofmann* that the bread and wine which Melchisedec brought to Abram were not merely meant for refreshment. The statement which immediately follows, "And he was a priest of the Most High God," indicates that some priestly service was implied. In this case, as throughout antiquity and especially in the Mosaic service

bread and wine symbolised, as the best fruits of the land, nourishment generally. The fact that Abram received these gifts from the hand of the priest indicated that God, whose mediator the priest was, would refresh him after every contest, and bestow on him the best fruits of the promised land. Symbolically, the bringing of bread and wine serves the same purpose as the blessing of Melchisedec. By that blessing Abram is set apart for his career; it is the blessing of an old man who has finished his work bestowed upon a youth who stands at the commencement of an indefinite development. With this blessing Melchisedec disappears from the stage. Abram gives tithes to this royal priest, not of his own goods, far less of those which he had again rescued, but from the spoils which he has taken from the enemy. He knows that God has given him the victory, and he acknowledges it by offering unto the Most High God, through the priest, a tithe of its fruits. Melchisedec has often, but very improperly, been compared to king Anius, of whom *Virgil* writes (*Æn.* iii. 80): "Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos."

On this subject compare the appropriate remarks of *Creuzer* (*Symbol.*, 1st edit., vol. iv., pp. 405 to 408.)

To this view of the history of Melchisedec *A. Hahn* has objected in *Reuter's* *Repert.* for 1849, Sept. p. 208. He says: "We cannot persuade ourselves that the record implies either that Melchisedec had blessed, or that Abram was blessed. To our mind this view depends on the ungrounded supposition that the subject in verse 20 is Abram and not Melchisedec; but it is difficult to perceive, considering that the other is the most natural interpretation, why it should be set aside. Indeed it is impossible that Abram should be the subject of that sentence. We do not read that Abram had, on this expedition, got any prey, and the general expression 'of all' scarcely allows any such supposition. But everything becomes plain if Melchisedec, as Gentile royal priest, gives tithes of all to Abram in acknowledgment of his superiority. In that case the expression defines more clearly the words in v. 18, 'he brought bread and wine.'" But v. 19 clearly shews the correctness of our interpretation. It is only necessary to appeal to it. The context places it beyond doubt that the subject is changed in v. 20. The idea of "tithes" is so closely connected with that of a priest that the writer could not anticipate any misunderstanding. Melchisedec was a priest, Abram was not. When therefore the writer says, "He gave tithes to him," his readers could not doubt that Abram gave and Melchisedec received them. The addition "of all" comprises everything of which Abram could dispose at the time, nor could this be aught else than the prey taken from the enemy.

THE OFFERING OF A COVENANT-SACRIFICE FORMS THE FIRST STAGE OF THE COVENANT.

§ 56. (Gen. xv.)—The victory which, by the blessing of God, Abram had gained over Chedorlaomer had raised him above the sphere of his natural strength, and this elevation had been farther increased by his meeting with Melchisedec. It was natural that this tension should give way when he returned to his ordinary avocations. The higher he had been raised above his ordinary feelings, the more decided was the reaction, and the fear and distrust which accompanied it. Humanly speaking his expedition against the powerful king of the East had been a dangerous undertaking. It was reasonable to suppose that the vengeance of this powerful conqueror would overtake him. When overwhelmed with such fears Jehovah came to Abram *in a vision* (1), saying: "Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield and exceeding great reward." But frequently when we give place to fear everything appears dark, because our vision has grown dim, and fears and doubts increase continually. Thus Abram also now not only felt apprehension on account of the vengeance of Chedorlaomer, but also doubts with reference to his own relation to the promised future. All this filled his heart with sadness. Encouraged by the words of Jehovah, he pours out his cares before Him. "Jehovah Adonai"—he asks—"what wilt Thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house is this *Eliezer* of Damascus" (2.) But Jehovah replies, in distinct and unmis-takeable terms, "This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be 'thine heir!'" And He brought him forth abroad: "Look now toward heaven and tell the stars. Art thou able to number them? So shall thy seed be." Then Abram *believed* Jehovah, and He counted it to him for righteousness (3.) This faith required a sign in order to attain assurance, so that if at any future period he should be assailed by similar doubts and fears he might have this pledge to strengthen and to comfort him. And on this basis Jehovah now actually enters into *covenant* (4), by a *covenant-sacrifice* which Abram prepares and offers (5.) Birds of prey come down upon the carcasses, but Abram drives them away. Meantime the

sun has gone down. Abram, grieved about this omen which seemed to endanger the ratification of the covenant, fell into a deep *sleep*, and horror and great darkness came upon him. That omen, and the reason why he is not immediately to obtain possession of the land of promise, are now explained to him. The iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full, and only the seed of Abram would obtain possession of the land. But like Abram himself, his seed also must pass through trials and sorrows. Four hundred years shall they be strangers in a land that is not theirs, be obliged to serve and be afflicted. But Jehovah will also judge that nation whom they shall serve, and afterwards shall they come out with great substance (6.) And when night had gathered around, the glory of the Lord appeared in the symbol of a *pillar of smoke* and of *fire*, that passed between the pieces of the sacrifice, and, as it were, sanctioned and ratified the covenant on the part of God (7.) Finally, Jehovah repeats the promise "to thy seed will I give this land," and enlarges it by giving a prophetic *delineation of its boundaries* (8.)

(1.) Interpreters are not agreed whether all the events here recorded took place *in vision*, or whether and at what exact point the ecstatic vision gave place to ordinary perception. *Baumgarten* thinks that the transition is marked in verse 5; others that it is only in verses 8 and 9. In our opinion, considering the external and internal connection of these events, the whole took place in vision, so that the description in v. 1 applies to the whole chapter. It is objected that the choice of the sacrifices, the killing and dividing them, which were purely external events, implied a cessation of the ecstatic state. But this objection rests upon a misunderstanding of that state, or rather upon confounding it with a merely natural, or morbid, or magnetic ecstasis. Genuine prophetic vision is neither mesmerism nor a morbid magnetic phenomenon, which excludes full use of the senses, or renders external activity impossible. The inward sense is not raised by depressing the outward senses; for, when what is Divine affects human nature, the natural harmony is not disturbed, but elevated and properly adjusted. Interpreters are also divided as to the time when these events took place. *Baumgarten*, laying stress on verse 5, thinks that the vision took place during the night. *Hengstenberg* (Balaam p. 51) appeals to v. 12, and infers that it had taken place during the day. The former supposes that the events had lasted from one night to the other,

while the latter thinks that stars may in vision have been seen during the day also. But if we remember that prophetic ecstasis was not a morbid and unnatural, but a healthy though supernatural state, which did not unfit a man for ordinary life, we cannot be startled by finding that it lasted between twelve and eighteen hours. At the same time it seems to us inappropriate to suppose that he should have seen the stars during day-light, as there is no reason why that which was object of external vision should have been transferred into the sphere of inward vision.

(2.) It is foreign to our purpose to enter on the exegetical difficulties of these words. Separated from all his relatives, and childless in his old age, having for ten years waited in vain for the promised seed, Abram is no longer able to look with confidence on the promise. Present fears darken his prospect, and he thinks that nothing is left save that his steward Eliezer (generally supposed to have been the servant, chap. xxiv. 2, who possessed the implicit confidence of Abram) should become his heir. Perhaps he even meditated adopting him, and thus transferring to him his own rights and hopes.

(3.) He who, in the exercise of his free will, comes up to the Divine idea, and to the purpose of his existence, is **RIGHTEOUS**. By the fall man lost *this* righteousness, or rather the capacity for attaining it. But as salvation is impossible without righteousness, and as in the eternal counsel of His grace God has resolved to save man, *He must Himself* restore righteousness to man. This then is the object of the plan of salvation. In room of the idea laid down by God in creation, that embodied by Him in the plan for restoring and saving man becomes the rule and testing point for human freedom. Just as according to the original arrangement he would have been just who had come up to the requirements of the Divine idea expressed in creation, so now is he righteous who submits to the conditions of the plan of salvation. But the idea embodied in this deliverance is not that man should, in the exercise of his freedom, justify himself, but that this freedom should not operate as an obstacle to the righteousness of God, and that man should fall in with the salvation offered to him, in as far as it became manifest in each successive stage of development. Thus, then, a new way has been opened in which to obtain righteousness, that of *faith*, *i.e.* of a free, full, and unconditional surrender of one's-self to the idea embodied in the Divine plan of salvation. This faith does not indeed work out salvation, but it is the condition under which salvation becomes ours. Abram believed, *i.e.* he wholly surrendered himself to the Divine promise, under which at that stage of development, salvation appeared, and thus he became just. But as his faith takes hold of the salvation objectively proffered, his *justitia formalis*

becomes *justitia materialis*, i.e. his faith is accounted to him for righteousness. And because Abram was the first in whom this indispensable relation to the idea of salvation clearly and decidedly pervaded the consciousness, because in his faith and as a witness to all generations he fully represented this relationship, he became the father of the faithful.

(4.) We read here for the first time of a COVENANT into which God is about to enter with Abram. All that had preceded, all the demands, promises, and leadings on the part of God, and all the obedience, faith, self-renunciation, and self-reliance on the part of Abram, were only preliminary steps. But even the covenant now made is only partial, and requires completion, on which ground we have designated it as the first stage of the covenant. It is only partial, inasmuch as God only, and not Abram also, enters into and binds Himself by it. For only God and not Abram passed between the pieces of the sacrifice. This view perfectly tallies with the account here given. The motive from which the covenant was made was the fear and unbelief of Abram. By formally and solemnly entering into covenant, God gives him a pledge that His promise might be implicitly relied on, and at the same time a token to support his faith. For these purposes it is quite sufficient that God alone ratifies the covenant, nor does He yet require Abram solemnly to undertake the covenant obligations devolving on him. It is only afterwards, when, on the ground of the engagement which God had in this covenant undertaken, the faith of Abram had become strong, and when the birth of the promised seed was nigh at hand, that giving and asking, on the part of God, go hand in hand, and that He calls upon the patriarch to ratify the covenant by solemnly undertaking its obligations. This takes place in the covenant of circumcision (chap. xvii.) Hence these two events condition and supplement each other.

(5.) The covenant is made by SACRIFICE. For God is holy, and nothing unholy can stand before him. Hence He can only enter into covenant with man when sin, which had separated between God and man, has been removed. True, Abram's faith has been accounted to him for righteousness, but this righteousness is only the form for the *justitia materialis*, which was to be provided by the Divine plan of salvation. During the period when salvation is only preparing, the latter is concentrated in the sacrifice. By the atonement of animal sacrifice the sinner obtains through faith the forgiveness of his sins. The distinguishing peculiarity of the sacrifice of Abram, which constituted it a suitable basis for the covenant, lay in the selection of certain animals, and in the division of these sacrifices into two portions, through the midst of which the parties to the covenant were to pass,

thereby solemnly ratifying their union in the covenant. Commonly this circumstance is interpreted as implying that what had been done in the sacrifices which were divided should happen to the party who would break the covenant (comp. *Winer* Real. Enc. Art. *Covenant*.) *Tiele* asserts that such a transaction were unworthy of God, and, in his fictitious zeal for the honour of God, despite the explicit statement in v. 18, maintains that the whole narrative has no connection with the covenant. But even supposing that the assertion were correct in itself, such an accommodation to human customs on the part of God is no more contrary to the Divine character than is the circumstance that He condescends to enter into covenant with man at all, and by an oath undertakes certain covenant-engagements. But we go farther, and hold that the above view is not (as is asserted) corroborated by Jeremiah xxxiv. 18 to 20, and that it does not correctly explain the meaning of this symbolical transaction. It was first propounded at a later period, when the understanding of symbols was no longer clear and reliable. It will be noticed that this view militates against the institution of sacrifices, as in that case the killing and the shedding of blood would not represent the atonement, on the basis of which the covenant was to be made, but only and exclusively an idea wholly foreign to that of sacrifices. Indeed if it were correct we should no longer feel warranted in employing the term sacrifice at all. But it is manifestly the purpose of this symbol to express, along with the separate existence of the two who had entered into covenant, the unity laid down in the covenant. This circumstance both *Klaiber* (Doctr. of Reconciliation, Tubing. 1823, p. 81) and *M. Baumgarten* (ad. h. l.) have perceived and expressed. The division of the sacrifices into two portions represents the two parties to the covenant. As these portions constitute in reality only one animal, so are the two parties to the covenant joined into one. The passing through the portions of the sacrifice represents, as it were, the means by which they who had been separated were to be united. In the selection of the sacrifices, the commandment of Jehovah that, of course excepting the doves, all should be *three years old*, appears striking. The view of *Hofmann* (i. p. 98): "the animals must have been three years old, and Jehovah accepted them when in their *fourth* year, because the seed of Abram was only to enter the land of promise in their fourth generation, v. 16" (which is also adopted by *Delitzsch*), is more satisfactory than that of *Baumgarten*, who thinks that it refers to the part God had in the sacrifice. But God took no part in the sacrifice, as the sacrifice about to be offered represented the sinning party only. He *takes* part in it after the sacrifice has been offered to him. On the other hand we can readily under-

stand that the age of the animal should have borne reference to a particular generation of the descendants of Abram, as the sacrifice represented Abram, and no doubt his seed also.

(6.) On the four hundred years of servitude, comp. vol. ii.

(7.) For the first time THE GLORY OF THE LORD (the Shechinah) appears in a symbol similar to that which was afterwards seen by Moses in the burning bush, by the Israelites during their passage through the wilderness in the pillar of cloud and of fire, and in the tabernacle in the cloud above the mercy-seat. As at a later period it was hid by the bush and by the cloud, so here it appears enveloped in a furnace (of the kind, more common in the East, shaped like a cylinder, at the upper opening of which fire, enveloped by smoke, bursts forth.) It is the symbol of the gracious presence of God. The splendour of His glory, the devouring fire of His holiness, which the eye of man cannot bear, and before which the sinner cannot stand, is in grace enveloped.

Delitzsch observes: "Commonly in His intercourse with the patriarchs, Jehovah manifested Himself in a form much more condescending. But on this occasion, He, once for all, shows to Abram how infinitely elevated and fearfully majestic was that God who ordinarily condescended so much to him."

(8.) On the prophetic DETERMINATION OF THE BOUNDARIES of the land of promise, comp. *Hengstenberg*, *Contrib.* iii., p. 265, &c. The river of Egypt, which forms the boundary on the one side, is certainly the *Nile* (and not the rivulet *El-Arish*.) It is equally true that even during the most flourishing period of the Theocracy, the boundaries of the country never extended from the Euphrates to the Nile. But then it is not and cannot be the object of this prophetic promise to furnish data meant to be geographically exact. As in many other places, the Euphrates and the Nile are here considered as the representatives of the two great powers of the East and of the West; and the meaning of the promise is, that the land and the commonwealth of the descendants of Abram should be independent, and continue by the side of, and between, these two empires, and that no other empire or nation should permanently bear independent sway in the districts which lay between Judæa and these two great empires.

HAGAR AND ISHMAEL.

§ 57. (Gen. xvi.)—Abram is now aware that the promised seed is to be the fruit of his own body (xv. 4), and in believing confidence he awaits the fulfilment of God's word. Not so, impatient Sarai. Hitherto none of the promises had contained any

special notice of *her*, and her prospects of becoming mother decreased with her age. At length, concluding that she had not been destined to give birth to the promised seed, she urged her husband to take her Egyptian maid *Hagar* as concubine, that (as the custom was at the time) she might obtain by her *servant* that which seemed denied to herself. Abram complied; but the consequences soon showed how vain any such attempts at self-deliverance were. Hagar now despised her mistress, and when the latter intended to humble her, fled towards her native country. But the connection with Abram surrounds even the rebellious maid with a certain halo. The son whom she is about to bear is to be educated in the house of Abram, in order to be capable of obtaining the measure of blessing destined for him (1.) In the wilderness not far from Shur (2), *the angel of the Lord* (3) arrests the course of Hagar, and induces her to return. In the eighty-sixth year of Abram's life, she gave birth to a son, who, according to the angelic injunction to Hagar, was called *Ishmael* (*i.e.*, Heard of God.)

(1.) The angel of Jehovah found Hagar by a fountain in the way to Shur. On the situation of *Shur*, comp. especially *Tuch*, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, i., p. 173, &c. In Gen. xxv. 18, this Shur is said to be "before Egypt" (comp. 1 Sam. xv. 7; xxvii. 8.) At any rate, it seems likely that Hagar would have fled toward her own country, Egypt. "As the wilderness is not a place through which many different roads lead, it is likely that Hagar pursued the path that was followed at all times. This leads from the modern Cairo to Ajrud, and thence through the pass of Mukhjeb to the plateau of the Et-Tih, then passes through the western part of the great wilderness as far as the northern boundary of the Jebel Helâl, and turning eastward merges in the roads which lead from Sinai and Akabah by Beersheba to Hebron" (*Tuch*, l. c., p. 175.) Hence, speaking generally, Shur is the western part of the wilderness, which is presently called by the Arabians the wilderness of Jifar, in contradistinction to the eastern portion, or "the wilderness of the children of Israel." It is still considered as belonging to Egypt. In the narrative, the exact locality is even more particularly indicated by the statement that it was between Kadish and Bered. But as the situation of the former place has not yet been exactly fixed, while the latter is wholly unknown (*Tuch* supposes that Bered is the modern Jebel Helâl) this statement only confirms what had otherwise been ascertained,

viz., that these events took place in the wilderness between Palestine and Egypt. Hagar calls the fountain where this vision is vouchsafed to her the "fountain of the living who beholds me." According to *Rowland* (in *Williams*, the Holy City, p. 489, &c.), the Arabs still call a fountain about ten hours beyond Ruhaibeh (*Robinson*, i., pp. 196, &c.), "*Moilahi Hagar*," which he curiously enough interprets *Moi* = water, and *Lahi* = לַיִךְ. *Robinson* also knew of this place, but calls it *Muweilih* (i., p. 172, &c.) *Tuck* thinks that the locality exactly agrees with the Biblical account, a statement to which *Raumer* objects (Palestine, p. 44), since the situation of *Kadesh*, as indicated by *Rowland*, cannot possibly be correct. For farther particulars about *Kadesh* we refer to vol. ii.

(2.) On the prophecy to Hagar about her son, comp. § 64, 6.

(3.) About the angel of the Lord, comp. § 50, 2.

CIRCUMCISION, THE SECOND STAGE OF THE COVENANT.

PREFATORY NOTE.—*Thirteen* years have now elapsed since God had last revealed Himself to Abram. During this period of probation, he was to preserve and to prove that faith which had been reckoned to him for righteousness. But during the long time which had elapsed since the promised seed had been expected, it had appeared that Sarai was *by nature* barren. Now the period had arrived when that which was impossible to *nature* should be obtained through *grace*—when the *promise* should pass into the first stage of its *fulfilment*, and that son be born to Abram by whom he was eventually to become a great nation and a blessing to mankind. Hitherto the promise had remained without earnest of its fulfilment. But from this period the fulfilment was to appear by the side of the promise, to grow up and to enlarge, gradually to narrow the promise, until at last it would be completely swallowed up in the reality. The promise was entirely God's, but the fulfilment was the result of the co-operation of God and man. Hitherto the covenant had been ratified only by one party, as Abram had not yet undertaken any covenant obligation (vide § 56.) This defect is now to be supplied. As yet Abram had only called into requisition the power of nature. An experience of twenty-four years had convinced him that only *grace*, not *nature*, could qualify him for the high

calling, to become, in his seed, a blessing for all nations. But this high point was only attained after the covenant had been fully ratified. When Ishmael was born, Abraham had not yet been *circumcised*; but then Ishmael was not the son of the promise. The promised seed could only be obtained through means of the covenant, and through the co-operation of the two parties to it. Abram begat, and the dead body of Sarai became a spring of life, in consequence of the co-operation of the creative and re-creating power of God. The birth of Isaac is the first result of the covenant. It must therefore be preceded by a complete ratification of the covenant.

§ 58. (Gen. xvii.)—When Abram was ninety-nine years old, the Lord appeared to him. “I am the Almighty God, walk before me, and be thou sincere. . . . As for me, behold *my covenant is with thee*. . . . *Thou shalt keep my covenant* therefore, thou and thy seed after thee.” The promise that Abram is to become a father of many nations is here repeated. On the ground of this promise his name is no longer to be *Abram*, but *Abraham*, nor is *Sarai*, who was to become the mother of the promised seed, any longer to be called *Sarai*, but *Sarah* (1.) Besides this *seed*, through whom salvation is to come, *everlasting possession* (2) *of the land*, in which this salvation is to become manifest, is again promised to Abraham. The Lord also appoints *circumcision* (3) as the sign of the covenant, which is now to be completely ratified by both parties. To this institution Abraham and all the male members of his household (4) are immediately to submit, and every new born child on the *eighth* day after its birth. The Lord said: “And my covenant shall be in your flesh *for an everlasting covenant*” (5.) To neglect circumcision was *to break the covenant*, and deserved the punishment of death. To receive circumcision was to have part in the *blessings of the covenant*. At the same time it became also a personal and lasting *admonition* to remember the *obligations of that covenant* which had been undertaken (6.) But Abraham cannot yet understand how God is to give him such seed, seeing Sarah was as good as dead. Accordingly he prays “Oh! that Ishmael might live before thee.” To this the Lord replies in express terms, “Yea, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a

son indeed, and thou shalt call his name Isaac. With *him* will I establish my covenant, and with his seed after him. And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee. Behold, I have blessed him, and will multiply him exceedingly. But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear unto thee in the next year."

(1.) It certainly has a peculiar meaning, that when we enter on the second stage in the life of the chosen, the names of ABRAM AND HIS WIFE SHOULD BE CHANGED. This, as it were, is a *symbol* and an *earnest* of the new thing which the Lord is to bring forth. For "the name indicates the character" (*Fr. v. Meyer*, Pages for Higher Truth, 8, p. 388.) It is the *motto* for the new path of life opening before them. (On the import of the giving and changing of names generally, comp. the profound remarks of *Hengstenberg*, *Contrib.* ii., p. 270, &c.) Etymologically, the former name אַבְרָם is = אֲבִירָם (1 Kings xvi. 34), and equivalent to "*pater altitudinis*" (comp. *Tuch*, ad h. l.). On account of its indefiniteness, this name is less suitable for indicating the peculiar calling of the father of nations, than the new name

אַבְרָהָם = "*pater multitudinis*" (أَبْرَاهِمُ = numerus copiosus.) More difficult is it to interpret the other two names. Commonly the word שָׂרִי (LXX. Σάρα) is translated "my princess," and שָׂרָה (LXX. Σάρρα) "princess." According to the precedent of Jerome, this is then explained as implying that she was not to be the mother of only *one* family, but in general and without limitation to be called a princess. But irrespective of the circumstance that שָׂרִי is a masculine form, *Iken* (*Dissert. Philol. Theol.* i., *Dissert.* 2) is certainly right in remarking, "quid quaeso dici potest frigidius!" *Ewald* maintains there is no difference between the two names, that the second form is only a more full pronunciation of the first, and he interprets both as meaning "contentious," deriving them from שָׂרָה, to contend. *Lengerke* also thinks that the two forms are identical (= princess), the one being an earlier and the other a later modification of the word. But without doubt the author of Genesis regarded the change as not only a modification of the form, but also of the meaning. Hence the greatest probability still attaches to the opinion of *Iken*, who suggests that, according to a common use of the plural, שָׂרִי means as much as *principatus* or *nobilitas*, while שָׂרָה must be derived from שָׂרָה ii., to be fruitful. The change of the letters א and ה is not uncommon. This inter-

pretation is confirmed by the reduplication of the second radical letter in the LXX., while it admirably agrees with the context (v. 16, "she shall become nations.") *Delitzsch* (p. 227) has again called attention to an old but deep remark, to the effect that the fundamental letter of the name Jehovah, which is the guiding star of that wonderful future, towards which the seed of Abraham was, in virtue of the covenant, to tend, had been now inserted into both these names. But we confess to some difficulty in supposing that this was specially intended in the change of the names.

(2.) In this promise (v. 8) both the possession of the land and the covenant about to be instituted, are designated as *everlasting* (vv. 7 and 13.) Nor can we wonder that the *covenant* should be called such, since it was certainly to attain its goal. For, if the result of the covenant is everlasting, the covenant itself, whose completion that result is, must likewise be such. The promise of an everlasting possession of the land indicates, in the first place, that the future position was to be vastly different from the present circumstances of Abraham, when, as pilgrim, he could not call one foot of the promised land his own. But farther, the land of promise is the inheritance and the possession of his seed, and ever remains such, even though Israel should be banished from it, and their exile last not only seventy but even 2000 years.

(3.) ON CIRCUMCISION, comp. especially *J. Bergson* (Circumcision viewed in its Historical, Critical, and Medical Aspect, Berlin, 1844), *Friedreich* (Remarks on the Bible, ii., p. 39, &c.), *Hofmann* (in the Halle Enclyp., ix., p. 267, &c.), *Winer* (Real Lex., s. h. v.), and the literature there indicated, which, however, does not much assist us in understanding the religious meaning of the rite. According to *Herodotus*, the Israelites derived circumcision from the Egyptians (ii. 104): *Μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι.* But this information was certainly not derived from Palestinian Syrians but from Egyptian priests. Christian writers have, on the other hand, been formerly in the habit—chiefly from unhistorical prejudices—of maintaining that the Egyptians had derived circumcision from the Israelites. To this view *Tuch* (Comm., p. 344) rightly objects that at the time of their sojourn in Egypt, the Egyptian system of isolation had been fully established, and that foreign nomadic races were held in abhorrence. At the sametime circumcision was not in *universal* practice among the Egyptians. According to *Origen* (Hom. 5 in Jer.) *only priests*, and according to *Clement* (Strom. i., p. 302, Ed.

Sylb.) those also who wished to be admitted to the *mysterics*, underwent this rite. A comparison of the religious symbols of the Old Testament with those of ancient heathendom, shows that the ground and the starting point of those forms of religion which found their appropriate expression in symbols, was the same in all cases, while the history of civilisation proves that, on this point, priority cannot be claimed by the Israelites. But when instituting such an enquiry, we shall also find that the symbols which were transferred from the religions of nature to that of the spirit, first passed through the fire of Divine purification, from which they issued as the distinctive theology of the Jews, the dross of a pantheistic deification of nature having been consumed. Taking this view of the subject, we do not hesitate to admit that the circumcision of the Egyptians, or, if you like, of any other nation, originated at the same time with, or even prior to, that of Abraham. It is possible that during his sojourn in Egypt Abraham had there become acquainted with the rite of circumcision, and that this circumstance formed, in his case, a subjective point of connection for the objective Divine institution. But it is equally possible that circumcision was introduced in the family of Abraham and in the country of Pharaoh without any reference to each other, and that in both cases it owed its origin to a kindred direction of religious thinking which expressed itself in symbols. This is the more probable, as circumcision was introduced among nations (as, for example, in America, in the South Sea Islands, &c.) who cannot possibly have stood in any connection either with the Israelites or with the Egyptians.

It cannot be denied that in those forms of religion which consisted in nature-worship, circumcision was connected with the service of Phallus. But we most decidedly object to the view of *V. Bohlen* (p. 194), of *Tuch* (p. 344), of *Vatke* (i. p. 380, &c.), and of *Br. Beaur* (i., p. 88), according to whom it was "a modification of the habit of emasculation in honour of the Deity, the foreskin only being in this case taken away." It rather implied the opposite of this. Emasculation was the removal, circumcision an increase of the powers of nature. The former was a sacrifice and surrender made to the *destroying*, the latter to the *generating* power of nature in its highest manifestation. In general, Symbolic takes its starting-point from the outward phenomenon and experience, and transfers to supersensuous ideas the import of objects in nature, as this import is gathered from such experience. The statement of Herodot. ii. 37: τὰ δὲ αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαρῶτητος εἵνεκεν, to which Philo de Circumcis. ii., p. 210, adds fruitfulness as another reason, dates from a time when the freshness of symbolic views had been lost, and an attempt was made to supply this defect by utilitarian

theories. Besides, it does not explain why the rite of circumcision should have been confined to the priests, as the preservation of health and fruitfulness were of the same importance to the other classes in the community. Still, this view contained elements capable of serving as a foundation for such a symbol. The religious importance of generation in the worship of nature consisted in this, that it was regarded as the central and highest point in the (deified) life of nature. Hence the rite of devoting it to the gods, to which we have above referred. But as everything human required to be purified, set apart and dedicated, before it could be brought into immediate contact with the Deity, so generation also, which was to exhibit a perfect representation of the Divine power of procreation inherent in nature. Hence the rite of circumcision was, on the grounds indicated by Herodotus and Philo, regarded as the removal of something undedicated and prejudicial, and thus became the symbol of dedication to the Deity. Hence also those persons who had peculiarly or exclusively devoted themselves to the ministry of the worship of nature were specially bound to submit to circumcision, in order to exhibit, in the highest ideal purity, power, and fulness, those functions of life which, above all others, were regarded as the representations of life-manifestation on the part of the Deity.

But this view of circumcision was distinctively that of heathenism ; and Judaism could not adopt it without, at the same-time, contradicting itself. On the other hand, it was in general true that, in itself, all natural generation was unsanctified and non-dedicated, that it was surrounded by impure and disturbing elements (represented by the foreskin) ; nor was a conviction like that discordant from the religious views of the Patriarchs and their descendants. And as their view of generation in its relation to religion, so that of the impurity attaching to it, was wholly and essentially different from that of the heathen. To Abraham, also, and to his descendants, generation had its *religious* import, being the *medium* by which the covenant was to develop : " in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The fulfilment of this promise implied that the seed of Abraham should continue until salvation was fully exhibited before all the nations of the earth. Up to that period, then, generation was to be directly *subservient to covenant purposes*, which could not have been attained without it. But merely natural generation, which, in the case of Abraham, could not have been the means of producing the first link in the chain, would, even in his descendants, not have led to the goal in view. Hence, in the covenant, God promised His co-operation, and as His power at the first gave to Abraham the first link of the great chain, much more does his omnipotence appear in the production of the last

link in which the promise was to be wholly fulfilled. Merely ordinary generation could not produce that *seed*, through whom salvation should be brought, because this seed must have been free from the *guilt* and *condemnation* which results from sin. Generation is the channel through which the nature of man, infected by sin, is continued from father to son. The impurity and unholiness which clings to it must be removed, if the object of the covenant is to be attained. But the foreskin is the symbol of natural growth, of impurity and disturbance. To exhibit, therefore, the idea that, *in itself*, natural generation was tainted with impurity, and hence incapable of attaining the object in view, but that this was to be reached by the operation of God, the Lord commanded that the foreskin should be taken away, and that, before the first link of the chain was called into being. Still, as the foreskin is merely the symbol of these impediments, its removal is not identical with that of the *impediment* itself. By and by, when the object of the covenant would be attained, God would, in the course of the development, also remove that impediment itself. Hence, what at that time was a symbol, became also a *type* for the future, and, as such, it points to a mode of generation where sin and impurity should actually and absolutely be removed, and where the aim of the covenant should be attained. (Comp. *Ebrard*, *The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper*, p. 26.)

If, viewed in its *negative* bearing, circumcision, as introduced in the family of Abraham, implied a symbolical removal from generation of what was unholy and impure, viewed *positively*, it conveyed a symbolic dedication and setting apart thereof for Divine purposes, in and through the covenant. For, in this manner, the covenant people is called into being and continued, and this people is to be a *holy* and a *priestly* nation (Exod. xix. 5 and 6.) This, then, is the *objective* import of circumcision, the ground on which *God insists upon it*. Its *subjective* aspect, the ground on which Abraham administered the rite to himself and to his family, was, that thereby man falls in with the Divine covenant-idea, and undertakes the covenant obligations devolving on him. Thus circumcision becomes a *sign and seal of the covenant*, *i. e.*, it makes every one who has submitted to it a *partaker of the privileges*, and *demand*s at his hands fulfilment of the *duties* connected with the covenant. And because not only the abstract and ideal totality of the people, but every single individual, shares in the covenant privileges and obligations, he must also personally have part in the covenant, and take its sign upon himself.

If even the *generation* of the covenant people is to be sanctified and devoted to covenant-purposes, it follows, as matter of course,

that their *whole life*, which commences with this generation, is to be set apart for these objects (Rom. xi. 16), to subserve and to advance them. The child begotten in circumcision is thereby sanctified for the covenant (1 Cor. vii. 14), and this is realised when, in turn, it undergoes circumcision. Circumcision, which is to remove the growth of nature—that which is unholy and impure—from the principle and source of life, is, so to speak, to extend its power and influence through all the ramifications of life. It implies the obligation of withdrawing all the other relations of life from the dominion of nature, of circumcising the *foreskin of the heart, of the lips, of the ear, &c.* (Lev. xxvi. 41; Deut. x. 16; xxx. 6; Jer. iv. 4; ix. 25, &c.), and of devoting heart and mind to the duties and purposes of the covenant.

The new-born child was to be circumcised on the EIGHTH DAY. This ordinance had its origin in the sanctity attaching to the *number 7*. Seven periods (days, years, weeks of years) form a cycle in which smaller or larger circles are described, to be in turn followed by new circles and a new development. Hence, the eighth period of the old formed always the commencement of a new development, and the child was to be circumcised after the first seven days had run out. By circumcision the child entered into covenant with God; he was introduced into a new world, into the kingdom of God—and a new era commenced in his life. This was to take place when, with the eighth day, a new cycle had begun.

Circumcision was confined to the *male sex*. Females had no equivalent for it. This was neither owing to the physical nor to the ethical state of woman, but to the dependent position which she occupied in antiquity. Circumcision, indeed, implied as much the humiliation as the exaltation of man, expressing, as it did, both his natural incapacity for being a member of the covenant, and his especial divine calling in that direction. The absence of circumcision does not convey that these lessons and privileges applied not to woman also, but that she was dependent, and that her position in the natural and covenant-life was not "*without*" the husband, but *in* and *with* him, not in her capacity as *woman*, but as *wife* (and mother.) But woman is sanctified and set apart in and with man; in and with him she has part in the covenant, and, so far as her nature and position demand and admit of it, she has to co-operate in the development of the covenant.

(4.) Not only Abraham and the son of promise who is to be born unto him, but *Ishmael* also, the son of the handmaid, and even all the *servants* of the family, whether born in the house or bought with money, are to be circumcised. By taking upon themselves this sign of the covenant, they also obtain part and

share in the covenant into which God entered with Abraham. Ishmael left afterwards, indeed, the communion of his father's house, and hence also the covenant, which was confined to this family. But he was only cut off by his own act, and because he had become wholly a stranger to the purposes and interests of this covenant. But all those servants who continued in communion with the chosen family remained also in communion with the covenant. Here also we see how unjust the accusation, as if the Old Covenant was the expression of a narrow-minded and exclusive particularism. It was not such even in its commencement, and ever afterwards any stranger who was not of the seed of Abraham might, by submitting to circumcision, enter into communion with the covenant and share its blessings. The only essential difference between such members of the covenant-people and the descendants of Abraham was the continuance of the promise that the chain which was to terminate in Him who was to work out salvation, would commence with and continue in the direct descendants of Abraham.

(5.) We have seen that, in the second stage of the covenant, man sanctions and ratifies the covenant into which God had formerly entered. The duties which Abraham now undertook may, in general, be summed up in the words with which the Lord addresses him: "Walk before me and be thou perfect (unblameable.)" He is to display a *faith* which implicitly surrenders itself to the guidance of God; and this faith is to result in an *obedience*, which, so far as in him lies, causes him to come up to the demands of God. As the promises of *God*, which, in the covenant, He had undertaken to fulfil, so the demand made upon man is, in the first place, general and indefinite. The covenant-duties of Abraham come out more definitely in chap. xviii. 19, when Jehovah expresses what line of conduct He expected of the seed of Abraham. "I know him, saith Jehovah, that he will command his children and household after him, that they shall keep the way of Jehovah, and do justice and judgment, that Jehovah may bring upon Abraham that which He has promised to him."

JEHOVAH VISITS ABRAHAM IN THE WOOD OF MAMRE.

§ 59. (Gen. xviii. 1—15.) Soon afterwards three men, in whom Abraham immediately recognises a personal representation of Jehovah, appear before his tent in the wood of Mamre. His correct and delicate tact induce him to receive the strangers in a manner corresponding to the form of appearance which they had

seen fit to choose. Although knowing their character, he humbly and pressingly invited them to come into his tent, and entertained them with the utmost hospitality. But their visit had rather been intended for Sarah than for Abraham. Accordingly, the strangers enquire after her, and, when Abraham informs them that Sarah was in the tent, one of them solemnly promises and announces that Sarah should within a year bear a son. When Sarah heard this, the contrast between the promise and her actual circumstances appeared to her so odd that, considering her own dead body, rather than what had been promised and the character of Him who now spoke, she laughed, doubting within herself the possibility of the event announced. This led to a conversation with Sarah, in which, while her unbelieving merriment was reprov'd, the promise was repeated in the most confident and circumstantial manner, and its fulfilment directly traced to the omnipotence of Jehovah. Ashamed of her unbelief, Sarah would now fain have denied that she had laughed, but the heavenly stranger replied to her assertions: "Nay, but thou didst laugh."

(1.) *Baumgarten* holds that it had been the PURPOSE OF THIS THEOPHANY to "*repeat once more to Abraham the great and important promise of the birth of a son by Sarah.*" Referring to this statement, *Tuch* points out the identity of this promise with that in chap. xvii., and the chronological data of the two accounts (comp. xviii. 10 with xvii. 21), and infers that both are only different narratives of one and the same legend. In point of fact it is, to say the least, highly improbable that Jehovah should have again appeared to Abraham merely to repeat to *him* what, only a few days before, he had announced with the same fulness and distinctness. But the three strangers have a twofold mission: the one to Sarah, the other (comp. § 60) to Abraham. In his former manifestation God had assured *Abraham* of the birth of a son by *Sarah*, and Abraham had in faith received this promise. In virtue of this believing surrender to the promise, the Divine creative agency rendered Abraham capable of begetting a son. But, in order that Sarah might also learn to believe and be enabled to bear the promised seed, her dead body also must be quickened and revived by the same power. Probably, Abraham's account of the Divine revelation with which he had been honoured had not sufficed for this purpose. A stronger appeal must be made to her, and Jehovah himself must announce and assure her of

that which had seemed incredible to her. Then only she believes and attains that spiritual elevation, where she becomes capable to be the mother of the promised seed (Heb. xi. 11.) The narrative distinctly and decisively proves that the renewal of the promise was meant for Sarah and not for Abraham. The first sentence which the strangers utter, is to enquire: "Where is Sarah thy wife?" and immediately afterwards the messenger of Jehovah adds the prediction, which it was meant Sarah should hear, and which she actually heard. Then follows the colloquy between the heavenly guest and Sarah, in which Abraham takes no part, but, so to speak, remains in the background.

We have no difficulty in understanding how the *angels* (as they are expressly called in chap. xix. 1) who represent Jehovah "partake of the food" set before them. If they took upon themselves a human body, they could also eat. The account is similar to that in Luke xxiv. 41. At the same time the fact that the angel of Jehovah condescended to enter into Abraham's tent, and to partake of his hospitality—which *we* regard as a type of Him who tabernacled among us (John i. 14), and was found in manner as a man (Philip. ii. 7)—must have been to Abraham a guarantee for the reality of the covenant, and a prophetic pledge of future and still more condescending manifestations on the part of Jehovah. That Jehovah was in this instance represented by three angels, and not by one only, we explain with *Delitzsch* on the ground that it was their mission not merely to promise, but also to punish and to deliver. We doubt that it could have borne any reference to the Trinity, as the knowledge of this mystery must have lain beyond the consciousness of the Patriarchs. We should rather feel inclined to think of the symbolical meaning of the number *three*, in which plurality again returns to unity. We suppose that the angel who talked with Sarah, and remained behind with Abraham, was that prince of angels who, according to Dan. x. 21, xii. 1, in the appointment of Jehovah, occupies a peculiar relationship to the seed of Abraham. This view, however, does not in any way imply that the other two angels who came to Lot, and whom he addressed in the same manner as Abraham had addressed the three, by "My Lord" (xix. 18), were not also the representatives of the Deity (comp. § 50, 2.)

§ 60. (Gen. xviii. 16, &c.)—*One* purpose of this Theophany had now been obtained. Sarah has been brought to believe in the promise, and thus rendered capable to become the mother of the promised seed. Therefore the men now leave the tent of Abraham, and return towards Sodom. Abraham accompanies them on the way, and then the *second* purpose of the *Theophany*, in so far as

it applied more particularly to *Abraham*, is brought to light. Jehovah cannot hide from him who was His friend, and with whom He had entered into covenant, that He was going down to execute judgment upon the cities in the valley of Siddim, the measure of whose sins had become full. Remembering his calling and position in the covenant, Abraham, equally bold and humble, ventures to intercede that Jehovah would spare the cities for the sake of those righteous that might be found in them. Jehovah hears his prayer. Every gracious reply inspires Abraham with fresh courage to make farther intercession, until at last he obtains promise that Jehovah would spare these cities if even ten just persons were found in them, for these ten's sake.

(1.) The *Divine* PURPOSE OF JUDGMENT which Jehovah has come down to execute upon the degenerate cities bears such close relation to Abraham that, in virtue of the covenant, Jehovah must reveal it to the Patriarch. "How can I hide from Abraham," saith the Lord, "that thing which I do? seeing that Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him. For I have chosen him that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of Jehovah and do justice and judgment; and so Jehovah may bring upon Abraham that which He has promised to him." Through the covenant with Jehovah, Abraham has become the hereditary proprietor of the land. Mindful of this covenant, Jehovah will not do anything with the land without the knowledge and the assent of Abraham. On the other hand this covenant-condescension on the part of God also increased the covenant-obligations of Abraham. The Patriarch possesses or inherits the land only in virtue of the covenant. These blessings are secured to him only if he and his seed after him walk in the ways of Jehovah, in obedience to the covenant. He is therefore to instruct his household and his children in these ways, and to see to it that they remain faithful to the covenant. If they forsake the ways of Jehovah and choose to walk in those of the heathen, the same judgment which had been executed on the Gentiles would also overtake them. Thus the communication of Jehovah's purpose in reference to Sodom is at the same time a solemn and telling warning addressed to Abraham and to his posterity. As, at a later period, the Israelites are to execute the ban upon the Amorites when the measure of their iniquity has become full, and thereby practically to declare that this judgment was just, and that they themselves incurred the same if they should ever forsake the ways of Jehovah and enter on

those of the heathen (Deut. viii. 19 and 20), so when Abraham's intercession could not be farther extended than to the supposition that ten just men were to be found in Sodom, the patriarch has virtually to approve of the judgment against the doomed cities. Thus also in his own name and in that of his descendants he approves and consents that a similar judgment should overtake them, if, forgetful of the covenant-obligations, they should, by their apostacy and sin, ever share in the iniquity of the heathen. In the text and indeed throughout the whole Old Testament the judgment upon Sodom is not regarded as being an isolated event which had taken place before the Israelites had got possession of the land, and which bore no special reference to *their own* history, but as a continual warning and a call to repentance, as a type and prediction of future judgments, which they might either call down or else turn aside (Deut. xxix. 23; Isaiah i. 9 and 10, xiii. 19; Jer. xx. 16, xxiii. 14, xlix. 18; l. 40; Lament. iv. 6; Ezek. xvi. 46, &c.)

This is the *only* reason why Jehovah will not and cannot hide His purpose from Abraham; and it becomes sufficiently apparent, from the manner in which He couches His communication. The words "in him shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" imply yet another motive for this communication. It is not to be hid from Abraham, who was the medium by whom all nations should be blessed, what God had determined in regard to these nations.

These two considerations shew us the only correct mode of viewing the INTERCESSION of *Abraham*, on behalf of the cities over whom the judgment of destruction hung like a threatening cloud. It is altogether erroneous to *limit* the motive for this intercession to the interest which Abraham took in the fate of Lot, or even to a kind of sentimental generosity. In respect of the former it would have been sufficient had he only pled for the family of Lot, and the latter would, to say the least, have been quite out of place in presence of the holy and just Judge. The promise of the land, and of the salvation of all nations through his seed, are the two great turning-points on which the history of Abraham moves. They are the two powerful levers which throughout are brought to bear upon the development of the covenant. They are also the turning-points and the levers of this intercession, and inspire the patriarch with humble courage and hope. Abraham was set apart to be the proprietor of *the land* in which these degenerate cities lay. As on that ground (§ 54, 3) he had formerly appeared as the protector, avenger, and deliverer of the land from its enemies, so he felt now called as mediator to appeal from the wrath of Jehovah the Judge to the mercy of Jehovah the Covenant-God. Besides, Abraham was to be the medium of

blessing and of salvation to *all nations*: he or his seed after him were to be the medium by which the Divine plan of salvation was to be accomplished for the heathen. Hence he was both warranted and called upon to act in this case also as mediator for the *nations* who, in the judgment of God, were threatened with destruction, that so by appealing to the mercy of Jehovah who had decreed salvation, he might, *if possible*, deliver them from destruction, and preserve them for that salvation which was to proceed from him and to extend to all nations.

SODOM IS DESTROYED AND LOT PRESERVED.

§ 61. (Gen. xix. 1 to 26.)—While Abraham holds communion with one of the three heavenly visitors, the others turn towards Sodom. Lot (1) received them hospitably, but the heavenly beauty of the angels only excited the vile licentiousness of the Sodomites. At night they surrounded the house of Lot, and demanded the surrender of his guests. In vain Lot remonstrates, and at last, to avert from his visitors the threatened indignity, even offers his own two daughters to the populace. Exasperated by his refusal, the Sodomites now rush forward to attack Lot, but the angels deliver him and smite the presumptuous sinners with blindness. Warned by the angels, Lot leaves Sodom early next morning, together with his family, unaccompanied however by those who were to have been married to his daughters, and whom he had been allowed to take with him in his flight. The attempt to deliver *them* was vain. To his admonition they responded only by derision and scorn. Outside the city Jehovah admonishes Lot to make haste and flee to the mountains; but in compliance with his entreaty He spares the little town of Bela or Zoar to be a place of refuge to him. And now Jehovah sends fire and brimstone from heaven and destroys the whole district, with its cities and inhabitants (2.) Despite the express command to the contrary, Lot's wife looks behind, and is changed into a pillar of salt (3.)

(1.) THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS POSITION OF LOT clearly appears from the account before us. No doubt he had entered into too close fellowship with the Sodomites, although the text distinctly bears that he had frequently opposed their sins, the

expression (ver. 9), "He will needs be a judge," referring, as *Tuch* rightly observes, to previous and repeated admonitions of Lot under similar circumstances. The statement in ver. 29, that Lot was delivered from the overthrow because God remembered Abraham, does not (as *Tuch* supposes, p. 358) contradict chap. xviii. 26, according to which he was to be spared on account of his own righteousness. The latter passage neither affirms nor denies the righteousness of Lot, and chap. xix. 29 only proves that God had listened to the intercession of Abraham so far as it was consistent with His judicial justice.

(2.) In general compare *J. Clericus* Diss. de Sodomae et finit. urbium subversione, in his Commentary on Genesis. In Deut. xxix. 23 THE NUMBER AND THE NAMES OF THE CITIES DESTROYED are particularly mentioned as Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, and Zeboim (comp. Hosea xi. 8.) In Wisdom x. 6 we read of five cities, but the expression Pentapolis must not be too closely pressed. If in Gen. xix. 24 we have only an account of Sodom and Gomorrah, this is explained by the circumstance that the record professes to furnish a narrative of the deliverance of Lot rather than of the destruction of the cities. *Strabo* (l. 16, 2) speaks of thirteen cities that had been destroyed.

It is commonly supposed that the DEAD SEA occupies the place of the destroyed cities. But this has been controverted by *Reland* (Pal. p. 254, &c.), with arguments which have not been set aside by *J. D. Michaelis* (De Natura et Origine Maris Mortui in his Commentat. soc. Gott. obl. iv. v.), and which claim to be heard and weighed even after the publication of the account furnished by the American expedition to Jordan (comp. § 39, 6.) The supposition of *Lynch* that the cities destroyed are buried in the mud forming the southern basin of the Dead Sea can, in our opinion, not be inferred with certainty from the mere difference of bottom in the northern and southern basins. According to Gen. xiii. 10 the cities lay in the *circuit* (circle) of the *Jordan*, and according to Gen. xiv. 3 the Dead Sea covered the place of the *vale of Siddim*;—but this is no reason for completely identifying the above localities. Indeed the last quoted passage shews that the vale of Siddim was in the neighbourhood of these cities, not that they lay in that vale. More than that, the statement that the kings of the five cities assembled for battle in the vale of Siddim seems rather to imply that the cities had not covered the valley. On the other hand Deut. xxix. 23 and Zeph. ii. 9 (Jeremiah xl. 18, l. 38) appear to favour the view of *Reland*. According to Zeph. ii. 9 the locality of Sodom and Gomorrah had become "the breeding of nettles and saltpits and a perpetual desolation," while according to Deut. xxix. 23 the whole land "burned with brimstone and salt that it is not sown

nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein." In perfect accordance with this *Josephus* (de bell. Jud. iv. 8, 4) mentions that the district *Sodomitis*, which had formerly been a fruitful country, containing many cities, lay along the Dead Sea. However, the southern basin of the Dead Sea must have originated with the destruction of these cities, as, according to Gen. xix. 17 and 25, *the whole neighbouring country*, not the cities only, was destroyed. But as the Dead Sea is still bounded on the south by salt-pits (as described in Zeph. ii. 9 and Deut. xxix. 23), and as, according to Genesis x. 19, these cities had formed the southernmost boundary of Canaan, we are warranted in supposing that the four cities had stood on the spot where now salt-pits surround the southern boundary of the Dead Sea. In general we may state that the formation of the southern basin of the lake by the sinking of ground, undermined by subterranean fire, probably belongs to a period posterior to that of the destruction of the cities.

Robinson has made special investigation of the SITE OF ZOAR (vol. ii. pp. 517, &c.) The notices in the Bible, in *Josephus*, in *Jerome*, in *Eusebius*, &c., lead us to look for this city on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, and within the territory of Moab. *Robinson* inclines to fixing its site at the mouth of Wady Kerak, where the latter opens upon the Isthmus of the long peninsula that stretches into the Dead Sea. On that spot *Irby* and *Mangles* had discovered traces of an extensive ancient site (*Robinson*, vol. ii. p. 107.)

It is not difficult to discover some points of resemblance between this account in the Bible and the legend of *Philemon* and *Baucis* (Ovid *Metam.* viii. 616, &c.) But it is impossible to decide whether there is any real resemblance to them. We are not inclined entirely to set aside the conjecture, considering the extensive spread among non-biblical writers of the account of the destruction of the cities (for example *Tacitus* *Histor.* v. 7, *Solin.* c. 36, and especially *Strabo* xvi. p. 374.)

(3.) The older commentators generally supposed that Lot's WIFE had, in the most literal sense, been changed into a pillar of salt. Indeed, to carry it to the extreme of absurdity, legend had it that it was still with her after the manner of women (Carm. de Sodoma in *Tertull.* p. 813, *Iren.* 4, 51.) *Tuch* maintains: "Any person who should hold that such a metamorphosis would have been incongruous with the spirit of the Old Testament, or with the character of Jehovah, and who should attempt to interpret it into a possible fact, only declares that he has not understood the spirit of this ancient poem." Notwithstanding this remark we still hold that it was a possible fact, and assert that any one who would convert a metamorphosis of Ovid into a

judgment on the part of the God of the Old Testament is wholly unacquainted with the character of the Old Testament. However, assertions and counter-assertions of this kind are of no value. The text says nothing of a metamorphosis, and the expressions employed are so indefinite as to shew that the writers were really ignorant of the manner of her death. Lot himself had to hurry on, and could not stay to investigate what had become of his wife, who had remained behind. Probably a later search would shew that the place where she had been left was converted into a heap of salt, which therefore was considered both as her grave and as a monument of Divine judgment upon man's unbelief (*ἀπιστοῦσης ψυχῆς μνημείου ἐστηκῦια στήλη ἀλός* Sap. 10, 7.) *Josephus* (*Ant.* i. 11, § 4 *ιστόρηκα δ' αὐτῆν, ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει*), and later travellers have declared that they had seen the pillar themselves, but their remark must refer to some mass of salt in the neighbourhood, which popular opinion would point out as a relic connected with this ill-fated woman. The members of the American expedition under *Lynch* discovered on the eastern side of *Usdum* a pillar of massive salt, cylindrical in front and pyramidal behind. The upper portion is rounded, and about forty feet high. It rests upon a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. Probably this is the pillar to which *Josephus* refers. The command not to *stand still* nor to *look round* had reference both to outward circumstances and to the state of mind of those who were escaping. If neglected, a person might readily have been overtaken by the rapid progress of destruction. On the other hand, to look round was to manifest a *corresponding state of mind*. When Lot's wife, even in that hour of anxious haste, could not forbear to look round, it implied not only doubt and unbelief as to the Divine warning, but a drawing towards those who had been left behind, which showed that her heart clung to the lusts of Sodom, and that she had unwillingly followed the angels' bidding (*Luke* xvii. 32.) *Comp. Clericus* *Dis. de Statua salina* in his *Comm.* For a great mass of other dissertations on this subject, we refer the reader to the *Universal History*, vol. ii. note 3; *comp.* also *Friedreich*, *Contrib. to the Bible* ii., 188, &c.

§ 62. (*Gen.* xix. 27, &c.)—Lot does not long remain in *Zoar*. The judgment executed upon Sodom had filled his soul with such awe that he no longer deemed himself safe anywhere in the neighbourhood of the Canaanites, all of whom were more or less guilty of the same estrangement from God as the Sodomites. He now sought refuge in the wilderness. A cave in the mountains of what afterwards became the land of Moab served him

for a dwelling-place. His daughters, infected by the moral poison of Sodom, concluded that his retirement from the world would deprive them of every prospect of marriage. Accordingly, to make up for the loss of their intended husbands, they intoxicate their father, and, as the result of their incestuous union, give birth to *Moab* and to *Ben-Ammi*, respectively the ancestors of the Moabites and the Ammonites.

(1.) Since the time of *De Wette* (*Crit. of Mos. Hist.* pp. 94 &c.) a certain kind of criticism has spoken of this narrative as if it could only have originated in the NATIONAL HATRED WHICH THE ISRAELITES BORE to the Ammonites and the Moabites. But the Pentateuch shows the very opposite of such national hatred (*Deut. ii. 9 and 19.*) It is only in punishment of their unbrotherly and hostile conduct towards Israel (*Deut. xxiii. 4 and 5*), and to protect the Hebrews from their lascivious and seductive worship of nature (*Numb. xxv. 1, &c.*), that they are interdicted from entering the congregation. Nor is it as *M. Baumgarten* supposes, the purpose of the above narrative to shew the interest which sacred history takes in the nephew of Abraham. It is rather intended to point out the reasons of the peculiar relation which afterwards subsisted between Israel and these nations, and to bring the history of Lot to a proper conclusion.

Although Jehovah had expressly assured Lot that Zoar would be a safe place of refuge, the latter deemed it more advisable to take up his abode in the desert mountains which had previously been pointed out to him. This want of faith quite agrees with what we know of the character of Lot. The more close and intimate his former communion with these degenerate races had been, the more natural is it that in so weak a character a complete revulsion should take place after the judgments which he had witnessed.

It is almost absurd to account for the sin of the daughters of Lot on the supposition that they had fancied that all the male population of the earth had perished in the destruction of Sodom. But neither is it correct when *Baumgarten* (p. 215) explains it on the ground that Lot's fear of any contact with strangers was shared by his daughters, and that they deemed even incest excusable in order to procure descendants of pure and unmingled blood. Their proposed marriage with Sodomites shews that considerations like these did not weigh very heavily either with their father or with them. We can be at no loss for their motives. Disappointment about the loss of their intended husbands, dislike of the isolation of their father, sensuality, stimulated by the lusts of Sodom, perhaps at that time asserting its power

more than ever before, a low moral sense, and perhaps a real or fancied desire for progeny, may all have conspired to bring about this result.

Baumgarten explains the name מוֹאָב as derived by a difference of dialect, or by a corruption which frequently occurs in proper names, from מוֹאֵב, and he interprets בֶּן עַמִּי as "Son of my People," implying that he had been derived not from a foreign but from their own race. But as the text does not furnish any hints for an etymological derivation of these names, we are not warranted to suppose what is erroneous, at any rate so far as the name Moab is concerned. Manifestly מוֹאָב = מוֹאֵב is derived from יוֹאֵב, and therefore means "He that has been desired, or longed for." The name seems to refer to the longing, expressed (in vv. 31 and 32) by the elder daughter to obtain seed.

ABRAHAM AND ABIMELECH.

§ 63. (Gen. xx. xxi. v. 22 to 34.)—The day after Abraham had made intercession for the cities of the valley, he got up early in the morning to the top of the mountain near Hebron, whence he obtained a view of that district. And lo! the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a great furnace (chap. xix. 27, 28.) Either on account of its vicinity to the valley of destruction, or in quest of pasturage, he left Mamre and journeyed towards the south-east, settling within the territory of Abimelech of Gerar, king of the Philistines (1.) As formerly in Egypt he again passes his wife for a sister. Misled by this statement, Abimelech sends for her to his harem (2.) Apparently the king was not a violent or despotic ruler, but generous, noble, and even feared the Lord. On this ground God prevented Abimelech (for his own sake also) from touching Sarah, by laying him on a bed of sickness, and He even condescends to reveal to him in a dream the true state of matters, calling upon him not only to return to Abraham his wife, but, for the atonement of his guilt, also to secure the intercession of the Patriarch, who was a *prophet* (3.) The king obeys. In the most respectful manner, and in solemn public assembly, he restores to Abraham his wife, at the same time bestowing rich presents upon him (4.) To the reproof of Abimelech that by his former misrepresentation the Patriarch had brought him into danger, he has nothing else to reply than

that he had thought that the fear of God was not in this place, and that in a certain sense Sarah really was his sister (5.) In answer to the prayer of Abraham, God then removed the *plague* with which the household of Abimelech had been afflicted (6.) Not long afterwards the king, accompanied by Phicol, his chief captain (7), visited Abraham to enter into covenant with him: for he had observed that God was with him in all that he undertook. The covenant between them was made in Beersheba (8.)

(1.) From Gen. x. 9 it would appear that GERAR was not far from Gaza, and from ch. xxvi. 26 that it lay in the neighbourhood of Beersheba. But as, according to Gen. xxvi. 23, *they went up* from Gerar to Beersheba, we shall have to look for it between Gaza and Beersheba, on a site nearer to the seaboard than the latter place. This quite agrees with 2 Chron. xiv. 12, according to which Gerar lay to the south-west of Judah, and with Gen. xx. 1, according to which it lay between Shur (§ 57, 1) and Kadesh. *Rowland* has lately discovered, three hours to the south-east of Gaza, a deep and broad wady, called the *Jurf-el Gerar* (i.e. the river Gerar.) Somewhat above that place, and where the Wady es-Sheriah debouches, traces of an ancient city were also discovered, bearing the name *Khivet el-Gerar* (comp. *K. Ritter* Geo. xiv. p. 1084, &c.)

(2.) On the conduct of Abraham, comp. our remarks § 52, 2; see also the note preceding it as to the doubts thrown on the historical character of this event on account of the AGE OF SARAH. In the present instance this difficulty is somewhat increased, as since her visit to Egypt twenty-three or twenty-four years had passed over Sarah, and, according to chap. xviii. 11, it was no longer with her after the manner of women. We cannot get over this difficulty by supposing with *Drechsler* (Genuineness of Genesis, p. 222) that in this case as in others the love of change, or a freak of oddity, should have inflamed the lusts of a royal debauchee. For, neither does the text represent Abimelech as a "brutal" debauchee, nor do we imagine, even had he been such, would his lust have been excited by a woman ninety years of age, at least if her appearance was similar to that of an European at that period of life. But the matter admits of ready explanation. Since the visit of the angels in Mamre when Sarah was *set apart* to become a mother, and through the creative agency of God *rendered capable* of it, her youth and beauty had returned. If she was to conceive and become mother, her youth must have been renewed; this new life would manifest itself in her appearance, and lend it fresh beauty and new charms.

(3.) God designates Abraham as a PROPHET. Comparing

merely the *natural* position of Abraham in this transaction with that of Abimelech, the Patriarch would have appeared under great disadvantage, and therefore God points out that by grace and calling he occupied another and a much higher place, from which he was not removed even when, through the weakness of his nature, he lost so much of his personal dignity. With Abimelech God holds intercourse only by a *dream*; but Abraham is the friend of God. To him He confides His council, into his mouth He puts His words; Abraham acts as mediator for the nations, and even, while Abimelech stands so much higher than the Patriarch in point of natural dignity and moral strength, the latter has to intercede for him, that the sin, of which without knowing its full extent he had become guilty, might be forgiven, and that the plague, with which he and his household had been afflicted, might be removed.

(4.) For an explanation of the difficult expression in ver. 16, **נְסִיחַת עֵינָיִם**, we refer to the Commentaries. Comp. also *Larsow* Survey of Genesis, p. 107, and *Ewald's* Grammar, p. 242, note.

(5.) Abraham declares that *Sarah* was indeed his SISTER, being the daughter of his father, but not of his mother. It is remarkable that the genealogy of Terah (chap. xi. 27) does not contain any mention of the name of Sarah. It has therefore been suggested that Iscah, the daughter of Haran (chap. xi. 29), was the same as Sarah. *Josephus* (Antiq. i. 6, 5) already adopts this view, which is also preserved in Arabic tradition (*Abulfedu* Historia anteisl. ed. Fleischer p. 20.) In that case the word sister would, as in other analogous instances, be employed in a wider sense, and Iscah would have obtained the name Sarai = the Princess, on the occasion of her marriage with Abraham, the first born son of Terah, and the chief of his family.

(6.) According to verse 17, "God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his concubines, that they bare children." This expression has been frequently understood as implying that the injury done to Abraham had been punished by rendering the wives of Abimelech barren. As in that case it is conjectured that at least two or three years must have elapsed before this barrenness could have been observed, it is concluded that this section must be out of its proper place, as, according to chap. xvii. 18, "Sarah was to bear a son *within the year*," and according to chap. xxi. she actually gave birth to Isaac. But the circumstance that Abimelech himself had to be healed (comp. also verse 6) shews that the punishment was not what is supposed by some. We conceive that it consisted in an "*impotentia copulæ*" from disease on the part of both Abimelech and his wives, and which therefore implied also barrenness. Some such plague must have shown itself during the first days of Sarah's sojourn in the harem.

Tuch and others understand the expression to refer to some weakness in the pangs of birth, on account of which the wives of Abimelech could not bring forth their children, in which case it would not be necessary to suppose that Sarah had remained for any length of time in the king's harem. But many reasons might be urged against this suggestion. In the text we read of the conjugal connection in the family of Abimelech, but it is not viewed as for the purpose of the gratification of lust, but for that of obtaining children, and hence the latter is prominently brought forward as the result of the removal of the plague.

(7.) *Baumgarten* rightly remarks, "that Abimelech should have taken with him *his chief captain*, shews that he had not a private, but a public transaction in view." The same names occur again in Gen. xxvi. 6 (comp. § 71, 1.)

(8.) IN ENTERING INTO THIS COVENANT, Abraham set seven ewe lambs by themselves as a symbol of the covenant to which they had sworn. It is not said that they were offered in sacrifice, but this seems probable from the practice common at that time in making covenants, and from the peculiar expression used in v. 27.

Seven is the number indicating the covenant, and hence also an oath (comp. *Bähr*, Symbolic i. 187, &c., and the writer's Essay on the Symbolical import of numbers in the "Stud. u. Krit.," for 1844, pp. 346 to 352.) The text connects the name of the place with the transaction which then took place. *Tuch* is right in stating that the name BEERSHEBA means in the first place "seven wells," and not "well of the oath." But this admission proves nothing either for his or our view of the text. It must also be remembered that in making this covenant Abraham claimed a *well*, which he had digged, but which the subjects of Abimelech had violently taken from him. The situation of Beersheba, a town of great importance, not only as being the southern boundary of Palestine, but also from the recollections which from the time of the patriarchs were connected with it, has been accurately indicated by *Robinson*, who, after the lapse of centuries, was the first again to visit its site. He describes the ascent from the wilderness as follows (vol. i. p. 203):—"Our road thus far had been among swelling hills of moderate height. We now began gradually to ascend others higher, but of the same general character. . . We reached the top . . . and looked out before us, over a broad lower tract; beyond which our eyes were greeted with the first sight of the mountains of Judah, south of Hebron, which skirted the open country and bounded the horizon in the east and north-east. We now felt that the desert was at an end. . . In an hour and a half we reached Wady es-Seba, a wide water course or bed of a torrent. . . .

Upon its northern side, close upon the bank, are two deep wells, still called Bir es-Seba, *the ancient Beersheba*. We had entered the borders of Palestine. . . . Ascending the low hills north of the wells, we found them covered with the ruins of former habitations, the foundations of which are distinctly to be traced, although not one stone remains upon another." According to the interpretation of *Hitzig* the name Beersheba would mean, "the well of the camel, which can bear thirst for seven days" (see Orig. Hist. of the Philist. p. 109.)

ISAAC IS BORN. ISHMAEL IS CAST FORTH.

§ 64. (Gen. xxi. 1 to 21.)—At Beersheba, in the neighbourhood of which Abraham sojourned for a long time, Sarah gave birth to the long-expected son of promise (1) (in the one hundredth year of Abraham's, and in the ninetieth of her own life.) Abraham called the name of his son Isaac (2), and circumcised him on the eighth day. At the feast made when Isaac was weaned (3) Sarah demanded that Ishmael, who had mocked, should be cast out with his mother. Abraham was unwilling to comply, but God commanded him to do so, and, to make his obedience the more easy, He added the promise that of the son of the bond-woman also He would make a great nation, because he was the seed of *Abraham*. The Patriarch now obeys, and sends away Hagar with her son (4.) They depart towards Egypt, but, on her journey through the wilderness which commenced near Beersheba, Hagar loses her way. The angel of the Lord preserves Hagar and her child from perishing by thirst. Ishmael grows up in the wilderness of Paran (5), and becomes the powerful ancestor of twelve Arab tribes.

(1.) THE BIRTH OF ISAAC is the first result of the covenant, and the first step towards its goal. But if the development is to make organic progress, its commencement must already contain in germ what shall fully appear at its close. Hence, with the birth of Isaac, the promise "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" commences to unfold, and to tend towards its fullest realization. In truth, Isaac himself is that seed, and his birth is an implicit but practical pledge on the part of God that the salvation of the world shall be accomplished. The further increase of Isaac farther unfolds that salvation, and the

goal of this development constitutes also the attainment of the great salvation. This development is carried on by means of generation, which is, therefore, sanctified within the bounds of the covenant. So long as Abraham was uncircumcised, he was not to beget Isaac, thus indicating that the goal was not to be attained by merely natural generation. But the *generic*, not the *individual*, development of Isaac will lead to the goal. Generation is to continue subservient to covenant purposes until the seed of promise has passed through the preparatory process, and attained the maturity necessary for being capable of presenting salvation in its fulness. Hence, Isaac and all his seed after him must be circumcised, *until*, in the fulness of time, the development of the seed of promise which had been aimed after, has been fully attained. Then the purpose of circumcision has been exhausted and fulfilled, and its further continuance is superfluous. With Isaac commences therefore a *series*, of which, at that time, the termination was not yet in sight. But from the first the goal was clearly indicated, and the commencement is itself a guarantee that that goal shall ultimately be reached. For the generation of Isaac was not *κατὰ φύσιν*, but *παρὰ φύσιν*, not by human strength left to itself, but by the co-operation of creative omnipotence, and in accordance with the promise of the covenant. Again, the commencement is not merely a guarantee but also a *typical representation* and a *pre-formation* of the end, as the tendency at work, the life-power, in virtue of which the course of development will be continued and carried on to the end, must manifest itself from the first, and impress upon the commencement of the development its peculiar stamp, and thus, from the first, have exhibited its distinguishing characteristics. If the entire development of the covenant could only be brought about by a special and powerful Divine co-operation—if, more especially, the goal could only be attained by the *highest* manifestation of this Divine co-operation, the commencement also must have been *παρὰ φύσιν*. On the other hand, if the commencement was *παρὰ φύσιν*, we are warranted in expecting and inferring that the goal towards which that commencement tends shall likewise be *παρὰ φύσιν*.

(2.) The NAME given to the *son of promise* points to the contrast between the idea and the reality; to the promise of God and the Divine guarantee of its fulfilment on the one hand, and on the other to the incapability of Abraham and of Sarah for generation, and to the *physical* impossibility that the promise should become true, resulting from this circumstance. When by the birth of a son this contradiction has been removed, a new and no less decided contrast appears between the inexhaustible fulness of blessing for all nations of the earth which the promise

had attached to this son, and the weakness and poverty of the child which had just come into the world, feeble and helpless like other children. The former contrast had caused the laughter of Abraham and Sarah—the latter that of Ishmael. In *Abraham* the *laughter* was that of joy and hope, inspired by faith (chap. xvii. 17.) When the announcement was first made to *Sarah*, she laughed, while thinking of a contrast which, to all appearance, could not be removed (chap. xviii. 12) ; and after the birth of a son, she exclaims, in the happy consciousness that the promised event had now really taken place (chap. xxi. 6) : “ God hath made me to laugh, so that all that hear will laugh with me.” Again, when Isaac is weaned, Ishmael *laughs*, mocking the weak babe, about whom his parents make so much work, and with whom they connect such exceeding hopes (chap. xxi. 9.) In each case the laughing is not accidental nor unimportant ; it stands in connection with the central point of these occurrences, and indicates the relation which each of these persons occupied towards the great event. Comp. also *Hengstenberg's* Contrib. ii., p. 275, and *Drechsler*, Unity and Genuineness of Genesis, p. 214, &c.

(3.) It is impossible definitely to ascertain the *exact time* when ISAAC WAS WEANED. From 2 Macc. vii. 27 ; from 1 Sam. i. 23, 24 ; and from *Joseph*. Ant. ii. 9, 6, it has been inferred that among the Hebrews suckling was continued for so long a period as three years. To this *Tiele* and *Baumgarten* reply that the cases there mentioned were extraordinary, but then the same remark applies to Sarah. Generally the youngest children were weaned at a later period than others. The point is only of importance in order to determine the age of Ishmael when cast forth. *Baumgarten* rightly observes that “ weaning is the first step in the direction of independent existence, it was therefore solemnised by a feast ;” and we add, it was therefore at that time also that Sarah demanded that Ishmael should be cast forth.

(4.) ISHMAEL WAS at least fifteen years OLD when he was cast forth. He was thirteen years of age when circumcised (chap. xvii. 25.) A year passed before Isaac was born (chap. xvii. 21, xviii. 10) ; and at least *another* year must have passed before Isaac was weaned. This might indeed appear inconsistent, if, as *Tuch* maintains, p. 382, the narrative represented Ishmael as a little child which had still to be carried in its mother's arms. *Tuch* supports his statement by the following three reasons:—1. In verse 14, Abraham is said to put on the shoulder of Hagar provisions “ and the child.” The LXX. indeed translate this *ἔλαβεν ἄρτους καὶ ἄσκον ὕδατος καὶ ἔδωκε τῇ Ἀγὰρ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον αὐτῆς τὸ παιδίον*, and *Tuch* agrees with them. But, literally translated, the words of the text are as follows:—“ Abraham

took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away." The position of the words shews beyond controversy that the writer only meant that the bread and the water were put on her shoulder, and not the child. 2. In verse 15, &c., we read that Hagar had cast "the weeping child" under one of the shrubs. But this description, it is argued, implies that the "child was very young," and had to be carried or led by the hand (v. 18.) In this instance also *Tuch* seems to have followed the LXX., who, without any warrant in the text, render v. 16 by way of painting the scene in language sufficiently dolorous and pitiable: ἀναβοήσαν δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἐκλαυσεν. But in the original we do not read that the child had wept, although it is distinctly said that SHE (Hagar) lifted up her voice and wept. Manifestly the narrative, bearing in this the impress of truth, represents the lad as so worn out with thirst that he is not able even to cry, while the mother is stronger, and at least capable of weeping, and of escaping from the sight of her suffering child. But it is well known that woman is much more capable of bearing such difficulties and privations, and that she does not so rapidly sink under them, as man, far less as a lad of fifteen years of age would do. That she cast the lad under one of the shrubs does not prove that he was a mere child, but only that he was so worn out as no longer to be able to walk without support, and hence that his mother had almost to carry and to lay him down. Again, the express statement that after he had been refreshed by drinking from the spring, Hagar led the lad, who must still have been exhausted, by the hand, proves that he could not have been a child, as else he would have had to be carried. 3. It is inferred that Ishmael was not grown up, because we read in verses 20 and 21, that when he was grown up he became an expert archer, and took a wife from Egypt. But this inference makes no account of the possibility that Ishmael may not have been full grown when in his fifteenth year. *Tuch* has also overlooked the account in verse 9, where Ishmael is represented as mocking. This expression would rather lead us to infer that he was a rude, rough lad of fifteen, and not a child of two or three years. Nor is it possible to convert the expressions used in that verse as referring to "mere childish jokes." It is well known that the *Piel* always implies intense or reiterated action. The word there used can therefore only be translated by "mocking much, or frequently mocking." Besides, the meaning intended to be conveyed, and the whole context, are against the rendering of *Tuch*. Manifestly the statement, "Sarah saw the son of Hagar mocking (that he was a mocker)," is meant to indicate the reason which induced her to demand at that very time that Ishmael should be cast out. If

so, how would this agree with the theory of "childish and harmless joking?" The casting forth of Ishmael was for the purpose of separating him from the chosen family, and from its calling. Inwardly he had already separated himself, and his external separation was only a necessary consequence. Had Ishmael remained a member of the household of Abraham, he could not have fulfilled the destiny towards which his natural disposition, his own choice, and the blessing of God pointed. On the other hand, had he remained with the chosen family for a longer time, his presence would have interfered with its peculiar development. That this separation took place in the manner in which the narrative records it, was no doubt meant for the instruction of Abraham rather than for the sake of Ishmael or of Hagar. Abraham was to learn to renounce everything for the Divine calling and for the promise—even his natural paternal affection. In this manner was he to reach that height of self-renunciation, of devotedness to God, and of faith, which, as we shall by and bye see, he attained. *M. Baumgarten* (l. c.) aptly remarks—"Abraham is to renounce his natural feelings, and to comply with the demand of Sarah. Accordingly the dismissal of Ishmael takes the form of casting forth; and it is a complete misunderstanding when *J. D. Michaelis* and *Tiel* adorn the scene, and depict it as if it had been an affectionate leave-taking. Hagar receives only a piece of bread and a bottle of water; neither servant nor beast of burden accompany her (v. 14.) Abraham felt the more able to use this severity that he had received a promise for Ishmael, which had but lately been reiterated. This was sufficient guarantee that Ishmael and his mother would not be allowed to perish in the wilderness. This casting forth was necessary, in order distinctly and prominently to exhibit the all-important difference between the child of grace and that of nature. After this difference had been fully brought out, Ishmael was again allowed to approach his father, and to share in his wealth." It will be noticed that, according to chap. xxv. 6, Abraham gave rich gifts to all the sons of his concubines. That Ishmael was included among them may the more certainly be inferred that, according to chap. xxv. 9, Isaac and he buried their father in the cave of Macphelah.

(5.) On the *wilderness of PARAN*, which must be sought in the north-eastern part of Arabia Petraea, comp. *Winer* (s. h. v.); *Raumer* (*Wandering of the Israelites*, p. 37, &c.); *Ritter* (*Geography*, vol. xiv., p. 270.) For further particulars, we refer to vol. ii. of the present work.

(6.) Even before Ishmael was born, when Hagar of her own accord fled from the house of Abraham (chap. xvi.), the angel of the Lord had portrayed the future *character of her son* in brief

but strong outlines. "He will be a wild man (literally, a wild ass of a man); his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell before (*i.e.*, to the east of—comp. *Baumgarten*, ad Genesis, xvi. 16) all his brethren." And to this day his descendants are like their ancestor. It were impossible to describe more accurately than in these terms the unbridled love of liberty, and the wild irregular roaming of the Bedouin Arabs, characteristics which have remained unchanged for the last thousands of years. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis' Notes for the Unlearned on Genesis* xvi. 10; *J. P. Lange's Miscellaneous Works*, i., p. 156, &c. Genesis xxv. 12 to 18 describes the further course by which the descendants of Ishmael developed into a nation. Ishmael died at the age of 137 years. His descendants, which, even at the time of Moses, had organised themselves under twelve powerful chieftains, then lived "from Havilah unto Shur, east of Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria." They therefore roamed through the whole territory from the wilderness of Egypt to the steppes of the Euphrates.

THE OFFERING UP OF ISAAC.

§ 65. (Gen. xxii. 1 to 19.)—During the long sojourn of Abraham at Beersheba, the son of promise had grown up. And it came to pass that in a night vision the patriarch heard the voice of God *tempting* him: "Take now thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of *Moriah*, and offer him there for a *burnt-offering* upon one of the *mountains* which I will tell thee of." This was the climax of all the trials and leadings in the life of Abraham. He had first been called to give up his country and his friends; he had next learned, in the son of his hand-maid, who was only the son of nature and of the flesh, to surrender to faith his natural paternal affection; he is now sufficiently prepared for the greatest and most difficult of all his trials; he is to tear the son of promise from his natural heart, and to cast him forth, and that not only like Ishmael from his house, but wholly from the land of the living; nor has he now the consolation of a Divine promise such as was granted him when Ishmael was cast forth. But in this case also does the hero of faith triumph through faith over all the perplexities and doubts which flesh and blood must have suggested. Early in the morn-

ing he takes the lad and two servants, and goes unto the place of which God had told him. On the third day, he reaches his destination. At the foot of the mountain Abraham leaves the servants. "Abide ye here," he says, "I and the lad will go yonder, and when we have worshipped, will come again to you." Isaac himself carried the wood for the burnt-offering, Abraham the fire and the knife—and so both went together. In child-like simplicity, Isaac enquires:—"My father! behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?" This question must have entered the soul of the father like a two-edged sword, yet he calmly replies—"My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." The conviction that this was to be emphatically the work of *God* filled the son with peace, and sustained the father under his heavy trial—and so both went together. On the mountain Abraham built an altar, and bound his son upon the wood. Already he had taken up the sacrificial knife, when the angel of the Lord stayed his hand, calling unto him from heaven—"Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do him any harm, for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing that thou hast not withheld thine own son from me." And behold, behind him was a ram caught by his horns in a thicket; and Abraham offered him up in the stead of his son. Then the angel of the Lord again repeated the former promises granted to Abraham, but with more fulness and particularity than ever before, and confirmed them with an oath. Afterwards Abraham returned with his son to Beersheba.

(1.) It is impossible accurately to fix the *TIME* when *this event* took place. The circumstance that Isaac carried the wood for the sacrifice shews that he could not have been a mere child. But the general cast of the narrative is opposed to the statement of *Josephus*, *Antiq.* i. 14, according to whom he was twenty-five years old, and to that of the Rabbins, who make him even older. In order to understand the narrative, it is necessary carefully to examine all its relations, and to view the event not only in its subjective but in its objective bearing. *Comp. Hüvernich*, *Introd.* i. 2, p. 337, &c.

Those critics who reject the historical authority of the Pentateuch, and suppose that Judaism, during the times of the Prophets, gradually evolved from the worship of nature, infer, from this narrative, that the religion of Jehovah had originally

occupied the same level as the *service of Moloch* (*Vatke*, *Bib. Theol.* i. p. 276.) *V. Bohlen* expresses it as his opinion (*Comm.* p. 231, &c.) that in its original form the narrative had borne that Isaac had really been offered up in sacrifice. This prosperous idea has been carried out by *G. Fr. Daumer* (*The Fire- and Moloch-worship of the ancient Hebrews*, Braunschweig 1842, pp. 34, &c.) with a degree of presumption and coarseness hitherto unknown in this branch of literature.¹ *Winer* (*Real Lexicon* i., 16, &c., 2d ed.) more cautiously suggests that the custom of sacrificing children, derived from the Phœnician tribes, was the occasion of Abraham's attempted sacrifice. According to that author, the narrative intends to display the pious resignation and the active faith of Abraham in their highest form, and, at the sametime, to express the divine prohibition of human sacrifices. Similarly *Bertheau* remarks (p. 224, &c.), "that Abraham could have received such a commandment presupposes that his consciousness of God had become dim, and is explained by the influence of a custom widely spread among the surrounding tribes, and by the power of habit . . . In his willingness to offer up that which is dearest to him, he is not a whit behind the Canaanites. But, at the moment when he is about to offer up the sacrifice, he obtains by revelation the assurance that *his* god would not accept the sacrifice of a child. . . Hence, the narrative implies that Abraham was aware of the objectionable-

¹ We subjoin the following as a specimen of the cleverness of *Daumer*: "If people were not accustomed to be purblind on such subjects, this sacrifice of his child on the part of Abraham (although, according to the text in its present form, it had not been completed) might have served to enlighten readers on the subject,"—a result this reserved for the wisdom of *G. Fr. Daumer*. Accordingly he informs us that, from a statement of *Sanchuniathon* (*Eusebius preparatio* l. i.), we gather that the tradition of Abraham's worship and sacrifice of his child was not completely related in Genesis. According to *Sanchuniathon*, Chronos, whom the Phœnicians called Israel, had during the prevalence of a plague offered up his only real son to his father Uranos, then undergone circumcision, and obliged his followers to do the same. "Abraham was a worshipper of Moloch, a fanatic of the first kind; hence he occupied so high a place among the Moloch-serving descendants of Shem; hence also the reforming pseudo-Isaiah (chap. xliii. 27), who appears to have possessed a more complete tradition about Abraham, reproaches his contemporaries with the sin of their first ancestor." Again, while in the narrative handed down to us Abraham appears as an old man, childless on account of the barrenness of his wife, the older and the more accurate narrative (which of course exists merely in the bright imagination of *Daumer*) only represents him as childless because he had sacrificed all the children of his marriage to Moloch-Jehovah. And from that time till the events enacted at Damascus in 1840 the history of the Jews presents, according to *Daumer*, a continuous series of innumerable sacrifices of children and of men, all of whom were offered up to their dark and cruel idol Moloch-Jehovah. The explanation of *Ghillany* (l. c. p. 660, &c.) in the main agrees with the above, although it is not quite so coarse and silly.

ness of human sacrifices . . . and that, in consequence, he came to occupy a position of direct antagonism to the idolatry of the Canaanites." We shall find that this explanation closely approaches the truth, only that it wholly ignores the reality and the meaning of the introductory words: "*God* tempted Abraham, and *said* unto him."

Hengstenberg (Contrib. iii., pp. 145, &c.) holds that a divine command to offer a sacrifice had, indeed, been issued, but that Abraham had misunderstood its import. The import of the temptation had lain in this, to determine in what sense God demanded the sacrifice of man (1 Sam. i., 25.) The same view is advocated by *Lange* (Life of Jesus, i., p. 120): "*Jehovah* commanded Abraham to *offer up* Isaac. The patriarch submitted, but in the decisive moment understood the commandment as if *Moloch* had enjoined him to *slay* Isaac. Then *Jehovah* interposed, praised the *obedience* of the patriarch, but corrected his *error*, and showed him the difference between death and surrender, by calling on him to *slay* the ram, in token that he had given over and offered up his son. Both by the *vigour* with which Abraham complied with the command of God enjoining the sacrifice, and by the clearness with which he understood the voice of God explaining the sacrifice, the patriarch shewed that he was the chosen one whom *Jehovah* would employ for founding a theocracy in which all human life should be offered up to him, and yet no human life should be taken away in the exercise of pretended but iniquitous priestly functions." All this is very fine, and in part very *true*. But it is manifestly erroneous to say that Abraham had misunderstood and mistaken the command of God. Every expression in the divine command runs contrary to this view, and shews that it was not Abraham's exegesis but that of the Christian interpreters of the 19th century which is at fault. If Abraham should and could have understood the demand of *Jehovah* as *merely* implying an ideal though real surrender of Isaac, it would have been equally useless and confusing to have ordered him to take Isaac *to go with him* to a mountain in the land of *Moriah*, and *there* to offer him up as a *burnt-offering*. If it had been the intention of the writer to make a distinction between the *knowledge and the intention* of Abraham, and to characterise the one as false and the other as proper, it would somehow or other have appeared in the narrative itself. But of this we do not discover a trace. Had Abraham's understanding of the Divine commandment been as opposed to it as his intention was in agreement with it, God would have reproved the one when He commended the other. If the view of *Lange* were correct, the only alternative left to us were to assume either that God had intentionally couched His command in language which

Abraham could not but misunderstand, or else, as this would have been unworthy of God, that Abraham might have correctly understood it, in which case the blame of the misunderstanding rests with the patriarch. But what would have taken place if Abraham had understood it correctly, *i.e.* according to the view of *Lange*? In that case we see insuperable difficulties; for HOW and IN WHAT MANNER could or should Abraham have carried out such a command? *J. P. Lange* (*Positive Dogmatics*, p. 823) very naively ignores his former statement, and says "he would have done so *in the very manner in which he actually carried it out.*" But if this be true, wherein, we ask, consisted his supposed mistake? A mere abstract frame of mind, without a concrete and actual manifestation of it, was not what God demanded; a deed, a striking fact, was requisite. We therefore maintain that Abraham had rightly understood the command of God, and that God had really demanded at his hand the slaying of Isaac.¹

At the same time we must allow that there is some difficulty in the case, considering that the *same* Jehovah who in the law (*Lev.* xviii. 21, xx. 1 to 5; *Deut.* xii. 31, xviii. 10) expresses the utmost abhorrence of human sacrifices, and *prohibits* them as an abomination, should, in this instance, *Himself command* a human sacrifice. The solution of the difficulty lies in the introductory statement "*God tempted Abraham,*" and in the corresponding issue of the event, when God *interposed* in the decisive moment and gave implicit praise to Abraham on account of his *ready obedience*. God *tempted* Abraham to see whether his faith was capable of producing the self-renunciation, the obedience, and the trust which were necessary for its perfecting, and in order to

¹ In the work to which we have referred (p. 848, &c.), *J. P. Lange* urges no less than nine arguments against the view advocated by us, which he is pleased to designate as the common view of ecclesiastical schools. We will not weary the reader by enumerating and refuting them, but we assure them that while indeed two thirds of them are new and unrefuted, they do not deserve or require refutation. The other third has been frequently urged, and as frequently refuted. Only the fifth objection claims not an answer but a reproof. "If correct, the inference that God may in vision have really addressed such commandments to individuals, and perhaps have allowed them to be executed, would be legitimate. *Without doubt this misunderstanding on the part of theologians is in part the cause of the extravagancies which in this respect have occurred.*" Alas for those iniquitous critics who, by their correct interpretations of *Gen.* xxii., are to blame for all the dreadful misdeeds of religious fanaticism, from the Christian Fakirs of the Egyptian wilderness down to the attempt at self-crucifixion, which, according to newspaper reports, have lately been made in a German University town! And what is still more dreadful, among these guilty critics are all the ecclesiastical authorities from the oldest to the present time. But despite all these dangers we can scarcely think it the duty of the critic to interpret away everything, which may give occasion to a half or wholly crazed fanatic for introducing absurdities in the name of religion.

advance his faith to that stage. Hence, Abraham must be ready for the Lord to sacrifice even that which is nearest and dearest to him, more dear even than his own life. It is true that God did not seek the *slaying* of Isaac *in fact*, but only the implicit *surrender* of the lad, *in mind and heart*. But if all mental reservation, every refuge for flesh and blood, all mere appearance and self-delusion were to be avoided, this surrender could only be accomplished in the shape in which it was actually required. If it was to be wholly an act of faith left to its own energies, without any other point of support, God could not merely ask a mental surrender, but must have demanded an actual sacrifice. On the part of any other than God such a *quid pro quo* would have been a dangerous game. Not so on the part of God, who held the issue entirely in His own hand. When Abraham had, in heart and mind, completely and without any reserve, offered up his son, God interposed and prevented the sacrifice *in fact*, which was no longer required for the purpose of trial, and would indeed have completely run counter to it. This *interposition* on the part of God forms the link of connection between the *commandment* addressed to Abraham, and the prohibition addressed to his posterity. Implicitly, it already contains the prohibition which is afterwards explicitly laid down in the law. Hence, the antagonism between this command and the prohibition is not separated by a development of 600 years, but the two are placed side by side in this very history and reconciled by the issue of it. "Now I know," says the angel of the Lord, "that thou fearest God, and hast not withheld thine own son from me." And again: "By myself have I sworn, because thou hast done this thing and hast not withheld thine own son, that in blessing I will bless thee, &c., because thou hast obeyed my voice."

But why, it may be asked, does the trial of Abraham take *this* form, and what bearing has it upon the history of Abraham and the development of the covenant? This bearing must have been the more important and deep, as manifestly the trial and its issue marked the highest stage in all the leadings, trials, or triumphs in the life of Abraham, and the fullest manifestation of his faith. Every one is prepared to find that the history of Abraham has now reached its climax, and in point of fact the remainder of his life passes quietly and undisturbed, without any other trials, contests, and triumphs, till in a good old age he is gathered to his fathers. *Ewald* (p. 382) beautifully and aptly delineates the bearing of this "myth," as he calls it, and that in language so appropriate that its meaning as a *fact* could scarcely have been better expressed. "But as yet even Isaac, that precious gift so long promised, was only a natural blessing for Abraham. A son like any other, although the offspring of

Sarah—the son of Abraham was born to him and educated in his house. Since his birth he has not been called upon to bear for him pangs, the pangs of a soul struggling in faith; and yet every blessing becomes only spiritual and truly lasting if we are able also to appropriate it in the contest and in the struggles of a believing spirit.” Comp. also especially *Baumgarten's* Comm. i. 1, p. 232, &c., which presents probably the best treatment which the subject has hitherto received, although it requires to be supplemented in some not unimportant particulars. Abraham's natural powers had ceased; but through the power of Divine promise was Isaac begotten. Hence, although Abraham had begotten the seed of promise by the strength of his faith in the promise, it was still in the natural way and by the will of the flesh. True, Isaac was begotten in circumcision, *i.e.* the natural character and the impurity of generation had been removed, but only *symbolically*, not *really*. Hence Isaac is the son of promise and of grace, but at the same time also the son of nature and of the flesh. This led to a two-fold relation between Abraham and his child. He cherisheth Isaac as the son of promise and as the gift of Divine omnipotence and of grace; but he also cherishes him as the offspring of his own body. In the heart of Abraham this fleshly affection contends with the spiritual for the sole possession of Isaac. But if the faith of Abraham, which is accounted to him for righteousness, is to be perfected, he must deny his fleshly love to his son, as he had formerly in the exercise of faith given up his father and mother, his kindred and country (Gen. xii. 1.) The carnal generation was the basis of his carnal attachment; the promise that of his spiritual attachment towards Isaac. But the former must be given up that the promise might remain the sole basis of his affection. *Baumgarten* aptly remarks: “The circumstance that Abraham begat Isaac necessarily implied that his relation to the promised seed became obscured; and if Abraham was to return to the stage of pure faith, he must, as it were, by another act, annul that of begetting. As by the will of the flesh he had given life to Isaac, so he must by the will of the soul take it from him, in order to receive him again from Jehovah as purely and simply the son of promise and of grace.”

Such then is the bearing of the Divine command given to Abraham. But it had also an important object and meaning as bearing upon Isaac and his position in the covenant. In our view, *what* CIRCUMCISION *was to Abraham (qua begetting)* THIS OFFERING UP *was to Isaac (qua begotten.)* The natural life of Isaac was to be surrendered, because through generation this life in its origin was defiled. The circumcision of Abraham which had preceded the begetting of Isaac had symbolically, not really, removed natural defilement. The command to sacrifice Isaac is

an illustration of the fact that circumcision is not capable of accomplishing really that which it exhibits symbolically, and that natural defilement continued to descend. As the necessity of circumcision showed that the act of natural generation was impure, so this command to sacrifice Isaac manifests that the natural life of the party begotten was also impure.

But circumcision was not to be emasculation. Although tainted with impurity, generation was to continue in order to prepare for the last and perfect generation, in which every defect of nature was not only *symbolically* but *really* removed. In like manner also the life of Isaac was to be offered up, but not taken away. Although tainted by natural sin it was to continue subservient to covenant purposes, until in the course of the development of covenant-activity *that* life which was perfectly pure and holy should be exhibited. As in circumcision Abraham had surrendered himself to God, symbolically to remove the natural impurity of generation, that henceforth it might be dedicated and devoted to covenant-purposes, so Isaac also offers up his life. By this act doom is pronounced on its natural impurity, and after it had passed through the terrors of death he receives it again at the hand of God, but devoted and sanctified for covenant purposes.

Lastly, this event, happening to Abraham—the first in the series of the covenant who begat, and to Isaac, the first who was begotten—has not merely an individual and transitory, but a typical import for the general development. It indicates the character and the conditions under which alone the development can lead to its proper goal. In general it clearly expresses that within the covenant all natural possession must be surrendered, in so far as carnal affection has there its place and claim. Even life, viewed independently and as a product of nature, must willingly be yielded up as in itself unfit for covenant purposes, that it may again be received back from God, but now sanctified, dedicated, and a gift of grace. As the circumcision of Abraham, so the sacrifice of Isaac must henceforth be repeated in every member of the covenant nation. But in the sacrifice of Isaac it has clearly appeared that God demands only the ideal, not the real sacrifice of life. The putting away of everything connected with self and our own will, the surrender of thought and heart, had manifestly been the great object in view, and was therefore sufficient on the occasion of every succeeding birth. Still, ever afterwards was this abstract idea embodied in symbolical action, when the *first born* was offered up in the sanctuary. Such dedication of the first born implied also that of all the other children, just as *eo ipso* woman was sanctified in the circumcision of the man.

Before proceeding farther we must accompany Abraham on his sad journey to the place where Isaac was to be sacrificed, in order to gain a proper view of his subjective relation to the objective command of God. He is to offer up the son for whom he had hoped and waited for twenty-five years, and on whose life hung all the precious and glorious promises which held out such unspeakable blessing and salvation itself to all nations. And yet Abraham was to preserve his faith in the promises, and his confidence in Him who had given them. This was the testing point in the temptation. And by faith he stood this test. Without finding special mention of it in the text, we conclude that the demand of God must have occasioned a severe struggle in the soul of Abraham; that doubt and faith, fears and hopes, had contended for ascendancy. But, as according to verse 3 he had commenced his journey early on the morrow after that vision, the contest had not lasted long. Similarly the whole issue of the history proves that the struggle had been followed by most complete and undoubted victory. Verse 5 shews in what manner the contest was carried on, and the victory achieved. Abraham orders the servants whom he had brought with him to wait at the foot of the mountain, and confidently adds, "I and the lad will go yonder, and when we have worshipped we will come again unto you." This confident declaration shows how correctly the author of the epistle to the Hebrews had interpreted the meaning and the thoughts of Abraham when in chap. xi. 19 he comments, "accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure." If God had at first given the son of promise from the *dead* body of Sarah, he could also again restore him from the dead. Nor could he feel any doubt on this point, since on the life of this son hung all the promises confirmed with an oath. As formerly Abraham had considered not the dead body of Sarah, but the omnipotence of Him who had given the promise, so now he considered not the sacrificial knife nor the fire, but only the command of God, and comforted himself with the faithfulness of Him who, despite all appearances to the contrary, would fulfil His promise.

But these considerations neither wholly remove the difficulties of the command to sacrifice Isaac, as compared with the later absolute prohibition of human sacrifices, nor do they exhaust the rich and deep bearing, and the comprehensive and extensive meaning of this fact, viewed in connection with the history of salvation generally. On all the heights around, Abraham desecrated altars smoking with *human* sacrifices which were offered to the idols of Canaan. It was impossible but that Abraham *must* have viewed the Divine command to offer up his son Isaac—this

climax of his self-renunciation—as standing in some relation to the climax in the worship of nature, of which he had witness in these heathen sacrifices. Not only Abraham, but every student of history in later times, *must* draw a parallel between those human sacrifices which were actually slain and this offering which was indeed demanded but arrested in the decisive moment. Indeed, the full meaning and the real relation of both kinds of sacrifices appears only in this parallelism, and by a comparison of the two.

Hengstenberg (Contrib. iii. 144) denies not only that *this event bore reference to human sacrifices in the worship of nature, but that human sacrifices were general among the heathen.* But in both these respects he is mistaken. He maintains: “Human sacrifices do not form part of heathenism generally; they are only the darkest night-side of heathenism. They occur among nations who, religiously and morally, are most degraded. The moral feeling of the more noble among the heathen revolted against them, and was not lured by the appearance of magnitude or devotion attaching to them (comp. *Cicero de officiis* iii. 25, and *Curtius* iv. 3, p. 23.)” But this assertion of *Hengstenberg* runs counter to undoubted historical facts. Human sacrifices took place not only among the cannibals of Oceania, but, without exception, among all the nations of antiquity, and that not only among barbarous, but among cultivated races; not only among rude tribes, but among the most thoughtful and intellectual peoples (comp. *Euseb. Prep. Ev.* iv., 16; *Baur Symb.* ii. 2, p. 293, &c.; *Lusaulx, The Atoning Sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans*, 1841, pp. 8—12; *Ghillany, The Human Sacrifices of the Ancient Hebrews, Nüremb*, 1842, pp. 107, &c.) Indeed they seem to have been most frequent at the periods when the moral and religious life of the nations was most vigorous, and to have disappeared in times of moral degeneration and of religious indifferentism. *Cicero* may call the sacrifice of Iphigenia a “*tetrum facinus*,” and *Curtius* designate human sacrifices generally as a “*sacrilegium*” and a “*dura superstitio*.” But the religious and rationalistic superficiality of these writers is well known. Besides, they wrote at a time when the religious life of heathenism in general had sunk so low that one haruspex could not meet another without laughing, and the oracles of Pythia were regarded as the result of clever tricks on the part of the priests, &c. Without doubt, the moral life of the Greeks and Romans was much more vigorous and pure during the period when human sacrifices took place, than in the dissolute times of the Roman emperors when such offerings were no longer brought. True, in those ancient times also, natural feeling—the voice of flesh and blood, paternal and maternal affection—must have

resisted such demands on the part of religion, but the intensity of religious feeling silenced and removed this opposition.

It cannot be denied that, however human sacrifices belong to the sombre part of religious development, they spring from a true and deep want of religious consciousness. In proof of this we appeal to the general experience that every error, however dangerous, is based on some truth misunderstood, and that every aberration, however grievous, had started from a desire after real good, which had not attained its goal because the latter was sought neither in the right way nor by right means. We further appeal to the universality of this worship among all nations, which proves that the want which it embodied was genuine, however false its realisation may have been ; and, lastly, we point to the strength and pertinacity of this error, however great the obstacles which it required to set aside, and which it actually overcame, for falsehood is only strong through the truth which in perverted form it embodies. Human sacrifices are indeed a dreadful *madness*, but they are the madness of *despair*. They express despair of real sacrifice, and utter hopelessness of discovering a real atonement. So deep and strong in the religious consciousness of man is the sense of the impurity attaching to human life, and the want of sufficient atonement and sanctification, that to attain these blessings, nothing seemed too dear or too precious. But in all the wide world no object is more dear or precious than this very tainted and unholy life of man. Hence the first impulse was to surrender *one's own life* in order to obtain forgiveness and sanctification, and next to sacrifice that of *another* man as a substitute. The general religious basis of both these acts consists in the consciousness of unholiness, the need of forgiveness, the knowledge that death is the wages of sin, that man's life was forfeited by sin, and also in a deep sense that while no real equivalent could be offered, what is most elevated, dear, and precious, was not too great a substitute for it. But the terrible error and the satanic self-delusion of the first-mentioned kind of these sacrifices consists in this, that so far from attaining a *new* and holy life by surrendering one's unholy life, all hope of such a change is thereby completely taken away. Still more dreadful and abominable is the other kind of sacrifices in which the life of another is substituted for one's own. In that case the personality of the substitute, which is to give to the sacrifice its high and only value, is most iniquitously trampled upon, and the person treated as matter, while the fact that the life which is substituted is as unholy as that whose place it is to take is purposely kept out of sight. Heathenism could not indeed wholly ignore this fact, but the sense of felt want imperatively called for some such satisfaction. This was not obtained

by substituting animal sacrifices, of which the insufficiency was self-evident. In despair men resorted to human sacrifices; only when the earnestness of religious life more and more gave place to indifferentism animal sacrifices were again exclusively resorted to. *Baumgarten* aptly remarks: "This circumstance should not be regarded as constituting a real progress; it was only the progress of a refinement which found it more easy to get rid of the sense of sin. The Erinyes (Furies) were appeased, but not satisfied." The substituting of animal sacrifices had no objective warrant among the heathen; it was merely the result of subjective choice.

Viewed from this point, we regard our history in a new light, and that both in respect of its *subjective* and *objective* import. An important truth, which may not be lightly passed over, lies at the foundation of the statements of *Winer* and of *Bertheau*—however inadmissible in other respects they may be—that the attempt to sacrifice Isaac had been occasioned by the Canaanitish custom of the same kind, and that the Divine command presupposed that Abraham's knowledge and sense of God had, through frequent contact with such sacrifices, become somewhat dim. If human sacrifices embody a genuine religious element, however perverted it may have become, the sensorium of Abraham, which was so susceptible for everything religious, must have been affected by it, and that in proportion as both the self-denial of heathenism which appeared in such acts was great and energetic, and Abraham himself felt conscious that his faith could not be perfected except by renunciation and self-denial. These Canaanitish sacrifices of children, and the readiness with which the heathen around him offered them, must have excited in Abraham a contest of thoughts accusing and excusing one another, and induced him to examine himself whether he also was capable of sufficient renunciation and self-denial to do, if his God demanded it, what the heathen around him were doing. *But if this question was raised in the heart of Abraham, it must also have been brought to a definite settlement through some outward fact.* Such was the *basis* for the demand of God so far as Abraham was concerned, and such the educational *motive* for this trial. The obedience of Abraham's faith must in energy and entireness not lag behind that which the religion of nature demanded and obtained from its professors. Abraham must be ready to do for *his* God what the heathen nations around him were capable of doing for their false gods. In every respect Abraham, as the hero of faith, is to out-distance all others in self-denial.

Viewing it *objectively*, we add the following remarks:—Human sacrifice was the climax of worship in the religion of nature. As this contained an element of truth, and covenant-

religion had absolute truth for its aims, it was necessary that true and false religion should in this respect also from the very first diverge. That which was *true* must, therefore, be *recognised*; that which was *false* and *lying* must be *condemned* and *denied*. Human sacrifices had originated in a sense of the insufficiency of animal sacrifices. But the command to sacrifice Isaac is a recognition of the truth of the feeling that human life must be given up and sacrificed, inasmuch as it was unholy and undedicated. The interposition on the part of God was a refutation and a condemnation of the horrible misrepresentation of this truth in heathenism. Lastly, by the ram whom God substitutes, Abraham is again directed to offer animal sacrifices as substitutes and symbols of the offering up of human life, and the divine acceptance of the animal sacrifice sanctions, and, for the time being, solemnly acknowledges the sufficiency of animal sacrifices, which in themselves would have been quite inadequate. The circumstance that in themselves animal sacrifices are inadequate, and that God, nevertheless, accepts them as sufficient, is a type and guarantee (comp. *the Author's* "Mosaic Sacrifice," p. 40) that full, genuine, and sufficient satisfaction and sanctification of human life shall really and absolutely be obtained, even as then it was symbolically represented. By the restitution of the life which in thought and intention Abraham had already offered up, the despair of heathenism is, in the case of the covenant-people, entirely removed. Thus in its very commencement the religion of the chosen race has overcome the principle of the worship of nature, and left far in the back ground its development, even where it contained an element of truth. The human sacrifices in the worship of nature are the fearful cry of need and anxiety, elicited from man seeking salvation in his own way—a dreadful dissonance which only Christianity can resolve into hymns of joy and praise; it is a human device, neither approved by God nor man—to solve the problem of all religion, the enigma of a religious struggle and enquiry continued during forty centuries, and which *God* alone solved on Golgotha. We subjoin an apt remark of *Baumgarten*:—"The sacrifice of the ram on the part of Abraham is not an *ἐθελοθρησκεία* [worship of his own desire or choice] but of divine appointment. Hence the substitution of the ram does not diminish the former solemnity of the event, but establishes the purpose which the promised seed was to serve by placing its fulfilment in the future."

Before closing we must refer to the peculiar locality chosen for the sacrifice. In verse 2, one of the mountains in the land of Moriah is pointed out as the place to which Abraham was to journey. According to verse 4, the patriarch arrives there (with an ass and some servants) on the third day after leaving Beer-

sheba; and according to verse 14 he designated that place: *Jehovah-Jireh*, "Jehovah Sees." As the name itself (land of Moriah), so the distance mentioned leads us to suppose that it was in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. From Bir-es-Seba, *Robinson* took twenty hours and twenty-five minutes to Jerusalem, travelling by the straight way, and with camels—a distance, therefore, which Abraham could easily have made in three days. *Bleek* (*Stud. u. Krit.* for 1831, p. 520, &c.; also the *Observ.* by the same author, p. 20), and after him *Tuch* and others, propose to read *Moreh* instead of *Moriah*, and refer it to that height near Sychem, where Abraham had formerly (chap. xii. 7.) been honoured with a theophany, and where he had built an altar. But this cannot be reconciled with the distance mentioned in the text, *Robinson* took fourteen hours and thirty minutes to travel with mules by the straight road from Jerusalem to Sychem (Nabulus), so that the entire distance from Beersheba amounted to thirty-five hours, which Abraham could not have made in three days. But even the name points to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The designation *Moriah*, applied in verse 2 to the whole district, was at a later period confined to that particular mountain where this remarkable event had taken place. There afterwards the temple was built (2 Chron. iii. 1; *Joseph.* *Antiq.* i. 13, 2.) We now perceive why Jehovah chose that particular mountain. The object in view was to give Divine sanction to the substitution of animals in sacrificing. But for the sake of the idea and of the plan pursued in the history of the covenant, it was necessary that this sanction should be given in *that* very place, where afterwards the only central point of all worship and of all sacrifices should be fixed. A *mountain* is the most natural place for a sacrifice—it is an altar of nature's own making. Its height indicates that it is destined for Him who dwelleth on high. The journey to Moriah was to occupy three days, so as to make the trial greater, as it would have been much more easy for Abraham to obey the command of God immediately after it had been given, and during the freshness of first impressions, than after three days' interval and reflection.

The name "*Moriah*" seems to have been derived from the event recorded in our history; hence that designation is used in verse 2, *per prolepsin*, for, according to verse 14, Abraham called the name of that place *Jehovah-Jireh* (*Jehovah Seeth*), and the writer adds: "whence it is said to this day in the mount where Jehovah is seen." Hence *Hengstenberg* (*Contrib.* ii. p. 263, &c.) explains the name as composed of the *part. hoph.* of the verb *ראה*, and of an abbreviation of the name *Jehovah* = that which is shewn of Jehovah, His apparition. *Keil* (*Lutheran Journ.* for 1851, p. 227) rejects this interpretation because it confounds

the *Hophal* with the *Niphal*—the former meaning “to be shewn,” “to shew himself,” or “to appear.” But from 2 Chron. iii. 1 we infer that this argument is not conclusive. If that passage is translated by: “In Mount Moriah, which was *shewn* to David,” it proves that the difference between the *Hophal* and the *Niphal* is not so decided as *Keil* had supposed. But if it is rendered by “In Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David,” it will scarcely be possible to ignore the ethimological allusion of *נראה* to *מורה*. It is not difficult to reply to the enquiry of *Keil*, “by whom was Jehovah to have been shewn?” We answer, by that Angel of the Lord who was the representative of Jehovah (§ 52), *i.e.* by whom He showed Himself. For the sake of his peculiar interpretation of Exod. vi. 3, *Ebrard* (in his essay on the name Jehovah, in the *Journal for Historical Theology* for 1849, iv. 501), who thinks that the name Jehovah had not existed at the time of the Patriarchs, derives the word from the Arabic *Hamara* = aqua fluxit (comp. Psalm. cxlix. 11) and attaches to it the idea of a country rich in springs. But irrespective of the fact that this interpretation of Ex. vi. 3 is erroneous (comp. § 96 1.), the above view is contrary to the Masoretic punctuation which regards the ה at the commencement of the word as the article, while *Ebrard* has to punctuate *המורה*, and to regard it as part of the root. Besides *Keil*, *l.c.*, declares that the derivation of a word *המורה* with dagesh in the Jod is a grammatical impossibility. We therefore regard it as most advisable to retain the view of *Hengstenberg*, nor do we see our way to agree with *Keil* that “as much uncertainty attaches to this name as to that of *Moreh* in Gen. xii. 5.”

DEATH AND BURIAL OF SARAH. MARRIAGE OF ISAAC. LAST DAYS
OF ABRAHAM.

§ 66. (Gen. xxiii.)—It is uncertain how long Abraham may have continued in Beersheba after this event. By and bye we find him again in Hebron. There Sarah died at the age of 127 years (1.) Abraham who, as yet, did not possess a foot's breadth in the land of Promise, in public assembly purchases for 400 shekels of silver from Ephron the Hittite, the cave of Macphelah near Hebron, together with the field connected with it, to be a burying place for his family (2.) There Sarah is buried. In the land, which his descendants are to possess, the bones of Abraham and those of his wife are to rest undisturbed. A testimony

this of his faith in the promise, an admonition also and a call to his descendants during their 400 years of foreign servitude (comp. § 56) (3.)

(1) *Lightfoot* (Opera i. p. 14) remarks about *the age of Sarah*: "sola inter mulieres, cujus ætas in scriptura commemoratur." As Isaac was a boy when he was offered up, and thirty-seven years of age when Sarah died, a considerable interval must have elapsed between these dates. But the text passes rapidly over this period to the close of the history of Abraham, as the temptation on Mount Moriah was the climax and the completion of God's leadings with him.

(2) The name Macphelah (double, double cave) is a *nomen proprium*. The place in Hebron to which tradition points as the exact spot of the patriarchal burying ground is at present occupied by a mosque surrounded by high walls, and is called the Great Haram. The jealous bigotry of the Mussulmans of Hebron precludes Jews and Christians from entering this sanctuary. Hence no reliable account of its interior has as yet been given. Compare the interesting statement of *Robinson* (vol. ii. pp. 72 to 83.) This traveller remarks: "The outer structure evidently belongs to a high antiquity; and the resemblance of its architecture to that of the remains of the ancient temple of Jerusalem, seems to point to a Jewish origin. . . . I know of nothing that should lead us to question the correctness of the tradition which regards this as the place of sepulchre of Abraham and the other patriarchs, as recorded in the book of Genesis. On the contrary there is much to strengthen it. *Josephus* relates (Antiq. i. 14; Bell. Jud. iv. 9. 7) that Abraham and his descendants erected monuments over the sepulchres in question, . . . and that the sepulchres of the patriarchs were still seen in Hebron, built of marble, and of elegant workmanship. In the days of *Eusebius* and *Jerome*, the monument of Abraham was yet pointed out (Onomast. Art. *Arboch*) and the Bourdeaux pilgrim, in A.D. 333, describes it as a quadrangle built of stones of admirable beauty. His description appears to me, without much doubt, to refer to the exterior structure as we see it now; and I venture to suppose that this existed already in the days of *Josephus*, and probably much earlier." After mentioning later accounts *Robinson* continues: "Thus it appears to me we may rest with confidence in the view, that the remarkable external structure of the harem is, indeed, the work of Jewish hands, erected long before the destruction of the nation, around the sepulchre of their revered progenitor. . . . The cave of Macphelah is described in Scripture as at the 'end of the field' over against Mamre, the same as Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 9, 17—19;

xxxv. 27) ; and all the later writers speak of the sepulchres of the patriarchs as *at* or *in* Hebron, not near it. . . . Just at the left of the principal entrance of the harem is a small hole in the massive wall, through which the Jews are permitted at certain times to look into the interior, . . . although the whole was now closed by a shutter from within." On the value of the purchase money, FOUR HUNDRED SHEKELS OF SILVER, "current money with the merchant," comp. especially *Böckh's* *Meteorological Investigations*, Berlin 1838, p. 56, and *Bertheau*, *Contrib. to the History of Israel*, pp. 17, &c. *Böckh* supposes that coined money was unknown to the Hebrews before the time of the Persians. Others again deem it probable that even before the exile they used coined, or at least stamped pieces of metal. The explanation in v. 16, "current with the merchant," shews that, even in patriarchal times and in the age of Moses, definite pieces of metal, which somehow or other indicated their own value, were employed in commerce or interchange. It is more difficult to ascertain what was the exact value of the shekel. This question depends on a comparison with the well-known Maccabean shekel (27½ Parisian grains), and on determining whether the common shekel or that of the sanctuary (which was double the weight of the former) had been the original coin (comp. *Winer*, *Real-Lex.*, and especially *Bertheau*, l. c.)

(3.) *Ranke* remarks (*Investigations* i., p. 46) : "Even in his death Abraham wished to shew his *faith* in the truth of the promise received, just as at a much later period Jeremiah, immediately before the exile and when the approaching fall of Jerusalem had been revealed to him, with all due formalities, purchased the field of Hanameel in Anathoth, in order to shew his firm confidence in the promised return of his people to their own country." It is strange that some critics should regard this event as a myth, invented to establish the claim of the Israelites to the country. On the contrary it proves that the patriarchs had no right or claim to the land (comp. *Br. Bauer*, *Criticism*, i. 94.)

On the difference between the account in verses 9 and 17 and the speech of Stephen in Acts vii. 16, comp. the various Commentaries, and *Lilienthal*, "the Good Cause, &c.," iii. p. 44, *Kunne*, *Bibl. Invest.*, i. p. 108 to 225.

Gen. xxiv. 20

§ 67. (Gen. xxiv.)—Three years after the death of Sarah Abraham resolves to fill the gap made in his own family and in the heart of Isaac (comp. chap. xxiv. 67), by seeking a wife for his son. He had some time before obtained tidings that his brother Nahor in Mesopotamia had been blessed with numerous

descendants (chap. xxii. 20, &c.) He could not give to the son of promise a wife from among the Canaanites around him. He therefore despatches his oldest and most confidential servant (1) to Mesopotamia, thence to bring a wife for Isaac. But first he binds him by a solemn oath (2) not in any case either to bring a Canaanite to his son or to suffer him to return into Mesopotamia. The servant departs with camels laden with rich presents. In a miraculous manner God, to whom in prayer he had committed his mission, brings him into contact with her who was destined to be Isaac's bride. Before he has finished his request, the beautiful and affable maiden offers to him water from her pitcher, and, of her own accord, proposes to draw for his camels also (3.) This had been the sign which the servant had requested from the Lord. Still, he keeps silence, though rejoicing in anticipation he presents her with golden chains and bracelets. But all doubt disappears when he is told that she is Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel, and the grandchild of Nahor. He now introduces himself as the servant of Abraham. The maiden hastens to communicate the discovery to her friends, and her brother Laban hospitably receives the stranger into the house. But before partaking either of food or of drink, the servant introduces the object of his mission, which fills the whole household with joy, as they also recognised the finger of God in the matter. To the enquiry "wilt thou go with this man," the maiden unhesitatingly replies, "I will go." The blessing of her relatives accompanies her. Isaac, who had gone forth at eventide in order to meditate without disturbance, met her by the way, and brought her into the tent of his mother Sarah. She became his wife; he loved her, and was comforted after his mother's death (4.)

(1.) It is commonly supposed that the servant here spoken of, "who ruled over all that Abraham had," was *Eliezer of Damascus*, the steward of Abraham (chap. xv. 2.) There is no express warrant for this view, but great probability attaches to it. As formerly the steward was introduced as the presumptive heir of his childless master, so here the oath which Abraham demands from him implies that if Abraham died this servant would occupy an influential position towards Isaac.

(2.) Abraham, when making his servant swear, causes him to

put his hand under his THIGH. This custom is only mentioned in the case of the patriarchs, in this place and in chap. xlvii. 29. The ecclesiastical fathers and later interpreters regarded it as bearing reference to the promised seed; the Rabbins (and *Delitzsch*, p. 386) refer it to the covenant-sign of circumcision; *Grotius* to the sword which was attached to the thigh, and by which the party who broke the covenant was to perish (comp. *Valkenaer*, de ritibus jurisjurandi caput vii., in *Oelrich's Collectio Dissert.* i., p. 264.) It is most natural to explain the symbol as referring to the thigh as the seat of firmness and of strength.

(3.) *Robinson* (vol. ii., p. 22) describes a similar scene by a well as follows:—"There was an ancient well in the valley, exhibiting quite a pastoral scene of patriarchal days. Many cattle, flocks of sheep and kids, and also camels, were all waiting round the well, while men and women were busily employed in drawing water for them. These people at once offered and drew water for us and our thirsty animals, without the expectation of reward."

(4.) The great importance attaching to the marriage of Isaac, which appears from the fulness of its pictorial descriptions, does not merely proceed from the idyllic and typical character of the event, but from the general importance attaching in the history of the covenant to marriage as the means and the condition for the fulfilment of the promise.

§ 68. (Gen. xxv. 1—10.)—After the death of Sarah Abraham took Keturah (whose descent is unknown) for his concubine. She bare him six sons, who became the ancestors of Arabic tribes (1.) Having constituted Isaac his sole heir, and given to the sons of his two concubines rich gifts, Abraham died, 175 years old and full of years. His sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Macphelah, by the side of Sarah his wife.

(1.) The descendants of Abraham by Keturah were in part a fulfilment of the promise that Abraham was to become the father of many nations. Their names cannot always be traced with certainty. The best known race among them were the Midianites, who settled along the Elamitic gulf, and afterwards repeatedly came into contact with Israel. *Baumgarten* aptly remarks (p. 245): "As the marriage with Keturah and its issue was entirely within the sphere of nature, it differs from the connection with Hagar, when Abraham sought to obtain the promised seed, and from his marriage with Sarah, in which this

seed was both promised and given. Hence there are no promises for the sons of Keturah.⁵ Abraham begets six sons after his body had before been as good as dead for many years, since his vigour had been restored, at the time when Isaac was begotten.

SECOND STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY.

ISAAC.

THE SONS OF ISAAC.

§ 69. (Gen. xxv. 11—26.)—Abraham seems to have spent the latter years of his life in peaceful retirement, having settled along the southern borders of Palestine (v. 11 and chap. xxiv. 62.) There, by the well La-hai-roi (§ 57), we also find Isaac. This quiet, solitary district, far from the busy haunts of the Canaanites, is adapted to his retiring disposition. As formerly Abraham, so is Isaac now called upon to hope and to wait. For twenty years *his wife is barren* (1), and during this lengthened period he has sufficient occasion to exercise his faith in the promise. At last God hears his prayer, and Rebekah conceives. But the children struggle together within her. In deep-felt anxiety she takes this circumstance as indicative of evil; nor was her apprehension ungrounded. She went *to enquire of Jehovah*, and the *Lord said unto her* (2)

“Two nations are in thy womb,
And two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels;
The one people shall be stronger than the other people,
And the elder shall serve the younger.”

And when her days to be delivered were come, she gave birth to twins. The first born was rough and hairy, and was called *Esau*. The second held by the hand to the heel of his brother, and was called *Jacob* (3.)

(1.) Here also the fact that the seed of promise was to be gotten *παρὰ φύσιν* again becomes apparent. It is indeed true that among the ancient Hebrews many eminent men, destined to

form an era, were born of mothers who had reached a more advanced age, and whose natural barrenness seemed to preclude any hope of descendants. But this view is neither an illusion, a popular fancy, nor a phantom without reality; it results from experience as well as from the nature of the case. Even in common life it is a fact, which perhaps may admit of physiological explanation, that frequently persons born under such circumstances are specially gifted. The religious feeling of all ages considers such persons as the gift of Divine mercy, and we shall not therefore deem it strange if this view was strongly held among the chosen race, whose history was meant to illustrate that Divine mercy, and whose calling and purpose was distinctively *παρὰ φύσιν*.

(2.) Commentators have hazarded various conjectures as to the manner in which Rebekah had ENQUIRED OF JEHOVAH. *Luther* supposes that she went to the patriarch Shem, who had still been in life; others that she had enquired of Abraham or of Melchisedec, just as in later times the prophets used to be consulted. This supposition is confirmed by a reference to 1 Sam. ix. 9, where "to enquire of the Lord" through prophets or seers is characterised as a very ancient custom in Israel. *Hävernick* supposes that of the three modes of enquiring at the Lord mentioned in 1 Sam. xxviii. 6 (by dreams, by the Urim, and by prophets), the first was chiefly characteristic of the earlier periods of Jewish history. But the expression "*she went*" can scarcely be reconciled with the idea of a dream. Others again suppose that Rebekah had simply turned in prayer to the Lord, and obtained from Him a direct answer. Although this would so far agree with the expression "*she went*," the whole tone of the narrative seems to point to some special and peculiar manner of enquiring of the Lord, such as through some prophet. We do not indeed in this respect attach any importance to the title "prophet," given to Abraham in chap. xx. 7 (comp. § 63, 3.) But we suppose that as among all the nations of antiquity, so at the commencement of the Jewish race also, and before in the Theocracy the regular order of prophets appeared, there had been *seers*, who divined and gave oracular answers to questions proposed to them. Only we must not forget that as the whole religious life of the chosen race, so any such oracle was given not in dependance on idols, but on Jehovah, and that these predecessors of the prophets prepared the way and formed a transition for the manifestation of God by His prophets in after times. For, "before time in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come let us go to the seer; for he that is now called a *prophet*, was before time called a *seer*" (1 Sam. ix. 9.) "*De Wette* indeed thinks that instead of asking Jehovah,

Rebekah would have only required to have consulted a midwife. If Rebekah would have been satisfied with an answer such as that, then *De Wette's* suggestion were in place. But we suppose she did not much care for that which a midwife could have told her."—*Baumgarten*.

The reply which she obtains confirms her apprehensions. The struggling of the children in the womb points to future hostile feelings, and the contest which is to ensue when both shall have become nations. Hence both cannot be destined for divine covenant-purposes. The purposes of the law of separation (§ 49) and of selection, in virtue of which Abraham was taken from his kindred and friends, and which manifested itself when Ishmael was cast out, have not yet been wholly met and fulfilled. For their completion it is necessary that one of Isaac's children should be separated. But on the other hand, the fact that the two sons are the fruit of the same generation, and born at the sametime, shews that this process of separating the wild branches of nature from the vine which God hath planted, had now reached its goal. The contrast between the sons of Abraham arose from the circumstance that they were the children of different mothers, and that the one was begotten in uncircumcision the other in circumcision. (Comp. § 58.) Hence, the difference between them was external and manifest. But the separation which was now to take place, would be between two sons of Isaac who in external position were equal to each other. Nay more, to shew how thoroughly the divine call and grace differ from nature, the younger would be preferred to the older, who, according to human arrangements, should have had the pre-eminence. Here, as throughout the whole history of salvation, it becomes manifest that God chooses for his purposes "the mean things of the world and things which are not." As Abraham was to shew his faith in casting out Ishmael, and surrendering his paternal affection to the divine choice, so here also, and for similar purposes, were the parents to surrender their parental affection to the great purposes of this history.

(3.) With reference to the *struggling of the children* in the womb, even the circumstance that the second held by the *heel* of his brother is significant, and obtained for him the name of *Jacob*. *Tuch* indeed declares that the narrative "runs counter to all physical possibility." This however, is, only the random statement of a theologian who, on such a question, should scarcely venture to give a decisive verdict, especially when those who understand the matter do not find any difficulty in it. Honest *Rosenmüller* contented himself by saying: "de qua re iudicium esto penes artis obstetriciæ peritos." From numerous testimonies of medical writers we select one of the latest. *Trusen* ("the

diseases of the Bible and the passages of Holy Writ bearing reference to Medicine," Posen 1843) observes (p. 59): "We account for the circumstance that the arm of the second child should have fallen forward, by this, that generally twins are smaller than when there is only one child. In those cases the delivery is generally rapid, and certain parts of the second child fall forward."

When we read that the first born was covered with *reddish hair* we must not think that he was a monstrosity, however uncommon and striking his appearance may have been (comp. chap. xxvii. vv. 11 and 16.) Nor is it necessary to suppose, with *Friederich* (Contrib. to the Bible i. p. 298) that this was a case of hypertrichosis. *Steffens* (Relig. Phil. i. 228) remarks that the want in man of a covering envelope, such as animals have, indicates that he is destined for a supersensuous sphere. Its presence, therefore, in the case of Esau would typify that the tendency of his life would be in the direction of the sensual. *Lenzgerke* i. p. 296 suggests that the myth of Esau's hairy appearance was devised because the Edomites inhabited the wooded mountains of Seir! Even *Winer* marks this discovery only with a sign of exclamation (Real. Lex. i. p. 345 note 2.)

Both sons obtained their name from circumstances connected with their birth. The oldest is called *Esau*, or the hairy, the younger *Jacob*, or he that holds by the heel. For, the verb עָקַב is the denominative of עֶקֶב, a heel, and means to hold by the heel. (Hosca xii. 4.) From this, the other meaning "to supplant," Gen. xxvii. 36, has probably been derived, since taking hold by the heel was regarded as a type of cunning by which it is proposed to throw down another. (Comp. Gesenius in the Thes. 1060.)

§ 70. (Gen. xxv. 27, &c.)—As the boys grew up, the difference in their character and tendency appeared more and more clearly. It manifested itself even in the choice of their occupations. The wild disposition of Esau finds pleasure in the roaming, free life of a hunter. Jacob is quiet and retiring, and continues the peaceful avocation of shepherd which his fathers had pursued. Strange to say, the wild Esau is the favourite of his quiet father, while the quick Rebekah loves the retiring Jacob. On one occasion Esau returned from hunting, faint and hungry, just as Jacob had prepared a mess of pottage. Unaccustomed to, and incapable of, controlling the desires of the moment, he impetuously demands the dish, while the cunning and calculating Jacob takes

advantage of the opportunity to get his brother to concede to him his rights as first born. (1.)

(1) The narrative presupposes that what the divine oracle had formerly declared, was known to all the parties interested. Only under this supposition can we understand and appreciate the conduct not only of Isaac and Rebekah, but also of Esau and Jacob.

The ground for the opposite *preference* of the two parents must mainly be sought in a very common drawing towards an opposite pole. Instead of leading husband and wife, according to divine arrangement and direction, to seek in each other the opposite counterpart, it manifested itself in analogous preference towards their children. Isaac, quiet, retiring, and timorous, discovers in the impetuous and wild Esau that strength and resoluteness, the want of which he had often painfully felt in himself. He overlooks, however, all the godless excrescences, the perverse wildness, and the incapacity for receiving higher and spiritual impressions, of his first born. He hopes to find in him the support of his old age, and instead of looking to God for protection against outward enemies (comp. § 71) he expects it from his son. The quiet, retiring, and timorous Jacob does not inspire him with the same confidence as Esau. If once the simplicity and sincerity of his spiritual vision had become dim, how readily might not the divine oracle be overlooked, and Isaac persuade himself that there might have been some mistake or error of persons about it! Besides the text seems to indicate that the preference of Isaac was partly due to the savoury venison which Esau brought. On the other hand the quick, impetuous, and decided Rebekah, who sometimes is even hasty and passionate, feels herself drawn towards the quiet and outwardly timorous but cunning and astute Jacob. Although her preference also arises from natural and carnal reasons, she can at least plead in her favour the coincidence of the Divine promise. As strong-minded women generally make up by intriguing for their want of external strength, so Rebekah finds the astuteness and cunning of Jacob a welcome assistance; and thus it is again the ungodly element in Jacob which she takes into alliance.

Tuch acknowledges that the narrative "does every justice to the character of Esau, who is otherwise placed in the background, and especially portrays him as an upright, straightforward, and honest man." This acknowledgment is the more valuable as coming from one who continually objects that narrow-minded, natural hatred appear in the descriptions furnished by Holy Writ. At the sametime we must remark that in this instance his admission is in a certain sense as erroneous as usually his ob-

jections are. The description in the text does, indeed, shew that Esau was straightforward, open, and honest. But it also brings out the dark sides of his character and life, and it does so in order to shew his incapacity for the divine purposes of salvation, and to indicate the reasons why he was rejected by God. For example, how sarcastic is the verdict implied in the words with which the account closes: "He did eat and drink and rose up and went his way; thus Esau despised his birth-right." This is especially noticeable when we think of the infinite importance which the text attaches to the right of primogeniture on account of the blessing commonly connected with it. The Epistle to the Hebrews, which in one word paints the character of Esau as that of a "profane person," has certainly given the meaning of our passage much better than *Tuch* with his well-meant praise.

V. *Lengerke* (Canaan i. 302) admits that, "*in this legend the CUNNING with which Jacob gains the right of primogeniture from his honest brother, and at last even deprives him of the blessing of his father, is represented as a wrong.*" *Tuch*, however, objects that in the text: "the cunning and calculating conduct of Jacob, which might appear objectionable to a stricter moralist, is represented as wholly blameless." But in the same manner it might, for example, be maintained that the text represented the iniquitous conduct of the sons of Jacob towards the inhabitants of Sychem (chap. xxxiv.) as "perfectly blameless." And yet what a sweeping condemnation of it is casually expressed in chap. xlix. The truth is that here, as in other places, the record neither praises nor blames, but simply relates without disguise or embellishment what has happened, and how it has taken place; but at the same time lays peculiar emphasis on those events in which the divine Nemesis, so to speak, has pronounced judgment. Hence, in the present instance, the conduct of Jacob is not expressly blamed. But how very distinctly and unmistakably does it appear in the sufferings, in the want, in the labour, in the trials of Jacob, that God had visited and condemned his ungenerous cunning as an iniquitous perversity.

It is more difficult to ascertain what Esau and Jacob supposed were surrendered with the RIGHT OF PRIMOGENITURE. We know that the external rights of primogeniture gave at least a double inheritance (Deut. xxi. 17), if not more (Gen. xxv. 5 and 6), and implied primacy over the family (Gen. xlix. 3.) With the latter a third advantage was connected in the family of the patriarchs, viz., the transference of the promised blessing. We can readily understand that Esau attached no value to the latter, and hence did not much care for its loss. But it is all the more surprising that, for a worthless mess of pottage, he should so readily have given up the two first-named material advantages. But on the

one hand daily experience shews that light minded persons will, for the sake of a momentary enjoyment, even cast aside and dissipate future material advantages and temporal possessions. Besides, we have to bear in mind the urgent want and the impetuous desire of the moment in one who was so little accustomed to control or to deny himself the satisfaction of any lust. Lastly, the after-course of this history (chap. xxvii.) proves, whatever may be said of Esau's former uprightness, straightforwardness, and honesty, that from the decided preference of his father for him, he had some latent expectation that the *actual* possession of the rights to which he was entitled by his birth, would not be injured by this private bargain.

Tuch (p. 421) and *Lengerke* (i. p. 296) suppose that the NAME OF THE EDMITES "was undoubtedly connected with the Red Sea," and that, therefore, the statement in the text that the name of their ancestor (Edom) was derived from the exclamation of Esau (v. 30), "Let me swallow of the *red*, even this *red*," was a poor etymological myth. But their derivation of the name is anything but certain. Indeed, it is highly improbable—first, because the designation *Red Sea* is not of Shemitic but of Greek origin, and then, because in ancient times that name included the whole southern sea, the Persian as well as the Arabian Gulf, while the land of the Edomites only in one place touched the bay of one of the gulfs of this immense sea. Those who watch the origin of such names even in our own times will find it the less strange that Esau should have derived a byename from such an exclamation, since it disclosed at once the unbridled impetuosity and thoughtlessness, the haste and rudeness of his character. In general, it is very remarkable how frequently such byenames, apparently derived from trivial and accidental circumstances, characterise the inmost tendency of life, whether by some strange concurrence, or through an unconscious power of divination—and how frequently therefore they, perhaps sometimes oddly enough, determine in after life the direction of the inner man and the history of the individual.

We do not, indeed, approve of the attempt of so many interpreters in ancient and in modern times, to *whitewash the conduct of Jacob*, or at least to represent his motive as being merely a spiritual desire after the rights of primogeniture, even though the mode of his conduct had been ungenerous and carnal. But neither can we assent to the opinion which would discover nothing but the mere desire after material advantages in his conduct. It was impossible that spiritual desire after the right of primogeniture and an anticipation of the promise should have been wholly wanting in Jacob, whatever admixture of the carnal

mind and tendency there may have been along with it. The influence of his mother, his own retiring disposition, and the bright form in which his character afterwards appears, all warrant this inference. Despite his carnal devices, despite his ungenerous cunning, Jacob is and remains called and chosen. True, much suffering, sorrow, wretchedness, poverty and want; much labour, care and anxiety, and much grace and pity on the part of God, are necessary to purify such a character from its impure admixtures, and to sanctify it for divine purposes—but the more glorious does such a character appear after the gracious working of the Spirit of God. The conjecture of *Lightfoot* (*Opera* i., p. 16), who connects this event with the *rise of prices* mentioned at the commencement of the following chapter, may perhaps deserve notice: “*Ex textu veresimile est, famem eam, quae causa Esavo fuit, communicandi primogeniti jus, causam quoque fuisse Isaaco ex sede propria exeundi et proficiscendi aliorum, quaesitum vitae necessaria. Apparet magnum tunc victus penuriam fuisse, redacto Jacobo ad hoc lentium jusculum, Esavo autem ad eas angustias, ut nisi potiretur isto edulio, fame videretur defecturus.*”

THE PILGRIM-LIFE OF ISAAC.

§ 71. (*Gen.* xxvi.)—A famine more grievous than that in the time of Abraham had visited the land of Promise. Following the example of his father, Isaac journeyed southward to Gerar (§ 63, 1), intending thence to pass into Egypt, which was considered the granary of the ancient world. But Jehovah appears unto him (for the first time.) He prohibits him from leaving the land of his pilgrimage, and formally and solemnly transfers to him the blessing and promise given to Abraham, in all its threefold bearings (the outward increase of his descendants, the possession of the land, and the salvation of all nations through him.) Isaac therefore remains in Gerar, and, finding his wife, and, on her account, himself also in danger from the violence of the people, like Abraham under similar circumstances, he passes Rebekah as his sister. But being less strong than his father, he is spared the trial with which the former had been visited. Unnoticed by Isaac and Rebekah, Abimelech, the king of the country, had observed the intimacy between them, and at once inferred their real degree of relationship. Accordingly, under

pain of death, he interdicts any of his subjects from interfering with them. The continuance of the famine induces Isaac to attempt combining tillage with his former occupation of rearing cattle. He is blessed with an hundredfold harvest, and he learns that even in a year of scarcity and famine, he will not require from the land of Promise to have recourse to Egypt. His riches increase to a degree that the envy of the Philistines is highly excited. Even Abimelech is no longer able to protect him against the ceaseless annoyances to which he is exposed. By his advice, Isaac leaves the city and settles in the Valley of Gerar. But here also the envy of the shepherds of Gerar leads to incessant quarrels about the wells which Isaac had digged. Incapable of commanding respect by his appearance, and only great in the elasticity of his endurance, Isaac again gives way, but the persecutions continue, and he is at last obliged wholly to leave that district, and to remove to Beersheba. There Jehovah appeared to him a second time, to comfort and to encourage him. Strengthened by this communication, and enjoying a season of external rest, he now erects, in his character of Patriarch and Prophet, an altar, and establishes the worship of Jehovah. Abimelech visits him in order to enter into covenant with him, to which proposal Isaac agrees. Again Beersheba becomes a witness as of the former, so of the present covenant (§ 63, 8.) But scarcely is Isaac free from the external troubles which had hitherto followed him, than domestic troubles overtake him. Esau, who had long before mentally lapsed into heathenism, now takes two daughters of the Canaanites to wives, which are a grief of mind unto his parents.

(1.) It is the MAIN PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER which sums up every thing recorded about the life of Isaac (so far as it is not subservient to or absorbed in the history of Abraham or of Jacob) on the one hand to sketch in those events the character of Isaac, and on the other to exhibit the peculiar guidance of this patriarch as occasioned by his moral and spiritual wants.

Elasticity of endurance, which does not resist evil nor contend against it, but by patience and yielding overcomes it, constitutes the FUNDAMENTAL TYPE of the character of Isaac, and in this lies his real claim to greatness. It does not take from this greatness that it is not recognised, indeed that it is cried down by men

generally, nor that in Isaac also it is not wholly free from an impure admixture of weakness and instability. All this only proves that as the divine strength so the divine weakness (1 Cor. i.) does not manifest itself in all its purity and elevation in any man. On the character of Isaac compare also *Krummacher's* Notes on Sacred History, Berlin 1818.

It is certainly striking that the *events of Abraham's life*, and even the *resolutions which he took in consequence of them*, repeatedly recur in the history of Isaac. In the one and in the other case there was famine in the land of Promise. In the one case the patriarch *actually passed* into Egypt, in the other he *intended* to do so; in both cases recourse is had to the same *falsehood* by which a wife is passed as a *sister*; in the one case the wife is *actually removed*, in the other this danger is *happily averted*; in one and in the other case a *covenant is made with Abimelech*; in one and in the other case, we read in part of the *same stations*, of the *same wells*, of the *same origin* of the name Beersheba; while lastly the *manifestation of God* and the *promises* appear in both cases to have taken place in the same manner and with the same tendency, and in consequence of them each of the two patriarchs erects an *altar* and *serves Jehovah*. Criticism has "long ago" "recognised" the unity of these facts, which professedly had taken place on two different occasions in the history of different personages, but which in reality "are only different forms of one and the same event." But if these facts, which legend has borrowed from the life of Abraham, in order to hide its lamentable poverty and impotence in reference to the life of Isaac, are taken away, nothing almost remains to attach to the life of our patriarch. Under these circumstances we cannot wonder that *v. Lengerke* should maintain that we "have no manner of guarantee for the historical existence of his personality" (Canaan i., pp. 290, 291), the more so as this kind of criticism does not attempt to trace the deeper bearings and the natural points of connection in this similarity of accounts. Still there are such points, and they are quite sufficient to remove anything that may at first sight appear incongruous and strange. First of all, the events in which the life of Isaac resembles that of Abraham, are not as they may appear merely accidents, but, in so far as they depend on the Providence of God, form the *substratum* in the divine educational process repeated because of the continuance of the reasons which had at first occasioned them. So far as they were the result of man's self-determination or of the collision of existing circumstances, they arose from similarity in their position and in their character, or from the continuance of certain circumstances (comp. *Winer's* Real-Lex. i., p. 615, 3d edit. : "These events are so simple and so natural, con-

sidering that age, that it is impossible to think of fiction in regard to them.") But secondly, we may not overlook that in most of the events recorded, this similarity exists side by side with a deeper dis-similarity which even amounts to contrariety, so that if both were weighed not only according to their outward appearance, but also according to their inward meaning, the balance would incline towards the side of dis-similarity. This difference is in itself perfectly sufficient to set aside the doubts as to the existence of Isaac, which criticism derives from the deficiency in distinctive sketches of his character and history.

The more deficient Isaac was in outward energy and independence, the less was he capable and *called* to form the commencement of a new development; again the more glorious and splendid the mighty example of his father must have appeared to him, the more would he feel himself also warranted to follow in the footsteps of Abraham as opportunity offered. Still, although the tendency of God's leadings remained the same in both cases, how different were these leadings themselves and their results, and however similar the aspect of his life to that of Abraham, how different was his inward and outward position, owing to the difference of character between the two patriarchs! As at the time of Abraham, so now also there is famine in the land, which had been promised as a great gift of mercy to them for their descendants. In so far as this is a trial of their faith, the agreement in the two histories is perfect. Abraham takes refuge in Egypt, and Isaac is about to imitate him. But Abraham learns only by the complications and dangers in which he is involved that this device was contrary to the will of God. On the other hand, Isaac, whose greater weakness of character would not have been equal to the dangers which there threatened him, or whose softness could not have resisted the peculiar attractions of the land, is by Divine intervention preserved from following the device which he had at first conceived. What Abraham could not experience, Isaac learned by the hundred-fold harvest which he reaped, viz., that even in a year of famine and failure the land of promise would yield a blessing, and manifest the reality of the promise given him. Analogous and not less apparent is the difference between Abraham and Isaac under those circumstances which had led to another fall of Abraham. That patriarch loses his wife. The protection of God does not preserve him from this trial, although it delivers him from dangers which might thence have resulted. The weaker Isaac is spared this trial, and the protection of God manifests itself in this, that the falsehood of his pretence appears before it is too late.

The similarity of their nomadic occupations, and the continuance of former circumstances, account for the fact that in both cases we read of the same stations and wells, and of another

alliance with Abimelech. But what a contrast between the personality of Abraham, who commands respect, and the patient yielding of Isaac. People do not interfere with the rights and privileges of Abraham, but Isaac must give place before continual hostilities and interferences, &c.

(2.) We add some explanations on *special points*. Most of those interpreters who believe in the historical reality of the events here recorded, suppose that the ABIMELECH of Isaac was another person from the cotemporary of Abraham (§ 63.) The equality of name does not militate against this supposition, as it is well ascertained that "*Abimelech*," and chief captain "*Phicol*" are not the names of persons, but of offices. Thus it will scarcely be supposed that the Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who lived at the time of Joseph, was the same person as he who, at the time of Moses, is designated by that name. Still, we believe with *Tuch* that the Abimelech of Abraham was the same as that of Isaac, because a careful examination will shew that the chronological reasons urged for their non-identity are not conclusive. If we bear in mind that Abraham died at the age of 175, Sarah at that of 127, Isaac at 180, and Jacob at 147, we shall infer that their cotemporaries also may have attained an age extending beyond one century. The meeting of Abraham with Abimelech took place shortly before the birth of Isaac. From that period sixty years elapsed to the birth of Esau and Jacob, and seventy-five years to the death of Abraham. The meeting of Isaac and Abimelech therefore must have taken place about eighty years after that between the latter and Abraham. If Abimelech was from forty to sixty years old at the first meeting, he would have been between 120 and 140 at the second. This appears the more probable, as on the former occasion Abimelech himself had purposed taking the wife of Abraham, while on the latter he is only afraid that one of the people might do injury to Rebekah. He appears therefore to have been very old at that time.

It is very remarkable how the name *REHOBOTH*, which Isaac gave to one of the wells he had digged (verse 22), is preserved in the *Wady er-Ruhaibeh*, which *Robinson* (vol. i., p. 196) discovered about mid-way between *Wady Jerar* (*Gerar*) and the *Wady es-Seba'* (*Beersheba*), at that very point in the wilderness where the roads to *Gaza* and *Hebron* diverge. Here that traveller also found the ruins of a city which must anciently have been of some note. However, *Robinson* does not identify these two places, because he thinks that Isaac's well must have been farther north, and because there is no mention in Scripture or elsewhere of a city connected with *Rehoboth*.¹ But as, according

¹ The Author has omitted to mention that *Robinson* argues against the identity of these two places, also on the ground that in *Ruhaibeh* there was

to verses 22 and 23, Isaac is already on the journey from Gerar to Beersheba, the situation of er-Ruhaibeh agrees very well with that of Rehoboth.

Similarly, *Robinson* discovered (i., p. 204), in the northern portion of 'Wady es-Seba', near to the ruins of the ancient Beersheba, two deep wells, which agrees with the statement that the servants of Isaac had digged a second well beside that of Abraham. "These wells are some distance apart; they are circular, and stoned up very neatly with solid masonry, apparently much more ancient than that of the wells at 'Abdeh. The longer one is twelve and a half feet in diameter, and forty-four and a half feet deep to the surface of the water; sixteen feet of which at the bottom is excavated in the solid rock. The other well lies fifty-five rods W.S.W., and is five feet in diameter, and forty-two feet deep. The water in both is pure and sweet, and in great abundance; the finest indeed we had found since leaving Sinai. Both wells are surrounded with drinking troughs of stone, for camels and flocks, such as were doubtless used of old for the flocks which then fed on the adjacent hills. The curb stones were deeply worn by the friction of the ropes in drawing up water by hand." From the *prolepsis*, "therefore the name of the city is Beersheba unto this day," it is by no means clear that at the time of Isaac, as at that of Joshua (Josh. xv. 28), a town had stood in that valley. The very value attaching to these wells may have been the occasion for building a city there.

(4.) The circumstance that *Esau* married two CANAANITISH WIVES shews (comp. chap. xxiv. 3 and xxvii. 46) how much he had become estranged from the religious hopes and views of the chosen family. If anything, this should have opened Isaac's eyes to the perversity of his preference for Esau.

THE BLESSING OF ISAAC.

§ 72. (Gen. xxvii. 1—29.)—Meantime old age and its troubles have come over Isaac. His eyes have become dim, and thoughts of his approaching departure fill his soul. He therefore feels impelled, in the exercise of his patriarchal and paternal power, formally and solemnly to transfer the right of primogeniture to his favourite (1), and so to bring this important and still dubious and unanswered question to a definite and unchangeable decision,

no well, "the inhabitants having been apparently supplied with rain water by means of cisterns." However, the balance of probabilities seems to us in favour of *Dr Kurtz's* view.—THE TR.

thereby making an end to all farther machinations on the other side. The patriarch requests Esau to go out to the field to take some venison, and to make him such savoury meat as he loved, that his soul might bless him before he died. But the prudent and watchful Rebekah, who had long apprehended something of that kind, had been an unobserved witness of this interview. Her faith, her hope, and love induce her to stake everything in order to prevent the purpose of her husband from being carried out. Another hour, and, humanly speaking, the fairest hopes of her life are destroyed—her beloved Jacob is cast out, the wild and careless Esau blessed, and the promise which she had obtained from the Lord set at nought. The only human hope now lies in quick resolution, and in equally decided action, and Rebekah is equal to such an emergency. She has neither the time nor the inclination closely to examine her faith and love, her hopes and fears, or to sift the suggestions of her carnal wisdom. The moment is pressing, and her plan is ready. Jacob is to take advantage of the dimness of his father's sight, he is to pass himself for Esau, and thus to take away the blessing which otherwise had been denied to him. Jacob hesitates to enter into his mother's plans. To his timorous and calculating mind the deed appears too bold and too dangerous. How easily might the deceit be discovered, and he bring a curse instead of a blessing on himself. But Rebekah quiets his doubts. She readily takes the curse upon herself, for she feels certain that she only carries out the will of God, and in her mind the ungodliness of the means employed disappears in view of the importance of the object which to her seems in accordance with the will of God (2.) In haste two kids of the goats are made savoury meat, such as Isaac loves; Jacob is arrayed in the garments of Esau, and his neck and hands are covered with the skins of the kids, that the smoothness of his skin may not betray his identity. Thus disguised, Jacob brings the savoury meat to his father. But he has a difficult part to play. Various circumstances make the old man suspicious. His commission has been too quickly executed, and then the voice is that of Jacob. But the lies of Jacob, his boldness, the roughness of his hands, and the raiment of Esau, mislead the old man. In truth another, whose honour is also concerned in the matter, effects it that Isaac gives up his

well-grounded distrust. The Patriarch eats of the supposed venison, he drinks of the wine which Jacob brings him, he kisses him (3), and when he smelled the smell of his raiment he blessed him, and said :

“ See the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which Jehovah has blessed !

God give thee of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth,

Plenty of corn and of wine ! *

Let people serve thee,

And let nations bow down to thee !

Be thou lord over thy brethren,

And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee !

Cursed be every one that curseth thee,

And blessed be he that blesseth thee !” (4.)

(1.) This is one of the most remarkable complications of life, shewing in the clearest manner that a higher hand guides the threads of history, so that neither sin nor error can ultimately entangle them. Each one weaves the threads which are committed to him according to his own views and desires, but at last when the texture is complete we behold in it the pattern which the master had long before devised, and towards which each labourer had only contributed one or another feature. We first direct attention to the IMPORT OF THE BLESSING, which Isaac feels impelled to pronounce. There is something peculiar and mysterious about the *blessing and the curse of parents*. Each word of blessing and of curse into which the whole strength and fulness of the Psyche, the seat of personality and of will, descends, has a kind of *magic* power (comp. *Lasaulx* on the curse among the Greeks and Romans, Würzburg 1843.) It is the magic attaching to the image of God in man, imparted to him in creation, and which sin has only weakened and darkened but not wholly effaced, as language is the royal sceptre of man. The blessing or the curse of *parents* approximates the creative power from which this magic at first originated. For, as generation is a representation of the Divine creative power, so is education and the ruling of children, of the Divine governing and judging power, and so long as the world shall continue will this word of the ancient sage prove true: “The blessing of the father builds the children's houses, but the curse of the mother pulls them down.” But the blessing of the *patriarchs* in the

chosen family leads us beyond the sphere of nature to that of grace. In virtue of the covenant-relation, which in this case pervades and determines everything, the pneumatic power of the Divine counsel of salvation is here joined with the psychical power of a father's blessing or curse. Human freedom is here allied with Divine necessity. Here man is not suffered to act arbitrarily, but the capability of the human will, now purified, is endowed with the strength of Divine omnipotence; and thereby the blessing or the curse becomes irrevocable and unchangeable. What Jehovah said to the prophet (Jeremiah i. 9 and 10) applies also to the prophetic blessing or cursing of the patriarchs: "Behold I put my words in thy mouth. See, I have this day set thee over nations and over kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant." Abraham was called to become the ancestor of the chosen race, and as such God Himself invested him with the fulness of blessing, which was to be gradually unfolded through his descendants. According to § 49, 2, the law of separation was to exercise its sway until in the course of development the pure kernel should, as it were, be set free from all husks, *i.e.*, until *that* ancestor would appear *whose entire posterity* should, without any separation from among them, become the medium for preparing salvation. Hence until this goal was attained, the formal investiture with the Divine calling and blessing, *i.e.*, the selection and setting apart to become the ancestor of the promised seed, had each time to be expressly transferred from father to son, that so one should be always fixed upon (as the chosen), and the other set aside (as separated or excluded.) But as the whole of this development depends on the covenant-relation, the investiture must equally be made *by both* parties to the covenant, *i.e.*, the patriarchs as the possessors of the calling at the time must ratify the investiture as well as Jehovah. *Abraham* had *per factum* done this when Ishmael was cast out (chap. xxi.), and when the whole of his inheritance was given to Isaac (ch. xxv. 5.) After that any further investiture *by words* was needless. But *Jehovah* expressly invests Isaac (ch. xxvi. 2 to 5.) Again, as one of the two sons of Isaac was to be separated, it was necessary that both parties should again bestow this formal investiture. In the account under consideration this is done by Isaac, and soon after it is ratified by *Jehovah* (ch. xxviii. 13—15.) If it is objected that the formal investiture was invalid because the intention and the thoughts of Isaac were directed towards another, we answer that Isaac afterwards expressly repeated it (ch. xxviii. 3 and 4.) Besides it requires to be borne in mind that even when Isaac first gave the blessing, his inmost spiritual tendency was in the right direction, and that the ray of his intention would have

fallen upon Jacob, if, in passing through the dark medium of his carnal preference, it had not been broken and thus diverted from its real aim. This unhealthy divergence on the part of Isaac was counteracted by the deceit of Jacob, who placed himself where the *diverted* ray fell upon him. Thus wrong is punished by wrong, and the positive appears through the medium of two negatives. So far from any interference with the freedom of Isaac, this circumstance set him free from the bonds in which he was held; for when properly viewed, his carnal intention was as much opposed to his own as to Jacob's interests. When this carnality is circumvented, what in him had been merely *arbitrary* is sanctified and elevated into real and true *freedom*. Isaac deceived to appearance is *not* deceived in deed and in truth.

(2.) Entering more particularly into the SHARE OF EACH PARTY IN THIS TRANSACTION, we gather that all four were guilty of sin and of error. But the more clearly appears from this both the firmness and the security of the divine counsel, as despite these hindrances, that which God had intended actually took place. *Isaac* feels disposed and impelled to bless, and this is an evidence of his faith, and position within the covenant. He must bless, but he is mistaken in him whom he is about to bless. His carnal preference gives a peculiar taint to his view of the circumstances, and his mind is averted from the proper to a wrong object. Viewed in this light, the right of nature which is in favour of Esau, appears to him as outweighing every other consideration. The Divine oracle which, even before the sons were born, had decided the question, the rude and profane disposition of Esau, the careless sale of his right of primogeniture, the religious indifference which he had displayed in the choice of his wives, and all the grief of mind which the latter had caused to him, could not, in the opinion of Isaac, take away the *right of birth*. He had put his heart into the scale, and therefore this right appeared to him invested with an indelible character. Thus his *faith*, which shews itself in the desire to bless, appears in the garb and under the form of a carnal intention. Still it existed, and the flesh having been humbled, it ultimately obtained the victory. Esau had no right, either divine or human, to claim the patriarchal blessing. The outward right which his birth might have given him, had from the first been taken away by Him who rules the course of nature, and Esau himself had, by a formal sale, ceded it. Hence, the blame of circumventing their father for the inheritance attached to Esau more than to Jacob. But the issue places him in the right position which God had destined for him. He storms and threatens, but soon submits to what cannot be altered. *Rebekah* was, indeed, in a difficult position. She knows that God had destined the bless-

ing for her younger son. This consciousness had hitherto been her hope, her joy and her support, but now all this was to be swept away. Under these circumstances she is ready to try anything which promises to secure her object. She attempts the only possible, although extremely precarious, means which offered. It is a proof of her faith, of her trust in God's assistance, and of her confidence that God would not allow His promise to fail, that she raises her plans on so dangerous a foundation, exposes herself and Jacob to such peril, and boldly undertakes a venture which, according to human calculation, it was ten to one must *miscarry*. Had she, indeed, possessed *that* power of faith, which on Mount Moriah could lift the knife against that only son with whom all promises were connected, without in the least doubting either the promise or Him who had given it—had she taken counsel of God instead of her own carnal wisdom—had she, instead of attempting to deliver herself, committed her cause to Him who had undertaken it, no doubt, as on Mount Moriah, so in Isaac's closet, a miraculous interposition on the part of God would have averted the danger and established the promise. But it was not Rebekah's way, in quiet faith, to wait for help from without and from above, so long as she could help or counsel herself. If God does not interpose with His power, she is ready to assist with her wisdom and strength. This perverseness and unbelief arose from the circumstance that the glory of God was not her only aim, and the fulfilment of His will not her sole object, but that she sought also her own honour and the gratification of her own desire. The moral state of *Jacob* was similar to that of *Rebekah*. *Tuch* remarks: "Truly it needed a great deal of impudence to reply to the question of his father, manifestly prompted as it was by real anxiety, '*Art thou my very son Esau?*' by a bold '*I am.*'" And *Luther* remarks on verses 20 and 21, "I should probably have run away from terror and let the dish fall." But what, we ask, gave to *Jacob*, who was naturally so timorous, and who clearly realised both the greatness of the danger to which he exposed himself, and the improbability of success, according to human calculation (verses 11 and 12)—the needed strength to stand this close examination, on the part of the distrustful old man, without betraying himself, either by anxiety or by want of confidence? Certainly only faith in the divine promise, which could not fail. But *Jacob* also is wanting in full strength of faith, and in unconditional confidence of trust. He also thought that he must assist the Lord, lest His counsel should perish, and in his case also this arose from not seeking the glory of the Lord alone. In this instance also the text expresses neither approbation nor disapprobation. But the Nemesis of history apportioned to each of the

four parties concerned their punishment. Isaac and Esau immediately feel the consequences of their conduct; Rebekah and Jacob soon afterwards. Just because her plan had been successful, Rebekah must send away her favourite during the dark of the night, destitute and helpless, nor will she *ever* behold his face again. The deceit of Jacob is repaid him in the same coin (§ 76), and much sorrow, anxiety, labour, and want, are the consequences of his godless cunning.

(3.) With reference to the PREPARATIONS FOR THE BLESSING, it appears strange why, before pronouncing the blessing, Isaac should have demanded MEAT such as he loved. It will not do to set it down to the score of Isaac's liking for good living (chap. xxv. 28)—the meat demanded must somehow have had some essential connection with the blessing. This would be the case if it were possible to regard the meal as a *covenant-feast*; and, explaining it (*Bähr* Synb. of the Mosaic Worship, ii. p. 273; The Author's Mosaic Sacrifice, p. 103, &c.), as a representation of joyous communion, and as thus offering a symbolical basis for this blessing. But if this had been the case, both parties, he that blessed and he who was blessed, must have joined in it, while the record only bears that Isaac had eaten and drunk (v 25.) Nothing, therefore, remains but, according to the analogy of similar circumstances, to suppose that Isaac had wished to excite his animal spirits, and to predispose himself for pronouncing a blessing, by partaking of savoury meat and drinking wine; in a manner similar to that in which Elisha wished to encourage and to excite himself for prophetic inspiration by music (2 Kings iii. 15; comp. 1 Sam. x. 5, 10; xvi. 15—23.) This appears the more likely as, irrespective of its acceptableness, the gift desired was one of *love*, an expression of the attachment of the son to his father; just as the blessing was an expression of the tenderness of the father for his son. Hence, the transaction represents, that reciprocity which is characteristic of love: the son gives to the father what *he can* give, and what is pleasant and dear to the father, that in turn the father may feel the more impelled to give to the son what *he has* to give to him and what is pleasant.

To prevent, if possible, the discovery of the deceit, Rebekah clothes her favourite with the GARMENTS OF ESAU. The older interpreters regarded this as a peculiar or *priestly* dress, inasmuch as Esau, the first born, had administered priestly functions in the family of Isaac (Gen. xlix. 3.) But the text does not give the slightest hint to warrant such a supposition. Besides, it should be remembered that such an arrangement would have been calculated for the *sight* of Isaac, while the actual device was solely resorted to with a view to his *smelling* (v. 27. "he

smelt the smell of his garments.") *Michaelis* ("Notes for the Unlearned," ii., p. 127) thinks that it refers to the custom among the Arabians of perfuming their dress. But although this practice is referred to in Psalm xlv. 9, and in the Song of Solomon iv. 11, it cannot have been alluded to in the circumstances under consideration (see v. 27.) We must therefore agree with *Tuch*, that an aromatic smell of the herbs, flowers, and other produce of the field, must have been felt off the garments of Esau, who was "a man of the field" (chap. xxv. 27); a supposition this which involves no difficulty, considering that the country was so rich in aromatic and smelling herbs. Equally apparent was the propriety of covering the hands and the neck of Jacob with the SKINS of the kids, where, however, we must bear in mind that they were not such goats as are common in Europe. "The text refers to the Eastern Camel-goat, the black and silky hair of which was also used by the Romans for false hair—Martial. xii. 46." *Tuch*.

But it is altogether mistaken to suppose with *Tuch* that "Isaac demanded a *kiss* (v. 26), in order thereby to distinguish the shepherd who would smell of the flock from the huntsman who would smell of the field." After Isaac has partaken of the meal, he has given up all distrust (v. 25.) The kiss is only the expression of paternal love, excited by having partaken of the savoury dish; it is the acme of his now overflowing emotions and the transition to the blessing.

(4.) The difference apparent *on comparing this blessing GIVEN BY ISAAC to Jacob, with the blessing given by Jehovah to Abraham and to Isaac*, is both remarkable and characteristic. The two former contain a threefold reference (§ 71.) In the present instance only the two first promises—the possession of the land and political power—are here repeated. The third point, that of being the medium of salvation to the nations, is only alluded to in the words "*Blessed is every one which blesses thee*"—words, it will be remembered, which, when the blessing was first given to Abraham (chap. xii. 3) formed the transition to the highest point in the promised blessing. It would, therefore, appear as if Isaac had not as yet reached that purely spiritual elevation in the promise, and as if he had, therefore, clung in preference to the more concrete and material aspect of it, or else, as if in his view, the two had been inseparably identical. Although the blessing of Isaac is prophetic, it is limited in expression by that stage of knowledge and of religious consciousness which he himself occupied. The main point in the mind of Isaac was the future relation between the two brothers, and this gives to the blessing its peculiar form, contents, and limits.

§ 73. (Gen. xxvii. 30—40.)—Scarcely had Jacob gone away after obtaining the blessing, than Esau came with the venison which he had prepared. Isaac trembled exceedingly. But his heart does not revolt against Jacob's cunning deceit, nor does he change the stolen blessing into a curse—he rather says: “*I have blessed him and he shall remain blessed.*” The darkness which had gathered around his inward sight was now being dispelled. He recognises the finger of God who had averted the danger threatening from his error and his sin. He sees that without knowing it he had blessed, not according to his own will, but by the authority and according to the will of God. Now for the first time also Esau seems to have some apprehension of the greatness of that salvation which he had so lightly despised. He almost becomes sentimental, he cries, and says: “Hast thou but *one* blessing, my father? Bless me also, O my father!” And the soul of Isaac once more wings itself to the heights of prophetic vision, and he says:

“Behold thy dwelling shall be without fatness of the earth,
And without the dew of heaven from above. (1.)
But by thy sword shalt thou live and shalt serve thy brother;
Yet it shall come to pass that as thou shakest it thou shalt break
his yoke from off thy neck!” (2.)

(1.) The word **מן** in THE PROPHECIC DECLARATION OF ISAAC may be rendered by “*without*” or “*far from.*” This rendering is grammatically correct, and demanded by the context (comp. *Ewald's Larger Grammar*, § 217. b. p. 408.) For, in verse 37, Isaac complains that he had no more corn nor wine to give, and in the prophecy itself, emphasis is laid on the circumstance that Esau is to live by his sword. The authorised version (as well as that of *Luther*) renders **מן**, as verse 28, “thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above.” But although this view is defended by modern critics, it neither agrees with the context, nor is it grammatically correct, as in that case a **ל** would have stood before **מוֹשָׁבְךָ** (as in verse 28.) But the point in the blessing lies in this, that so far as possible the same expressions as formerly are chosen to designate an opposite state of matters. For an analogous instance

we refer to chap. xl. 13 as compared with verse 19. If it is objected that, according to our interpretation, the words of Isaac would imply a *curse* rather than a blessing, we allow that this statement is at least in part correct. But the text does not anywhere designate this as a blessing, nor if it did would such a designation have been wholly incorrect. For, the promise that Esau was to live by his sword, and that, although he was to serve his brother, he should at a future period throw off the yoke from his neck, implies that the curse changes into a kind of blessing. Again, the remark of *von Gerlach* that our rendering is opposed "to philology, to history, and geography," is partly ungrounded and partly based on evidence which is not to the point. It may, indeed, be true, as *Buckhardt* has it, vol. ii. p. 702, that "the declivities of Mount Seir are covered with corn fields and orchards," and, as *Robinson* remarks, vol. ii. p. 154, that "the mountains on the east appear to enjoy a sufficiency of rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs and occasional trees. The Wadys, too, are full of trees, and shrubs, and flowers; while the eastern and higher parts are extensively cultivated, and yield good crops." But it is equally true that *Seetzen* (*Rosenmüller*, Antiq. ii. 1, p. 156), from personal observation, describes the country as "perhaps the most desolate and sterile mountain in the world." And *Robinson* himself expressly states that the western mountains "are wholly desert and sterile." And this must have been the general impression produced by a sight of the country, as the prophet Malachi says in the name of Jehovah (chap. i. 3): "I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste, for the dragons of the wilderness." Under the circumstances, Isaac is only disposed prophetically to regard the sterile aspect of the land of Esau. But this does not imply that the country had not its fairer and more fertile districts. This very one-sidedness and this partial incongruity between the blessing and its fulfilment is an evidence of the authenticity of the event recorded.

We shall, therefore, not adopt the new interpretation proposed by *Delitzsch*, according to whom the מ in מִשְׁבִּי is not a preposition but a letter used for transforming the word into a *nomen*. He translates: "Behold, fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling, and of the dew of heaven from above shalt thou live." Against this view we not only urge our former observations, but also this, that we do not anywhere meet with such a word, and that the parallelism between מִשְׁבִּי and מִפֶּלֶל, demands that in both cases the מ should be taken as a preposition.

(2.) *Delitzsch* rightly observes, that although the blessing of Esau seems only a diminished curse when compared with that of

Jacob, it still introduces an element of diminution into the latter, so that thereby the improper means used for obtaining that blessing were punished. For it will be noticed that it implies a continuous and not unsuccessful, though ultimately vain, reaction on the part of Esau against the blessing of Jacob. And, in point of fact, the historical relation between Edom and Israel was one of continual alternation of submission, of rebellion, and of renewed subjection.

§ 74. (Gen. xxvii. 41—xxviii. 10.)—In his wrath Esau threatens to slay Jacob. Rebekah, ever watchful, obtains tidings of this purpose, and knowing her son sufficiently to fear his quick revenge only for the moment, she urges Jacob hastily to fly to Laban her brother, promising to inform him whenever Esau's anger had allayed. She prudently spares Isaac, and does not communicate to him the proximate cause of Jacob's journey. Hence she lays special emphasis on the other aim of his journey on which she was no less intent, viz., that Jacob should take a wife of the daughters of Laban (1.) Too keenly does Isaac feel the grief which Esau's Canaanitish wives had caused him, not at once and cordially to have seconded such a proposal; the more so as he has now perceived that in many respects he had been unjust to Jacob, and has learned to regard him as the person in whom the promised race is to be continued. As formerly, unconsciously and in prophetic emotion, so now consciously, and of set purpose he transfers the blessing of Abraham to the son whom he had erst neglected, and sends him away with the injunction not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan. When Esau learned this, he takes unto the wives which he already had a daughter of *Ishmael* (2), in order to remove the dislike which his father felt towards his Canaanitish wives. A new evidence this of his kindness and yielding disposition, but also of his limited knowledge, betraying also, by his foolish mistakes in the choice of means, how thoroughly deficient he was in understanding the religious position of his family, to which he only belonged by external descent, not by inward calling.

(1.) Combining Genesis xlvii. 9, xlv. 6, xli. 46, and xxx. 22—25 we gather that Jacob was SEVENTY-SEVEN years old at the

time of his flight to Mesopotamia. It must appear to us very strange that he had remained *so long unmarried*—even though we make allowance for the circumstance that at the time marriages seem to have taken place at a later period of life (Esau only married in his fortieth year.) But history furnishes several data to account for this delay. From the conduct of Abraham (Gen. xxiv. 1 &c.) we gather that the marriage of sons was under the immediate supervision of the father—a custom this, to which Esau, in his careless temper, did not submit. But the indifference of Isaac towards Jacob manifested itself in this respect also, nor was the influence of Rebekah, considering the disagreement between her and her husband, sufficient to induce the patriarch to take such a step in deference to her wishes. Jacob had certainly resolved not to marry a daughter of the Canaanites, and nothing was left to him but to submit in patience, which was the more easy as the tenderness of his mother in measure compensated for the want of the affections of a wife. (A similar relation had obtained between Isaac and Sarah.) A certain kind of criticism objects to the double motive in this journey of Jacob, and infers that the narrative is the composition of two different authors, one of whom (the original record) “knows nothing of the dispute between the brothers, and derives the journey of Jacob to Mesopotamia from other motives.” In another place (compare the author’s *Unity of Genesis*, p. 151, &c.) we have sufficiently proved that “the supplementary” as well as the “original text” represent the journey of Jacob as a hasty flight.

(2.) On the so-called *contradictions* IN THE NAMES OF THE WIVES OF ESAU in Genesis xxxvi. 2 as compared with xxvi. 34 and xxviii. 9, compare also *Ranke’s Investigations*, i. p. 245, and *Hengstenberg’s Contrib.* iii. p. 273, &c. We refer especially to the ingenious explanations offered by the latter, which have, in our opinion, removed the principal difficulties. *Tuch*, indeed, thinks (p. 429), “that it is impossible by any interpretation to reconcile these contradictory statements.” But this opinion must appear the more hasty that he himself, and *Stähelin* l.c., are obliged to refer the two accounts, supposed to be contradictory, to one and the same author (“to the original record.”) The state of matters is as follows. According to chap. xxxvi. 2 and 3 Esau had three wives :

1. *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the Hittite.
2. *Aholibamah*, the daughter of *Anah*, the daughter (= grand-daughter?) of Zibeon the Hivite (Horite?)
3. *Bashemath*, the daughter of *Ishmael*, the sister of *Ne-bajoth*.

According to chaps. xxvi. 34, and xxviii. 9 the following were his three wives :

1. *Judith*, the daughter of *Beerî* the Hittite.
2. *Bashemath*, the daughter of *Elon* the Hittite.
3. *Mahalath*, the daughter of *Ishmael*, the sister of *Nebajoth*.

Except in the case of *Aholibamah*, who is once mentioned as the daughter of *Anah* and another time as that of *Beerî*, the names of the fathers are identical. *Ranke* (l. c.) and *Welte* (in *Herbst's* *Introd.* i., p. 266) propose to solve this difficulty by supposing that *Anah* was her mother and *Beerî* her father, in which case the apposition "the daughter of *Zibeon* the Hittite" (chap. xxxvi. 2) would refer to *Anah* and not to *Aholibamah*. But against this view we have the fact that the name of the mother does not anywhere occur in the genealogies instead of that of the father, except under very special circumstances. Besides, a comparison with xxxvi. 34 and the analogy of verse 3, where the expression "sister of *Nebajoth*" must of course necessarily refer to *Bashemath*, are all opposed to this theory. Nothing else would therefore be left but to render בַּת by grand-daughter, in which sense it also occurs in other places. But *Hengstenberg* has shewn that it is very probable that *Anah* and *Beerî* are two names of one and the same personage. In the genealogy of the Horites, who possessed Mount Seir before Esau (in chap. xxxvi. 24), the name *Anah* occurs, of whom it is said: "This was that ANAH that discovered the warm springs in the wilderness (probably the warm baths of Callirrhoe—comp. *Friedreich*, *Notes* to the Bible, i. 44, &c. ; the *authorised version* and *Luther* translate falsely 'that found the mules in the wilderness') as he fed the asses of ZIBEON his father." Even the identity of the name of his father would be a presumption in favour of the identity of *Anah* and *Beerî*. To the same conclusion points also the name *Beerî* = man of springs, which manifestly refers to the remarkable event in the wilderness, from which he derived that name. *Hengstenberg* remarks that "in the narrative that name is used by which the man was commonly designated among his contemporaries, since that most important event of his life was in some respects identified with him. Whoever saw him immediately thought of the warm springs. But his proper name *Anah* occurs in the genealogy in chap. xxxvi., as in a genealogical point of view it could never be set aside by any by-name." The difficulty from the circumstance that in chap. xxxvi. 2 *Anah* is described as a Hivite, in xxxvi. 20 as a Horite, and in xxvi. 34 as a Hittite, cannot counter-balance the above remarkable coin-

vidence. For the name Hittite is frequently used *sensu latiori* as = Canaanite in general, and the difference between chap. xxxvi. 2 and verse 20 can easily be removed as proposed by *J. D. Michaelis* and by *Bertheau* (Two Essays towards the History of Israel, p. 150) by changing the חֲרִי (of verse 2) into חֲרִי , which is not only warranted but required by the identity of the names Anah and Zibeon in the two passages of that chapter. But as everything else is quite plain, the opinion that in chap. xxxvi. *other* wives were meant must be set aside as wholly ungrounded, and the difference between the names accounted for from the frequency with which especially *female* names in the East were changed (comp. *Rosenmüller*, the East in Anc. and Mod. Times, i., p. 63, and *Jahn's Arch.*, ii., p. 281.) Probably the change of names took place when they were married. *Hengstenberg* also rightly points out that in chap. xxxvi. *all* the wives of Esau bear different names, and infers that the change in all the names shews that it proceeded not from any mistake on the part of the writer. He concludes that all the three had got new names on the occasion of their marriage, when they left their own families.

(3.) Thus by his own choice as well as in the development of history, ESAU is removed from *connection with the history of the covenant*. His communion with the chosen family had always been only external. He had always been, and he remained a stranger to its higher interests, to its calling and destiny. *He went his own ways*, and that even while he remained in his father's house, and was yet invested with the outward and natural claims to be the head of his family. His total exclusion from the chosen family is only the completing of his former tendency. But, like Lot and Ishmael, he thereby becomes really a heathen. From the first, and even before we have studied the life of Jacob, we can fully understand the choice of Jacob and the rejection of Esau. *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii., p. 538, &c.) has aptly shewn this: "Any one capable of deeper views will certainly not dream that Esau would have been better adapted than Jacob to become the medium of Divine revelations. Esau is the representative of natural kindness and honesty, but these qualities are joined to rudeness and to a want of susceptibility for what is higher. He is void of all anticipation and longing. He is satisfied with what is visible; in short he is a profane person (Heb. xii. 16.) Such persons, even if grace reaches their hearts, which was not the case with Esau, are not adapted for heading a religious development. For the latter purpose not only is such faith necessary, to which any individual may attain, but faith also as a $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, which presupposes a natural substratum not found in characters such as that of Esau. The natural disposition of

Jacob is much more complex than that of Esau. There are many folds and corners in his heart, which himself and others find it difficult thoroughly to examine, while a man like Esau may be pretty well known in the course of an hour. Jacob is mild and pliable, sensitive and susceptible for every contact with a higher world; always disposed and ready to see the heavens opened and the angels ascending and descending. But at the same time, as in all characters in whom the imaginative prevails, he is also apt to deceive himself, he is under strong temptation to dishonesty, prone to cunning, and without sufficient openness. God took this man into his own training, to remove the many shadows always found when there is much light. Under this training alone is it possible really to learn, and in that school Jacob became Israel, while Esau, who was incapable of any such training, remained to the end only Esau."

(4.) After this event, ISAAC lived other forty-three years. But he no more appears on the stage of covenant-history, as Jacob takes up the thread of farther development, the promise having now devolved on him. The text only records that he was gathered to his fathers when 180 years old and full of days, and that he was buried in the cave of Macpheelah by Esau and Jacob, whom he was privileged to see once more standing as reconciled brothers by his death-bed. When Jacob left, his father dwelt at Beersheba. The desire to be nearer to his paternal place of sepulchre may probably have been the ground of his later settlement in Mamre, where he died (chap. xxxv. 27 to 29.) Rebekah, who at parting had so confidently promised Jacob to let him know whenever Esau's anger was appeased, had probably died soon after her favourite had left. At least the promised message was never delivered, nor is her name mentioned on Jacob's return.

THIRD STAGE IN THE FAMILY HISTORY.

JACOB.

FLIGHT OF JACOB TO MESOPOTAMIA.

§ 75. (Gen. xxviii. 11, &c.)—Jacob tarried all night in the open air, in the neighbourhood of Luz (§ 51. 6.) Rescued from imminent danger, torn from the embrace of an affectionate mother, and far from his father's house with which the promise was connected—poor and forsaken, his prospects for the future unsettled, he laid him to rest, weary and worn with care. But in a dream, (1) he beholds a *ladder* which reached to heaven. The angels of God ascended and descended on it, and Jehovah Himself stood above it (2.) He reveals Himself to Jacob as the God of Abraham and of Isaac, invests him with the threefold covenant-blessing, and promises to keep him in all his ways, and to bring him again into the land which he was now about to leave. When he awakes, his soul is still filled with the awe occasioned by the presence of the Lord. He exclaims, "How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven!" He pours *oil* on the *stone* on which his head had rested, and sets it up for a *pillar* (3.) He called the name of that place *Bethel*, and *vows* on his return to convert that stone into a house of God, and thereby, *on his part* also, to make the name which he had given to the place a reality (4.)

(1.) The dream of Jacob is not merely natural but prophetic; it is the medium of divine revelation and promise. But the inward state of Jacob at the time formed its natural basis. This dream appears much more significant when we recall to mind the feelings with which he would lay him down to rest. Thoughts accusing and excusing one another would overwhelm him and refuse to be controlled, amid the unwonted solitude and in the

loneliness of his position, as night gathered around him, and all circumstances conspired to make him look into the depth of his soul. The present weighs on him as a curse which he had drawn on himself; nor is the dark future before him as yet lit up by a single ray of divine promise. He has, indeed, obtained the blessing of his father, but only by cunning and deceit, nor has the divine sanction been as yet given to it. Consciousness of guilt, remorse of conscience, doubts, cares, and anxieties of various kinds, only tended to deepen his sense of loneliness. If he is not to despair, he requires to be comforted and strengthened from on high. And this is now done. The dream and its vision are the reply of God to the cares and anxieties with which he has lain down to rest.

(2.) THE MEANING OF THIS VISION will be evident. It embodies in a symbol that which the divine promises (verses 13 to 15), of which it is the basis, declare in words. It forms a bridge between heaven and earth. Below, is the poor, helpless, and forsaken man—a representative of human nature with its inability and helplessness. But the angels of God ever descend to bring him help, and again ever ascend to fetch new deliverance. Above, Jehovah Himself stands upon it. By the promise, "I will bless *thee*, and *in thee* (and in thy seed) shall all the families of the earth be blessed," He connects the *goal* with the *commencement* of that development, so that this forsaken and helpless man is to become the source of blessing and the medium of salvation to the whole world. It is thus that the ladder connects *heaven with earth*, and *Jacob* at the foot of it with *Jehovah* above it. The ladder which connects heaven with earth represents the *promise*, which equally joins heaven and earth, which brings down and imparts the powers of heaven to man, as the medium of the promise, yea, and in virtue of which, Jehovah Himself comes down in order that by His covenant and co-operation with him who is the medium of the promise, the goal might be attained and all the families of the earth blessed *in him*. All this, so far as Jacob was concerned, lay only in germ and undeveloped in the promise. But looking back on its fulfilment we know that this goal was to be attained by the descent of the fulness of the personal God into helpless and disabled human nature, through the incarnation of God in Christ. *Baumgarten* (Com. i. 1. p. 263) is therefore right in saying that not the ladder but Jacob, on whose account the ladder connected heaven and earth, was a symbolic representative of Christ. But equally right are *Luther* and *Calvin* in regarding the ladder in the light of John i. 52, and viewing it as a representation of the mystery of the incarnation of God. Since the ladder, in the first place, represents the promise by which the divine strength, and

ultimately God Himself, is brought from heaven to earth, it is also at the sametime a representation of the manner in which God successively descends from heaven and ultimately becomes man. Thus, viewed *objectively*, the vision of Jacob becomes a grand survey and summary of the history of the Old Covenant. As Jacob now commences the course of his independent covenant-development, so Jehovah also appears standing on the uppermost step of the ladder, commencing, as it were, His descent. Again, as the last step of the ladder is by the side of Jacob, it is plain that He is descending to Jacob (as the ancestor and representative of the chosen race.) But the whole history of the Old Covenant is nothing else than, on the one hand, a successive descending on the part of God, until He becomes incarnate in the seed of Jacob, and, on the other hand, a successive ascent of Jacob and of his seed, until it becomes capable of receiving within itself the personal fulness of the divine nature.

(3.) Jacob called the place where this apparition was vouchsafed (verse 19) BETHEL (the House of God.) The city in the immediate neighbourhood was at the time called *Luz* (comp. § 51, 6.) The descendants of the patriarchs transferred the name of Bethel to that city. Of course the Canaanites did not care for this, and continued to call it *Luz*. The heathen name was only abrogated after the occupation of the land by Joshua. Even in Joshua xvi. 2 (the boundary "goeth out from Bethel to Luz") Bethel the place is distinguished from Luz the city (comp. *Hengstenberg*, *Contrib.* iii., p. 200, &c.) Jacob dedicates the stone on which his head had rested, and converts it into a *pillar* or *monument* by POURING OIL ON THE TOP OF IT. The outward import of this action is to distinguish the stone, with a view to the time when in virtue of the vow it was to become a house of God. But in accordance with the views prevalent throughout the whole Old Testament, this action must also, and pre-eminently, have had an inward and symbolical meaning. The symbolical use of oil as an emblem of the Spirit of God, who enlightens, revives, and heals, is derived from the use of oil in common life among Orientals. In the East it is employed for giving flexibility, freshness, and health, for alleviating pain and healing diseases, for giving a flavour to food, and also for light. Hence to pour oil over anything symbolised its dedication to God and to Divine purposes, as also the communication of Divine strength to it necessary for such dedication (comp. *Bähr*, *Symbolic* ii., p. 171, &c.) The erection of a STONE MONUMENT (מַצֵּבָה) for religious purposes by Jacob invites a comparison of this action with the worship of such Mazeboth in heathenism. In itself the erection of stones to be monuments and signs in remembrance of religious events and ideas is so natural and unimportant that

we can scarcely wonder that heathenism and Judaism shared that practice, whether independently of, or in some connection with, each other. Stone was the most lasting, unchangeable, immovable, and imperishable material. Hence, it was specially adapted to become a witness to coming centuries. But this very peculiarity must have lent a particular religious meaning to stone in the worship of nature, which regarded all natural objects as the forms in which the spirit of nature appeared. Be it noticed that no object in nature expresses so distinctly as the stone the idea of a blind and inexorable natural necessity, not animated by consciousness, by pre-intended and rational volition, not moved by any feeling of pleasure or of sorrow, of sympathy or of pity, but following its unalterable course without regard to any other consideration whatever. But this idea is the central point in what is characteristic of the worship of nature, where free and personal will is absorbed in absolute unity with the eternal necessity of the law of nature. Thus in heathenism stone was the representation of the Deity, in so far as the latter was regarded as the dark and impersonal fate which, with inexorable necessity, presided over life. But Judaism from the first shared not in any way these views of the Deity; indeed they were distinctly and consciously opposed to the religion of the Old Testament. Hence, in making use of stone for religious purposes, Judaism could only do so on account of the adaptation of that material for becoming a lasting and unchangeable monument, and a token of remembrance—a use this equally warrantable and appropriate. It was equally natural and suitable, at least in the case of the patriarchs, that places which had been set apart by such monuments as sacred, and as standing in closer relation to God (either on account of a revelation or some other manifestation of mercy which had been there vouchsafed), should also have been specially selected by cotemporaries or descendants for the purposes of Divine worship. Afterwards, under the law, every use of the *Mazeboth* for the purposes of Divine worship was repeatedly, and in the most stringent terms, interdicted as a heathen abomination (Ex. xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; Lev. xxvi. 1; Deut. xii. 13, xvi. 22, &c.) This prohibition was not merely directed against the heathen view, by which the stone appeared as a representative of the Deity, but also against the worship of Jehovah in the neighbourhood of these *Mazeboth*, which had been allowed at the time of the patriarchs—and that because any such worship was an ungodly and heathen opposition to the sole and lawful sanctuary in the tabernacle. The worship of the *Betylia*, declared to have been stones (meteoric stones?) that had fallen from heaven, among which the black stone in the Kaaba in Mecca also belongs, is a later form of this heathen

worship of stones. The name *βαιτύλια* reminds us so clearly of the name Bethel that it is almost impossible to doubt a connection between the two. But as, according to very distinct evidence, the worship of the Betylia arose among the Phœnicians (the Canaanites), we can readily conceive that as heathenism was always prepared to adopt foreign forms of worship, the pouring of oil by Jacob on the stone at Bethel may have been the *first* starting-point of the later worship of the Betylia. Hence those ancient writers (such as *Bochart*, *Vossius*, &c.) who derived it from a *κακοζήλια* on the part of the Canaanites, may not have been *wholly* in the wrong. On the worship of the Betylia generally, comp. *Bochart*, *Phaleg.*, ii. 2, 2, p. 707, &c.; *Winer*, s. v. Stones; *De Wette*, *Archæology*, § 192.¹

(4.) The question has been raised to whom JACOB, WHEN MAKING HIS VOW, meant to *pay tithes* from all those things which he owed to the protection and blessing of God. By the law the tithes were given to the priests, and through them to God. But as in the family of the patriarchs there was no special priesthood, but themselves discharged such duties, this circumstance has been deemed an objection to the authenticity of the narrative. It is true that the reply commonly given that Jacob had meant to use it in a manner similar to that common among the Israelites every third year, when the tithes were employed in a feast (*Deut.* xiv. 28, 29), is somewhat improbable. We rather suppose that the words imply that he meant therewith to erect the promised house of God, to preserve and to maintain it, and to discharge the expenses connected with the worship there.

JACOB'S SOJOURN IN MESOPOTAMIA.

§ 76. (*Gen.* xxix. 1—30.)—At a well near Haran Jacob meets with Rachel, Laban's daughter, who was leading her father's sheep to the watering-place. With overflowing heart he falls

¹ We take this opportunity of bringing before the reader a curious discovery, for which we are indebted to the wisdom of *Mr Sørensen*, in *Kiel* (*Comm.* on *Genesis*, p. 232, &c.) The history of the heavenly ladder and of the Mazebah was only invented in order to claim for Jacob, as if *he* had introduced it into Babylon, the invention of the sun-clock, which is commonly ascribed to the Babylonians. The heavenly ladder with its steps meant the hour marks in that clock, and the setting up of the Mazebah was nothing else than the setting up of that sun dial after the model of that visionary revelation. "From the statement that Jacob had leaned his head *on or upon* the stone, we may infer that the sun dial in Bethel had a globe or a semi globe at the top. Perhaps on this globe the degrees were marked, and this may also have given occasion to trace the marking of such a heavenly ladder to a night vision."

upon her neck, rolls the stone from the well's mouth, and waters her sheep (1.) Laban also gives him a hearty welcome, and being soon convinced of Jacob's fitness, he endeavours to secure his services as a shepherd. Jacob, for whom the first meeting with Rachel had already been of great and decisive moment, sues for her, and promises a seven years' service as her price (2.) But Laban, not less selfish than crafty, endeavours to bind him for a longer time, palms upon him, instead of the beautiful Rachel, her elder and less attractive sister Leah, and, in reply to Jacob's reproaches, pleads as his excuse the custom of the country, which did not allow the marriage of a younger sister before that of an elder. Thus Jacob, who cannot give up his love for Rachel, is compelled to bind himself for other seven years, and now also weds his chosen bride (3.)

(1.) *Robinson* informs us (i. 490), "Over most of the cisterns is laid a broad and thick flat stone, with a round hole cut in the middle, forming the mouth of the cistern. This hole we found in many cases covered with a heavy stone, which it would require two or three men to roll away." The established regulation of the well demanded that the stone should not be rolled away until all the flocks had been brought together (ch. xxix. 8.) But when Jacob learned that the approaching shepherdess was Laban's daughter, he oversteps this arrangement, and, in the overflowing joy of his heart, he offers his services, and rolls away the stone. The shepherds present do not interfere, probably from a feeling of hospitality towards the stranger, who had given them to understand that he was a near relative of the rich and respected Laban, perhaps also because, when the flock of Laban had arrived, the flocks that had a right to the cistern were assembled. We are scarcely surprised that Jacob, in the excess of his joy, should, without farther ceremony, have fallen upon the neck of his near relative, whose arrival must have appeared to him as a token that God had favoured his journey and its aim. *Calvin* correctly observes: *Ex morum hujus temporis integritate manavit quod Jacob ad consobrinae suae osculum properare ausus est, nam in vita casta et modesta multo major erat libertas.*

De Wette's difficulty (*Criticism of Mos. Hist.*, p. 114), who, with reference to the similar meeting of Eliezer (§ 67), observes that "chance would hardly have played the suitor twice in so welcome a manner," *Baumgarten* sets aside by the remark, "first, that the correspondence of circumstances arose from a constant custom in the East, which even up to the present day has been preserved, and then, that the Supreme Director of all these things

is not chance, but Jehovah, who for this purpose causes similar circumstances to return with similar occasions, in order fully to convince us of the connection of the sacred history."

(2.) The reason why the selfish Laban, after four weeks, himself insists on fixing the wages of Jacob lies in this, that he does not wish to concede to his nephew any claims to gratitude, which are more difficult to satisfy than the exactly defined claims of right. It is exactly in this apparent unselfishness that Laban's heartlessness comes out. The custom of paying to the father a purchase-price on a daughter's marriage is founded on the one hand in the pre-Christian position of woman, and on the other hand in the loss which befel the household through the departure of a daughter, and which required compensation. Yet here also Laban's avarice appears, on a comparison with the conduct of his father Bethuel, who demanded no purchase-price at Rebekah's marriage. Laban's daughters (ch. xxxi. 15) also expressly complain of this, that their father had disposed of them as of a piece of merchandise. That Jacob, instead of the purchase-price, offers a seven years' service is possibly connected with the law of slavery (Ex. xxi. 2), which probably was already customary and afterwards was fixed by Moses as a statute, in virtue of which a fellow-countryman entering on the relation of servant was to go out free in the seventh year. The custom of the purchase-price places the value of a daughter on a par with that of a bondman. While Jacob thus undertakes the entire term of service of a bondman, he gives to Laban full compensation for the loss of his daughter. If criticism declares it incomprehensible that Jacob did not rather procure the purchase-price from his rich father, the greater convenience of this proposal could scarcely have escaped Jacob, if this history or the author of the same is to be considered as a myth. We account for the circumstance not so much from the difficulties which the still continuing wrath of Esau would have been able to lay in the way of the attainment of this end, as rather from Jacob's peculiar position both with respect to his father's house and to God's promise. As Jacob had himself occasioned the circumstances by which he was separated from his father's house, he is *cast upon his own resources*. In as far, however, as through the appearance of God at Bethel, he has entered into covenant-relationship with God, he is also *cast upon Jehovah*. Had he now appealed to his father he would have been guilty not only of mean cowardice, but of blameworthy unbelief.

(3.) *Usserius* (Annales V. et N. Test., p. 7), and after him among others *Hess* (History of the Patriarchs ii., p. 87), suppose that the MARRIAGE had taken place during the first year of Jacob's servitude, and they interpret the expression used by the

patriarch in verse 21, "for my days are fulfilled," which in the connection seem to point to the fulfilment of the seven years of servitude agreed upon, by "quod uxori maturus esset plus satis." Probably this hypothesis owed its origin to the chronological difficulties in our chapter, to which we shall by and bye refer, but which by no means warrant us in giving this rendering to the words. THE DECEIT OF LABAN became possible by the custom of leading the bride veiled into the dark bridal chamber. This imposition is the Nemesis that overtakes Jacob, and must have reminded him of the similar wrong of which himself had been guilty. As instead of the beloved son he had brought to Isaac him whom he had despised and neglected, so Laban now substitutes the despised Leah for his beloved Rachel. But as then Isaac had rightly blessed the son whom he had not loved, so also was Jacob's wife, though not beloved, yet destined for him by God. For it was Leah and not Rachel who became the mother of that son who afterwards inherited the most precious part in the promise (comp. § 94, 3.) Even profane history and common life offer many strange and manifest evidences of a retributive Providence, but in sacred history these appear in a manner specially striking. However, Laban is at least not so unjust as to require Jacob to discharge his second servitude before the marriage with Rachel. Immediately after the marriage-week is past, he gives to Jacob Rachel as his wife. The ceremony lasted *seven days* (comp. also Judges xiv. 12 and 17), from the symbolical idea attaching to the number seven, as being that of the covenant. Thus, instead of one, Jacob had two wives, and these sisters. The remarks of *Culvin* (ad h. l.), who exclaims about the incest and the "belluinus mos," do not apply to the period before the giving of the law. Still it is manifest that in the course of this history the ungodliness of this relation is condemned, and the way prepared for the prohibition in Lev. xviii. 18.

§ 77. (Gen. xxix. 31—xxx. 24.)—The Lord now owns Leah, who was despised by Jacob. While for many years Rachel remains barren (1), Leah, in rapid succession, becomes the mother of four sons, *Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah*. The envy of her sister increases in the highest manner. Jacob, although he reproves the expressions of her passionate complaints, yields to her impatient demand, and takes her maid *Bilhah*, that Rachel might have children of her. *Bilhah* bore him two sons, *Dan* and *Naphthali*. As Leah, in the interval, had not borne children, she also, following her sister's evil example, gave to Jacob *Zilpah*, her maid, who bore *Gad* and *Asher*. But Jacob neglected Leah

in so unjust a manner, and fixed his affections so exclusively on Rachel, that the former had to buy from her sister the favour of her husband, by *Dudaim* (2), which her son Reuben had found in the field, and which were supposed to have the power of procuring fruitfulness. But despite her possession of these *Dudaim*, Rachel remains barren, while Leah gives birth to *Issachar* (comp. *Gesenius*, *Thes.* p. 1331), to *Zebulon*, and then to a daughter called *Dinah*. However, in the meantime, Rachel's time of probation comes to an end, and towards the close of the fourteenth year of servitude, she gives birth to *Joseph* (3.)

(1.) *The longing to become mother* has its origin in the natural destination of woman. But this natural longing was heightened during the period when the equality of woman was not acknowledged, and the wife occupied a position of importance only when she became a mother. In religious antiquity, barrenness was considered a reproach and a punishment, and that in measure as the consciousness that children were a gift of God (*Ps.* cxxvii. 3) was common and deep. Lastly, to fill the measure of evils attaching to barrenness, a childless woman would, both in the chosen family and in the chosen race, regard herself as excluded from that connection in which marriage stood to the promised blessing. Nor can we be mistaken in supposing that the latter consideration may have influenced Rachel, as it is, at any rate, more than probable that Jacob had informed his wives, and especially the wife of his affections and of his choice, with his peculiar position and calling. Hence, however defective and one-sided their understanding of these subjects, the wives of Jacob had no doubt shared to some extent his views and his hopes.

(2.) About the *DUDAIM*, comp. *Tuch*, *Comm.* p. 446, &c.; *Friedreich*, *Notes to the Bible*, i., p. 158, &c.; *Lengerke*, *Canaan*, i., p. 133; *Wiener*, s. v. "Alraun." It is now generally understood that by this term, the "*Mandragora vernalis*" was meant (comp. *Bertoloni*, *Comm. de Mandragoris*, Bologna, 1836, folio.) The small yellow and odoriferous apples of this plant were, both in ancient and modern times, in the East, regarded as capable of stimulating and exciting, and hence of exercising a peculiar influence on the nervous system. They were therefore also employed in the preparation of love potions. *Tuch* entirely mistakes the text in remarking, p. 446: "The *Dudaim* effect that Leah again gives birth, and that Rachel, hitherto barren, becomes a mother." To this *Baumgarten* rightly replies: "*Tuch* himself remarks, at p. 449, that there is no mention of the name

dragora afterwards. Yet he will not see that the narrative is meant to show that the mercy of God, and not natural means, bestows children upon these women. Leah does not refuse to her sister the mandragora of her son. Yet Leah conceives, and Rachel remains barren, and this because the former had called upon the Lord, and He had heard her (verse 17.) Again, it is when God remembers Rachel (verse 22), that she conceives. To enforce this truth, the Holy Ghost here brings before us a picture of human life, without keeping anything back." Leah considers it an act of self-denial when she gives her maid to her husband, for which she supposes herself rewarded when she bears a son, and therefore calls him Issachar, *i.e.*, "it is a reward."

(3.) Like a stream that had long been stemmed, the fruitfulness promised in the Divine blessing manifests itself at last in the abundance of CHILDREN GRANTED TO JACOB. But here also the idea that without the intervention of grace, nature is incapable of producing the promised seed, appears, at least in part, in the long-continued barrenness of Rachel. As Joseph was born before the fourteenth year of servitude had elapsed, and as the marriage had taken place in the seventh year of servitude, twelve children must have been born during the seven intervening years. However, if, as some have maintained, the text meant to convey that these children were born in succession, it would imply the most curious and manifest impossibility. But even older interpreters and chronologists (for example, *Petavius*, *De Doctr. Temp.*, 9, 19, and *Heidegger*, *Hist. Patr.*, 2, 253), and, after them, later writers, as, for example, *Hengstenberg* (*Contrib.* iii., p. 351, &c.), *Baumgarten* (i. 1, 272), *Lengerke* (*Canaan*, i., p. 308, &c.), *Reinke* (*Contrib. to the Expl. of the Old Test.*, p. 95, &c.), have satisfactorily removed this difficulty. The alleged contradiction arises from the mistake of supposing that the *Vav* conseq. in a narrative always implies continuous progress in the order of time. (Against this, comp. *Ewald's Larger Grammar*, p. 614, § 332, *a*; *Lengerke*, *Canaan*, i., p. 310, note 1; and *the Author's Unity of Genesis*, Berlin, 1846, pp. 7 to 12.) "The fact in such case related does not necessarily connect itself with what immediately precedes, but, as in many other cases, with the whole context, and implies a succession indeed, but in the whole narrative, not in its individual parts" (*Hengstenberg*, l. c.) *Lengerke* rightly remarks (l. c.): "If we consider the passionate character of Rachel, and the light in which the narrative represents her position towards her sister (chap. xxx. 1), it does not appear credible that Rachel had given Bilhah to her husband only when Leah had ceased to bear, as the text in chap. xxx. seems to imply, inasmuch as her jealousy would, under these circumstances, not have been so much called forth." The first

four children of Leah were born within the shortest possible intervals of time. Before Leah felt her temporary barrenness, Rachel had already given Bilhah to Jacob, and whenever Leah imagined that she was to bear no more children, she followed the example of her sister, by giving Zilpah to her husband. Considering how rapidly she had formerly borne children, and the jealousy existing between the sisters, we can readily understand that this was done after the lapse of a very few months. Soon afterwards she again conceived, and before the seven years were elapsed bore other three children. Nor is it necessary to suppose with *Lightfoot* (i. 18) that Zebulon and Dinah had been twins. The occurrence connected with the mandragora took place immediately before Leah conceived for the fifth time, and Reuben, who found the plant, was at the time about four years old. It does not appear either remarkable or improbable that a child of that age should have been taken to the fields, and "have been attracted by the beautiful flowers and fruits."

§ 78. (Gen. xxx. 25, &c.)—Jacob is now anxious to return home, in order to provide for his own family. Laban, who had experienced how remarkably the blessing of God had rested upon all that his son-in-law had done, endeavours by all means in his power to retain his services. With selfish readiness he agrees to the apparently foolish demand made by Jacob, that all the young of the flock which shall be *speckled* or spotted were to become his hire. But here also the cunning and calculation, which formed an element in Jacob's natural character, appear as strikingly as formerly in his relation to Esau. As then, so now, the purposes of God coincide with those of Jacob, notwithstanding the improper means by which he seeks to attain his ends. Jacob meets cunning with cunning, and returns the deceit of Laban with deceit; but Jehovah allows success to follow his cunning, in order to punish one wrong with another. By clever tricks, which he has learned during his experience as a shepherd, Jacob seeks to effect it, that the strongest cattle should bear the colours agreed on (1), while a vision assures him that even *without* any such artifices, God would right him in his cause with Laban (2.) Thus it happens, that however frequently Laban changed the conditions of agreement, eventually the advantage is always on the side of Jacob (3), and within six years, the flocks which by agreement became his increased very rapidly.

(1.) The AGREEMENT between Jacob and Laban depends upon the fact that, in the East, the sheep are commonly white and the goats black, while speckled and spotted animals are rarely seen. All spotted and dark sheep, and all speckled goats, are removed from the flock entrusted to Jacob, and led over to the flocks entrusted to the sons of Laban, so that only sheep of pure white colour, and goats of pure black colour remain. All in that flock which should bear different colours were to become the hire of Jacob; and as in the ordinary course of nature, anything of the kind expected by Jacob was scarcely to be anticipated, Laban agrees to his demand, selfishly rejoicing over what he supposes the folly of his nephew. And yet Laban comes off worst in a compact which apparently seemed so very advantageous to him. Jacob makes use of an observation which as yet seems to have escaped the shepherds of Mesopotamia, viz., that any impression on the imagination at the time of conception, or during pregnancy, has frequently the effect of showing itself on the foetus. This is a fact, the reality of which has been placed beyond doubt, by innumerable instances at all times, both among animals and in the human species, but which specially applies to sheep. Comp. *Bochart*, Hierozic. ii., 49, pp. 543—547; *Rosenmüller*, the East, i., p. 150; *Tuch*, p. 452; *Lengerke*, Canaan, i., p. 152, &c.; *J. D. Michaelis*, Miscellaneous Works, i., p. 61, &c.; *J. B. Friedreich*, Contrib. to Bible, Nuremberg, 1848, i., p. 37, &c.; *Trusen*, Diseases of the Bible, p. 52, &c.; and *Winer*, s. v., Jacob, p. 523 (3d ed.), and the authorities there adduced. Accordingly Jacob, at the time of conceiving, put rods of various trees, strakes of which he had pilled away, and the white wood of which was peculiarly bright, into the watering troughs to which the flocks came to drink, that so the imagination of these animals should be impressed with the speckled rods while they conceived. The event proved that the device was well contrived. Again, when speckled animals appeared in the flock, Jacob adopted another and similar plan, the more certainly and fully to attain his object. He separated those animals which were of one colour from those which were spotted, and so placed them towards each other that the former were always obliged to look toward the latter, while the latter never saw the former. However, Jacob was just enough only to apply these artifices in spring and not in autumn, so that the second produce of the year always belonged to his father-in-law. It must, however, be admitted that the text expressly remarks that the animals conceived in spring were stronger and better than the others, as the mothers were better fed at that season of the year. (*Bochart*, l. c., ii. 46, p. 514; comp. *Tuch*, l. c., p. 453, &c., and *Lengerke*, l. c., p. 151.) The conduct of Jacob must be viewed in the same light

as the falsehood of Abraham (§ 52, 2), and the former manifestations of cunning and deceit on the part of our patriarch. So far as Laban's heartlessness and selfishness was concerned, he was right. He considered himself, as it were, on his defence, and regarded his deception as simply necessary for protection. As formerly, so now, his faith was too weak, and he was naturally too much disposed to have recourse to cunning and methods of self-deliverance, wholly to commit his cause to the Lord, and, if necessary, to expect even a miracle, as Abraham had done on Mount Moriah. The vision which the Lord had granted him, and to which we shall immediately refer, might indeed have taught the patriarch that such faith would not be disappointed, any more than the confidence of Abraham had been vain. Indeed, the position and the character of Jacob lead us to expect that in his history self-deliverance and Divine deliverance shall always meet. We cannot therefore agree with *Tuch*, that the report of Jacob's artifices arose from "a kind of rationalism on the part of him who wrote the supplementary portion of Genesis," and who, in opposition to the original document" (comp. our work on the Unity of Genesis, p. 164, &c.), always attempts to account by natural means for *the manner* in which miraculous events had taken place, in the fashion in which afterwards *Eichhorn* and *Paulus* of Heidelberg had done it. But if we are to speak of rationalism, we would rather ascribe it to rationalism on the part of Jacob, who, despite his experience of miracles, felt it very difficult to expect any such interposition. *Drechsler* (Unity of Genesis, p. 237, &c.) is entirely mistaken as to the meaning of the passage, when he attempts to convert Jacob's self-deliverance into an *evidence of simple faith*.

(2.) It seems that immediately after Jacob had made the agreement with Laban, he beheld a vision (chap. xxxi. 10, &c.), in which all the rams which leaped upon the cattle were ring-straked, speckled, and grised, and the angel of God at the same time testified that "he had seen all that Laban had done unto him." Manifestly this vision must have been prophetic, and meant to announce that the rams of the flock, which were of one colour, should have the same progeny as if they had been speckled or grised. Again, the fact that while the artifice of Jacob was designed with a special view to the *sheep*, while the vision especially refers to the *rams*, shows that it was intended to teach him the difference between *his own device and the help of God*, and that the latter alone was quite sufficient to vindicate his rights against the selfishness of Laban. In his conversations with his wives, Jacob refers only to the deliverance of God, while he passes in silence over his own device, showing that his conscience had reproached him, that his cunning was ungenerous, and had

better be concealed, even from his wives. From the connection between v. 13 and 14, *Baumgarten* and others infer that this vision was repeated at every time of conception, but this supposition is very improbable. In his narrative to his wives, Jacob does not pay strict attention to the question of succession of time, and therefore connects together the two visions that had been vouchsafed to him, one of which had taken place at the commencement of his last six years of servitude, and the other at their close.

(3.) When Jacob says that Laban had CHANGED his wages TEN TIMES, this is manifestly a round number, which, from its symbolical meaning, as that of completeness, is intended to indicate that Laban had changed the conditions of the compact so frequently, that it was impossible to change them any farther. It is not expressly stated wherein these changes consisted, but they probably refer (v. 8) to modifications of colour, and to the changes from the speckled (dotted) to the ring-straked, and again to the grised (chap. xxx. 39.) All these changes brought out the more clearly, that the artifices of Jacob alone would have been insufficient, and that the effect produced was rather due to the assistance of God. It was perhaps also on this ground that, in his narrative of the circumstances to his wives, Jacob laid exclusive emphasis on the assistance of God.

RETURN OF JACOB TO CANAAN. HIS WRESTLING WITH JEHOVAH.

§ 79. (Gen. xxxi.)—The prosperity which equally attended Jacob under all circumstances, excited the envy and hatred of Laban and of his sons, and their bitter remarks made him desire to put an end to the relations subsisting between them. This wish is met by the call of God to return into the land of his fathers. But Jacob, always accustomed to prefer crooked ways to straight, resolves to fly by stealth, and his wives, embittered by the unworthy and careless manner in which they had been treated by their father, readily consent to his proposal. The desired opportunity for executing this design offers when Laban goes to *shear his sheep*. Without the knowledge of Jacob, Rachel takes away the *Teraphim* of her father (1.) But on the third day Laban is informed of the circumstance. Succoured by his kinsmen, he pursues the fugitives, and on the seventh day overtakes them on Mount Gilead (2.) But the

night before this, the God of Jacob had, in a vision, solemnly warned Laban against using any violence. He therefore only reproaches the patriarch about his secret flight, hypocritically adding that thereby he had even been prevented from kissing his daughters, and from sending away his son-in-law with all proper formality. But he is most concerned about the stolen Teraphim. Jacob himself insists upon a search being made for them, which, of course, leads to no result, as Rachel, pretending to be after the custom of women, keeps her father from her person and her seat, under which she had concealed the Teraphim (3.) The reconciliation of Jacob and of Laban is solemnised by a covenant, by an oath, by a sacrifice, and by a covenant-feast. A stone monument erected on the spot was to be at the same time a witness of this covenant, and the boundary-mark of nomadic excursions to them and to their descendants (4.)

(1.) On the TERAPHIM, comp. *J. D. Michaelis* "de Teraphis," in his *Comment. Soc. Gott. obl.*; *Winer*, s. h. v.; *Tuch*, *Comment.*, p. 457, &c.; *Hengstenberg*, *Christol.*, ii, p. 177; iii, p. 129; *Hävernich*, *Ezekiel*, p. 347, &c.; *Lenzgerke*, *Canaan*, i., pp. 256 and 306. Probably they were statues bearing the form of man, but of smaller size (comp. *Gen. xxxi. 34* with *1 Sam. xix. 13*), which were worshipped as house- and family-gods, as the givers and disposers of domestic happiness (*Gen. xxxi.*; *Judges xviii. 24.*) Probably they were also consulted as domestic oracles (*Ezekiel xxi. 26*; *Zech. x. 2.*) Their worship passed from the Arameans to the Israelites, where it repeatedly appears, up to the time of the captivity, although it is always stigmatised as idolatry (*Gen. xxxv. 4*; *2 Kings xxiii. 24*; *Zech. x. 2*; *Hosea iii. 4.*) We cannot therefore agree with *Hengstenberg*, who supposes that they were intermediate beings, which might find a place in any system of religion, and the consulting of whom did not necessarily imply idolatry, as they were always enquired at in the name of Jehovah (comp. *Hävernich*, l. c.) *Michaelis* regarded them as a kind of satyrs or sylines, according to the statement of *Pausanias*, 6, 24, 6 (*θητὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος τῶν Σιληνῶν εἰκάσαι τις ἂν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις αὐτῶν ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων χώρα Σιληνοῦ μνήμα*), with which, as he supposes, the statement in *Genesis xxxv. 4*, according to which Jacob buries the Teraphim under an oak, near Sychem, remarkably agrees. But even if this strange statement of *Pausanias* should have any connection with that in *Genesis xxxv. 4*, which is conceivable, since *Judges ix. 6* and *37* shows that the remembrance of this

event had become settled in popular tradition, it still rests on a vague and arbitrary combination. We do not discover a trace of the name or of the worship of Teraphim in any but in Aramean or Hebrew idolatry. Allied to this is the opinion of *Creuzer* (*Symbolic*, 2d ed., p. 340), according to whom they were Penates, and popularly supposed to bestow children. This view is again propounded by *Lengerke*, but is entirely ungrounded. For, the statement that Rachel had taken with her "those sylines," as a last resource, in order to obtain children, and that Michael, the daughter of Saul (1 Sam. xix.), had, on account of her barrenness, also worshipped them unknown to David, is the more unwarranted, as at the time Rachel was no longer barren, and Michael had been married too short time to conclude that she would not be mother. (Nor can this opinion be supported by the analogy of the Greek designation *τράγος* with the corresponding Hebrew word.) The intention of Rachel in stealing the Teraphim is evident. She is anxious to preserve or to gain for *her own* household the happiness which she connects with the possession of the Teraphim. In reference to the etymology, we agree with *Hofmann* (*Script. Demonstr.*, i., p. 328) in regarding the word as the Aramean form of a Hebrew word, and in explaining it, according to the Arabic root شرف, "*altus, excelsus, nobilis,*" *that which is elevated and above the earthly*. In the heathen Aramean mode of expression, it is equivalent to אלהים (Gen. xxxi. 10; xxxv. 2), with which it also has in common the meaning attaching to its plural. We cannot attach importance to the derivation from תרף (bonus comodisque vitæ effluxit), propounded by *Hävernîck*, l. c., far less to that of *E. Meier*, *Dict. Dict. of Roots*, p. 382 (תרף, as derived from תרה = ترك, to leave behind, hence "undoubtedly תרפים those that are left behind, as it were the relics, the portraits of departed ancestors.") *Sørensen* (*Comm. on Genesis*, p. 248) informs us that the Teraphim were corpses covered with resin or gum, and that the name must be derived from שרף = gum, resin. The statement that Rachel had concealed the Teraphim under the saddle of the camel does not in the least disturb our ingenious and sagacious commentator. For, "manifestly the Teraphim are here also a symbol of something greater, and are not merely family mummies. They are in this case also the representatives of the tribes of Israel. . . . If Rachel conceals them, and withdraws them from the view of Laban, the camel, with its two humps, is at the same time a pictorial representation of Mount Lebanon, under and behind the declivities of which Rachel hides her robbery from the eyes of Laban, who lives on the other side Lebanon."

(2.) The SHEEP-SHEARING of Laban was in many respects a favourable opportunity for Jacob's flight. It necessitated, in the first place, that the sheep of Laban and of Jacob should be separated. It withdrew Jacob from the supervision of his father-in-law; it removed Laban and his family several days' journey from the vicinity of Jacob, while the duties and festivities connected with it (1 Sam. v. 24; 2 Sam. xiii. 23) would engage the attention of the suspicious Laban in another manner. However, in this latter respect, Jacob seems to have been mistaken, as, on the third day, Laban receives tidings of his flight, whence it appears probable that, with his wonted suspiciousness, he had left spies in the neighbourhood, who at once informed him of the flight of his son-in-law. It is just as we should have expected, when the text, as *Tuch* remarks, "does not explain how the son-in-law and chief superintendent of the flocks of Laban could have been absent from the festivities of the sheep-shearing, to which commonly relatives and friends were invited (v. chap. xxxviii. 12; 2 Sam. xiii. 23)." This circumstance is quite natural, as every reader can, without any statement of reasons, easily imagine them. The dissension between them had reached its highest point, so that the absence of Jacob would appear desirable to both parties, nor could Jacob be at any loss in finding excuses for declining an invitation.

(3.) On the arrangement of the *couch on the camel*, which may have served also as a bed for Rachel, comp. *Tuch*, p. 459, and *Gesenius*, *Thes.* p. 715, &c. The pretext of Rachel presupposes that the Levitical law (Lev. xv. 19—24), according to which any contact with woman under such circumstances rendered unclean, must have been in force at that time, and even among the Arameans. Considering that the view upon which this law was based, was not exclusively Jewish, but also shared by many other nations of antiquity (comp. *Bähr*, *Symb.* ii., p. 446, &c., and *Sommer*, *Bibl. Discuss.* i. 271, &c.), this circumstance cannot be urged as an objection to the historical credibility of Genesis.

(4.) *Baumgarten* aptly remark, i. 1., p. 279, about the erection of this Mazebah: "The heap of stones is intended to serve as a ratification of the covenant. For, a thing is completed by becoming an outward reality, perceptible by the senses." On Mount Gilead, comp. § 42, 1. The name of the heap of stones גִּלְעָד hill of witness, (Laban gives it the equivalent Aramean name יַגְר שְׂדֵדֵי־גִלְעָד) was chosen with allusion to the name Gilead, which already attached to that mountain.

§ 80. (Gen. xxxii.)—The gracious providence of God has delivered Jacob from the dangers that threatened him by the pursuit of Laban. But before him are other perils from a meet-

ing with his brother Esau. On his arrival at the boundary of the Holy Land an host of angels now meets him as a guarantee that there also the protection of God should not be wanting him. "This is God's *host*," exclaims Jacob, and he designates that place *Mahanaim* (double host) (1.) Thence he sends messengers to Mount Seir to inform Esau of his return, and to dispose him to be friendly toward him. But when the messengers return with the tidings that Esau was coming to meet him, at the head of 400 men, Jacob apprehends some hostile design (2.) He cautiously prepares for the worst issue of the meeting about to take place, and divides his people and his flocks into two bands, that if the one company should be slain by Esau, the other at least might escape. In this hour of anxious anticipation, when he is cast upon the help of God alone, he reviews his former life so full of aberrations on his part, and yet so full of mercy and of gracious provision on that of the Lord. Now at last he casts away all confidence in his own strength and wisdom, and ascribes to God alone all glory, confessing: "I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff have I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands." This confession is followed by earnest prayer for deliverance, full of believing reference to the promise of God (3.) He then sets apart rich presents for Esau, which he sends to meet him in droves at certain intervals, next brings his family over the ford Jabbok, and remains behind on the other side by *himself alone*. There a man wrestled with him until the breaking of day. It was the angel of the Lord. He from whom alone Jacob could look for help and deliverance, meets him as an *enemy*. Before meeting with Esau he must first have completely settled his concerns with God. Jacob had, by his own attempts at deliverance, disturbed the covenant-relationship subsisting between himself and his God. This must first be settled before Jehovah can be wholly on his side and entirely assist him in his approaching contest with his brother. And Jacob, although he succumbs, yet prevails in this wondrous contest. For when the angel saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the joint of his thigh, and in wrestling the joint of his thigh was dislocated. Thus rendered incapable for continuing the contest, and

thereby probably realising who it was that contended with him, Jacob takes up those weapons with which alone God is overcome. He betakes himself to prayer and entreaty, and he prevails. In reply to his continuous prayer: "I will not let thee go except thou bless me!" God declares that Jacob had prevailed. His own strength is now broken, but he is born again after the inward man, and thus Jacob comes out of this wrestling with God, with a new name, indicating his victory, and with the blessing of Him who had erst threatened him with destruction. Jacob calls the name of this place of contest, *Pniel*, "for," says he, "I have seen God face to face, *and my soul has recovered.*" Then the sun rose upon him, and he halted upon his thigh (4.)

(1.) "Mutatis mutandis" THE MEETING WITH THE HOST OF ANGELS answers to the vision of the heavenly ladder which twenty years before had conveyed comfort and strength to his heart. At that time the angelic apparition had conveyed him on his departure from the Holy Land. It now welcomes him on his return as the possessor of the country who at last comes back after a long absence. Then the vision merely betokened peace and blessing; now the hosts of God point also to a contest, and imply a promise of assistance and of defence. Then the promise was conveyed in a dream; now while waking, which implies a more immediate and strong assurance. On this ground we cannot agree with the view of *Hengstenberg* (*Balaam*, p. 51): "The appearance of the angels at Mahanaim *must* have been only internal, analogous to that vouchsafed to Jacob when he *departed* from Mesopotamia, Genesis xxviii. 12, and of which it is expressly stated, that it had been in a *dream.*" However, we have not the slightest indication that this transaction was internal. In general we cannot sympathise with *Hengstenberg* in always supposing a state of ecstasis, whenever apparitions of a higher world are granted to a person. We admit that in the view of sacred historians, divine revelations were equally trustworthy, whether sent in vision and in *dream*, or in a state of wakefulness (Numb. xii. 6.) But as it is equally clear that they sometimes represent these apparitions to have taken place in one and at other times in the other of these two states (for example. Gen. xviii. 19), we do not see why we should have recourse to the supposition of an ecstasis, when the sacred writers do not expressly state so. That a similar apparition of angels (2 Kings vi. 17) had taken place in vision does not necessarily

imply that such had been the case with that under consideration. The same apparition was equally trustworthy, whether beheld in vision or in a state of wakefulness, and took place under either of these circumstances, according as the peculiar circumstances of the person for whom it was designed demanded.

(2.) Jacob despatches his messengers to *Mount SEIR*. *Tuch* remarks, p. 464, on this subject: "Esau then appears already as an inhabitant of Seir, who, with his companions in arms, in Bedouin fashion, roams as far as Gilead, while according to chap. xxxvi. 6, when special purposes require it, he still remains in Canaan, and only afterwards separates from his brother." But it is a mistake to suppose that these two statements are wholly irreconcilable. There are many ways of solving the difficulty. Comp. *Lilienthal*, "The Good Cause of Divine Revelation," iii., p. 48, &c. Among the various suggestions that have been offered, the following appears to us the most probable. In the first place it does not necessarily follow from Genesis xxxii. 4 that Mount Seir was then the permanent dwelling place of Esau, but only that *at the time* he had been there. The statement that the messengers had found him at the head of 400 men, seems to afford the means for removing the apparent contradiction. In our opinion it implies that he was there engaged in a warlike expedition. It was probably at *this* very time that, at the head of a warlike band, Esau conquered that country. But if this supposition is correct (and it will not be denied that this is not only possible but even probable), it quite agrees with the circumstances of the case, that his wives, children and flocks (to whom alone ch. xxxvi. refers) should still have remained in the neighbourhood of Beersheba, and only afterwards, when the Horites were driven out, have passed into Mount Seir. Compare also *Ranke Investigations* i., p. 248, &c., who accounts for the notice in chap. xxxvi., from the peculiar structure of Genesis. No doubt the FOUR HUNDRED MEN, who were in company with Esau, joined him in a manner similar to that related in Judges xi. 3, and in 1 Sam. xxii. 2. Since the patriarchal blessing originally designed for him had, by a remarkable concatenation of circumstances, been transferred to Jacob, his relation towards Isaac will probably not any longer have been so close and cordial as before. His profane and heathenish disposition, which his mother had long disliked, must also have more and more alienated his father, when once his eyes had been opened to his real conduct. All prospect of obtaining the promised land was now taken away, for it cannot be doubted that even Esau ascribed implicit power to the blessing of his father. He therefore freely chooses that, which from the first God had destined for him, and the more readily, that he felt increasingly ill at ease in his

father's house, and that the quiet and peaceable pastoral life did not agree with his rough and martial disposition. By his relation with the Canaanites, but especially with the house of Ishmael, he obtained auxiliaries for carrying out his plans. Otherwise also, persons of equally rough and martial disposition with himself, may have readily flocked to his standard. We can only venture on a suggestion, in reply to the enquiry, why Esau should have met his peaceful brother at the head of 400 men. One of four solutions of this difficulty can be adopted. 1. He either came with decidedly hostile intention, in order now to execute the long intended vengeance upon his brother, which Jacob's flight had delayed for twenty years; or else, 2dly, to enjoy the cruel and indelicate sport of causing anxiety to Jacob; or, 3dly, to bring out the strong contrast between present circumstances and the promised future, so far as the relation of the two brothers was concerned, and thus to humble Jacob; or, lastly, it may have been due to an accidental co-incident of circumstances, since Esau had been at the head of these 400 men, with other purposes in view, when the messengers of Jacob met him, and, unwilling to dismiss them, had taken them along with him, without, however, intending anything hostile against Jacob. The latter view agrees best with the character of Esau. Considering his light-mindedness and his sanguine character, we can scarcely believe that he had for twenty years cherished and nourished his former thoughts of vengeance, the more so as, content with his position, which was outwardly more happy and honoured than that of Jacob, he had no occasion to revive his former animosity. In point of fact, when Esau met Jacob, his conduct displays only studied kindness, honesty, and openness. The same reasons of course render the second supposition impossible; but the third is not incompatible with these views. We admit that the whole context, the report of the messengers returning, the fear of God, and the connection between the appearance of the angel, the wrestling with God, and the approaching meeting with Esau, are in favour of the first hypothesis; in which case the friendliness of Esau towards Jacob would have to be regarded as the effect of divine influence, bringing about a change in the disposition and intention of Esau. But we decide in favour of the fourth supposition, taken in connection with the third, since the divine protection and assistance indicated by the appearance of the angels and the wrestling with God has, objectively and subjectively, in this view also, its full meaning. For, considering the subjective position of Jacob, the danger was real and not merely imaginary, while, objectively viewed, the change in the disposition of Esau is equally the result of divine guidance, whether occasioned

by natural causes, or by the special influence of Him who turns the hearts of men, as streams of water.

(3.) The remark of *Tuch*, p. 466, about the beautiful and fervent PRAYER OF JACOB, v. 10—13, is more than “a little inapt.” He says: “The writer of the supplement represents Jacob as *somewhat inaptly* reminding God of His commands and promises, in verses 10 and 13, thus calling upon Him now to keep His word.” But from the time of Jacob to that of *Luther* and our own days, those who have experienced the power of prayer have done the same, and therein lies the greatest strength and the highest blessing of prayer.

(4.) In Hosea xii. 3, &c. we read about THE WRESTLING OF JACOB WITH THE ANGEL OF THE LORD :

He took his brother by the heel in the womb,
And by his strength he had power with God,
Yea he had power over the angel and prevailed—
He wept and made supplication to him.

From the text it would appear that this contest was the *turning point* in the life of Jacob. Before that we notice halting on both sides, continual attempts at self-deliverance, lying and deceiving, artifices and cunning, weak and defective faith; *afterwards*, we descry humility and resignation to the will of God, confidence and trust in God and in His leadings. At last, the catastrophe, long preparing, takes place, by which old Jacob is to become a new man, and the wild excrescences of a richly endowed nature are to be removed. It is only now that we can understand how God had borne with all his perversity and so visibly blessed him, notwithstanding his cunning and his artifices. All this tended, through the mercy of God, to lead him to repentance. Much labour and sorrow, many trials and chastisements, and much pity and patience, were required before Jacob, so strong and wise in himself, was humbled and broken in heart. But the more glorious also was the fruit of this long and difficult training.

The former stages in the life of Jacob were only preparatory to that great and striking event to which they pointed. All along it had been a struggle on the part of a clever and strong, a self-confident and self-sufficient person, who was only sure of the result, when he helped himself—a contest with God, who wished to break his strength and his wisdom, in order to bestow upon him real strength in divine weakness, and real wisdom in divine folly. The life of Jacob had been a continuous struggle carried on by the patriarch with the weapons of his own strength and wisdom, and by God, with the weapons of grace, of

patience, and of long-suffering. This stage in his life closes with the fervent prayer uttered by the ford Jabbok, in which his oppressed heart found relief. The new direction of his soul, which now appears, expresses itself in the full *confession*: "I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which thou hast shown unto thy servant"—and in the confident *entreaty*: "Deliver me from the hand of my brother, for thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, &c." In this *confession* he gives to God alone the glory, as formerly he had taken it to himself, and in this *prayer*, he casts away all confidence in his own strength and wisdom, which hitherto had been the anchor of his life, and he implicitly throws himself upon God and his promise. But this new direction, and with it the result of all his former contests, victories, and defeats—which in this prayer appeared as yet only as the longing of his heart—was to become matter of full and clear consciousness. Thus the import of all his former leadings was to be opened up before him, as if a sealed book, written by the hand of God, were now broken open, that so even the last remainder of self-confidence and self-deliverance might be removed. For this purpose, the whole course of his former life, with all its contests and its final victory, is now repeated and concentrated into one pregnant fact; and in bringing before him such a fact, God presents to the soul of Jacob, as it were, in the glass of self-contemplation, a clear representation of the important bearings of his former life. Such is the purpose and meaning of the wrestling with which the first stage of Jacob's life closes; and the declaration: "I have seen God face to face, and my soul has recovered," proves that he had understood the transaction in this manner.

Jacob's apprehension of an impending contest with Esau, forms the basis of the event here recorded. The fountains of his own strength, wisdom, cunning, and artifices, which had hitherto flowed so plentifully, are wholly dried up in view of the power of Esau. Besides, he feels and knows that in many respects he had been in the wrong towards his brother, and that his attempts against him were, at the sametime, and chiefly, attempts against Jehovah. Hence the great and important truth which was now to become matter of clear consciousness to him, was that he had not only to apprehend the wrath and vengeance of Esau, but also that of Jehovah. Indeed, his wrong towards Esau was no longer of such importance as in many respects it had been counterbalanced by Esau's wrong against Jacob. The "*restitutio in integrum*" had already taken place in reference to his relationship towards his brother, and the Nemesis had fully completed in the life of Jacob, anything which, in this respect, might yet have been wanting. But Jehovah, on whom he has placed

his sole dependance against Esau, is now his real, his chief, and his first enemy. The "restitutio in integrum" is yet wanting in his relationship towards Jehovah; the ungodly artifices and cunning, the lying and deceit, whereby he has desecrated God's holy work, and the great purposes which He had in view, are yet unatoned. His guilt towards Jehovah consists in this, that in virtue of the covenant Jacob has, as it were, involved Him, who on account of the covenant could not give him up, in the degradation of his own trickeries—and this guilt is *not yet* removed. God is, indeed, *willing*, in virtue of the covenant, to help him against Esau, and on account of the irrefragable promise given He will certainly come to his assistance. But Jehovah will not make common cause with Jacob, in a common contest against the common enemy, until that which had disturbed the relation between them has been settled, and that relation itself restored to its full purity. Therefore, while Jacob is chiefly concerned about the dangers which continually threaten him from Esau, God meets him as an enemy, and wrestles with him till the day breaks. By this hostile encounter he virtually says: "I am thy real and most dangerous enemy, prevail with me and thou shalt have nothing to apprehend from a contest with Esau." But there is a second consideration also, which had something to do in this contest. Jacob is about to re-enter the land of promise. That he is allowed to return laden with rich blessings, is the result of the covenant-assistance and the blessing of God. But the perverseness manifested in the former life of Jacob, which had drawn upon him the wrath of God, renders him both unworthy of and unfit for entering into the land of promise. Hence, in this respect also, must the difference obtaining between them be settled; and on this ground also must Jacob prevail against the wrath of God and the covenant-relationship be restored "in integrum."

It is of great importance for understanding this transaction to ascertain whether Jacob had, from the first or only during the progress of the contest, recognised the person who met him in hostile encounter as the angel of the Lord. It cannot be doubted that he had become aware of the fact when he said: "I will not let thee go except thou bless me." But similarly the manner in which he meets the attack of the man, seems to imply that he had not from the first, at least not distinctly, recognised the character of his opponent. This is also conveyed in the expression: "There wrestled *a man* with him." Hence we shall have to fix upon a period *between* the two limits above indicated, when Jacob became quite certain of the character of him with whom he contended. This we suppose took place when the man, having touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint, said to him: "Let me go, for the day breaketh." That moment

seems quite adapted for the purpose in view. Even the proximity of that heavenly apparition must have filled the soul of Jacob with anxious expectation. This feeling must have increased during the wrestling, and attained its climax when his thigh was out of joint, and all hope of prevailing in the contest was taken away. But then, instead of destroying Jacob, who was incapacitated for prolonging the contest as a human adversary would have done, the man utters those strange words which so clearly pointed to a mysterious and unearthly apparition; and by these words the anxious anticipation of the patriarch became certainty. In this decisive moment he collects himself and seizes the weapons of prayer and of entreaty by which alone it is *possible* to prevail with God, and *he does prevail with him*, so that he yields, and, as he had entreated, blesses him.

Above we have seen that this wondrous transaction, the progress and result of the contest, was intended to convey to Jacob a concrete representation of the bearing of his former life. As in the first place he had contended against "the man," with all the might of his natural strength, without clearly and distinctly knowing that he really contended with God, so had he formerly, through the whole course of his life, while imagining that he contended against human opponents, in reality contended with God, and that with all the might of his own carnal strength, with deceit and with cunning. For a long time, even till the breaking of day, the issue of the contest remained undecided. But when the man saw that he could not prevail against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him. So had God, all through Jacob's life, wrestled with him and not prevailed against him, because the strength and wisdom in which Jacob withstood God had not been broken. But when a new day is about to dawn, it appears that God is stronger than he, and that the endurance of God had borne the victory over the resistance offered by the old man in Jacob. As with the thigh the seat of the natural strength in which he had contended was paralysed, and he has now to betake himself to entreaty and prayer, so on the last day of his former life, all confidence in his own strength which he had hitherto cherished, all trust in his natural cunning and cleverness, is cast away. He acknowledges that he is overcome (chap. xxxii. 11) and only appeals to the grace and the promise of God (chap. xxxii. 13.) Our interpretation of this wrestling differs from that hitherto common in this, that we do not find the reason of the victory of Jacob over Jehovah, in the continuance of his bodily wrestling as a symbol of spiritual wrestling, but that, on the contrary, we regard this very bodily wrestling as representing the perversity which had characterised

his former life. Manifestly the dislocation of his thigh constitutes the turning point in the history. Formerly his wrestling had been bodily, but its continuation had become impossible when his thigh was out of joint. He now betakes himself to other weapons, and his wrestling becomes spiritual. These two kinds of wrestling, the one in his bodily strength, the other in the spiritual strength of prayer, are evidently opposed to each other; and Jacob prevails through the latter and not through the former. Hence the contest in which he succumbs cannot be a representation of spiritual wrestling which, under all circumstances, has the promise of victory. On the contrary, as bodily strength forms the contrast to spiritual strength, it must rather be the representation of carnal, non-spiritual and ungodly wrestling in the strength of unsanctified nature.

Not less clearly and distinctly than from the account in Genesis does this interpretation appear to be correct on a comparison with the explanation of the narrative in Hosea. Comp. especially *Umbreit*, Pract. Comm. iv. p. 82 &c., who thus points out the connection and the meaning of the prophetic declaration in verses 1—3. "Again, is the address of the prophet levelled against faithless Ephraim. The latter is charged with cunning against God, as if he had surrounded Him with the meshes of lying and deceiving. And Judah also still walks in the ways of unfaithfulness, seeks here and there after strange gods besides Jehovah, who as a husband keeps inviolate the covenant which He had once made with his people. . . . Therefore, the everlasting justice of the living and jealous God must manifest itself to shake Judah and Ephraim from this vanity, . . . verse 4 to 7. The prophet makes apt use of what the sacred legend records, about the typical cunning of their ancestor and the meaning of his name. That which attaches to the people as its special guilt—*deceit and a contest against God*—had already appeared from the commencement in their ancestor according to the flesh. Even in his mother's womb, and before he had attained consciousness, Jacob held his brother Esau by the heel to prevent him as the first-born; and when he had attained to the age of maturity he contends with God. But nothing can thus be gained from God. If man is to prevail with him, he must weep and entreat; thus Jacob also attained his pre-eminence only in the way of humiliation and of sincere prayer. Thereby only became he the blessed friend of the living God, &c." While the prophetic application of the history of this wrestling shews that Jacob's carnal contest with God was entirely parallel with the perversity of Ephraim and of Judah, who also contended against God with the carnal weapons of cunning and deceit, we are at the same time directed to the typical meaning of this transaction. We

learn that this contest, which formed the high-point in the life of Jacob was, in virtue of a real but mysterious co-relation between the ancestor and his progeny—the prototype of the history of that nation of whom Jacob was the father. Throughout the whole of their history Jehovah wrestles with the chosen people, in order to gain and to prepare them for his own purposes. But throughout their whole history, this people contend in almost all their generations against God, by their own works and their own devices, by cunning, lying, and deceit, until in the contest God touches and puts out of joint the thigh of their own strength, when, like their ancestor, they exclaim: I will not let thee go except thou bless me," and like him they are blessed.

From the above statements it will sufficiently appear that we suppose the contest of Jacob to have taken place, neither *in dream*, nor *in vision*, nor in the *ecstatic state*, but in *outward reality*, and in a *state of wakefulness*. Even the halting which was the consequence of this wrestling could only have been the result of a real and outward contest. The supposed observation that any powerful excitement of the inner life (whether in dream or in the ecstatic state) may lead to analogous bodily effects, which continue ever afterwards in the "wakeful state," is by no means certain. On the contrary, in most instances of that kind it is rather the bodily ailment which gives to the dream its peculiar and analogous form (comp. *Friedreich*, Notes to Bible, i. p. 187.)

But it is quite decisive on the point that the text contains not the slightest indication that this wrestling had been different from the passage over Jabbok (v. 23), and from the breaking of the day (v. 26 compared with v. 31.) Again, it is not more difficult to believe that the angel of the Lord should, under certain circumstances, have really wrestled with Jacob than that he should outwardly and perceptibly have entered the tent of Abraham, have allowed his feet to be washed, and condescended to partake of the feast which the patriarch had hospitably spread for him (Gen. xviii. v. 1, 4, 8.) The remark of *Hengstenberg* (Balaam p. 51) "that in an external contest and wrestling it would have been impossible to prevail by prayer and tears," requires not refutation. It falls to the ground when we bear in mind that the outward contest of bodily wrestling and the spiritual contest by prayers and tears, were distinct and even opposite transactions.

Jacob obtains the new name Israel = "Wrestler with God," because something new has been attained by the issue of this contest. At first sight it appears indeed strange that his former name does not henceforth wholly disappear, but continues along with the new, and is even more commonly employed, so that the

name of Israel only occurs when something peculiarly solemn is intended to be conveyed. This circumstance must appear the more striking as the former name of Abraham had entirely disappeared when he had obtained his new designation. Besides, the name Israel is afterwards again conferred upon Jacob (chap. xxxv. 10), as if he had not before borne it. But here we remark that these two circumstances (the use of the old name along with the new, and the repetition of the bestowal of the name) are connected with and support each other (comp. our remarks on chap. xxxv.) But even after the name had in chap. xxxv. been again given, the two designations still occur. It would not in the least explain the difficulty if we were to suppose that chaps. xxxii. and xxxiii. were written by two different authors (as is proposed by *Stähelin*, though *Tuch* feels constrained to ascribe them to the same writer, comp. our "Unity of Genesis," pp. 166, &c., and 170, &c.), because both the supposed authors employ the two names side by side with each other. *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. ii., p. 279) rightly observes that this question cannot be answered by a merely external consideration of the names. His reply satisfactorily shows why the use of the old name may have been retained along with the new. He observes: "The name Abraham indicates his destination by God. After the promise had been given, that name must have continued along with the object which it indicated. But the name Israel only indicates a subjective state, or is at least based on it. Hence the old name continues along with the new, and because the name stands in closest connection with the object indicated by it, it always re-appears when the object is again brought forward." Again the name *Israel*, and not the old name Jacob, is selected for the chosen race, manifestly because the latter was given by man, and is that of *nature*, while the former was given by God, and is that of grace and of the *Divine calling*. By taking the name of Israel, the people indicated that only through God's gracious leading they had become what they were. But if the name Israel was used to indicate the nation and its ancestor as *the representative* of the whole race, it was natural that by way of distinction the name Jacob should have been used to designate more especially this ancestor as a *single individual*; hence the author of Genesis, who was conscious of *this* distinction, so frequently employs the name Jacob in tracing the individual history of this ancestor.

Although Jacob feels already certain that it was God Himself with whom he had wrestled, he still asks "the man" for his name. The angel of the Lord evades any reply to this question (just as in Judges xiii. 16—18.) The novelty and strangeness of the manifestation of God in this contest awakens the desire in

Jacob to fix it in his mind, and to recall it by attaching to it a new and corresponding name of God. But, as the angel does not satisfy his request, this desire seems to have been precipitate. The time had not yet arrived when that mode of Divine manifestation, of which the Maleach Jehovah was the representative, should attain to that perfectness and maturity in history which rendered a specific name necessary in order to exhibit its character. Jacob says: "I have seen God face to face," whereby, according to the measure of his knowledge, he designates, as it were, the angel as "the face of the Lord," and he perpetuates this for all future generations by calling the place "*Pniel*."

Before passing from the consideration of this event, we must glance at the contrast, and the opposition between it and the angelic apparition in Mahanaim. There God meets Jacob with an heavenly embassy who, at the entrance of the promised land, are to welcome him as its proprietor and heir, and to assure him of Divine protection and assistance against all enemies and opponents. Here—almost immediately afterwards—the same God meets him by the way as an enemy and opponent, and is about to prevent him from re-entering the Holy Land. This relation between God and Jacob bears the same double aspect as that between Jacob and God, and the former is occasioned by the latter. Viewed objectively Jacob was the friend of God and the heir of promise, and in this respect the angels appeared to him in Mahanaim. Viewed subjectively, there was much in Jacob which was contrary to God, and hence the contest in Pniel.

§ 81. (Gen. xxxiii.)—Jacob who, in his contest with the angel of the Lord had, by prayer and entreaty, prevailed against his most dangerous enemy, now also prevails by humility and modesty against Esau, who comes to meet him with 400 men. Overcome by the humility of Jacob, and by the kindness of his own heart, Esau falls upon his neck, embraces, and kisses him (1.) It is with reluctance that he accepts the rich presents of Jacob, and he offers to accompany him to the end of his journey with his men of arms—a proposition which Jacob declines in a friendly spirit. Thus the two brothers, long separated in friendship and affection, are reconciled to each other. Their good understanding remained undisturbed till the day of their death. Jacob continued his journey northward along the valley of the Jordan to the neighbourhood of *Succoth* (2), where probably he remained for some time. Thence he passed over Jordan, and through the plain Jezreel into the highlands of Ephraim, where he settled in

the neighbourhood of *Sychem*. The purchase of a field, and the erection of an altar, which, to designate all his leadings in life, he called El Elohe-Israel, indicate his joy in having, after his long pilgrimage, once more found a home in the land of promise (3.)

(1.) On this account of their reconciliation, *Tuch* remarks (p. 470): "*The openness and the honesty of Esau form an agreeable contrast to the cringing of the timorous Jacob.*" But however willing we are to acknowledge the good parts in the character of Esau, and however little we desire to conceal the defects and weaknesses in that of Jacob, we cannot call his conduct timid cringing, but rather real and genuine humility. The conduct of Jacob shews the prudence and submission of one who understands the present circumstances, and readily bows to the arrangement. Any rebellion against them or want of consideration would only have been a piece of mad fanaticism. In the meantime, and whether he deserved it or not, Esau possessed external advantages, and was the more powerful; and, although his future destiny assigned to him a higher position, Jacob was at the time under outward disadvantages, and the circumstance that in this he must have recognised a well-merited retribution, only makes it the more his duty really and readily to submit to the present contrast. On the other hand, while we do not deny the openness, honesty, and kindness of Esau, we must not forget that the consciousness that his brother was not equal to him in prosperity and power, rendered his friendliness and yielding more easy, and gave greater assurance to his conduct. For the character of the two brothers, and their conduct to each other, comp. also *Drechsler* (Unity of Genesis, p. 231, &c.)

(2.) SUCCOTH, where afterwards a city was built, lay in the valley of the Jordan, on the eastern bank of that river, and within the possession of Gad (Josh. xiii. 27, Judges viii. 5), "civitas trans Jordanem in parte Scythopolcos" (*Hieronimus*, ad Gen. xxxiii. 17.) It is therefore a mistake in *Winer*, 2d ed., and before him in *Raumer* and others, to identify our Succoth

with the ruins of a place ^{سكوت} (which name in Hebrew would at any rate be שְׂכֹת), which *Burkhardt* (ii., p. 595) discovered on the western bank of Jordan, to the south of *Beisan* (Bethshean) or Scythopolis. *Tuch* (p. 471), without any reason, supposes that the city had been built on both banks of the Jordan. *Delitzsch* suggests that Scythopolis had derived its name from an erroneous combination of Succoth with the Scyths. We may confidently infer that Jacob had for some time remained in Succoth from the circumstance that he had there built him an house, and made booths for his cattle. The hurry and the toil of his

flight, and the consequent disorder and fatigue of his journey, may have made a longer stay necessary, when once he had reached a secure resting-place.

(3.) *Luther* and our *authorised* version translate verse 18: "Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem," a rendering of which even *Robinson* approves, because he had found a village called *Salim* in the neighbourhood of Sychem. But without doubt שָׁלֵם is here an adjective = "untouched, unharmed" (comp. *Hengstenberg*, *Comm.* to *Psalms*, p. 331.) For in verse 18 Shechem is expressly mentioned as being the first station in the land of Canaan reached by Jacob, and the word שָׁלֵם is manifestly intended to point back to the בְּשָׁלוֹם in the vow of Jacob (chap. xxviii. 21.) What at the time Jacob had, in virtue of the promise in verses 3 and 13, mentioned as the condition of his vow, had now become fulfilled. To this points both the use of the word שָׁלֵם, and the addition of the terms, "in the land of Canaan," which would else be wholly useless. On the position and neighbourhood of the city of Sychem, comp. § 51, 6. Having arrived at Sychem, the place where Abraham had first felt himself in the Holy Land, and where he had erected an altar to the God who there appeared to him, Jacob realised that he was again at home in the land of promise, and at the end of his pilgrimage. This happy consciousness he now expresses by the purchase of a piece of ground, and by the erection of an altar. THE PURCHASE OF LAND from the Shechemites may perhaps have been occasioned by the circumstance that at this time the country had already been more fully inhabited than when Abraham entered it; and, while the latter buys an inheritance only for a *burying-place*, the former must procure one also for a *dwelling-place*. The purchase price amounted to a hundred KESITAH. The more ancient translators all rendered this term by "lambs," but the Jews understood it to refer to a piece of money (comp. also *Acts* vii. 16: "A piece of money"), and later writers (*Bochart*, *Münter*, &c.) combined these two opinions by suggesting that it was a piece of money bearing the impress of a lamb. It is impossible to ascertain anything about its value, not even from a comparison with *Genesis* xxiii. 16 (compare *Gesenius*, *Thes.*, p. 1241; *Wiseman*, *Connect.* between *Sc.* and *Rev. Rel.*; *Bertheau*, 2 *Dissert.*, p. 24.) On the well near Sychem, which tradition identifies with the well of Jacob (*John* iv. 5), and ascribes to the patriarchs, so that it would at the same time indicate the situation of the field purchased by Jacob, comp. *Robinson*, ii. pp. 283—287. This well lies at the southern debouchure of the valley of Shechem. *Robinson* defends the authenticity of this tradition. As Abraham (chap. xii. 7), so Jacob also erects an ALTAR near Shechem, which he calls El-elohe-

Israel (God the God of Israel.) In Mesopotamia he had not been allowed to erect an altar. This was only lawful in the land of promise, which God had chosen as His peculiar place of worship. The name attaching to the altar would recall to his posterity the result of those leadings in his life by which Jacob had become *Israel*. In reply to the question sometimes raised, why Jacob should not have immediately gone to his father to Hebron (where probably he resided at the time, chap. xxxv. 27), we would say that Jacob may have paid one or more *visits* to his father, either from Shechem or even from Succoth, without the circumstance being expressly mentioned in the narrative. From chap. xxxv. 8, compared with chap. xxiv. 59, we gather at any rate that soon after his return Jacob must have come into immediate contact with the house of his father, for, according to chap. xxxv., we find the nurse of Rebekah, who in chap. xxiv. had been in the house of Isaac, now in that of Jacob. But Jacob no longer subordinated his own household to that of his father, because in virtue of God's leadings HE had now been constituted the representative of the promise, while after Isaac had bestowed the blessing upon Jacob, his work, so far as he was the representative of the promise, was finished.

JACOB A PILGRIM IN THE HOLY LAND.

§ 82. (Gen. xxxiv.)—During the stay in the neighbourhood of Shechem, *Dinah*, the daughter of Jacob by Leah, was tempted to go out to see the daughters of the land. Her presumption was soon punished. Shechem, the son of Hamor, prince of the country, carried her away and defiled her (1.) But his heart clave to the girl, and he sought by every means to gain the consent of her relatives to his marriage with her. At his request, Hamor goes to the tent of Jacob to ask for her. Jacob, deeply grieved by the tidings of this disgrace, was silent, waiting for the return of his absent sons, the brothers of Dinah by the same mother. But they were incensed to the utmost, and had resolved on taking bloody revenge. However, they cunningly dissemble any manifestations of their resentment, and, when Hamor and Shechem, ready to make any sacrifice, in friendly and cordial suggestion insist that their two families and tribes should intermarry, they appear to consent to the proposition. They only make the condition that all the men of Shechem should be cir-

circumcised. Affection lends Shechem eloquence, and by an exaggerated representation of the advantages resulting from such an alliance, he succeeds in inducing all the citizens of Shechem to undergo circumcision. But on the third day, when the fever connected with the operation rendered them incapable of defending themselves, Simeon and Levi, at the head of a troop of their servants, fall upon the city, and, without the knowledge or consent of Jacob, slay all the males, spoil the city, and take all their wives and children captives (2.) In reply to the apprehensions, the complaints, and the reproaches of Jacob, they only say, "should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?" (3.)

(1.) *Bohlen*, in his Comment., p. 327, declares that according to the chronological data of the text, *Dinah* could, at the time of this occurrence, have only been *six or seven years old*. But the gross mistake of this statement is evident (comp. *Hengstenberg*, Contrib. iii., p. 352, &c., and *Reinke*, Contrib., p. 98, &c.) According to chap. xxx. 31—24, *Dinah* and *Joseph* were about the same age. Again, from chap. xxxvii. 2, it appears that *Joseph* was *at least* seventeen years old when he was sold into Egypt. But the only transaction intervening in point of time between the seduction of *Dinah* and the selling of *Joseph* was the journey from Shechem to Bethel, and from thence to Mamre (chap. xxxv.) We may therefore, without any difficulty, assume that *Dinah* was fifteen or sixteen years old when carried away by Shechem (a statement with which *Lengerke* also agrees, v. Canaan i., p. 320.) Further, it tallies with these dates that between the birth of *Dinah* and her seduction, six years of servitude on the part of Jacob, a protracted stay at Succoth, where Jacob had built him an house, and at Shechem, where he had purchased ground and regularly settled, had intervened. It is also well known that in the East the puberty of females takes place in their twelfth year, or even earlier (comp. *Niebuhr*, Description of Arabia, p. 72.) The statement of *Josephus* (Antiq. i., 21, 1) that a feast of the Shechemites had been the occasion of the thoughtless and blameworthy excursion of *Dinah* is not improbable. The city of Shechem had not existed at the time of Abraham, as in chap. xii. 6 we only read of "the place of Shechem." Hence it is probable that Hamor had founded the city, and called it after his son Shechem (comp. Genesis iv. 27-) 17 Its inhabitants were by descent Hivites.

(3.) Even from the relation between Laban and Rebekah as described in chap. xxiv. v. 50, 55, &c., we gather that besides the father, the *sons by the same mother* had a decisive voice in

the marriage of their sister. Hence Jacob awaits the return of his sons, and leaves the decision to them. *J. D. Michaelis*, in his *Notes ad h. l.*, p. 152, very properly reminds us of an opinion still entertained in the East, as applying to the case under consideration. "In those countries it is thought that a brother is more dishonoured by the seduction of his sister than a man by the infidelity of his wife: for, say the Arabs, a man may divorce his wife, and then she is no longer his; while sister and daughter remain always sister and daughter" (comp. *Arvieux*, *Remarkable Inform.* i., p. 130; *Niebuhr*, *Descrip.*, p. 39.) It was this view which also led to the murder committed by Absalom (2 Sam. xiii. 28.) We account for the readiness with which the men of Shechem submitted to the rite of circumcision by supposing that this religious symbol had at the time been generally known and recognised among the heathen. Of course it is understood, without any express mention to that effect, that the two brothers Simeon and Levi had attacked the city, not by themselves alone, but at the head of a number of their servants. Hence, the remark of *Tuch* (p. 476) is, to say the least, trifling. "Imperceptibly the narrative introduces here the idea of a tribe as connected with Simeon and Levi, as the sack of a city could not have been accomplished by two men." Even if the author of Genesis had composed or elaborated only myths, we could scarcely imagine that he would have so wretchedly forgotten his part. In order correctly to *understand* and to *judge this deed of vengeance* it is not enough to measure it by abstract moral principle; it must be regarded in its relation to the calling of Israel and of his sons. For manifestly the vengeance of the sons is not merely excited by *that* wrong which would have called forth the indignation of any brother whose sister had been dishonoured, but their speeches and conduct clearly show that they were conscious that a peculiar dishonour had been brought upon Israel. Besides the violation of the natural right of hospitality, they felt as if a wrong had been committed against the calling and the peculiar position of their race, which, in their opinion, deserved a punishment much more sharp and relentless than any ordinary offence (comp. verses 7, 14, and 31.) Regarding themselves and their family as the chosen of God, as distinguished from all other nations, and as the representatives of the promise, even the proposal of the Hivites, who placed themselves on the same level with them, would offend, while the wrong committed would call forth every feeling of injured pride. Besides, we have to remember the passionateness of their natural character, the thoughtlessness of their youth (they would probably be between nineteen and twenty-one), which is the age when man first becomes self-conscious, and when his impetuosity is most violent, and lastly the help-

lessness of their father, who seemed to be wholly absorbed by grief, and ready humbly to bow under this severe discipline, a circumstance which in their passion would excite them the more to take vengeance into their own hands. It should not be forgotten that a generous indignation, and a praiseworthy zeal for the honour of the house of their father and of his high calling, had no small share in their resolution. But in measure as this zeal was laudable must we reprobate the wicked stratagem and the abominable cruelty which they displayed in manifesting it. Here we descry, in the sons of Jacob, the same unholy mixture of spirit and of flesh, as formerly in their father Jacob—the same ungodly attempts at self-deliverance—the same lying and deceit by which, as being apparently connected with the interests and purposes of the Divine calling, God himself is dishonoured and as it were drawn into partnership with human perversity. As, when by low trickery Jacob had gained the blessing of his father, so here also there was "*periculum in mora*," and the danger appeared even more great and imminent. How were they to avoid complying with the requests of the Hivites to become one people with them, since the first decisive step to it had already been taken? It was impossible to regain Dinah by open contest and to take from the Hivite prince all desire after a connection with the house of Jacob. Under these circumstances they have recourse to a stratagem. And, as formerly the deceit of Jacob, so now the iniquity of his sons, is, in the hand of Him who directs all things and knows to subordinate to His purposes even the sins of man, made the means for cutting the knot which human perverseness had made. As the cunning of Jacob forms a prototype of the future national character, so now also the carnal pride of the sons in their pre-eminence over the heathen indicates one of the main characteristics of the Jewish people at a later period. In this respect *O. v. Gerlach* aptly remarks (ad h. l.): "A history like this brings typically before us all the aberrations caused during the course of history, when the belief in the high pre-eminence of Israel was in a carnal manner cherished by carnally-minded men. The feeling that they were the sons of Jacob, the chosen race, that any violation of their honour must be more terribly revenged than in the case of others, and that not even submission to the rite of circumcision could atone for it, appears to have mainly influenced the conduct of the sons of Jacob." Especially does it manifest itself in the later history of the tribe of Levi, how this mixture of holy and of carnal zeal had descended from the ancestor to his posterity, and at the same time most strikingly does it appear how successfully the training of God tended towards converting the natural character of this tribe, sanctifying the fire of its calling, and

consuming the dross by discipline and punishment, by patience and mercy (comp. Exod. ii. 12, xxxii. 26—28; Levit. x. 3; Numb. xvi.; Deut. xxxiii. 9, and also *Heim's Medit.* i., p. 430, &c.) Nor should we lose sight of the circumstance that the text impartially represents the contrast between the natural amiability, trustfulness, and friendliness of Hamor and Shechem on the one hand, and the fanaticism, the cruelty, and the deceit of Simeon and Levi on the other. Thus, the sin of the latter appears only the greater, while the Divine mercy and wisdom also becomes more manifest. The outward amiability of those who were inwardly destitute and empty of grace could not impose on Him, nor did the fearful perverseness of them who had been inwardly endowed induce Him, in the development of salvation, to turn away from those that had been called and chosen. The contrast in this transaction is similar to that formerly observed between honest Esau and cunning Jacob.

Lastly, it is also necessary to remember that it was doubtless one of the *secondary purposes*, in the narrative of this transaction, to account from the first (comp. Gen. xxxv. 22) for the later exclusion of the brothers Simeon and Levi from the rights of primogeniture (Gen. xlix. 5—7.)

(3.) The circumstance that Jacob could not, even to the day of his death, get rid of his deep abhorrence of the fanatical cruelty of his sons, and that, in his prophetic inspiration, it breaks forth even at that time like a river long pent up (Gen. xlix. 5—7), shows how deep the impression must have been upon his mind. *Hengstenberg* very properly explains (*Contrib.* iii., p. 535) why the text only mentions (verse 30) that Jacob had reproached his sons rather for the supposed dangerous consequences of their deed than for its moral deserts. He notices that the text is specially intended to show the protection of God (chap. xxxv. 5), through which Jacob escaped the evil consequences of their conduct. In our objective view of the transaction, it must be remembered that this misdeed was treason against the calling of the chosen race, according to which Israel was to be the *medium of blessing and salvation for all nations*.

§ 83. (Gen. xxxv.)—While Jacob was full of apprehension about the consequences of the iniquity committed by his sons, and in his helplessness did not know what to do, God admonished him to journey towards Bethlehem, in order to pay his vow (1.) Having first purified his household, the patriarch obeyed this behest (2.) The terror of God was upon the cities round about, and under this protection he reached, unharmed, *Bethel*, where,

in fulfilment of his vow, he built an altar. There God again appeared to him, and once more gave him the name *Israel*, at the same time renewing the threefold promise contained in the patriarchal blessing (§ 71.) In the place where God had appeared to him, Jacob set up a pillar of stone, and again called the name of it *Bethel*. Here Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah, died (3.) But a more heavy loss was to befall him, when on the journey from Bethel to Ephrath. Rachel died in giving birth to her second son, whom *she* called Benoni, but *his father* Benjamin. Jacob erected a monument in the place where the remains of his beloved wife were laid to rest. Thence Israel journeyed towards *Migdal-Eder*, where he was afflicted by the incest of *Reuben*, his first-born, with Bilhah. Jacob heard it, and was silent (5.) From there the patriarch journeyed to his father Isaac, to Mamre, where he settled. Soon afterwards his *father died*, and Esau came to bury him in company with his brother (6.)

(1.) Jacob was now in circumstances similar to those under which, thirty years before, he had to flee from the vengeance of his brother Esau. As then, so now, he had to *escape*, for he could only have *remained*, in the face of the dangers threatening him, if they had not been occasioned by his own conduct. But the mercy of God changed the *flight from Sychem* into a *pilgrimage to Bethel*. In itself the Divine command (to go to Bethel) implied a Divine assurance in this danger; for if God calls him to Bethel, He would surely bring him safely thither. But the *place* to which he was directed to go conveyed even more fully this assurance, for *in Bethel* he had found a refuge with God at the time of his first trouble, and to render his faith the more easy, God reminds him of the mercy hitherto shown him, by adding, in verse 1, "when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother." In Bethel Jacob is to pay the vow, which, thirty years before, he had made in the same place. It seems, indeed, strange that the patriarch should not have done so before, since the conditions of the vow had been fulfilled ten years ago. Although some external and internal impediments might have stood in the way, we can scarcely acquit Jacob from guilty dilatoriness in this matter. From verse 2 we gather that Jacob clearly understood that before making the promised *positive* dedication in Bethel, it was necessary that it should be preceded by a *negative* dedication in Sychem, in the way of instituting an energetic and thorough reformation in his household. But he

wanted the joyousness and strength necessary for this, till it was imparted to him in consequence of the call of God. The patriarch now expressly founds the demand which he makes upon his household to purify themselves, by appealing, in verse 3, to a Divine command.

(2.) In his present *dangerous position*, Jacob and all his household were entirely cast upon the help of God. It was then also that he felt how necessary it was wholly to dedicate himself and his family to that God who was now to be his sole stay, and to remove, root and branch, all the remainder of heathenism, all that was left of the idolatry which, secretly carried along with them from Mesopotamia, had probably been increased through some of the spoil taken at Sychem (chap. xxxiv. 29.) The purification demanded, consisted in the giving up of the Tera-*phim*, and of the charms which Jacob buried under an oak (a Terebinth), which, on that account, ever afterwards bore the name of "the oak of the magicians" (Judges ix. 6 and 37.) The washing and changing of garments by which this was followed, negatively and positively, indicated a separation from the past and a dedication to something new.

(3.) THE THIRTY YEARS OF PILGRIMAGE WHICH INTERVENED BETWEEN THE TWO VISITS OF JACOB TO BETHEL were now fulfilled. His *first* stay at Bethel stands to his second, as it were, in the relation of the commencement to the (relative) end, and of prophecy to (relative) fulfilment. The counsel of salvation, so far as it was meant to manifest itself in the life of Jacob, had now reached its acme; and when brought into connection with the departure from that city, the return to Bethel forms a harmonious close. *Then* the Lord had appeared to him *in vision*; *now*, Jacob beholds him in a state of *wakefulness* (verse 13: "God went up from him.") Even this implies a progress from prediction to fulfilment, as the dream which is the consequence of Divine influence, constitutes the prophetic type of waking realisation. Then, God had promised to protect, to bless, and to bring back *him*, who, poor and forsaken, had to flee the land; now, this prediction is richly fulfilled—Jacob has returned unscathed to the Holy Land, the rich proprietor of large flocks, the lord of many servants and maids. Then, Jacob had solemnly vowed a vow; now, he pays it. Then, God had set him apart, that salvation might be developed through him, and invested him with the threefold blessing of the covenant-promise. So far as it could be fulfilled, this promise is now fulfilled in Jacob, for the *land of promise* is open to him, and already a typical commencement of its real possession (even in the sight of man) has been made. The seed of promise has appeared in the fulness of the first stage of its development; for Rachel is about to bear

that son in whom the significant number of twelve is to be perfected, and even the development of the idea of salvation has attained its preparatory and relative fulfilment since Jacob has become Israel. But it is not less apparent that the circumstances connected with the return to Bethel, which, when compared with the departure from that place, are a fulfilment and completion, are, in themselves, not an absolute but only a relative and preparatory fulfilment, and hence that they are at the same time only the prediction of, and the substratum for, a yet higher future fulfilment. For, God here renews the former blessing of the promise in its threefold reference to salvation itself, to the land as the place of salvation, and to the promised seed as the medium of salvation. Thus it clearly appears, that the perfect fulfilment was as yet future, and that the present was only preparatory, not final. God also bestows again upon him *that* name which indicates his peculiar relation to salvation and to God, and this is done without any reference to the circumstance, that he had already before borne that name, just as if it had now been bestowed for the first time. From this we infer that the relation indicated by this name had not yet attained its final completion, and that Jacob, who, ten years before, had become Israel, was still as little advanced in his development as if he had but newly become Israel. The renewal of this name showed that the way in which Jacob is perfectly to become Israel, was far-reaching, and that, like the promise of salvation itself, it would only become reality in the succeeding generations of his descendants. Again, the circumstance that this repetition of the name now forms the basis of a renewal of the threefold promise, proves that the perfect fulfilment of this promise is co-relative, and dependent on the perfect exhibition of that which the name Israel indicates. Further, as God renews the name of Israel, which indicates the relation of Jacob to God, so Jacob renews that of *Bethel*, which expresses the relation of God to him, *the dwelling of God* in and among the seed of Jacob. The *renewal of this name* also expresses the consciousness that God is yet to become in much higher degree an El-Bethel.

In Bethel, *Deborah*, the nurse of Rebekah, died, and was buried under an oak which obtained the name of "*oak of mourning*." She had accompanied Rebekah from Mesopotamia to Canaan (Gen. xxiv. 59), and had (after the death of her mistress probably), taken up her abode with Rebekah's favourite son. Her decease is mentioned in order to shew in what high esteem this aged servant was held in the house of Jacob. The oak which indicated her grave preserved her memory to succeeding generations (comp. Judges ii. 1 ; iv. 5 ; probably also 1 Sam. x. 3. Comp. also *Leugetke* i. p. 322.)

It has been thought strange that Jacob should so soon have left Bethel, when the divine command (as recorded in verse 1) had been: "arise, go up to Bethel and *dwell there*." But the connection distinctly shews that, by these terms, it had not been meant to convey that Jacob should continue to dwell there. The "dwell there" serves only as basis for the direction, "make an altar there."

(4.) Rachel died (verse 16) after Jacob had left Bethel, and was "a little way from Ephrath" ("a little piece of ground," com. *Gesenius* Thes., p. 658), and she was buried "in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem." At the time of Samuel, the pillar, which Jacob had erected to her memory, still existed, 1 Sam. x. 2. From that period to the fourth century we have no express or independent mention of it. But since then, the place of her burial, as fixed by an unbroken tradition, has been pointed out in a spot half an hour to the north of Bethlehem, which at present is covered by a Turkish chapel, called Kubbet Rachil. Till lately this has not been called in question. Even *Robinson*, who commonly is not ready to believe monkish traditions, does not suggest (vol. i., pp. 218 and 219) any doubt, "since it is fully supported by the circumstances of the Scripture narrative." But latterly some opponents of this tradition (*Thenius* in *Käuffer's* Bibl. Studies ii., p. 143, &c., and *Gross* in *Tholuck's* Lit. Anz. for 1846, No. 54; comp. also *Lengerke* i., p. 324, note) have brought forward irrefragable arguments against this tradition. First of all, it cannot be reconciled with 1 Sam. x. 2, which places the grave of Rachel between the cities of Ramah and Gibeah, on the borders of the possession of Benjamin; for, according to this passage, it must have lain to the north and not to the south of Jerusalem. *Thenius* regards the addition of the words, "which is Bethlehem," after Ephrath, in Gen. xxxv. 19, and similarly in Gen. xlviii. 7, indeed all these geographical explanations, as so many later glossaries and attempts to shew that the situation and name of the Ephrath of Genesis agrees with the Ephraim of 2 Sam. xiii. 23, or the Ephron of 2 Chron. xiii. 19—the present Yebrud, which lies about two German miles to the south of Sinjil (according to *Thenius* = Bethel.) *Gross*, on the other hand, maintains the correctness of the statement in Genesis xxxv. 19 and xlvii. 7, that Ephrath is = Bethlehem. Still he finds the grave of Rachel not in the immediate neighbourhood of Bethlehem, which is at any rate contradicted by 1 Sam. x. 2, but in the neighbourhood of Ramah (er-Ram, situate a German mile to the north of Jerusalem), as indicated by Jeremiah xxxi. 15. We agree with the conclusion of *Gross*, inasmuch as the indefinite statement in Genesis, that her grave was "a piece of ground" (longi-

tudo terræ) distant from Eplrath (= Bethlehem), implies rather a longer than a shorter distance; and the reason why the more distant Bethlehem was mentioned may have been that the Migdal Eder, near Bethlehem, was the next station where Jacob sojourned for a length of time. Besides, Jeremiah xxxi. 15 certainly implies that it had been in the immediate neighbourhood of Ramah. Against the view of *Thenius* we may urge that Yebrud is too close by Sinjil (= Bethel), and that the statement in Gen. xxxv. 19 is too readily set aside as a mere glossary. We are willing to admit that these words, as uttered by Jacob in Genesis xlviii. 7, appear to be wholly out of place, and hence merely a glossary; but this remark does not apply to Genesis xxxv. 19, whence a later copyist may readily have transferred them to Genesis xlviii. 7. Besides, Micah v. 1 prove the identity of Eplra or Ephrath with Bethlehem.

(5.) The *incest of Reuben* is mentioned in order to account for his exclusion from the privileges of primogeniture. This sin was committed in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, at Migdal Eder, "a tower of the flock," probably originally a tower whence the flocks were watched. Comp. Micah iv. 8 and *Hengstenberg's* Christol. iii., p. 270, &c.

(6.) The *death of Isaac* is here narrated "per prolepsin," for Jacob was 120 years old when Isaac died at the age of 180. But in the following section it is related that Jacob was only 108 years old when, at the age of 17, Joseph was sold into Egypt. The death of Isaac took place ten years before Israel and his sons went into Egypt (Gen. xlvii. 9.) Comp. *Tuch* Comm., p. 495, &c.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH.

§ 84. (Gen. xxxvii. 1—11.)—Joseph, the first-born son of the beloved Rachel, was the favourite of his father. The depth of his soul, the contemplativeness of his character, and his general amiability, increased the affection of aged Jacob the more, that the passionate roughness and perversity of his other sons caused him only grief. It is more than probable that he had intended to transfer to Joseph the rights of primogeniture, as no doubt he had already resolved to punish the three eldest sons of Leah for their iniquities by depriving them of its privileges. Already was he distinguished from his brethren by a *peculiar dress*. Their hatred and envy, excited by this, only increased when the lad, who grew up among them as a shepherd boy, kept his father

informed of their many evil deeds of which he was an eye-witness. This resentment reached its climax when in childish thoughtlessness, perhaps not without some addition of self-exaltation, Joseph related to his brothers those strange *dreams*, which only too clearly declared his future elevation above them and above the whole house of their father. Even Jacob himself was induced to reprove him ; still he revolved these dreams in his heart.

(1.) The idea of transferring to Joseph the rights of primogeniture, and of thus making him chief of the family, and the centre for the development of salvation, might occur the more readily to Jacob, since Joseph was really the first-born of his *chosen* wife, and he was on other grounds so much preferable to any of the sons of Leah. Probably the distinguishing *dress* (כְּתוֹנֶת פָּסִים, LXX : χιτὼν ποικίλος, Vulg. tunica polymita, but more correctly *Gesenius*: tunica manicata et talaris, pertinens ad פָּסִים, i.e., usque ad manus plantasque pedum—genus tunicae a pueris puellisque nobilioribus et regii gestatum, 2 Sam. xiii. 18) was meant to express this intention.

The two DREAMS are based on the rustic and pastoral life of the patriarchal family. The first (in which the sheaves of his brothers make obeisance to that of Joseph) implies that Jacob, who had now chosen Hebron (where he lived for about twenty years) for his place of residence, had, besides rearing cattle, tilled the ground also, following in this the example of Isaac. The second dream (in which the sun, the moon, and the eleven stars make obeisance to Joseph) is entirely based on the nomadic circumstances of the family. In the absence of other reliable means of judging, the result alone could show whether these dreams had been sent by God or not. *Possibly*, they might have been the effect of vanity and self-exaltation on the part of a boy whose mind was excited by tokens of external distinction. Hence Jacob may have deemed it his duty to reprove him, especially as the second dream conveyed the idea of exaltation over his father and mother also, and thus implied so much that was strange and apparently contrary to the ways of God, that, despite his likings and his hopes, Jacob could not see his way in it. Following *Tuch*, *Lengerke* suggests i., p. 332: "that the passage in question is another chronological inconsistency on the part of the writer, since, as v. 10 implies, the dream is supposed to have taken place during Rachel's lifetime." We admit that the suggestion of some interpreters who suppose that the term "mother" referred to Leah, or to Bilhah (as the substitute of Rachel) is

erroneous. But then it is well known that such chronological inconsistencies frequently occur in dreams. To make the symbol complete, it was necessary not only to speak of the sun, but of the moon; and this very reference to the departed mother must have increased Jacob's doubts about the second dream. Nor did the symbol refer to Rachel as an individual, but rather as the representative of an idea, and if the prophet could call her up from her grave, to weep on the heights of Ramah, about the calamities of her children (Jeremiah xxxi. 15), she may in this prophetic dream have in the same manner been represented as with her husband making obeisance to Joseph, who appears exalted to the highest dignity. In point of fact, we here descry for the first time a prophetic anticipation that the salvation which was to issue from this family, should be such, that its members, and even its ancestors, should bend before it and worship.

In reference to the CHARACTER of *Joseph*, even this capacity for *prophetic* dreams, discloses an internal depth, which renders him conversant with the mysteries of the life of the soul, and a heart and mind open to the influences of higher spiritual realities. Again, the artlessness and openness with which he relates his dreams, shews childlike simplicity, and the zeal with which he carries to his father any evil report that had been raised against his brothers, proves his consciousness of, and the deep interest he felt in, the honour of his house. His relation towards his father also gives evidence of an affectionate, confiding, and kindly nature. If we feel that at the time Joseph was the fairest and the purest flower in the household of Jacob, and that even at an early period his high destination manifested itself by way of anticipation, we are also fully alive to the dangers to which such a character, during its development, and in the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, was naturally exposed. How easily might the well-grounded preference of his father exercise an injurious influence on the formation of his character! How readily might his confiding kindness assume the appearance of hateful flattery, or his zeal for the honour of his family change into a self-righteous love of accusation, or his child-like openness and simplicity be coupled with vain self-confidence and pride! If, on the one hand, we keep in mind how soon sin and selfishness, like a destroying canker, attack even what is noblest, and if, on the other hand, we carefully weigh the hints thrown out in the text, we shall acknowledge that, in the present instance, these dangers were not merely possible at a future period, but that they had already in part become realities, and the bright glass of his childish soul already become dim by such spots. This is indicated by the serious reproof which Jacob himself administered

(verse 10) and by the remark of verse 8, that his brothers hated him, for his dreams *and for his words*, an expression which seems to imply that it was not only the dream itself, but the manner in which Joseph related it, that had deepened the hatred of his brothers. From all this we shall gather how necessary it was that Joseph should be removed from these circumstances and trained in a school where only the germ of what was really great and noble could grow, and where all weeds would be destroyed—we mean the *school of sufferings and of affliction*.

§ 85. (Gen. xxxvii. 12, &c.)—At last an occasion offered to the brothers of Joseph to give full vent and satisfaction to their ill-concealed hatred of him. While they tended the cattle near *Sychem*, at a distance from Hebron, Jacob sent him to enquire about the welfare of his brothers and about the state of the flocks. Joseph finds that they have left *Sychem* and are gone to *Dothan* (1.) *When* ~~Whenever~~ his brothers descry him in the distance their anger is violently roused. Already they consult to kill him, in order to render the fulfilment of his dreams thoroughly impossible; but Reuben opposes this measure. Not to imbrue their hands in the blood of their brother, they follow Reuben's advice, and cast him into an *empty cistern*, with the intention of letting him die by hunger. After that they sit down to eat and to drink (2.) But lo! a caravan of *Arabian merchants* passes by that way into Egypt. The proposal of Judah to sell the lad into slavery, meets with universal acceptance. They draw him out of the pit and dispose of him for the miserable sum of *twenty shekel*. Thus the youth departs with his owners to Egypt—only a distant view of the heights of Hebron where his father, suspecting no evil, awaits the return of his favourite, is granted him on his journey to the land of his bondage. (3.) *Reuben* had only given the advice to his brothers in order to rescue the lad from their bloody revenge; he had not been present when Joseph was sold. In deep grief he rends his garments when, on his return, he finds him no longer in the cistern. But the other brothers dip Joseph's coat in the blood of a kid, and send it to Jacob, who weeps over the supposed death of his son and refuses to be comforted.

(1.) The circumstance that while Jacob lives in Hebron (verse

14) he sends a portion of his flocks to pasture in the *neighbourhood of Sychem*, is accounted for on the supposition that he had purchased a part of that district. Nor can it appear strange that he should send a lad of seventeen years alone from Hebron to Sychem, a distance of about twelve German miles, when we remember that Joseph had been brought up there, and hence knew the country, that he was accustomed to a nomadic life, and would feel no apprehension in undertaking the journey. Perhaps the circumstance may also shew that now at least Jacob no longer spoiled his favourite. It is impossible accurately to determine the exact situation of *DOTHAN* or *Dothain* = double cistern. The fact that a caravan passed that way (verse 25), and the statement in Judith iii. 9 (*ἦλθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἐσδρηλάν πλησίον τῆς Δωραίας*) shew that it must have lain where the mountain of Ephraim slopes into the plain of Jezreel. With this also agree the statements of *Eusebius* and *Hieronymus*, who place it twelve Roman miles to the north of Samaria (Sebaste.)

(2.) The description which Diodorus Sic. xix. 94 gives of the *CISTERNS* common among the Nabathean Arabs may probably, in its general features, also apply to those in Palestine. He says: "This district, although destitute of water, forms a secure retreat for them, as they have made in the earth regularly built and plastered cisterns. For this purpose they dig deep caverns in the ground, which consists either of mould or of soft stones, and make them very narrow at the mouth increasing in breadth as they descend, till at the bottom they attain a width of one hundred feet at each side. These reservoirs are filled with rain water; then the mouth is closed, so that they appear equally level with the rest of the soil. But they leave some mark which they alone know, and which is not observed by others." Thus cisterns when empty, or only covered with mud at the bottom, might also serve as temporary prisons, Jeremiah xxxviii. 6, xl. 15. *Robinson* found in the neighbourhood of Safed the ruined Khân Jubb-Yûsuf—the Khan of Joseph's pit (ii. p. 418 and 419.¹) Considering what we have already said of the position of Dothan, it is evident that this tradition is erroneous.

(3.) According to chap. xxxvii. 25 and 27, and chap. xxxix. 1, the *CARAVAN* which brought Joseph to Egypt consisted of Ishmaelites; while in chap. xxxvii. 28, they are called Midianites, and in verse 36 Medanites. In the same manner these and kindred names are confounded and promiscuously used in Judges vi. 1, &c., compared with chap. viii. 21, 24, 26. (Comp. espe-

¹ It is scarcely necessary to remark that *Robinson* does not identify this Khan with the pit of Joseph.—THE TR.

cially *Drechsler's* Unity of Genesis, p. 251, &c.) These three races were all descendants of Abraham, the former by Hagar, the latter two by Keturah. "All these wild branches of the race to which the promise belonged, spread along the extensive plains of the East (Gen. xvi. 12, xxv, 6) and were by and by comprised under the vague name of 'sons of the East,' having the same origin, living in similar relations and circumstances, and thus engaged in the same occupation, and that occupation unfavourable to settling in any one place. These continual changes and migrations only increased the common national character of all these races, which had a certain amount of wildness and restlessness, of scattering and commingling about it. Under such circumstances we are not surprised to find that they were not accurately distinguished and separated, but that individual tribes and names merged into each other." *Lengerke* (i. p. 333) supposes that if Ishmael had been really the son of Abraham, the Ishmaelites could not at that time have already been a trading nation. But one hundred and forty-five years had passed since the birth of Ishmael, during which time they may have greatly increased and spread, especially if we suppose, what is supported by other grounds, that they had received into their race the original inhabitants of the district which they occupied. But even these suppositions are not necessary; the facts of the case are simply as represented by *Hävernich*, *Introd.* i. 2, p. 381. The author uses the names of the most commercial people of his time, in order generally to indicate "Arabian merchants." The very confusion among the names sufficiently shews that he did not care, with diplomatic accuracy, to distinguish the origin of these races. As Joseph had not yet reached the age of manhood, the merchants did not pay for him thirty shekel, the common *price* of a slave, but twenty, which is exactly the sum mentioned in Lev. xxvii. 5 for a lad between five and twenty years. The caravan took the common *road* which led from the spice-district of Gilead to Egypt. It crossed the Jordan below the sea of Galilee, passed over the plain of Jezreel, and thence continued along the sea shore to Egypt.

(4.) In this transaction the harshness and cruelty of THE BROTHERS OF JOSEPH appeared in its full extent. Among them, however, Reuben and Judah occupy a different position, as being unwilling to consent to the murderous intention of the others. Nor should we forget that although these two brothers were equally injured with Simeon and Levi, by the seduction of Dinah, they did not join them in the slaughter of the inhabitants of Shechem. These circumstances seem to indicate that they were less rough and cruel. *Reuben* intends to deliver Joseph from the vengeance of his brothers, and secretly to send him back

to his father. But we are not warranted in assuming, with *Baumgarten*, p. 309 (who in this respect follows Luther), that Reuben had been humbled by his fall (the incest with Billah), and therefore was less hard-hearted than the rest. The circumstance is sufficiently accounted for by natural kindness which might have existed alongside with that sin, and by this, that, as the first born, Reuben would feel himself more particularly responsible to his father. *Judah* also wished to preserve the life of Joseph, but he agrees with his other brothers in deeming it necessary that he should be removed, so that thereby the possibility of having his dreams realised should be set aside. As they probably thought that the realisation of these dreams was dependent on his investiture with the rights of primogeniture, it appeared the most sure means of attaining their object to sell him as a slave into a distant country.

Thus, we conclude with *Ranke* (*Invest. i.*, p. 262) : “The narrative has now reached the point, when it seems as if the direct contrary of Joseph’s former prophetic dreams should take place. He whose superiority his parents and brothers were to acknowledge, now lives as a slave in a foreign land. This dissonance was to continue unresolved, even as the burden of grief was for many years to weigh upon his old father without being removed. Joseph no longer exists for the house of his father. Later incidents are now most aptly inserted into the narrative.”

INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF JUDAH’S FAMILY.

§ 86. (*Gen. xxxviii.*)—About *this time*, Judah separated from his brethren, and lived in *Adullum*, where he entered into friendly relations with a man of the name of Hirah, and married Shuah, a Canaanite (1.) His wife bore him three sons, *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. When Er, his first-born, had grown up, he gave him *Tamar*, a Canaanite, to wife. But Er was wicked in the sight of Jehovah, and He slew him. As Er had died without children, Judah, according to ancient custom, obliged his second son to marry his brother’s widow. But Onan, who was anxious to secure the rights of primogeniture for himself, and for a son of his own name, frustrated the object in view by an unnatural abomination (2), wherefore Jehovah slew him also. Judah, who probably ascribed these deaths to hostile magic influence on the part of Tamar, wished to preserve his third son from the same danger, and hence, on certain pretences, delayed

the marriage with Shelah. But Tamar, to whom connection with the house of Jacob seemed of too great importance to renounce it, seeks to right herself in her own way. The son being refused to her, she knew to gain the father (3.) Meantime, Judah's wife had died. The days of mourning being passed, Judah went up unto his sheep-shearing, to *Tinnath*. Hearing of this Tamar sits down, dressed as an *harlot*, at the gate of *Enajim*, by the way which Judah has to pass. Her device is successful. Judah, in payment, promises her a kid from the flock, and as a pledge leaves with her his bracelets and his staff (4.) Hirah, whom Judah sends to redeem these pledges, of course returns unsuccessful, as nobody in the place knew anything about such a harlot. But three months afterwards Judah is informed that Tamar is with child. Being the bride of his third son, she incurs the charge of *adultery*, and Judah, probably too glad to find an opportunity of getting rid of her, as head of the family, and in the exercise of strictest law, adjudges her to *be burned*. But Tamar sent him the pledges he had given her, and with them the message: "By the man whose these are am I with child." Judah then acknowledged his double wrong. He said: "She hath been more righteous than I;" but he knew her again no more (5.) Under circumstances which made the birth very difficult, she bore twin children, *Pharez* and *Zarah* (6.)

(1.) The indication of the time when this event took place—"and it came to pass at that time"—does not render it *necessary* to suppose that the MARRIAGE OF JUDAH succeeded the sale of Joseph. Hence *Drechsler* (l. c., p. 258) assumes that verses 1 to 11 of this chapter took place before the removal of Joseph; and *Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 316) calculates that "Judah separated from his brethren in the thirtieth year of his age, three years after the return of Jacob, and when he lived in Sychem, five years before the seduction of Dinah, and eight years before the selling of Joseph" (?) Notwithstanding the conclusive argumentation of *Hengstenberg* (*Contrib.* iii., p. 354, &c.), who shows that the two sons of Pharez, Hezron and Hamul (in chap. xlvi. 12), had only been born in Egypt (comp. our remarks in § 92), *Baumgarten* supposes that they were born in Canaan, and is therefore constrained to place chap. xxxviii. 1 and 2 so many years before Joseph was sold into Egypt, and to assume a number of other glaring improbabilities, in order to comprise three

generations within the space of thirty years. Accordingly Judah must marry when thirteen years old, and at the age of sixteen he has two sons. Er must also have married when thirteen years old, and when his father was only twenty-seven, and Onan, only after the lapse of another year, when he had attained the same age as his brother. Again, Judah must have begotten Pharez and Zarah when he was twenty-nine years old, in order that Pharez, when in his thirteenth year, or when Judah had reached the age of forty-three years—which is the period when the family passed into Egypt—may have had Hezron and Hamul, who are supposed to have been twins. (?) But we maintain that Hezron and Hamul were born in Egypt, and that the marriage of Judah had only taken place after Joseph had been sold into Egypt. The former we shall prove in § 92, 2; the latter appears, not so much from the chronological indications in verse 1, as from the context generally. In itself, it is highly improbable that at the early age of thirteen, Judah should have left his father and his brothers, have commenced a household of his own and married, the more so when we remember that in chap. xxxvii. Joseph, who at that time was seventeen years old, is described as a mere lad. But the supposition of *Baumgarten* is entirely refuted by the circumstance, that Judah could not at one and the same time have, according to chap. xxxvii., lived in fellowship with his brothers and in his father's house, and yet, according to chap. xxxviii., separated from them, and kept house on his own account. For, according to chap. xxxviii., this separation and independence continued uninterrupted, at least, till after the birth of Pharez and Zarah (comp. vv. 5, 11, 12, 20, and 24.) Yet, according to *Baumgarten*, the selling of Joseph (in chap. xxxvii.) must have taken place at that very time. Probably Judah separated from his brethren immediately after Joseph's removal, and in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his life. Between that period and the time when the family passed into Egypt, twenty-two years elapsed—an interval this quite sufficient for all the events related in chap. xxxviii.

Indeed it seems to us more than probable that Judah had left his father's house, not only immediately after Joseph was sold into Egypt, but also on account of it. The continued lamentation of his father about the loss of Joseph (chap. xxxvii. vv. 34 and 35), would probably be most disagreeable to him, while the reproaches of Reuben (comp. chap. xxxvi. vv. 29, 30) against him, as the cause of this misfortune, and perhaps the admonitions of his own conscience would disturb him so long as he continued in his father's house. To get rid of all these disagreeable impressions, he separated, in a fit of impenitent anger, from his father and his brothers, set up by himself, and joined

the Canaanite, Hiral of Adullam. Supposing these statements to be correct, his after history appears in a peculiar and striking light. Such impenitent, wrathful, and perverse conduct could only lead to calamity. And retribution soon follows. The sins of the father are visited on Er, his first-born: "He was wicked before Jehovah, wherefore He slew him." His second son Onan is guilty of abominable sin, and also cut off in righteous indignation. Judah himself is guilty of fornication (idolatry?) and incest. Viewed from this point, the question whether his marriage with a Canaanite deserved implicit blame (*Drechsler*, l. c., p. 256), or whether it was allowable on account of his changed relation to the patriarchal family (*Baumgarten*, l. c., p. 317), loses its importance. For, even if we were to disapprove of such union, his perverse conduct, and his impenitent separation from his family, in which the promise rested, make the other sin appear comparatively small, subordinate and secondary. However, irrespective of any special aggravating circumstances, we generally agree with *Baumgarten*, who says: "Any connection between one of the first three patriarchs and the daughters of Canaan would be wholly improper, as the chosen family had in their time not been entirely separated. But now, when the house of Israel has been constituted, the union between a member of this family and a Canaanite no longer constitutes an absolute obstacle, preventing such an individual from sharing in the rights of the chosen race (comp. chap. xlvi. 10); for it may readily be conceived, that, notwithstanding such marriage, the family, as a whole, preserved the consciousness of its separation. But, on the other hand, such a marriage was certainly not to be approved." *Adullam* lay in the plain of Judah (Joshua xv. 35, compared with 1 Sam. xxii. 1, &c.; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13.) *Chezib*, where, according to verse 5, Judah was when his third son was born, is probably the same as Achzib, which also lay in the plain of Judah (Josh. xv. 44; Micah i. 14.)

(2.) THE MARRIAGE WITH A WIDOW, which was incumbent on the nearest relative of one who had died without leaving children, when the first-born son of the new marriage bore the name and inherited the rights of the deceased, appears from this passage to have been an ancient custom of the tribe, the observance of which was at that time even more stringent than as afterwards fixed by the Mosaic law. For, according to Deut. xxv. 7, &c. (compared with Ruth iii. 13; iv. 6, &c.), the next of kin might, under certain circumstances, avoid this duty. Of this privilege there is no trace in the present instance. Doubtless, it was the purpose of this ordinance to preserve the name, the family, and the inheritance of the deceased. It probably arose from the views of those times, when, in the absence of a clear knowledge

of a life after death, men were chiefly concerned about the hopes and prospects connected with this world, and regarded the life of a son, who had entered into the position and the rights of his father, as a continuance of that of the deceased. For further particulars, comp. below our remarks on the Mosaic laws.

(3.) We do not account for the tenacity with which TAMAR clung to her claims on the family of Judah either by her sensuality or by the reproach which attached to a barren woman. Manifestly she is anxious not only to have a child, but to have one from the *family of Judah*. And the less, by her birth as a heathen, she was entitled to any connection with the chosen race, the more jealously did she insist on the rights which marriage had given her. The same views, but in an infinitely higher and nobler form, appear under similar circumstances in the case of Ruth. However we may feel the deep aberration of Tamar, we cannot ignore that in it a higher faith was concealed, which *J. P. Lange* (Life of Jesus ii. 3, p. 1808) not inaptly designates as "an enthusiastic reverence for the theocratic in the family of Judah."

(4.) As Shelah could not have been much younger than Onan, Tamar must have felt that the direction of Judah, "remain a widow at thy father's house till Shelah my son be grown," was merely an empty pretext. She rights herself in a truly Canaanitish manner. Here also it appears how thoroughly Judah had, by separation from his father's house, and by intercourse and connection with the Canaanites, become entangled in their practices. We can scarcely believe that his sin with Tamar belonged to the category of ordinary sins of this kind. It implied—though perhaps unintentionally on his part—a conformity to the practices and habits of the Canaanitish worship of nature. Verses 21 and 23 represent Tamar as assuming the appearance and the dress of a *Kedeshah* (*i.e.* one who dedicates herself.) These females were devoted to Asherah, the representative of the female principle in the life of nature, and like the *Ambubajai* of later times went about, or sat by the road (*Jer.* iii. 2), prostituting themselves for a reward, which was given to the goddess (comp. on this practice *Mövers*, Phœnicia i., p. 679, &c.; *Leuggerke*, Canaan i., p. 253, &c.) This view of the disguise of Tamar is specially confirmed by the circumstance that according to v. 17 she asked *a kid of the goats* as her reward; for we know from other sources (*Tacitus*, *Hist.* ii. 3) that goats were chiefly sacrificed to this goddess. It may however have been, as *Tuch* supposes (*l. c.*, p. 506), that the expression *Kedeshah* in verses 21 and 22 had only "been derived from the worship of Astarte, and was retained in common parlance (*Hosea* iv. 14), as perhaps more decent than זִוְיָה, and that on this ground it is used in

verse 21, when Hiral questions the people of Enaim, and receives their reply." The *Enaim* of verse 14 is probably the same as the *Enam* of Joshua xv. 34, which lay in the plain of Judah. On *Timnah*, which must not be confounded with the Timnah of the tribe of Dan (the modern Tibneh), which lay to the east of Bethshemesh, comp. Joshua xv. 57, according to which it lay in Mount Judah.

(5.) According to Deut. xxii. verses 21 to 24, adultery—whether the woman was actually married or only a bride—was punished with *stoning*. It has been attempted to trace in our narrative the existence of this law, and suggested that Tamar was to have been first stoned and then burned, and that the law in Deuteronomy implied punishment of the same kind. But as in Genesis xxxviii. we do not read anything about stoning, nor in Deut. xxii. anything about burning, we are not warranted to have recourse to such a hypothesis. In general, the punishment of stoning was only introduced with the law, and that for certain reasons, to which we shall by and by refer. The confession of Judah, "she has been more righteous than I," seems to indicate that this formed a turning point in the life of Judah. In confirmation of this view we find him afterwards re-united with his father and brothers, and in a state of mind which implies a thorough change of heart and life. It is in this light that we regard the circumstance that he had no farther connection with Tamar.

(6.) On the remarkable circumstances attending the delivery of Tamar, comp. *J. D. Michaelis* (note ad h. l., p. 165, &c.), who adduces medical evidence about the possibility and the actual occurrence of such deliveries (comp. also the professional remarks of *Trusen*, "Diseases of the Bible," p. 57, &c., and of *Friedreich*, "Notes to the Bible" i., p. 123, &c.) The contrast between her sufferings during the delivery and her former conduct is noticeable, as shewing the special retribution of Divine Providence. Besides, the narrative is given at such length, in order to shew how, contrary to all experience and expectation, Pharez had become the first born.

(7.) *Ewald* (i., p. 433) supposes "that in this *almost jocular* (?) description of pristine events in the history of the tribe and of the race, it is impossible to mistake the real meaning. Even before the fourth narrator had thus elaborated this legend, *popular humour* may during the ninth century have taken this kind of revenge for a number of wrongs and insults on the part of members of the reigning family of David, which had sprung from this Pharez, by devising such an ancestry of the family. In direct opposition to this is the narrative in the book of Ruth, to which probably the same amount of truth attaches." Without

stopping to refute this novel discovery, we sketch the place and bearing of this chapter in the development of the history of the family. The *birth of Pharez* forms the central point of this chapter, as, according to the law, he occupied the place of the first-born of Judah. All that precedes only forms the basis for this account, and is so circumstantially narrated, only because it at the same time affords a deep insight into the personal position and the history of Judah. Again the history of Judah and of his house is of such importance, because in his prophetic blessing (Gen. xlix) Jacob assigns to Judah the sceptre of principality among the tribes of Israel; and the primogeniture of Pharez is brought out so prominently because Nahshon, the eminent prince and leader in Israel, during the journey through the wilderness, is a descendant of Pharez (Numbers ii. 3; Ruth iv. 18 to 20.) "But"—we continue with *Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 313, &c.)—"we may look beyond the natural horizon of Moses; for we do not merely say that Moses has written this account, but also that the Holy Ghost has written it. We therefore perceive in this narrative a glance into ages yet future. (Gal. iii. 8.) We call to mind that king David had sprung from Nahshon (Ruth iv. 18—22), and that Jesus of Nazareth, who was made of God both Lord and Christ, was the son of David. We are therefore now tracing the lineage of Jesus Christ, and looking forward to Him who is both the commencement and the end of all things." The narrative discloses the sins of Judah with the same openness and faithfulness as it details the moral aberrations of other patriarchs and kings, for the purpose of shewing that the high position assigned to them in the kingdom of God, and to which they were called and trained, was not due to their own virtue and excellency, but to the sovereign mercy of Him that had called them.

JOSEPH'S LOW ESTATE.

§ 87. (Gen. xxxix. and xl.)—The Ishmaelites had sold Joseph into Egypt to *Potiphar*, the captain of Pharaoh's guard. Here the conscientious and devout youth soon gained the implicit confidence of his master, who appointed him overseer of his whole house; for the blessing (1) of God visibly rested upon all that he administered. But the wife of Potiphar endeavoured, by her seductions, to entrap the fair son of Rachel. All these attempts are resisted by the youth who feared the Lord. These refusals only increased the passion of the woman. On one occa-

sion when she attempts violence, Joseph leaves his upper garment in her hands and flees. Her love now changes into equally violent hatred. She calls around her all the servants, and, shewing the garment, accuses Joseph of having attempted to seduce her (2.) In consequence, Potiphar casts his servant into prison; but there also the blessing of God follows him, and prepares him for the high calling formerly announced to him in his dreams. Joseph gains the full confidence of the keeper of the prison, and when soon afterwards two high officers of the court, the chief of the butlers and the chief of the bakers, are, by the king's command, committed to the same prison, he is, on account of his tried fidelity and ability, appointed to wait on them (3.) In one night the two officers dream each a dream, which so remarkably correspond to one another, that they are unable to conceal their sadness from not understanding what, to all appearance, were significant dreams. Joseph sympathises with them. He feels within him the prophetic gift of interpretation, and without any assumption of superior ability, requests them to communicate their dreams, and thereafter announces to the chief of the butlers his speedy restoration to office, and to the chief of the bakers his impending doom (4.)

The many references to the manners and circumstances of Egypt, which occur in the history of Joseph (chap. xxxvii. to l.) have been traced in detail by *Hengstenberg* (in his *Egypt and the Books of Moses*), and proved to be in entire accordance with the results of modern researches. Comp. also *Osburn's Ancient Egypt*, her testimony to the truth of the Bible.

(1.) The name POTIPHAR seems to be an abbreviation of the term Pothiphara, which occurs in chap. xli., verses 45 and 50. The LXX. render both by Πετεφρῆς. This corresponds to the Egyptian HETE—ΦPH, *i.e.* qui solis est, soli proprius et quasi addictus (comp. *Gesenius*, Thes. 1094), a name which, according to *Rosellini*, occurs frequently in the monuments. Potiphar is first mentioned as פְּרִיעַה קָרִים (authorised version, an officer of Pharaoh.) We cannot take this term in its literal acceptation (= eunuch), as Potiphar was married, and it is sufficiently ascertained that the expression was applied to all the servants of the court, many of whom were selected from among the eunuchs. *Gesenius* (s. h. v.) has indeed attempted to cast doubts upon this: "quum non desint exempla—eunuchorum ad coitum

et matrimonium non prorsus impotentium (for which he adduces evidence from ancient and modern writers), et in reliquis V. T. locis non pauci sint, quibus propria vocabuli potestas manifesto retinenda est." But we are not warranted in supposing this in the present instance; nor could we believe that a eunuch would have been chosen as **יֶשֶׁר הַמְּבָחִים**, which *Gesenius* himself

(p. 542) renders by "præfectus carnificum, i.e., satellitum." *Hitzig* (in his "Prinival History of the Philistines," p. 19, &c.) has indeed objected to this rendering of the word **מְבָחִים**, and stated that, although "it was the duty of the guard to execute any condemned prisoners of state, this could not have occurred so continuously, that they should have derived from it their official title." It is argued that the **מְבָחִים** (properly *slayers*) of a king were in the first place to act as butchers, to kill and to divide the animals which were to be prepared for the royal table. But from a comparison of 2 Kings xxv. 8, &c.; Jer. xxxix. 9—11; xl. 1—5, &c., the common rendering of the word appears to be the only correct one. The designation of Potiphar (**סָרִיס**) implies, however, that the custom of having eunuchs was common at the court of Egypt. This is denied by *Bohlen*, Comment. p. 360, who charges the writer of Genesis with having transferred to Egypt "a custom of the Hebrew court" (!) But this objection is entirely removed by what *Rosellini* remarks of the representation of eunuchs on monuments (comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 22.) The remark in verse 6, that Potiphar "left all that he had in Joseph's hand. . . save the bread which he did eat," is accounted for on the ground of the existence of castes in Egypt, and of the laws concerning meats enforced in that country (comp. *Sommer* Bibl. Treat. Bonn. 1846, i., p. 278, &c.) On the duties and the position of the chief stewards of Egyptian nobles, *Rosellini* furnishes some very interesting notices gathered from the monuments (vide *Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 23, &c.)

(2.) At all times there have been loud complaints of the dissolute and adulterous practices common among *Egyptian women* (for example, *Herodotus* ii. 111, Bar-Hebr., p. 217), and the licentiousness of females appears also frequently on the monuments. From the monuments we also gather that in Egypt the women had not lived so retired as in other ancient countries. Frequently men and women are represented as in promiscuous company. A good deal of probability also attaches to the opinion so often expressed that Potiphar had not credited the accusations of his wife, and only imprisoned Joseph for the sake of appearances. At any rate, he was honoured with the confidence of Potiphar whilst in prison (chap. xl. 4), nor does the

punishment awarded to him seem to correspond to the crime with which he was charged.

(3.) We will not in detail answer to the charge of confusion which *Tuch* (p. 508, &c., comp. also *Lengerke* i., p. 338, note) has supposed to exist in the text, since, according to him, Joseph had had *two masters*, and we read of *two captains of the guard*. Against this comp. the author's *Unity of Genesis*, p. 191, &c. ; *Ranke*, *Investigations* i., p. 263 ; *Drechsler*, *Unity and authenticity of Genesis*, p. 259. We shall simply describe the real state of matters. As captain of the guard, Potiphar was at the same time inspector of the state prison, which even in later times (*Jer.* xxxvii. 15), and in our own days in the East, forms part of the house of that functionary (comp. *Rosenmüller*, the *Ancient and Modern East*, note on *Jer.* xxxvii. 15.) Again, it appears quite natural that one so noble, and probably so much occupied at court, should not himself have undertaken the superintendence and the care of the prisoners. These duties he devolved to a subordinate official who, in ch. xxxix. 21, bears the name of "keeper of the prison." To this person, who was properly the jailor, he committed Joseph. But when the two high officials were by royal command cast into prison, we can readily understand that he would take charge of them himself, and care for their proper treatment, as although they had, for the time, fallen into disgrace, Potiphar might have stood in friendly relation toward them. Well knowing by experience the capability and trustworthiness of Joseph, he would naturally commit these captives to the care of the Hebrew youth, the more so as the latter had already shewn his aptness for such duties (*chap.* xxxix. 23), a circumstance which the keeper of the prison had probably reported to Potiphar.

(4.) For additional remarks on the import of DREAMS in the *life of Joseph*, comp. *Krummacher's* Pages on Sacred History, § 67 and 68. Throughout antiquity dreams were considered as a divine or magical element, and it may readily be believed that at that time dreams were something different and something more than they are at present, *i.e.*, that the supernatural element which still appears now and then in dreams, was at that time much more common and strong. Throughout antiquity, the inner life took much more the direction of the symbolic, and descended immediately, not merely through the medium of abstraction, into the depth and fulness of the life of nature. Hence the faculty of anticipation in man was stimulated, and manifested itself more frequently. In some, who were specially predisposed to it, this manifested itself as the gift of divination, while in others it appeared rather in the lower and less developed sphere of dreams. But of all nations in antiquity this gift was

most prominent and distinct among the Egyptians. "There is something night-like about the whole history of this wonderful people. The various formations, the divine and the human, there run in curious disorder into each other, and their pyramids, obelisks, sphinxes, and immense temples overtop everything else like dream-visions. We might almost call the Egyptians the people of dreams, of anticipations, and of enigmas." It is easy to ascertain the point of connection for the dreams of these two captives. They knew that Pharaoh's birth-day was to be in three days, and from the analogy of former experiences, they would anticipate that their fate would then probably be decided. Falling asleep with such thoughts, wishes, hopes, and fears, their dreams were only a continuation of their waking thinking, when the power of anticipation, awakened while the external senses were asleep, descended into their thoughts. As *Krummacher* observes, conscience may also have had a part in giving its peculiar cast to each of the dreams.

The authenticity of the dream which *the chief of the butlers* is said to have had (he saw a vine with three branches and ripe grapes; the latter he pressed into Pharaoh's cup and gave it into his hand), as well its historical basis, has been called in question. Opponents have appealed to the statements of Plutarch (Isis and Osiris 6), according to whom the Egyptians had not cultivated or drunk wine before the time of Psammetich, having regarded it as the blood of Typhon. But even from *Diodorus* i. 11, 15, we gather that this statement was due to a mistake. The latter identifies *Osiris* with *Dionysius*, and ascribes to him the invention and introduction of the culture of the vine. This is also confirmed by similar statements in *Herodotus* ii. 42, 144; *Strabo* xvii., p. 799; *Pliny*, H.N. xiv. 9; *Athen.* i., p. 33. The circumstance that the vine was cultivated in Egypt has been ascertained beyond the possibility of a doubt by the evidence furnished on the monuments, which in this respect is specially full and satisfactory. If *Herodotus* remarks (ii. 77) that the vine did not grow in Egypt, this statement must either have been an error, or have only referred to that part of Egypt (the lower lying, ἡ σπειρομένη Αἴγυπτος) of which he speaks, while the vine was cultivated in the higher regions (comp. *Hengstenberg* (l. c., p. 12, &c., and *Scholz* *Introduct.* ii., p. 188, &c.) The dream of *the chief of the bakers* (he carried three white baskets on his head, full of baked meats, for Pharaoh, and the birds did eat them) is also confirmed by a comparison with Egyptian customs, as gathered from the monuments (comp. *Hengstenberg* l. c., p. 25, &c.) The essential difference between the two dreams consists in this, that in the second the birds of prey take the place of Pharaoh.

THE ELEVATION OF JOSEPH.

§ 88. (Gen. xli. and xlvii., verses 13—26.)—The chief of the butlers had promised Joseph to intercede for him with Pharaoh. But in his prosperity he forgot the poor captive. Thus other two years of hopeless imprisonment passed by. Then Pharaoh himself had *two dreams*. He stood by the bank of the Nile, and seven fair and fat kine ascended from it. After them other seven kine, ill-favoured and lean, came up and ate up the fat kine, but remained as lean and ill-favoured as before. Upon this Pharaoh awoke, and when he again fell asleep, a second and similar dream shaped itself in his mind. Seven good ears of corn came up upon one stalk, and after them seven thin ears, and blasted with the east wind, which devoured the seven full ears. In vain Pharaoh sought among the wise men of his court an interpretation of these dreams (1.) Then only the chief of the butlers remembered Joseph, who was now brought from the prison, and introduced to Pharaoh. Having with child-like humility ascribed the honour not to himself but to God, he interprets the dreams as referring to seven years of great plenty in Egypt, to be succeeded by seven years of dearth and famine, and suggests that, during the years of plenty, provision should be made for those of famine. Pharaoh feels that the Spirit of God is in the youth. He elevates him to the rank of administrator of his kingdom, naturalises and makes him a member of the priestly caste, and gives him to wife the daughter of the chief priest of Heliopolis (2), of whom he has two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. It soon happened as Joseph predicted. But immense stores of corn had been accumulated during the plenty of the fertile years, and when the years of famine commenced, Joseph was not only able to supply Egypt, but also those neighbouring countries which experienced similar want. At the sametime he has now the opportunity of introducing wise reforms into the administration of the State, and by giving a settled legal form to the relations between the king and his subjects, to lay the foundation of the lasting prosperity of the country (3.)

(1.) THE DREAMS OF PHARAOH show genuine Egyptian habits

of thinking (comp. *Hengstenberg* l.c. p. 26 &c.) The constitution of Egypt is based on agriculture, and the success of the latter depends on the inundations of the Nile. In virtue of the worship of nature prevalent in Egypt, both of these were viewed under a religious aspect. But the worship of nature in Egypt took the peculiar form of the worship of animals. Hence the Nile became *Osiris*, the fructifying and begetting principle in nature, and a bull was regarded as the symbol and representative of both. From this arose then the further view according to which *Isis*, or the female principle in nature, was identified with the country or the earth generally, and both worshipped under the symbol of a cow. The fertility of a year depended upon the due proportion of the Nile-inundation. Too much or too little of it would necessarily bring dearth and famine. Hence both the fat and the lean kine which were seen to ascend from the Nile were symbols either of years of fruitfulness or of dearth. Although the second dream is no longer connected with religious symbols, but with real appearances, it is still peculiarly Egyptian. This appears even from the circumstance that the withered ears are represented as blasted by the east wind. *Bohlen* (p. 56) objects, indeed, that the writer in this case transfers Palestinian ideas to Egyptian circumstances, inasmuch as there was no east wind in Egypt. But as the Hebrews had special names only for the four principal directions of the wind, the term קָדִים probably applies also to the south-east wind, or Chamsin, which comes from the Arabian wilderness, and by its heat destroys vegetation. As the narrative is placed in the Delta (probably in the ancient city of Zoan or Tanis, Numb. xiii. 23; Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43) the mention of this wind is quite in keeping. Comp. also *Uckert*, Geography, p. 111; *Hengstenberg*, l.c. p. 9, &c.

Pharaoh applies to the Egyptian *Chartummim* (חֲרָטָמִים) according to *Gesenius* from חָרַטַּת sculpsit, or חָרַטַּת stylus and חָרַם, sacer fuit = scriba sacer, scripturæ sacræ [hieroglyphicæ] peritus, ἱερογραμματεὺς) for an interpretation of his dreams. On this *Hengstenberg* remarks (l.c. 27): "In ancient Egyptian society we meet a class of men to whom the description here given exactly applies. The Egyptian caste of priests had the double duty of performing the outward service of the gods, and of cultivating what in Egypt passed for science. The former devolved on what are called prophets—the latter on sacred writers, ἱερογραμματεῖς. These were the learned men of the nation; and as in the Pentateuch they are called the 'Wise Men,' so by classical writers they are designated as 'the initiated.' Under all circumstances, whenever anything lay beyond the sphere of

ordinary knowledge or capacity, people applied to them for direction and assistance." If it was asked how these Chartumim had not come upon so obvious an interpretation, we reply, that the dreams contained something so extraordinary and incredible that none of the priests had ventured to offer an interpretation which would almost seem ready to hand. The well-grounded apprehension that a short time would prove them to be liars and false prophets, and thus expose them to the wrath of Pharaoh, made it appear more advisable to plead ignorance. Again, we cannot overlook what *Baumgarten* remarks, i. p. 325: "It is the judgment of the wisdom of this world, that it is unable to reply when answer is most needed. For it forms part of the divine government of the world to shut the lips of the eloquent, and to take understanding from the ancient, Job. xii. 20." *Hüvernick*, Introd. i. 2, p. 386, &c., attempts to combine these seven years famine with the ancient legend of Busiris, which, according to his opinion, had sprung from it.

(2.) It is further a genuine Egyptian feature that Joseph shaved himself before coming into the presence of Pharaoh (*Hengstenberg* l.c. p. 28.) Divine inspiration and not human combination and wisdom enabled Joseph to interpret the dreams. Thus he obtained the certainty and firmness, the quiet demeanour and confidence which always produce an impression on those around, and which in this case, despite the incredibility of what he announced, gave to Pharaoh and to his servants the conviction that the Spirit of God was in him. In thinking of the ELEVATION OF JOSEPH we must remember that in Egypt a very high value was attached to this kind of wisdom, and *v. Bohlen* opportunely reminds us of the circumstance recorded in Herodotus, ii. 121, when Rhampsinit made the son of an architect his own son-in-law because he judged him to be the cleverest person. In order to elevate Joseph to his high dignity Pharaoh first naturalises him by giving him an Egyptian name, which, in the Hebrew original, and according to a Hebrew form, is called צִפְנָת פַּעֲנָה, but in the LXX. which keeps more closely by the Egyptian, ψουθομοφανήχ. *Hieronymus* translates this by "salvator mundi," and a marginal remark to the LXX. in *Bernard* on Josephus (Ed. Haverc.) Antiq. ii. 6, 1, similarly explains the name by, ὁ εστὼ ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου. *Jablonski* and *Rosellini* have approved of this interpretation, but *Gesenius*, Thes. 1181, prefers rendering it by "sustentator, vindex mundi," since the above interpretation is founded on the reading ψουθομοφανήχ, which is manifestly not correct, the evidence being in favour of the reading ψουθομοφανήχ. *E. Meier*, Dict. of Roots, 702, renders it by "support or foundation of life."

The letters פ and צ being transposed and the Egyptian geni-

tive μ (μ) being left out, Hebrew tradition adopted the Semitic form Zaphnath-Paneah, meaning, "revelator occultorum." The fact that Joseph was arrayed in *white linen* implied not only that he was naturalised, but probably also that he was received into the caste of priests, who always wore linen garments (*Herod.* 237), because garments made from materials derived from the vegetable kingdom, especially linen garments, were regarded as symbols of purity and holiness (comp. *Bähr*, Symbolic ii. p. 87 &c.) When Pharaoh gave to Joseph his *signet*, he invested him with the dignity of Vizier, as the possession of this signet enabled him to act in name of the king. The gold necklace which on the monuments is always worn by kings and nobles (*Hengstenberg*, l.c. p. 29, &c.) also indicates that Pharaoh had elevated him to a high dignity. After that Pharaoh made him drive in his own chariot, and caused to be proclaimed before him: פָּרַקְךָ . Without doubt this word was originally Egyptian, although related to the Hebrew בָּרַךְ , to *bend the knee*. All who have attempted to derive it from the Egyptian agree that it implies "bowing down," or "falling down." Comp. *Gesenius*, Thes. 19. According to *Benfey* (on the relation between the Egyptian and the Shemitic language, p. 302, &c.) and *Meier* (*Dict. of Roots*, 703) it is an Egyptian imperative, and equivalent to the Coptic *bôr* = *to fall down* = *to do obeisance*. To give a firmer basis to the position of Joseph, Pharaoh unites him to Asenath, the daughter of Pothiphra, the high priest of On. The translation of the LXX. leaves no room for doubting that the latter was the old Egyptian name for the later Heliopolis. *Cyrrillus* ad Hos. p. 145, remarks: $\text{Ὁν δὲ ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτοῦς ὁ ἥλιος}$, and *OEIN* means in Coptic light, or *light of the sun*. The ruins of this ancient city, still called عين شمس , are found near the village of Maturia. Of old a celebrated temple of the sun was there to which a numerous and learned priesthood was attached (*Herod.* ii. 3. 59) who occupied the first place in the Egyptian colleges of priests. Comp. *Hengstenberg*, p. 30, &c. The LXX. render the name Asnath by Ἀσενέθ . Probably it is = ΑΣ—NEIT , "quae Neithae (s. Minervae) est," cf. *Gesenius* l.c. 130. *V. Bohlen* remarks: "It is entirely contrary to the character of the Egyptians that an intolerant priesthood should have allowed an intermarriage with a foreign shepherd." To this *Hengstenberg* replies, l.c. p. 32: "The union took place in consequence of the command of the king, and the high priest of On could not refuse to obey this behest, as modern investigations have shewn that the Pharaohs had at all times occupied the highest priestly dignity, and thus exercised not a merely external authority over the priesthood. Besides, we have to bear in mind that when Joseph married the daughter of the high priest he

was no longer a foreign shepherd, but had been completely naturalised by the king. From Genesis xliii. 32 we gather that Joseph had completely left his own tribe and become one of the Egyptian people."

It is more difficult to understand how Joseph, who was a servant of the living God, should have become a member of a priesthood set apart for the worship of nature. But, collisions which would have obliged him to deny his faith in the God of his fathers, were scarcely to be apprehended, as Joseph was called, not to discharge the active duties of the priesthood, but a political office, for which his reception into the priestly caste only served as a kind of substratum. Besides, we may not forget that the religion of Egypt, in its entirely symbolical character, may, especially under its earliest forms, have been capable of such interpretation as was not absolutely contrary to the worship of one personal God. The indulgence extended by Elisha to Naaman the Syrian (ii. Kings v. 18), and the analogous position of Daniel among the magicians, may also be mentioned as cases in point.

(3.) Several pictorial representations in the monuments of Egypt, afford a correct insight into the mode of Joseph's activity in preparing STORE HOUSES FOR CORN. Comp. *Hengstenberg*, l.c. p. 32, &c. The corn was collected in obedience to a royal decree (v. 34) in virtue of which the fifth part of all produce was demanded. *J. D. Michaelis* (Notes, p. 170) interprets the statement of the text as implying that Joseph had not demanded a tax of the fifth of all produce, but had purchased it. But this remark is unfounded. Even before the reform introduced into the administration of Egypt to which we shall immediately refer, all subjects had to pay taxes to the king, only that these were left to the arbitrary will of the monarch, while Joseph introduced a regular and fixed law on the subject, thereby protecting both the interests of the king and of the people. *V. Bohlen* has stigmatised the statement in chapter xli. vv. 54 and 57, that the famine prevailed, not only in Egypt but in the adjoining countries, as unhistorical. He argues that the climate and agriculture of Egypt were wholly unconnected with those of Palestine, as in Egypt fertility depended on the overflowing of the Nile, and not on the fall of rain as in Palestine. But this writer seems to have forgotten that as the inundations of the Nile depended on the fall of rain, the same circumstances might ultimately cause fertility or dearth in both countries. *Hengstenberg* remarks (l.c. p. 34): "The inundations of the Nile depend, as even Herodotus attested, on the tropical rains which fall in the high mountains of Abyssinia." Comp. *Ritter*, Geography i. p. 835. These rains depend on the same causes as those which fall in Palestine.

According to *Le Père* (Dèscr. vii. p. 576) it is quite ascertained that the swelling of the Nile is occasioned by the fall of rain, due to clouds formed in the Mediterranean and carried by northerly winds at certain seasons towards Abyssinia. *Hengstenberg* mentions instances of seasons when dearth in Egypt was accompanied by similar calamities in adjoining countries.

On the *administrative reforms* of Joseph comp. *Hengstenberg*, l.c. pp. 60 to 68. In the years of scarcity Joseph sold corn to the people, first for their money, then for their cattle, and, when both were done, for their land, which they spontaneously offered. Having thus gained possession of the whole country, he again disposed of it to the people on definite principles, making them the king's vassals, and obliging them to pay annually the fifth part of the produce in lieu of ground-rent. Only the lands of the priesthood remained untouched, since their revenues from the royal treasury had protected them from the consequences of the famine. Profane writers and the monuments confirm the Biblical account, in so far as they distinctly state that the peasantry were not the landed proprietors, and that the priests possessed real property free of taxation. Herod. ii. 109; Diod. i. 73; Strabo, xvii. p. 787; Wilkinson, i. p. 263. On the other hand Herodotus ascribes the apportioning of the land among the peasants as vassals to King Sesostris, during whose reign Joseph could not have administered the affairs of state. But *Hengstenberg* rightly remarks: "It may be regarded as an undoubted result of modern criticism (comp. *Bähr*, on Herod. iv. 563) that Sesostris was a mythical and not a historical personage, to whom all the comprehensive measures and the successes of the ancient Pharaohs were commonly ascribed." Again, if Diodorus and the monuments seem to point to three classes of proprietors, the kings, the priests and the warriors, the apparent contradiction with the account in Genesis, according to which only the kings and priests were landed proprietors, is removed by the statement in Herodotus ii. 141, 168, according to whom the lands of the warriors really belonged to the kings, but were not subject to taxation, that privilege being granted to them in lieu of pay.

V. Bohlen has reiterated the grave accusation brought by others against Joseph that he had subdued a free nation and reduced it to a state of servitude. But manifestly vassalage and not servitude were the right expression; and, considering that land, if well cultivated, yields in Egypt a thirty-fold and even greater increase, a tax of one-fifth of the produce can scarcely be deemed oppressive. In point of fact we have already seen that on demand the people were quite ready to pay this impost without raising any complaint. But in defending the measure introduced

by Joseph we have also to bear in mind that in the peculiar circumstances of Egyptian agriculture both prosperity, and any partial averting of adverse circumstances, depended on a system of government centralization, and on a proper superintendence of the measures adopted for fertilising the country. This is shewn by *Hengstenberg* (Contrib. iii. p. 543) who quotes the following passage from the treatise of *Michaud*, "de la propriété foncière en Egypte": "A careful examination of the conditions on which the fertility or sterility of the soil depends, shews first, that landed property could not have been subject to the same conditions and laws in Egypt as in other countries. In all other countries the value of landed property depends on the character and exposure of the soil, on climatic influences, and on rain; here everything is derived from the Nile, and the lands with their rich produce are, to use an expression of Herodotus, in reality a gift of the Nile. But in order to shed its blessings over Egypt the Nile required a strong hand to turn it into canals, and thus to direct its fertilizing waters; this distribution of its waters required the assistance of public and sovereign authority; it was, therefore, necessary that Government should interfere, and this necessity of interference must to some extent have changed and modified the rights of landed proprietors."¹ The absence of any regular system of irrigation such as *government* alone could have introduced, renders the statement concerning the continuance of the dearth during seven years the more credible. Nor is it certainly without ground that even tradition ascribes to Joseph the institution of such a system. To this day the principal canal is called the Bahr Yûsef.

The remarks of *Hengstenberg*, l.c. p. 67, &c., on the manifest care with which the text describes this measure introduced by Joseph, are equally apt and ingenious. He notices that the relation between the people and their king with respect to the proprietorship and occupancy of the soil formed the basis of the Theocratic arrangement introduced by the law of Moses. (Comp. below the Section on Tithes.)

(4.) It is impossible to ascertain with precision why Joseph should have allowed nine years after his elevation to pass without informing his mourning father about his altered circumstances. It is, indeed, true that he may have felt it desirable not personally to interfere in attempting to unravel the knot made by God Himself, but to leave it in His hands to set the matter right in His own time and in His own way. At the same time we suppose that the feelings of Joseph towards his brethren may have contributed to induce this silence on his part. If

¹ Translated from the French.

Joseph was still unable to attain perfect calm and to cherish sentiments of love and forgiveness, if every remainder of bitterness had not been banished from his heart, it was certainly on many grounds more advisable to withhold from his father tidings of his circumstances, as any such intercourse would have brought him again into contact with his family and his brethren. Probably of all the eminent believers whose lives are recorded in the Old Testament, Joseph is most likely to be regarded in the light of an almost angelic saint. Even interpreters, otherwise sober-minded, have committed this mistake. No doubt the noble heart of Joseph was incapable of low vindictiveness, or of stubborn bitterness. Still he was but a man and sinful—and hence the not reviling again when he was reviled was no light matter to him, and could not be attained without a struggle with flesh and blood. Again, the further development of the history of Joseph clearly shews us, that when in the wonderful arrangement of God, he meets his brethren, this meeting becomes a turning point for both parties, so that the heart of Joseph is opened towards his brethren and that of his brethren towards him. The internal concord of the family formerly disturbed is then again restored. Viewed in this light the divine wisdom and mercy in the direction of events in this history most clearly appears.

JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

§ 89. (Gen. xlii.)—Canaan also suffered from this dearth, and Jacob sent all his sons except Benjamin into Egypt in order to purchase corn. Joseph at once recognises them, and as in lowly subjection they cast themselves down before him, he remembers his former dreams which are now visibly fulfilled. However, he speaks harshly to them, stigmatises them as spies, and when they attempt to justify themselves by explaining their circumstances, he demands that, in order to prove the truth of their assertions, they should bring to him their youngest brother. For this purpose he is willing that one of them should return, while the others are meantime to remain as hostages in prison. But, on the third day, he so far modifies his former resolution as to retain only one of them, Simeon, and to dismiss the others, furnishing them with corn and charging them to bring back their youngest brother. Then the hardened hearts of Joseph's brothers are broken. Not suspecting that the Egyptian viceroy understood their tongue, they confess: "we are verily guilty

concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we did not hear. Therefore is this distress come upon us." Joseph's heart was now also moved; he was obliged to go aside and weep. Still he continues to play the part of a severe and distrustful despot. With sacks filled but with hearts sorrowing, the nine brothers return homewards. In an inn by the way, one of them opened his sack to give provender to the beasts, and to his horror discovers his money in the sack; for Joseph had given commandment to put into their sacks their money, along with provision for the way. The tidings of what they had experienced fills their aged father with sorrow. He bursts into bitter complaints, and in most decided terms declares that he would not send away Benjamin, and that, even though Reuben offers the life of his two children as pledge for the safe return of his youngest brother.

(1.) THE CONDUCT OF JOSEPH TOWARDS HIS BRETHREN claims our attention. On first meeting them he is manifestly undecided how to deal with them. In proof of this we refer to the circumstance that he imprisoned them for three days (Gen. xlii. 17), which could scarcely be explained on any other supposition. During that period, not only they but he also have time to think over matters. On this ground also, we account for the change in his first resolution which had borne that only one of them should return to bring back Benjamin, while the others should remain as hostages, but which now is modified. From that moment he has also made up his mind about his future conduct towards them, and, notwithstanding the apparent repentance of his brothers, which might have induced him to stop short, he carries out his plan with energy and consistency. Nor can we feel any difficulty in understanding Joseph's peculiar state of mind. He had been deeply offended by his brethren, and treated by them with harshness and cruelty. All this may have left a sting in his soul, so that his thoughts, which meanwhile accused or excused, now led him to feelings of vengeance and of anger, then again inclined him to mildness, forgiveness, and love. On the other hand he recognises that God had not only called him to be the governor and deliverer of Egypt, but thereby also to become the chief and the help of his family. He realises that he now meets his brethren as it were *in the place of God*, and this circumstance imposes on him the duty of exercising both judicial strictness, forgiving mercy, and helping wisdom. Above all, it is of importance for him to ascertain the relation

between their present state of mind and that which had been manifested towards him twenty years before, as on this fact both his subjective and his objective position towards them must depend. If they were still the same as twenty years ago, then, neither in his personal nor in his political and official relation, could he cherish towards them that confidence, sincerity, and openness which was requisite for the prosperous development of their family. He clearly and unhesitatingly perceived that it would have been altogether wrong to have allowed his natural kindness to carry him away into an affectionate recognition, without having first laid the necessary basis by applying inquisitorial strictness and judicial severity. At the same time, we do not deny that he thus acted not merely in the exercise of calm prudence, but that his affection had not yet attained perfect purity, nor had he reached that state of mind in which he could unconditionally extend to them a cordial forgiveness. Is it not so that merely human elements too frequently and readily mingle in our holiest impulses and resolutions? And can we therefore not understand that when, in the circumstances of Joseph, a holy wisdom required a certain measure of severity, some amount of vindictiveness, some latent satisfaction at their humiliation, or some such feeling, may have mingled with it?

Their hardness of heart had appeared twenty years ago, in their want of affection towards their aged father, and in their cruelty towards the favourite son of Rachel. Now Benjamin occupied the place of Joseph. Hence, the probation through which they have to pass will consist in a trial whether, as formerly, they would still be capable, for the sake of their own interest, to bring suffering and woe upon their father, and to give up Benjamin, as formerly they had disposed of Joseph. To prepare the way for this probation, he accuses them of being spies, as this charge obliges them, for their vindication, to explain all their family relations, which alone could effectually remove any such suspicion.

But the demand to bring Benjamin converts the well-deserved punishment of his guilty brothers into an undeserved rigour and apparent unkindness towards his aged and afflicted father, and toward the poor innocent youth who was the son of his own mother. We may well ask, therefore, how Joseph, whose heart was so soft and tender, could possibly have brought himself to occasion such pain and anxiety—at least for a season—to his father and to his brother. Without doubt, Joseph felt concerned for his father. This appears even in the change of his first resolution, as it was certainly from regard for his father that he allows his nine brethren to depart, retaining only one of them. He must have felt it a great trial to be obliged to involve his

father also in this probation and punishment of his brothers. But the good of his whole family, which depended on this probation, would appear to him of greater importance than a few days or even weeks of anxious concern which at any rate were so soon and so richly to be compensated.

Perhaps some may think that the penitent confession of the brethren (vv. 21, &c.) might have sufficed in the way of probation, and as evidence of their change of mind. That Joseph felt the value of this confession is shewn by the manner in which it affected him, to a degree that he was obliged to retire, in order to conceal his tears. If he had still cherished any anger or similar feeling towards them, these tears must have washed it away; and when he, therefore, still continues in a path which must have been so difficult for him, he no doubt had sufficient reasons for inferring that their confession was only the commencement, not the completion of their repentance. Above all, it was important to ascertain that their penitence could stand the test of a conflict between their own interests and those of Benjamin. Nor should we omit to notice the significant and comforting hint, contained in the words of Joseph in verse 18: "This do and live, *for I fear God.*"

Tuch (l. c., p. 525) is astonished that Joseph should himself sell the corn, and, viewing every thing as a myth, reasons: "The chief vizier himself must carry on the sale of corn and deal with simple merchants, in order that he might be brought into contact with his brethren, and see his former dreams fulfilled." We are willing to subscribe to this statement with this difference only, that we trace all these leadings to the living God, and not to a mythical invention. However, it by no means follows, that Joseph had in ordinary cases taken anything to do with the sale of corn.

On verse 24 the same interpreter remarks (p. 527): "Not to interfere with the inviolable character of the first-born, Joseph retains not Reuben but Simeon the *second* son of Jacob." *Lengerke* (p. 343) repeats this assertion. But neither of these writers observes that this interpretation, which is unsuitable, whatever view we take of the subject, runs more especially contrary to their own mode of explaining it (the mythical), as chap. xlix. 3, &c. shews how little regard "the myth in Genesis" pays to the supposed inviolable rights of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. No doubt Joseph must have had some special reason for retaining Simeon as a hostage. Probably he did so because the latter had shewn most cruelty on the occasion when Joseph was sold—a supposition this the more likely, as the cruelty, faithlessness, and selfishness of Simeon, appeared also very prominently in his conduct towards the inhabitants of Sychem.

Baumgarten remarks on the circumstance that Joseph had

ordered that their money should be restored into the sacks of his brethren: "He feels it impossible to bargain with his father and his brethren for bread." This remark is perfectly correct. But we must not forget that he also intended to increase their anxiety by leading them to fear that, besides being accused of spying the country, they might now also be charged with theft—an additional care this, which might the more readily humble their hard hearts.

Reuben's offer of security was scarcely calculated to allay the anxiety or to satisfy the mind of his father, especially considering that his abominable sin must have wholly deprived him of Jacob's confidence. No doubt the offer proves a state of mind not very elevated. But we must remember that it was made in the heat of the moment, when excited by the unbending determination of his father, who threatens to surrender them and their children to imminent starvation rather than part with Benjamin. Both in chap. xlii. v. 36, and still more clearly in chap. xliv., v. 47, Jacob hints pretty plainly his suspicion, that they may have been the cause of Joseph's death.

29

xlii. 13

§ 90. (Gen. xliii.)—The small provision of corn was soon consumed, and a second journey into Egypt became absolutely necessary. But Judah declares, in name of all the rest, that it was impossible to return without Benjamin, and he solemnly undertakes to guarantee the consequences of the proposed step. His words, flowing from a warm and full heart, find their way to the heart of Jacob, and after a painful conflict, he consents to the arrangement. Laden with *presents of the best fruits of the land*, and accompanied by the blessing of their father, all the brothers undertake the difficult journey (1.) The steward of Joseph's household receives them kindly; he denies all knowledge of the money, which they confess having found in the sacks; he brings Simeon to them, takes them to the house of Joseph, and there prepares dinner for them. Joseph himself salutes them with dignified kindness, and affectionately enquires for their aged father, but the sight of Benjamin moves his heart so deeply that he is obliged to go aside, in order to conceal his tears. He again returns to dine with them, but according to Egyptian custom, he sits down *at a separate table*. Benjamin is distinguished from the rest by receiving a five-fold portion, while his brothers are astonished to find that Joseph's steward had assigned them places *exactly according to their age*. The

kindly treatment which they receive soon banishes every fear, and they give themselves up to the enjoyment, occasioned by the feast before them, and by the engaging manner of their host. But they are yet to pass through another, the last and most difficult ordeal. Next morning their sacks having been filled, they turn homewards full of joy at the unexpected happy termination of this matter. But scarcely had they left the city when the steward of Joseph's house overtakes them, and in harsh language charges them with having stolen *the silver cup* of his master. An investigation shews that the ten elder brothers were innocent of the crime, but when at last the sack of Benjamin is opened, the missing cup is found in it. Horror-struck at the discovery, the brothers rend their garments. Upon this the steward declares that Benjamin must remain behind as a slave, while the others were at liberty to return in peace to their home. But the brothers are now no longer the same selfish men as they had been twenty years before. They refuse the liberty offered *to them*, declare their resolution to share Benjamin's fate and return into the city, resolved rather to become slaves with Benjamin than to return without him to their father (3.)

(1.) The GUARANTEE which *Judah* undertakes is totally different from that of Reuben in chap. xlii. 37. He says: "I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then let me bear the blame for ever." His words give evidence not only of sincerity and cordiality, but also of firmness and confidence; and hence they remain not without effect. It also here appears that, among all his sons, Jacob placed most confidence in *Judah*, and this adds another confirmation to the suggestion which we have made in § 40, to the effect that some decided change had taken place in the life of *Judah*, in consequence of which his former isolation from the concerns of his family had been succeeded by a totally different state of mind.

V. Bohlen attempts to establish a contradiction between the statement that for two or three years Palestine had been visited with dearth, and the circumstance that Jacob could send to *Egypt rich presents* of the best fruits in the land (balm, grapes, honey, spices, myrrh, nuts, and almonds.) But only the cereal products of the land had suffered. And as it is well known that fertility in fruit trees does not depend on the same circumstances

as that of grain crops, we can readily conceive how, along with scarcity of corn, there should have been at least a sufficient quantity of such fruits. But however small the yield of such fruits might have been, considering that they were articles of luxury, and therefore of commerce, rather than necessaries for common and every-day use, the only consequence of such a scarcity would have been that they would have ceased for the time to be articles of trade. This could only have increased their value, and rendered them the more acceptable as presents to a noble Egyptian, who, whatever abundance he may have enjoyed in other respects, might have felt the want of these luxuries.

(2.) Joseph *dines at his own table*, separate both from the foreign shepherds and from the inferior classes of Egyptians. This perfectly agrees with the manners of Egypt (comp. *Hengstenberg*, l. c., p. 35, &c.) On the one hand, this was necessary, considering his position as Minister of State and member of the caste of priests; on the other hand, he would as yet deport himself towards his brethren only with the dignified condescension becoming a high Egyptian official.

That the brethren of Joseph were seated according to their age must have increased the mystery which they felt hanging about their relation to him. It must have made the impression on them, that the man on whom their life and happiness depended was surrounded with a halo of more than human knowledge; that he could penetrate into the most intimate relations and circumstances of their family-life. Hence this arrangement became a suitable psychological means for the further development of their history.

But the remarkable *distinction* bestowed on *Benjamin* must have appeared to them even more strange and important. In the family of his father, Benjamin occupied the position of Joseph, and it was soon to appear whether the want of affection which had characterised their conduct towards Joseph would also characterise that towards Benjamin. For the circumstance that Benjamin received a fivefold portion forms quite a parallel to the peculiar dress by which the affection of his father had distinguished Joseph. At that time, only envy, hatred, and vengeance had been the consequences of this distinction; it was now to appear whether the same would result in the case of Benjamin.

(3.) Modern interpreters have *rightly* referred the expression of the steward, when he accuses Joseph's brethren of having stolen *his silver cup* ("Is not this it in which my Lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth?" chap. xlv. 5), as referring to practices common throughout antiquity and especially in Egypt, and which are continued even in our days (comp. *Wiseman's Connection*, p. 460, &c.; *Hüvernick*, *Introduct.* vol. i. 2, p. 393;

Hengstenberg, l. c., p. 36, &c). *Larsow* proposes indeed to translate (Gen. p. 115), "Is not this it from which my Lord drinketh? and should he not therefore have divined it?" But this rendering is equally opposed to grammar and context. However, this passage by no means decides the question whether Joseph had actually made use of the cup for such purposes, or whether the statement merely served as a pretext. If we bear in mind the peculiar relation of Joseph and that of his age, with reference to the kingdom of God generally, we shall perhaps not find it quite impossible to adopt even the former of these suppositions. But verse 15 must decide us in favour of the second supposition, as Joseph himself there states, "Wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?" (*i.e.* ascertain by divination where the cup was.) Manifestly the cup could not have been the object of the divination above referred to. At any rate the steward speaks of the cup as an instrument of divination only in order to increase its value in the eyes of Joseph's brethren.

The conduct of Joseph's brethren when the cup is discovered in the sack of Benjamin shews beyond doubt that a complete change had taken place in their disposition. We feel that if they had been still capable of their former cold, calculating selfishness, all circumstances had now combined to provoke such, and to shake their love, attachment, care, and fidelity towards Benjamin. In their father's house he had in the most evident and (for them) humiliating manner been preferred to them. With his whole heart the old man had clung to him, and in his unbounded tenderness even gone so far as rather to expose his whole house, and all his children and grand-children, to inevitable death by famine, than give up his anxious and apparently ungrounded care for the favourite, shutting his mind against all entreaties and even to reflection. The same preference of the youngest child is shewn at the court of Egypt. The Grand-Vizier seems only to pay attention to Benjamin. He deals almost exclusively with him, and distinguishes him by ordering for him a fivefold portion. And now when apparently they had escaped all dangers, the fated youth round whose person mischief and destruction to themselves and their families seems to gather, once more precipitates them into circumstances more threatening than any which had yet taken place, and of which it was impossible to foresee the issue. On his account the charge of robbery now rests upon them and their father's house. Is there not sufficient ground in all this to be angry with him, and even though, despite of appearances, they themselves might have retained the moral conviction of his innocence, rather to abandon him in order to get rid of that fatality which seemed to attach to his person than to continue connecting their own fate with

his, and thus to share in the eyes of the Egyptians his disgrace and his guilt? How great must have been the temptation, since, contrary to what might have been expected, the steward offered *them* full liberty, and only wished to retain for punishment the *one* guilty person? When first the steward had brought the charge they had in righteous indignation declared: "With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen." But now they make no further distinction between the guilty and the innocent; they are weighed down by a sense of a common great guilt resting upon them all; they look away from him through whom this trial had come upon them, and in their own sin they recognise the ultimate and real cause of this dispensation. But even yet the trial is not finished, for they are to be thoroughly proved and approved. The penitent confession of their common guilt, which now affected their hearts, *had to be publicly made*, and that even before the dreaded Egyptian lord. In their bearing towards the subordinate steward they have been enabled to overcome the temptation to escape by surrendering Benjamin. But the trial through which they had yet to pass when they were to hear the final sentence from the mouth of Joseph himself was still more severe; it would have been possible that they who had overcome in the first instance might succumb before what they must have felt to be an ultimate decision.

§ 91. (Gen. xlv. and xlv.)—Joseph's brethren fall before him on the ground, but he receives them with severity and reproof. Judah now expresses, in the name of the rest, their common feelings: "What shall we say unto my Lord? What shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants. Behold, we are my Lord's servants, both we and he also with whom the cup is found." To this Joseph coldly and definitely replies that he only intended to retain as slave him that had been guilty—the others might return to their father. In mute despair all the brothers remain prostrate on the ground; only Judah, equally bold and humble, ventures to come near to the severe ruler of Egypt. His heart, full of love and sorrow, of repentance and grief, finds vent in speech, which, like a pent-up stream, breaks through the dam—artless and simple, but impressive and convincing, eloquent and irresistible, as scarce speech had ever flowed from man's lips. The vividness of his description is inimitable. Rapidly he relates the state of matters; he describes the attachment with

which his father cleaves to the youth, the anxious care with which he had dismissed him, and the wretchedness through which, in consequence of his loss, his grey hairs would go down to the grave with sorrow. Then he adds that himself had become surety for the lad, and entreats to allow him to remain as slave in his room. Joseph could now no longer restrain himself. He removed all the Egyptians who were present, and, bursting into tears, he exclaims: "I am Joseph! doth my father yet live?" As rooted to the ground, his brothers stand before him, but Joseph affectionately comforts and encourages them: "I am Joseph *your brother*. Come near to me! Be not grieved, nor think with yourselves that I am angry because ye sold me hither; for God did send me before you to preserve your life." And he fell upon the neck of his brother Benjamin, and embraced all his brethren; he kissed them and wept upon them; but he also enjoined them to haste with the joyous tidings to their aged father, and in the name of Joseph to invite him into Egypt, since other five years of famine were to be expected. He promises to provide for them a dwelling-place in his vicinity, *in the land of Goshen*, and there to nourish them. With great cordiality Pharaoh also gives his consent to Joseph's plan of transporting his family into Egypt, and, laden with rich presents, Joseph's brothers depart, carrying with them, by behest of Pharaoh, Egyptian waggons, to facilitate the removal of their families from Canaan.

1. On the final and the full proof of the genuine repentance of Joseph's brethren, *Baumgarten* remarks, p. 342: "The brothers have heard their sentence from the mouth of the dread ruler of Egypt, nor can they complain of injustice. If, in their inmost heart, they had not been resolved rather to suffer all than to forsake Benjamin, and to bring fresh sorrow upon their father, they would now have gone away, arguing that they had done everything in their power for Benjamin. Had they not their wives and children at home, and who was to sustain them if they had remained as servants in Egypt? Besides, what was to become of the whole house of Israel? But the thoughts and the intentions of the sons of Jacob were now only fixed upon one object, not to forsake Benjamin, nor to grieve their father—every other consideration seemed but secondary."

On the situation of the *land of Goshen*, comp. § 92, 5.

THE OLD COVENANT

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= § 1. (Gen. xlv. xlvii. 12).—The report that Joseph was still alive, and was ruler over all the land of Egypt, was like a fable to his aged father Jacob; and it was not till he saw the Egyptian waggons that he could be convinced that it was true. “It is enough,” he then exclaimed, “Joseph my son is yet alive, I will go and see him before I die.” Well versed as he was in the ways of God, the old man could recognise at once the *call of Jehovah* in the invitation of Joseph. He therefore went to Egypt without delay. He stopped at the border of the land of his pilgrimage, which was also the promised land, to *offer a sacrifice* to the God of his fathers; and God *appeared to him in a dream*. “Fear not,” he said, “to go down to Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation. I will go down with thee into Egypt, I will also surely bring thee up again, and Joseph shall close thine eyes” (1). The whole *house of Jacob*, with their wives, their children and grand-children, and all their possessions (2), then went down to Egypt in Pharaoh’s waggons. (3) Judah was sent forward to announce their approach to Joseph, who hastened to meet his father, “and wept on his neck a good while.” He then procured from the king the formal and official sanction to his plans, and presented five of his brethren to Pharaoh, who willingly gave them the required permission to live as *strangers and immigrants* (4) in the land of Goshen (5), which was so peculiarly suited to their nomad life. As a further proof of his confidence, he instructed Joseph to give his own cattle into the charge of the most able members of his family.

At a later period Joseph introduced his aged father to the king. The hoary-headed pilgrim *blessed* the king, and replied to his friendly enquiry as to his age: "The days of the years of my pilgrimage are a hundred and thirty years; few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage" (6).

(1). There seems to have been always a strong inclination in the minds of the patriarchs to turn, they probably knew not why, towards Egypt, the fairy land of wealth, of culture, and of wisdom. This bias appears in all the three, but it was only in the case of Jacob that the inclination of the heart coincided with the call of God. Abraham actually went there, but the result taught him a lesson (§ 52); Isaac was restrained by God, just as he reached the frontier (§ 71); at last Jacob turned his steps in the same direction, and Jehovah appeared to him on the border of the land, to assure him that his course was pleasing to God.

In the history of the Old Testament, so long as it evinced any life and progress, we detect a constant disposition to coalesce with heathenism; and it was not till Israel had so hardened itself, that any further development was impossible, and had sacrificed its lofty, world-wide destiny for exclusiveness of the most absolute and contracted kind, that the inclination ceased to exist. There was truth at the foundation of this disposition, viz., a consciousness on the part of Israel of its relation to the world, and a presentiment of the fact that, whilst it was to infuse new life into heathenism from the fulness of its divine inheritance, it would also require to draw supplies from the culture of heathenism, that is, of the world. But in most cases the inclination was manifested in a thoughtless way, and therefore in ungodly, perverse, and injurious efforts. We find indications of this disposition as early as the days of the patriarchs, and in their case it was associated with the same truth and the same rashness. At that time it turned exclusively to Egypt, which was then and for a long time afterwards the only representative and type of earthly power, wealth, and civilisation. The *rashness* is seen in Abraham and Isaac, the *truth* appears first in Jacob.

It was not till the days of Jacob that the promised seed attained to such maturity as to render a certain amount of intercourse with heathenism both desirable and useful.

The *first* stage in the covenant history was drawing to an end, and Israel was preparing to enter upon a second. They left Canaan as *a family*, to return to it *a people*. As *a family* they had done their work and accomplished their end, viz., to exhibit the foundations on which *national life* is based. Henceforth their task would be to show how the basis of *the world's history*, in its widest form, is to be found within *the nation*. The two epochs, the growth of the family and that of the nation, stood in the same relation to each other as two concentric circles. The force of the common centre, from which the circumference of each is generated, gives to the two circles analogous forms. And this central creative power was the divine decree, on which Israel's history rested and by which it was sustained. At the conclusion of its entire history Israel was to enter into association with heathenism, in order that its all-embracing destiny might (to a certain extent) be fulfilled by its receiving from the latter the goods of *this world*, human wisdom and culture; and, on the other hand, by its imparting to the heathen the abundance of its *spiritual* possessions, the result of all the revelations and instructions which it had received from God. And thus also at the period under review, when the first stage of its history was drawing to a close, Israel joined with Egypt, the best representative of heathenism, bringing to Egypt deliverance from its troubles, through the wisdom of God with which it was endowed, and enriching itself with the wealth, the wisdom, and the culture of that land. Thus was it prepared to enter upon a new stage of its history, a stage of far wider extent and greater importance. *Vid.* § 92, 7.

It was not merely a vague surmise in Jacob's mind, which led him to the conclusion that the time had arrived for yielding to the inclination to go to Egypt, and that this inclination was confirmed and sanctified by a call from God. All the previous leadings of God combined to make this clear and certain, even without any express permission or direction on His part now. The remarkable course of Joseph's history, no less than Joseph's dreams, which the issue had shown to be from God, and the pressure of the existing famine, prevented any other conclusion

than that the invitation of Joseph was a divine call. And this opinion was expressly confirmed by the previous revelation made to Abraham, that his seed would sojourn in a foreign land four hundred years. (Gen. xv. 13 sqq.)

Still the road which Jacob took was a painful path to him. He could not forsake the land, which had been the scene of all his wanderings, the object of all his hopes, and was still the land of promise, without hesitation and anxiety, especially as he could not shut his eyes to the fact that he should never tread it again. Once already he had been obliged to leave this promised land, and did so with a heavy heart (§ 75). But Jehovah had appeared to him at Bethel then, and consoled him with the assurance that he would bring him back with abundant blessings. Nor was a similar consolation wanting here. Jehovah promised that he would go down with him into Egypt, and bring him (meaning, of course, his descendants) back again to the land of his fathers. And even in Egypt the twofold object of all His previous leadings, viz., the promised land and the promised seed, would not be forgotten. On the contrary, the final intention of the whole should be realised there; "for," said the Lord, "there will I make of thee a great nation."

(2). The *catalogue of the house of Israel*, which came into Egypt, as given in Gen. xlv. 8—27, presents several points of difficulty that we must not pass over. *First*, the direct descendants from Jacob who migrated to Egypt are said in ver. 27 to have numbered *seventy* souls. They are reckoned according to their mothers, thirty-three being assigned to Leah (ver. 15), sixteen to Zilpah (ver. 18), fourteen to Rachel (ver. 22), and seven to Bilhah (ver. 25). *V. Lengerke* (i. 347 sqq.) endeavours to prove that the number 70 is merely a round and approximate number, and throws the statements of the text into such strange confusion, that he succeeds in introducing several discrepancies into a list which is otherwise straightforward and plain. He first takes Leah's descendants in hand, and finds it impossible to arrive at the number 33. If Er and Onan, who died in Canaan (ver. 12), are included, there are 34 names; and if they are omitted, the catalogue contains only 32. But it is expressly stated in vers. 8 and 26 that Jacob, the head of the family, is reckoned as one of the 70 souls, and as he is placed in ver. 8 at the head of the catalogue of the children of Leah, it can be

nothing but a spirit of contradiction, that leads any one to insist upon so literal an interpretation of ver. 14 as to seek for the names of exactly 33 *sons* or *descendants* of Leah. If Jacob is to be reckoned as one of the 70, the only appropriate place in which his name could stand is at the head of the catalogue of the children of Leah, his proper and lawful wife. There is still greater confusion in *v. Lengerke's* further remark (p. 240) that "the numbers given in vers. 18, 22, and 25 are correct, but in ver. 26 the number 66 is a round and approximate number; for $33 + 16 + 14 + 7$ amount to exactly 70, and according to ver. 27 this number is only arrived at by the addition of Jacob, Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh." This is strange. In ver. 8 Jacob is reckoned as one of the 33, and in vers. 19, 20 Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh form part of the 14; so that, as a matter of course, if they are deducted from the whole number, as is the case in ver. 26, there will be only 66 remaining.

Again, the statement that *the* children of Israel "which came into Egypt" were numbered (vers. 8 and 26), appears to differ in several respects from the previous history. It would be easy to offer a complete defence of the general terms employed in ver. 8, where Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh, who were already in Egypt, are apparently reckoned among those who had just arrived there, even if they had not been so expressly excepted in vers. 20 and 26 as to prevent any possibility of mistake; for the writer's point of view led him to regard the emigration of Joseph and his sons into Egypt as not actually completed until the whole house, of which they were members, had formally settled there. Previous to that settlement Egypt was merely a casual resting place, and Canaan their true and proper home. But we meet with *real* difficulties of another kind. Benjamin, who comes before us as a youth throughout the history of Joseph (see for example Gen. xliii. 29), and who was not more than twenty-four years old, according to the existing chronological data, had as many as ten sons (ver. 21). Reuben, who is spoken of as having only two sons when they went to Egypt the second time (chap. xlii. 37), had now four (ver. 9). Pharez, the son of Judah by Tamar, had two sons (ver. 11), a fact which seems absolutely irreconcilable with the results arrived at in vol. i. § 86. And it is very improbable, to say the least, that Jacob's two great-grandsons, the children of B'riah, the *youngest* son of Asher, were born

in Canaan (v. 17), since their grandfather Asher was only forty years old at the period of the emigration, and therefore his *youngest* son B'riah must have been a mere boy. With so many circumstances leading to the same conclusion, we need not hesitate to adopt the explanation that the words of ver. 26, "all the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt," are used in so general a sense as to embrace those grandsons and great-grandsons whose birth must have fallen in the period subsequent to the emigration.

Hengstenberg (Pentateuch vol. ii. 284 sqq. trans.) has entered thoroughly into an examination of the difficulty referred to, and solves it on the ground that the grandsons and great-grandsons of Jacob, though not yet born, were in their fathers, and therefore entered Egypt with them. Objections have been raised to this interpretation from various quarters, but we must still adhere to it. *Lengerke* talks about the "orthodox *in lumbis*," but will not affirm that the objection is sufficient to set it aside. The view referred to, which sees in the father the *ensemble* of his descendants, is common to the whole of the Old Testament. We find it repeatedly in the promises of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, "I will give *thee* the land;" "in *thee* shall all nations of the earth be blessed;" "*thou* shalt be a blessing," &c.; and in the section before us there are unmistakeable examples of it: "I will *bring thee* up again," ver. 4, (evidently not the individual person of Jacob, but his descendants, who were not yet in existence, and of whom Jacob was the one representative.) Why then should not the same writer, or even another, be able to say from the same point of view that the sons of Benjamin and Pharez *went down* in their fathers to Egypt? And, "just as Joseph's sons, though born in Egypt, are reckoned among the souls who came to Egypt, because in their father they had come thither, so also may these descendants of Jacob who came to Egypt in their fathers be regarded as having come *with Jacob* thither."

The reasons already assigned serve to show that such an explanation is both admissible and necessary, and the following data heighten its *probability*. 1. In the list of the families of Israel, which was prepared in the last year of the journey through the desert (Num. xxvi.), there are no grandsons of Jacob mentioned besides those named in Gen. xlvi. "It is difficult to

explain this if the arrival in Egypt spoken of in Gen. xlvi. is to be taken precisely as a *terminus ad quem*. Are we to suppose, then, that there were no children born to Jacob's sons in the land of Egypt?" 2. In chap. xlvi. 5, where there is no question of genealogy, and the individuals emigrating are described from a historical point of view, we read, not of the *grandchildren* of Jacob's sons, but merely of their children, who are described as *little ones*. 3. In the case of Hezron and Hamuel (ver. 12) the author appears desirous of intimating that they were not born in Canaan, and that he regarded them as substitutes for Er and Onan, who had died there. *Venema* has expressed the same opinion. Thus he says (i. 121): "It is probable that the sons of Pharez who were born in Egypt are mentioned, because they were substituted for the two sons of Judah who died in Canaan. The historian clearly asserts as much, and when he adds that the latter died in the land of Canaan, he plainly implies that the sons of Pharez, who were put in their place, had not been born there."

Baumgarten (i. 316, 334, 350 seq.) has taken a most decided stand in opposition to *Hengstenberg*. In his anxiety to establish the *literal* historical accuracy of the genealogy in chap. xlvi. he does violence in a most unscrupulous manner to the previous history and the chronological data afforded by it, and crowds together not merely improbabilities but impossibilities also. (See the remarks in § 86). He is of opinion that with *Hengstenberg's* explanation "the entire list loses its objective worth and its historical importance; and if such were regarded as sufficient reasons for inserting in the catalogue those who were not born till afterwards, there was no definite limit at all, and the contrast between 70 souls who entered Egypt and 600,000 who left it, on which such stress is laid in Deut. x. 22, loses all its force."

This argument proceeds upon a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the historiographical idea and design of the document. *Baumgarten* overlooks the fact that we have here not really a historical account, but a genealogical table; and that whilst any looseness of expression would be inadmissible in the former, it is not so in the latter. Besides, it is not correct that the insertion of a few of those who were born in Egypt was an arbitrary proceeding, and that there were no essential limits to determine the selection. Not only were there such limits, but

they are most clearly defined ; for the only grandsons or great-grandsons of Jacob whom we find in the list are those whose descendants formed a separate family (משפחות) in Israel. As a general rule the *sons* of Jacob were the heads of *tribes*, and the *grandsons* the heads of *families*. The outward unity of the family of Jacob, their existence as a common household, was not disturbed by his sons ; but it could not but be disturbed by his grandsons. From outward considerations this became inevitable as soon as they attained their majority ; and their separate establishments formed the first step in the transition from a family to a people. Now, it was evidently the intention of the author of the book of Genesis, to trace the early history of the nation of Israel up to that point, in which the children of Israel began to lay aside their character as a family, and assume the characteristics of a people. And if we endeavour to assign some definite epoch to this change, there is none which we can fix upon but the removal to Egypt. For, as we shall afterwards show, the principal intention of that removal was to facilitate the transition from a family to a people, and to secure it against interruption. And it was just about this time that Jacob's family reached the third stage, in which the *Mishpachoth* (or families) originated. A few exceptions might be found, but they could very well be sacrificed to the general validity of the rule and the great importance of the event in question. The task of the author was to trace the history of the descendants of Jacob up to that point in which they began to form separate *Mishpachoth* (families). And thus we have a limit, both thoroughly objective and sharply defined. It was not accident and caprice, therefore, but objective historical conditions which determined the choice.

This explanation is strikingly confirmed by a comparison of our list, which describes the state of things existing when the development of the nation *began*, with that contained in Num. xxvi., which describes in a similar manner the state of the *Mishpachoth* when it was *complete*. Such a comparison establishes all the suppositions which our explanation necessarily involves. In general the names mentioned are the same. In Gen. xlvi. they are given as those of the grandsons and great-grandsons of Jacob, and in Num. xxvi. as those of the heads of separate *Mishpachoth* ; and the few deviations from this rule the altered circumstances will easily and naturally explain. Thus,

in Gen. xlvi. we have only two of Jacob's grandsons by Joseph mentioned, viz., Ephraim and Manasseh; whilst in Num. xxvi. we have not less than thirteen *Mishpachoth* assigned to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. But so long as the two sons of Joseph had not been adopted by Jacob (and that did not take place till the end of his life, seventeen years after the emigration), they could only be regarded as Jacob's grandsons, and therefore as the founders of two *Mishpachoth*. But when once they had been adopted, and had become the heads of distinct *tribes*, the *Mishpachoth* of the tribes were necessarily traced to their sons or grandsons. On the other hand, some names are *omitted* from Num. xxvi. which we find in Gen. xlvi. among the grandsons of Jacob. This, too, may be very simply explained on the ground that probably they did not increase to a sufficient extent to be able to claim the right of forming independent *Mishpachoth*, which they would otherwise have possessed as grandsons of Jacob, or that their families became extinct. Thus, for example, ten sons of Benjamin are named in Gen. xlvi., but in Num. xxvi. and 1 Chr. viii. 1, 2, we only read of five. This diminution, however, was most probably occasioned by the punishments so frequently inflicted upon the people in the desert.

If, then, it was the design of our author to continue his history to that point of time, in which the first foundations of the *national* institutions were laid in the *Mishpachoth*, and if, as a general rule, these *Mishpachoth* commenced with the grandsons of Jacob, it was necessary that he should include *all* the sons of Benjamin as well as the rest of Jacob's grandsons in the genealogical summary with which he closes his book. The unimportant and accidental circumstance that some of these were born in Egypt, was not in itself sufficient to prevent him from completing the lists, especially as the phrase "*in lumbis*," which conveyed to his mind and to those of others in his day a sense so much at variance with modern views, would be to him both natural and ready to his hand.

And the introduction of the names of the great-grandsons of Jacob through Judah and Asher may undoubtedly be explained in a similar way. From Num. xxvi. we learn that in their case there was an exception to the general rule, that the *Mishpachoth* should be founded by Jacob's *grandsons*. With Judah's grandsons, Hezron and Hamuel, the sons of Pharez, this is very

apparent. As the two sons of Judah, Er and Onan, who died in Canaan, had failed to become the founders of *Mishpachoth*, the two first-born sons of Pharez, the son of their widow Tamar, through a Levirate marriage with Judah, entered as a matter of right into the vacant places of the deceased sons. Their father Pharez also became the founder of another *Mishpachah* through the remainder of his sons; and this *Mishpachah* was called by his name. This may likewise have been the case with the grandsons of Asher, Heber, and Malchiel, who founded families of their own in addition to that of which their father B'riah was the head (see Num. xxvi. 44 seq.), but we have not the necessary genealogical data for establishing the fact.

Thus we differ from *Hengstenberg*, inasmuch as we do not consider that the ideal importance of the number 70 would be a sufficient explanation of that want of objective truth which *Baumgarten* finds in the verse before us, but trace it, as the latter also does, to an objective historical fact. We are not, however, inclined on that account to give up the importance of the number 70. We regard it as a seal impressed upon the first step in the progress of Israel towards a national existence, for the purpose of distinguishing it as the holy nation to which salvation was entrusted for all the nations of the earth. *Seven* is the covenant-number, *κατ' ἑξοχην*, the sacred number, and therefore the sign of separation from the world. *Ten*, again, is the mark of completeness and universality. In *seventy* we have seven multiplied by ten, and this multiplication is the symbol of the peculiar position of the people of Israel. For the two things which distinguished the nation of Israel were just its *particular* call and separation on the one hand, and its *universal* relation, as the bearer of promises, on the other. And this *universalism* was not a mere abstract idea slightly associated with the history of the people, but a concrete potential fact, which entered truly and deeply into the very first stages of that history. The nation of Israel was a blessing to the nations even before the advent of Christ. In proportion to its age and the measure of its development it was so in the person of Abraham, when he led his pilgrim-life among the people of Canaan. In a still higher degree it became so in Joseph. In the highest sense it is so in Christ.

It appears strange that in the genealogical list there are only

two women mentioned among the direct descendants of Jacob ; *Dinah*, his daughter, and *Serah*, the daughter of Asher. We cannot determine with certainty whether their names are inserted because they were the only female descendants of Jacob in existence at the time of the emigration to Egypt, or whether there were not rather some peculiar circumstances which led to their being singled out from the rest. In the case of *Serah* we might infer from Num. xxvi. 46 and 1 Chron. vii. 30 that the latter was the cause, as she had evidently attained to some kind of independence among the families of Israel after her marriage. This may also have been the case with *Dinah*, and the family may afterwards have lost its importance. (*Baumgarten* agrees with *Luther* in the conjecture that *Dinah* was Jacob's house-keeper after his wives were dead, and that this will account for the insertion of her name). We must give the preference to the first of these explanations, as most consistent with the objective correctness of the catalogue. It appears to us neither impossible nor incredible that there should have been so large an excess of male children in Jacob's family for the first two generations ; on the contrary, we can see in this fact the marks of the wisdom of God, which always directed the births that took place in the chosen family. We have already seen in several instances with what difficulties the marriages of the sons were attended. It was of the greatest importance to guard against any intermarriage with the Canaanites, lest the stream of heathen corruption should break through the barriers by which this family was kept apart. But as the other branches of the family yielded more and more to the corruption of heathenism, and as the family of Jacob himself extended, these difficulties must necessarily have gone on increasing. If, however, the immediate posterity of Jacob consisted chiefly of men, it would evidently be easier to overcome the difficulties, and there would also be less danger connected with the marriage of one of Jacob's sons or grandsons to a heathen wife, than with the marriage of a *daughter* to a heathen husband. The subordinate position of the wife would render the former of comparatively slight importance ; but in the latter case the daughter would actually separate herself from the chosen family and from the Covenant with Jehovah. It was not till a later period, when the blood-relationship of the descendants of Jacob had become so distant

as to present no obstacle to the contraction of marriages one with another, that the difficulties in the way of the marriage of daughters came to an end.

As a rule, however, the sons of Jacob continued to avoid contracting marriages with the women of Canaan. This is plainly implied in ver. 10, where it is expressly mentioned as an unusual occurrence that Simeon had taken a Canaanitish woman as his concubine. In addition to their relations in Syria they could have recourse to other relations, viz., the descendants of Edom and Keturah.

(3). *V. Lengerke* (ut sup. i. 347), who pronounces chap. xlv. 1—4 an incongruous interpolation, charges the author of this passage with ignorance of the nature of the country between Beersheba and Hebron, on account of his making Pharaoh's waggons travel by this impassable road. "According to the statements of modern travellers," says *v. Lengerke*, as *e.g. Robinson* (i. 317), it seems evidently impossible that waggons can ever have been employed among the steep and rugged hills of this district, which has always been destitute of a carriage road." But *Robinson* is merely speaking of the *straight* road between the two places, by which he himself travelled; and he afterwards adds, "we are convinced that waggons for the patriarch could not have passed by that route. Still by taking a more circuitous route up the great Wady-el-Khülil more to the right, (according to the map the distance would not be very much greater), they might probably reach Hebron through the valleys without great difficulty."

(4). We must not overlook the fact that, when the brothers are admitted to an audience of the king, they do not ask to be received as members of the Egyptian state, but merely request permission to settle as *foreigners and sojourners* in Egypt for an indefinite period: "to sojourn in the land are we come," (chap. xlvii. 4). In this carefully chosen expression we see not only their consciousness, that Egypt could never be the land of their home and their future history, but also their intention to retain the right of leaving Egypt whenever they pleased, and hence the subsequent oppression and detention of their descendants was an act of violence opposed alike to justice and to the original compact. There is a striking resemblance between the description of the arrival of Jacob's family and a scene which *Hengstenberg*

has copied from *Wilkinson's* work on Egypt, (see Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 40, Eng. translation). It is taken from a tomb at Beni Hassan, and represents the arrival of strangers, who have come to Egypt with presents in their hands, and with their property carried on asses. "The number 37 is written over them in hieroglyphics. All the men have beards, which was contrary to the custom of the Egyptians, although very general in the East at that period. It is usually introduced in their sculptures as a peculiarity of foreign uncivilised nations." On this *Hengstenberg* remarks, "Some believe that this painting has a direct reference to the arrival of Jacob with his family in Egypt. On the contrary, *Wilkinson* observes that the expression "captives," which appears in the inscription, makes it probable that they are some of the prisoners of whom so many were taken captive by the Egyptians during their wars in Asia. But in his more recent work, he considers this circumstance as no longer decisive, inasmuch as the contemptuous expressions common among the Egyptians in speaking of foreigners, might account for the use of this word. In fact it speaks very decidedly against their being prisoners, that they are armed. Whether this painting has a direct reference to the Israelites will, of course, ever remain problematical, but it is at any rate well worthy of notice, since it furnishes proof that emigration with women and children took place in very ancient times."

Joseph directed his brethren to introduce themselves as *shepherds*, not only in spite of the fact that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, but *on that very account*. His reason for doing so is apparent. In the occupation of his brethren there was the surest guarantee that their national and religious peculiarities would not be endangered or destroyed, and that they would not be absorbed by the Egyptians. The hatred and contempt which the Egyptians cherished towards the shepherd caste, as existing monuments attest by many a characteristic sign, may be traced to the fact that agriculture, with its regular and methodical habits, was the sole support of the Egyptian state, and that the irregularities of a nomad life must have appeared to a pedantic Egyptian to be rude and barbarous in the extreme. It is interesting, however, to find traces in the Pentateuch of the different stages in the growth of that fanatical hatred, which the people of Egypt ultimately cherished towards every-

thing foreign. When Abraham sojourned in Egypt there was no appearance of this dislike; in Joseph's time all shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, and it was necessary that Joseph should be naturalised by marrying the daughter of an eminent priest. But the fact that such a marriage could take place is a sign, that the hatred and antipathy towards all that was foreign, which prevailed in the time of the Exodus, had not yet reached its highest point.

Pharaoh's readiness to consent to the request of the brethren may have been dictated by political motives, as well as by a wish to gratify Joseph. He may not improbably have hoped that by the settlement of a powerful and devoted tribe in the border province he would secure a desirable *bulwark* against the devastating incursions of the Bedouin robbers of the desert, and also against the other nations of the East, from whom Egypt, with its tempting treasures, had always much to fear.

(5). For the situation of the *province of Goshen*, see *Gesenius* Thes. s. v., *Robinson* i. 76 sqq. (London Ed. 1841), *Hengstenberg* ut sup. p. 42, sqq., Eng. tr., *Ewald* ii. 52, sqq., and *Tischendorf*, de Israel. per mare rubrum transitu, Lips. 1847, p. 3, sqq. Goshen was undoubtedly the *most easterly border-land* of Egypt. Jacob sent Judah thither before the rest (Gen. xlv. 28). There the procession halted until Joseph had obtained the king's permission (chap. xlvii. 1). And the Israelites asked for a grant of this province that they might not come too closely into contact with the Egyptians, who hated their mode of life (xlv. 34). It is evident from Ex. xiii. 17, and 1 Chr. vii. 21, that Goshen bordered on Palestine and Arabia, and the history of the departure of the Israelites in the Book of Exodus shows that it was not far from the Red Sea. The following data help to determine the western boundary of Goshen:—It extended as far as the Nile (Ex. ii. 3; Num. xi. 5; Deut. xi. 10), and the Egyptian capital of that day was not far distant (Gen. xlv. 10, xlv. 28, 29; Ex. ii. 5, 8), though the name of the capital is nowhere mentioned in the Pentateuch. The searching investigations of *Bochart* (*sedes aulæ Ægyptiacæ ad Mosis tempora*, opp. s. p. 1099, seq.) and *Hengstenberg* (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 44, 45), lead to the conclusion that it was Tanis (or Zoan), near to the mouth of the *Tanitic* arm of the Nile. This supposition is strongly confirmed by Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43, where God is said to have wrought

his signs in Egypt in *the field of Zoan, i.e.*, in the Tanitic *nomos*; and there is an unmistakable intimation of this in the Pentateuch, where Hebron is said to have been built seven years before Zoan of Egypt, (Num. xiii. 23). This expression, *Zoan of Egypt*, implies not merely that it was one of the oldest cities in Egypt, but that it held the highest rank, in other words, that it was the capital of Egypt. Moreover, it must not only have been well known to the Israelites, but it must also have stood in very close relation to them.* If we add to these scriptural data the statement of *Josephus*, Arch. ii. 7, 6, that Pharaoh gave up Heliopolis to Jacob and his children, "we shall probably come very near to the truth," as *K. v. Raumer* says, Beitr. Zur. bibl. Geogr., p. 1, "if we assume that the land of Goshen was the strip of cultivated land which runs from Heliopolis, on the south-west, towards the north-east, and is bounded on the east by the Arabian desert, and on the west by the eastern arms of the Nile," *i.e.*, very nearly the same ground which is now covered by the province of es-Sharkiyeh (the eastern land); see *Robinson*, i. 76. The only question that could arise here is whether the Tanitic arm itself, or the Pelusiac arm, which is a little further to the east, formed the western boundary. As we do not read that the Israelites crossed the Nile either when they entered Egypt or when they left, the decision of this question would depend upon the size of the Pelusiac arm, whether it was as small then as it now is (which seems very probable, from the nature and appearance of the ground, *Robinson*, i. 549), or whether it was once navigable, as some have inferred from *Arrian* iii. 1, 4, but without sufficient reason (*Robinson*, ut sup.).

These results are supported by the accounts which are given of the nature and fertility of the land of Goshen. From Gen. xlv. 34 it appears to have consisted of pasture-land, and in xlvii. 6 it is described as one of the most fruitful of the provinces of Egypt. These two features are seldom found together, but in this district we have them both. Part of the land is steppe, which is only suited for pasture, whilst the rest consists of the most fertile soil, and is watered by the overflowing of the Nile. With regard to the productiveness of the province of es-Sharkiyeh, even at the present time, *Robinson* says (i. p. 78, 79):

* The author retracts this opinion afterwards; see § 40, 2.—*Tr.*

“In the remarkable Arabic document translated by De Sacy, containing a valuation of all the provinces and villages of Egypt in the year 1376, the province of the Shurkiyeh comprises 383 towns and villages, and is valued at 1,411,875 dinars—a larger sum than is put upon any other province, with one exception. During my stay in Cairo I made many enquiries respecting this district, to which the uniform reply was that it was considered as the best province in Egypt. Wishing to obtain more definite information, I ventured to request of Lord Prudhoe, with whom the Pasha was understood to be on a very friendly footing, to obtain for me, if possible, a statement of the valuation of the provinces of Egypt. This, as he afterwards informed me, could not well be done, but he had ascertained that the province of the Shurkiyeh bears the highest valuation, and yields the largest revenue. He had himself just returned from an excursion to the lower parts of this province, and confirmed, from his own observation, the reports of its fertility. This arises from the fact that it is intersected by canals, while the surface of the land is less elevated above the level of the Nile than in the other parts of Egypt, so that it is more easily irrigated. There are here more flocks and herds than anywhere else in Egypt, and also more fishermen. The population is half migratory, composed partly of Fellahs, and partly of Arabs from the adjacent deserts, and even from Syria, who retain in part their nomadic habits, and frequently remove from one village to another. Yet there are many villages wholly deserted, where many thousands of people might at once find a habitation. Even now another million at least might be sustained in the district, and the soil is capable of higher tillage to an indefinite extent. So, too, the adjacent desert, so far as water could be applied for irrigation, might be rendered fertile, for wherever water is there is fertility.”

We find another name for “the land of Goshen,” in chap. xlvii. 11, viz., “the land of Raem’ses,” *Sept. Ραμεσσῆ*. The so-called *land* of Raem’ses is generally distinguished from the *city* of Raem’ses, which was *built at a later period* (Ex. i. 11). But there is no ground for this distinction, as *Hengstenberg* in particular has shewn (Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 49, seq., note Eng. tr.) Raem’ses is undoubtedly the name of a city in every other place in which it occurs (Ex. xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 3, 5); and there is no reason to suppose that the city was not in

existence at the time of Joseph ; for Ex. i. 11 does not refer to the first building of the city, but to the fortification of it. "The land of Raem'ses" was evidently the land of Goshen, of which the chief city was Raem'ses. The question as to the city actually referred to, and its situation, will come under examination in connexion with the history of the Exodus.

6. The fact that the aged patriarch presumed to *bless* the king of Egypt, and thus, in a certain sense, to assert superiority, is to be accounted for not merely from his greater age, but also from the impulse and encouragement given to Jacob by the consciousness that he was called of God to be a blessing to the nations (Gen. xii. 2). Jacob's blessing was a return and compensation for the kindness shown by Pharaoh to the house of Israel ; and we see here the type of the true relation, in which Israel was to stand to heathenism in all their future intercourse. Pharaoh offers earthly goods to the house of Israel, and Israel in return blesses him with the spiritual blessing of the house of God. We may notice, in passing, the importance of the account of Jacob's age, which is introduced at this point apparently in so accidental a manner. For, were it not for the statement here made by Jacob, we should lose the chronological thread of the patriarchal history, and that of the Old Testament in general would thereby be completely destroyed.

7. The *historical importance of the emigration of the house of Israel to Egypt* is evinced by the fact, that when the covenant was made by God with Abraham (vol. i., § 56), this was announced to him by revelation as a necessary part of the divine plan. At the same time it was expressly declared to him that the settlement in Egypt would not be permanent (chap. xv. 14), and this was repeated to Jacob in the vision at Beersheba (chap. xvi. 4). The *design* of the emigration was made known to *Abraham* : namely, that it was necessary as a transition from pilgrimage in the promised land to the full possession of the whole. In like manner the Lord said to *Jacob* in Beersheba (ver. 3) : "fear not to go down into Egypt, for *I will there make of thee a great nation.*" The two things are most intimately connected, for Israel (even if we look merely at outward circumstances), could not have obtained complete and sole possession of the land until it had become an organised nation. Canaan was already inhabited by other tribes, and they must necessarily be driven

out and the country conquered, before unlimited possession could be secured. But Israel must become a powerful people, before it could accomplish this. And whilst, on the one hand, the development of the family of Israel into a people was the condition of their taking possession of the land ; so, on the other hand, was the complete and irremediable corruption of the present inhabitants to be the condition of their expulsion. This is the meaning of the words addressed to Abraham (chap. xv. 16), "for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." These two indispensable prerequisites were already preparing, and during the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt both were to progress uninterruptedly towards completion. The spiritual blessings, which the pilgrimage of the patriarchs in the midst of the Canaanites had put within their reach for two hundred years, but which had been offered in vain, were now to be taken from them. It was the just judgment of God which deprived them of the salt they had so long despised, that the corruption which existed among them might do its work the more rapidly. The Israelites, on the other hand, were led to the enjoyment of those earthly blessings which were to be found in Egypt, the fairy land of fruitfulness, that they might become a great nation with more rapidity and ease.

Two hundred and fifteen years had now elapsed since Abraham first entered Canaan. There he had completed his pilgrimage, and his remains were deposited in the family grave at Hebron. There Isaac was born and died, and there he lived and suffered. There Jacob also had fought and conquered, and his sons and grandsons, the founders of the tribes and families from which the chosen people were to spring, had all been born and brought up in that land. Thus, then, the house of Israel had lived long enough in the promised land for the home feeling, so important and necessary, as we have already shown that it was (vol. i. § 49), to be deeply and ineradicably fixed in the *national* character. It was *necessary* that the rise of the *family* should take place in Canaan ; for that of the *nation* another soil was required.

The sentence of comparative barrenness had long prevailed in the chosen family ; it was the curse of *nature*, which was not fitted to bring forth the promised seed. But this sentence, which had been permitted by Divine wisdom to continue in force so long, was now removed. The *mercy* of the author of the

promises was unceasingly displayed, and instead of that comparative barrenness, which prevailed to such an extent that, after many decennia of apparently vain hope and patience, and unanswered faith and prayer, there was only one solitary representative of the covenant, there was now granted a productiveness of so remarkable a character, that in a few centuries there was every prospect of the fulfilment of the promise, that the seed should be as the sand which is upon the sea shore.

But Canaan, at that time, was not the land in which the promise could be fulfilled without interruptions. Israel could not possibly have grown to a great and independent nation there. And, what is quite as important, they would have been unable to maintain their national and religious peculiarities intact, amidst the temptations and attacks of a hostile principle. The elements most needed to promote their growth and bring it to perfection were not to be found there, nor would they have been educated in the school, which was best fitted to train them for their subsequent obligations.

Canaan was then in the possession of numerous tribes, who regarded the land as their own. Even Abraham had felt himself cramped in the movements of his establishment (Gen. xiii. 6); Isaac had constantly to retire before the powerful inhabitants by whom he was surrounded (Gen. xxvi.), and in the time of Jacob the difficulties must rather have increased than diminished. If, therefore, the house of Israel had remained any longer in Canaan, they would have encountered the greatest obstacles to their ever becoming a large and independent nation. If their numbers had rapidly increased, it would have been impossible for them to stand entirely aloof from the Canaanites, as they hitherto had done. In such a case, they must either have made war upon the inhabitants, in order to maintain a footing in the land (and it would not be difficult to foresee the disastrous issue if they had); or they must have scattered themselves over the neighbouring countries, and then they would have lost their national unity and degenerated into a number of separate nomad hordes; or thirdly, and of this there would be the greatest fear, they would have intermarried and mingled with the Canaanites, until they were completely absorbed by their superior numbers. But the maintenance of their religious peculiarities would have been even more difficult, than that of their national independence. The

religious eclecticism of the Canaanites, their readiness to adopt the *forms* of the Israelitish religion without its spirit (of which we had an example in the case of the Sichemites), and the seductive influence, which the worship of nature exerted upon that age and would certainly have exerted upon the Israelites, if they had come into closer contact with the inhabitants of the land, would all have combined to produce a result that would have been destructive of the very foundations of Israel's destiny.

None of these dangers existed in Egypt. There they could become a great nation without any difficulties or obstructions, and without the least interference with their national and religious peculiarities. And, what was of no little importance, they had opportunities there of making many provisions for their future wants as a nation. First of all, the land of Egypt furnished them with a plentiful supply during the existing famine, and such was the fertility and extent of Goshen that there was no occasion for them to be scattered, and no inducement to the members of particular tribes to separate from the general body. There was no fear of their mixing with the Egyptians and giving up their national and religious integrity. The hatred which the Egyptians cherished towards every foreigner, and the contempt in which shepherds especially were held, furnished an indestructible safeguard against any such danger. As Goshen was just as well fitted for agriculture as it was for grazing, it naturally induced them to combine the pursuits of farming, gardening, and vine-growing with those of their earlier nomad life, and thus fostered a taste for that mode of life, which was afterwards to form an essential part of their national existence. In the midst of the science, civilisation, and industry of Egypt, Israel was in the best school for that general culture, which they would afterwards require. Their intimate acquaintance with the Egyptian modes of thought, which looked at life in all its outward manifestations and ramifications from a religious point of view, may have served to enrich in many ways even the *religious* views of the Israelites. And the *symbols* of the Egyptian worship set before them a completely developed *form* of religious life, which was the product of laws of thought that are universally inherent in the human mind, and therefore was not merely applicable to Egyptian pantheism, but could also be adopted as a welcome support to the worship of the Israelitish theism, if only it could be animated,

purified, and modified by the Israelitish principle. In like manner the Egyptian constitution, with its strict rules and excellent organisation, furnished the model which, with modifications to suit the altered circumstances, was afterwards adopted in the Israelitish state. And lastly, "Egypt was the seat of the strongest worldly power, and therefore furnished the best instrumentality for the infliction of such severe sufferings as would awaken in the minds of the Israelites a longing for deliverance and a readiness to submit to their God; whilst, at the same time, it offered a splendid field for the manifestation of the power and justice and mercy of the God of Israel in the rescue of His people and the judgment of their enemies" (*Hengstenberg*, Pent. i. 362). The importance of the two elements last mentioned, and their necessary connection with the counsel of God, are apparent from the fact, that they are expressly mentioned in the revelation which was made by God to Abraham (chap. xv). Thus Israel obtained *the character of a redeemed people*, which was of such great importance in its future destiny, and *Jehovah* then showed himself to be, what he was to continue to be in a constantly increasing degree, *the Redeemer in Israel*.

(8). We reserve the inquiry respecting the *dynasties* which ruled in Egypt at the time when the children of Israel were sojourning there, and into the connection between the *Hyksos* and the Israelites, till we arrive at the period of the Exodus from Egypt, in order that we may not anticipate, or enter into separate discussions of subjects which are closely connected.

ADOPTION OF JOSEPH'S SONS.

§ 2. (Gen. xlvii. 27—xlviii. 22).—Jacob lived seventeen years in Egypt, and reached the age of 147. A short time before his death he sent for Joseph, and exacted an oath from him, that he would not bury him in Egypt, but by the side of his fathers in the promised land. Joseph then introduced his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, and, in virtue of the promises made to him by God, Jacob formally *adopted* and solemnly *blessed* them (1). Joseph had placed the elder son Manasseh at

Jacob's right hand, and the younger, Ephraim, at the left; but Jacob crossed his arms, and pronounced the blessing with his right hand upon Ephraim's head, and the left upon that of Manasseh. Joseph, supposing it to be an oversight, complained of his doing so; but Jacob, instead of making any alteration, explained to him that the greater blessing and the more numerous posterity would belong to the younger. The Patriarch then turned to Joseph, and, as a proof of special affection, presented him with a piece of land which he had once conquered from the Canaanites (2).

(1). We have already remarked, in the previous section, that the chosen seed had now reached the close of one of the stages of its history. The family was complete, and the basis was laid for the development of the nation. In a certain sense, too, this was a type of the absolute close of its entire history, when its course as a nation should be finished, and the basis laid for its world-wide destiny. This type, as we have seen, was chiefly displayed in the fact, that the idea of Israel's appointment, to be the medium of salvation to the nations, was here *partially* and *temporarily* realised, whilst the ultimate fulfilment would be *permanent* and *universal*. In Joseph, as the noblest product of the family life, and as the representative of his house to the heathen, Israel had become the saviour of Egypt. But it was evident that the salvation, which Israel brought to the heathen at that time, was only a passing one, and did not exhaust the *promise*; for this had spoken of salvation for *all the nations* of the earth, whereas the present fulfilment of that promise reached merely to *one* among the nations. The family life of Israel could only impart a blessing to *one people*, and that blessing was limited in force and extent. The full and unlimited blessing *for the whole world* could only be realised, when the national life of Israel was also complete. The Israelites, therefore, had not reached the goal, when the first stage of their history drew to a close. The development of the nation was now to recommence, but on a larger scale, and furnished with fresh powers and different means.

Joseph had already stepped beyond the contracted limits which hedged in the chosen seed, that he might carry a blessing to the

heathen. His path led him to a freer, more lofty, and we might almost say, a universal standpoint. In him Israel reached an eminence, on which the limited character of its subsequent development prevented it from standing long, and from this point it came down to the humble position assigned it, that it might afterwards attain to something infinitely higher and more glorious. Joseph's exaltation was followed by humiliation *in his sons*. He led them himself to his father, that by his blessing he might consecrate them to this. He bore them away from the posts of honour which were open to them in Egypt, that they might return to the humble shepherd-life which his brethren led. They were not to *perpetuate* the idea represented by their father, but to unite with his brethren in *originating* a new development. This act of Joseph denoted a return to a condition of exclusiveness, the transition from the first stage to the second in the history of Israel. It is a proof of Joseph's faith, gives us an insight into the plans of God, and manifests the harmony which God had determined to establish between the subjective and objective elements of that history.

Jacob's treatment of the sons of Joseph denoted two things: the restoration of the house of Joseph to the family of Israel, and the adoption of the two *grandchildren* to the position and privileges of *children*. The former was requisite, since their father Joseph had been naturalised as an Egyptian, and therefore had broken the outward ties which bound him to his family. Of the importance and effect of this we have spoken already. But, as Joseph had become the deliverer of his father's house in consequence of his leaving it, his return to it was to secure to him a larger measure of its blessings, and therefore Jacob adopted his two sons. The right to do this he founds upon the fact, that God had appeared at Bethel (vol. i. § 75) and given him the double blessings of posterity and the promised land (chap. xviii. 3, 4). "Therefore," said he, "thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, shall be mine as Reuben and Simeon." The privilege possessed by the sons of Jacob above the grandsons consisted, as we have already had occasion to remark, in the fact that the former were the founders of closely organised tribes, and the latter of merely subordinate families.

This act of Jacob's is generally regarded as a virtual exclusion of Reuben and Simeon from the rights of primogeniture, and

the transference of those rights to Joseph, since the double portion was the most essential mark of the birthright (Deut. xxi. 17). But there is no ground for such an inference here. Undoubtedly Joseph did receive a double portion in his sons; but it by no means followed that he obtained the privileges of the firstborn. His sons were placed on an equal footing with those of Jacob, but Reuben's claims to the birthright were not necessarily affected in consequence. We shall enter into the question more fully in a subsequent section (chap. xlix). The only thing that makes the nature of the adoption obscure, is the fact that Jacob expressly declares upon his deathbed, that the three eldest sons have forfeited their rights, and then merely transfers to Judah the second of the two privileges of birthright (a double inheritance and the headship of the family), but says nothing at all with reference to the former.

Jacob's *blessing* is the consequence of his adoption of Joseph's sons. In addition to the formal right to found two separate tribes, he assures them also of the requisite ability, that is, he gives them the blessing of such fruitfulness, as would enable them to form and maintain such tribes. The blessing is imparted by the *imposition of hands*; for the general meaning of which see my *Mosaisches Opfer* (Mitau 1842, p. 67 sqq.) Jacob pronounces *the same blessing* on the two sons, and blesses them both *uno actu*. There is indeed a difference, but one of *degree* merely and not of *kind*. To the younger there is promised greater fruitfulness and power than to the elder. As there is no reason to suppose that the distinction originated in any personal predilection, we can only explain it on the ground of the prophetic foresight of the patriarch, and discover in the prediction the last expression of that *πᾶρὰ φύσιν*, which predominated in the whole of the patriarchal history.

(2). When Jacob had blessed the sons of Joseph, he turned again to Joseph himself, and said: "Behold I die, but God shall be with you, and bring you again unto the land of your fathers. Moreover I give to thee one portion (שְׁכֶם אַחֶרֶךְ) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." This difficult passage has been expounded in various ways, and sometimes very strangely (*vid. C. Iken de portione una Josepho prae fratribus a patre data*, in his philol. and theol. dissertations). *Calvin* and others follow

the Septuagint, and suppose the passage to refer to the city of Sichem, which Jacob's sons took from the Amorites and destroyed, in consequence of the violence done to Dinah. But this explanation is irreconcilable with the use of the word אָדָר *one*, and it is inconceivable that Jacob should attribute to himself an event, which he so strongly lamented and abhorred (Gen. xxxiv. 30, and xlix. 5—7). Hence the שָׁכֶם must in any case be an appellative, though the choice of this particular expression renders it probable that there is some allusion to Sichem, which was certainly allotted to the tribe of Ephraim. Others imagine that the reference is to the "parcel of a field" which Jacob bought from the Shechemites for a hundred pieces of silver (Gen. xxxiii. 19). This explanation apparently lies at the foundation of John iv. 5. *Iken* attempts to remove the discrepancy between the statement of chap. xxxiii., that this field was *bought*, and that of chap. xlviii., that it was *conquered*, by supposing that after the land had been purchased, it was probably taken away again by the Amorites, so that Jacob was obliged to recover it by force. He finds a positive confirmation of this opinion in a wire-drawn *Haggada* in *Jalkut Shimeon*, where Jacob and his sons are said to have returned to Sichem, and to have engaged in a fearful war with the Canaanites, in which the old patriarch Jacob performed miraculous feats of bravery, and Judah did the most extraordinary things with a kind of Berserker fury. But we cannot possibly attribute the smallest residuum of a historical tradition to so absurd a legend, which has evidently grown out of the passage before us. Besides, it appears very inappropriate, that Jacob should found his claim to the piece of land upon a forcible conquest, which is never referred to in the book of Genesis, and not upon the purchase, which is there recorded. There is a third explanation, which is given by several rabbins, and has been revived by *Tuch* (comm. p. 552), viz., that the word, לָקַחְתִּי, *I took*, like the other perfects in Jacob's address, is to be regarded as a *perfectum propheticum*, and therefore that the subsequent conquest of the land by Jacob's descendants is here referred to, and that the play upon the word Shechem indicates the province which should afterwards be assigned to the descendants of Joseph. But there are difficulties connected with this explanation. It is true that, according to the ancient mode of view, Jacob might very well have attributed to himself, as the representative of the

nation, such a *national transaction* as the conquest of the land by his descendants; but in this *connection* it does not appear probable. Jacob's gift is evidently referred to here, as an expression of personal favour and affection, for which there would be a much better opportunity if the land to be disposed of had been acquired by his own exertions. Moreover, it must be remembered that Jacob had already separated Joseph from his sons by adopting the latter as his own (chap. xlviii. 6), and therefore that the present was made to Joseph personally, and not as the father of Ephraim and Manasseh, who had already received their blessings (vv. 15—20). Hence we are shut up to some event in the life of Jacob, which has been passed over by the book of Genesis; and, as we can only fall back upon conjectures, that offered by *Heim* (Bibelstunden. i. 644) is perhaps the most plausible. As we learn from Gen. l. 23 that the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were born on Joseph's knees, *i. e.*, were adopted by him, and from Num. xxvi. 29—33 that one of these sons was named Gilead, and also from Num. xxxii. 39 sqq., and Joshua xvii. 1, that the families of the tribe of Manasseh, who sprang from Gilead, received the land of Gilead on the east of the Jordan as their possession, *Heim* supposes that the tract of land to which Jacob refers (שכם lit. the *shoulder* of land), was the hill-country of Gilead. Jacob was peculiarly interested in this district on account of his interview with Laban there (chap. xxxi. 23 sqq.), and the "heap of witness" erected by him gave him a certain claim. The Amorites may possibly have destroyed this sacred memorial, and thus Jacob may have been led to attack them, for the purpose of conquering and maintaining possession of the memorial itself and the shoulder of land on which it stood. Joseph may perhaps have bestowed the land, which was presented to him by Jacob, upon the son of Machir, who was "born upon his knees," and have named it *Gilead* in consequence. This would probably explain the abrupt introduction of the tribe of Manasseh in Num. xxxii. 39: "And the children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead and took it, and dispossessed the Amorite which was in it. And Moses gave Gilead unto Machir." Hitherto the historian had only spoken of Reuben and Gad.

JACOB'S PROPHETIC BLESSING ON HIS SONS.

§ 3. (Gen. xlix. 1—28). Jacob assembles his twelve sons around his deathbed. The germs of the future, which are wrapped up in the present, open before his prophetic glance. He says :

- V. 1. "Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you
That which shall befall you in the end of the days! (1)
2. Gather yourselves together and hear, ye sons of Jacob,
Hearken unto Israel, your father!
3. *Reuben*, my first-born art thou!
My might and the first-fruits of my strength!
Pre-eminence in dignity and pre-eminence in power.
4. A fountain like water; have no pre-eminence!
For thou ascendedst thy father's bed,
'Then defiledst thou it,—my couch he ascended!
5. *Simcon and Levi*, brethren are they!
Instruments of violence are their strokes.
6. Into their fellowship come not, my soul,
Join not in their assembly, my glory!
For in their wrath they strangled the man,
And in their wantonness lamed the ox.
7. Cursed be their wrath, for it is fierce,
And their rage, for it is cruel!
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel (2).
8. *Judah* (*i.e.* praised) art thou, thy brethren praise thee,
Thy hand is on the neck of thine enemies;
The sons of thy father bow before thee.
9. A young lion is Judah.
From the prey thou risest up, my son.
He lieth down, he coucheth as a lion
And as a lioness. Who rouseth him up?
10. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor the ruler's rod from the place between his feet,
Till he attain to rest.
And the nations obey him.
11. He binds his ass-foal to the vine,
And the young of his she-ass to the vine-branch,
He washes his clothes in wine,
His garment in the blood of the grape.

12. Dark are thine eyes with wine,
White are thy teeth with milk (3).
13. *Zebulon* (*i.e.* dwelling), on the sea shore he dwells,
He dwells on the coast of ships
And his side is at Zidon.
14. *Issachar*, an ass with strong bones,
He lieth down between the hurdles.
15. He sees that rest is good,
And that the land is pleasant.
He bends his neck to the burden,
He becomes a tributary servant.
16. *Dan* (*i. e.* judge) judges his people
As *one* of the tribes of Israel.
17. Dan is a snake in the way,
An adder in the path.
He stings the horse's heel,
And backward falls his rider.
18. *For thy help I wait, Jehovah.*
19. *Gad*, oppressors press upon him,
But he presses their heel.
20. From *Asher* come fat things, his food,
He yields the dainties of a king.
21. *Naphthali*, a hind escaped,
Speaking words of beauty.
22. Son of the fruit-tree is *Joseph*,
Son of the fruit-tree at the well,
Daughters grow up over the wall.
23. They cause him bitterness, they shoot with arrows,
They lie in wait for him, the heroes of the arrow.
24. But his bow remains firm,
Supple is the strength of his hands.
From the hands of the strong one of Jacob,
From thence, where the shepherd is, the rock of Israel.
25. From the God of thy father—and he helps thee,
From the Almighty,—he blesses thee,
Blessings of heaven from above,
Blessings of the flood, which rests beneath,
Blessings of the breast and of the womb.
26. The blessings of thy father are stronger than the blessings of the
everlasting hills,
Than the loveliness of the hills of antiquity.
They come upon the head of Joseph,
On the crown of the consecrated among his brethren.
27. *Benjamin*, a rapacious wolf,
In the morning he devours the prey,
In the evening he divides the plunder (4).

(1). *Tuch*, in his Commentary (p. 561), has given a list of the numerous ancient authors who have written upon the chapter before us. Among modern expositions we may mention that of *Hüvernich* (*Vorlesungen über die Theol. des alten Test.* p. 208 sqq.). Every prophecy is founded upon the circumstances and necessities of the period of its delivery; and it is necessary, therefore, that we should understand both the feelings of the prophet and the outward circumstances which gave occasion to the prophecy, before we can interpret the prophecy itself. The blessing of Jacob is no exception to this rule. We have now arrived at that point in the history of the chosen seed, in which the family began to expand into the people. In the *dodekad* of Jacob's sons a true basis had been laid for the future development of the nation. The law, which required the separation of Abraham from his family and the exclusion of Ishmael and Esau, was now satisfied (*vid.* vol. i. § 49). Not one of the twelve sons of Jacob had to be shut out. They were all enclosed and united by the bond of election and promise. The fulfilment of their destiny depended upon their becoming a nation and possessing the promised land. These were the two results towards which their history was leading. The germs of both were now apparent; on the one hand, in the fact that, after so long a period of comparative barrenness, they suddenly became remarkably prolific, and, on the other, in the distinct consciousness that they were strangers in Egypt, where they never could and never were intended to feel at home. The fulfilment of each of these involved the union and amalgamation of the two, for the second was dependent upon the first. And this amalgamation constituted the future of Israel. This was to be the goal, and to constitute the completion, of their history, so far, that is, as it had already struck its roots and put forth its buds. From the very nature of prophecy, then, the eye of the prophet could not look beyond this goal (*vid.* vol. i. § 7), or, at least, could only do so where the *development* of the existing germ would furnish the *basis* or the *germs* of still further expansions.

The organ of the prophecy belonging to that age was Jacob. With a heavy heart he had left the land of his pilgrimage, his trials, his adventures, and his hopes, to see it no more; but he had left it with the fullest assurance, confirmed by God, that in his descendants he should receive it as a permanent possession.

His whole soul was filled with the one thought of his return to take possession of the promised land. On this one point were all his thoughts and feelings, all his hopes and longings, concentrated. So completely was his inner life absorbed by this, that there was no room for other thoughts or feelings, and all events were viewed in their relation to this one. From the accounts we possess of his sayings and doings after the removal to Egypt, everything seems to have been merely an expression of this one deep-rooted feeling of his nature (see chap. xlvii. 29 sqq., xlviii. 3—5; 21, 22), and he could not rest till he was assured on oath that his remains should be buried in the land of his fathers. A mind thus occupied and absorbed might well urge him to prophesy. And as he draws near to death, at that moment when the fetters of the spiritual sight are often broken,* not only is he enabled to look into the future with clearer eyes, but the spirit of prophecy comes upon him from above, and in its light he sees the longings of his heart fulfilled, and the promised land in the possession of his descendants. He sees the tribes of Israel stirring and active in the full enjoyment of the rich blessings of the land, victorious over the dangers which they meet with there; each one in the situation which the elective affinity of his character and his inclinations may have led him to choose, or which the patriarchal authority of the prophet, as the medium of the divine decrees, may have assigned him by way of punishment or reward. His twelve sons are standing round his bed, the representatives and fathers of the tribes by which the land is to be taken. Before his mind there are gathered together in one living picture all the pleasing and painful events of which they have been the cause. With prophetic vision he traces the characters and dispositions of the fathers, as they are transmitted, expanded, or modified, through the history of their descendants. And aided by this insight, he allots to every one, on the authority of God, his fitting portion of that land, in which he himself has led a pilgrim life for more than a hundred years, and which now stands with all its natural diversities and with its rich and manifold productions, as vividly and distinctly before

* *Cicero de divinatione*, i. 30: *facilius evenit appropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur*; *Homer*, II. 22, 355—360; *Plato*, *Apol.* i. p. 90 Bip.; *Xenophon*, *Cyr.* viii. 7, 21, &c; *Passavant*, *Lebens-Magnetismus*, Ed. 2. p. 163.

his mind as the different characters of his own sons. (See the beautiful exposition of this blessing in *Herder's* Briefe über das Stud. d. Theol. 1 Br. 5, 6, and Geist der Hebr. Poesie ii. 187—189).

That period in the future, which Jacob wishes to exhibit prophetically to his sons, is described by him as אֶחָרִית הַיָּמִים, *the end of the days*. For an explanation of this formula we refer more particularly to the excellent remarks of *M. Baumgarten* (Comm. i. p. 364 sqq. *Vid.* also *Hävernicks*, p. 209 seq., and *Hengstenberg*, Balaam 175 sqq.). We must admit with *Baumgarten* and *Hävernicks* (in opposition to *v. Bohlen*, *Rosenmüller*, *Hengstenberg*, and others), that in the passage before us, as well as the fifteen other passages of the Old Testament in which they occur, the words "the end of days," like the corresponding formula of the New Testament, ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, do not merely indicate some indefinite period in the future, but the closing period, the end of days, the time of the final fulfilment, in a word, the Messianic era. For although the words in their literal signification might refer to any future times, such as were not absolutely at the *end*; yet the usage of the language was sufficiently settled to compel us to interpret them in the present instance according to their stereotyped meaning. But it is said that the blessing itself is irreconcilable with such an interpretation; that the blessing evidently refers to the time of Joshua, when the holy land was fully conquered and divided among the twelve tribes; and that the time of Joshua cannot be regarded as the end of days, *i.e.*, as the close of the history of Israel, but, on the contrary, was rather the actual commencement of that history. This objection, however, has no force, if we take a correct view of the prophecy and of the history of Israel. *Baumgarten* (ut sup.) most appropriately says:—"The true knowledge of the end must take its form from the position and the horizon of each individual. Hence for Jacob the end could be nothing else than the possession of the promised land by his seed, the people of promise. All the promises pointed to that, and beyond that nothing had been given or even hinted at." Jacob could reasonably look upon the time of Joshua as that of the completion of all things; in fact he could not do otherwise, for there was as much partiality and imperfection in his knowledge of what constituted completion, as there was in

all that had been historically realised in the time of Joshua. And those very elements, which we find already fully developed and embodied in a definite form in Jacob's prophetic view of the perfection of the future, viz., the growth of his seed into a great nation and the possession of the promised land, were actually worked out and historically fulfilled in the time of Joshua. From Jacob's subjective point of view, the time when his promised posterity should have become a great nation, and taken possession of the promised land, was really the end of the days, inasmuch as their constant motion was then exchanged for rest, and wrestling and striving for possession and enjoyment. All his thoughts and hopes, his wishes and longings, were still bounded by this limited horizon. The only characteristics of the approaching end, with which he was acquainted, were the growth of his seed into a great and powerful people, and their possession of the holy land. And he knew of nothing that hindered the coming of the end, and the full and undisturbed possession and enjoyment of all the blessings it involved, but the insignificant and homeless condition of his family. Let these be once overcome, and in his view the full blessings of the promise must be enjoyed by his seed, and diffused by them throughout all the nations of the earth. This subjective view of the patriarch was imperfect, but by no means false. It was *true*, not merely because the removal of these hindrances, and the realisation of these conditions, furnished the necessary basis for the absolute completion of the Israelitish history, but also because it was in the possession of the land, the enjoyment of the blessings of that possession, and the central position which Israel then occupied among the nations of the earth, that the vocation of the seed of Abraham received its first passing fulfilment. But this fulfilment contained other germs within itself, which also required to be moulded and expanded. Jacob, however, looked at the period when the promised land should be possessed, as one of fulfilment and completion merely, and not, what it also was, as the seed of a higher development, the first stage of a still wider expansion, and therefore his view was *imperfect*. Since, then, Jacob prophesied of the time of Joshua, as though it would be the *end*, whereas it was to be only the beginning, the preparation, or an early stage of the absolute end; the prophecy of Jacob necessarily differed as much from the fulfilment in the time of Joshua, as

the relative termination differs from the absolute end of all. Hence the consciousness was sure to be excited that the rest and enjoyment and possession, which are referred to as perfect in Jacob's blessing, were not fully realised in Joshua's days, and therefore that Jacob's blessing still pointed onward from the period of its first partial fulfilment to a future day, when it should be more perfectly fulfilled. As a general rule each age will see the object of its longings, and therefore the end, in the satisfaction of those wants of which it happens to be conscious. But with every essential advance in the history of the world the horizon widens, and men become conscious of new wants, new desires, new expectations, of which previously they had no suspicion. The expansion of existing germs brings new germs to light, which until then had been hidden from view. And thus every condition which seemed likely to be the end is no sooner reached, than it becomes the commencement of a new development; and this will continue till the absolute end arrives, and with it the full expansion of every germ.

This blessing was closely related to that pronounced on Jacob by his father Isaac (vol. i. § 72; vid. my *Einheit der Genesis*, p. 198 seq.). Jacob here communicated to his sons, in a more fully developed form, what he had already received from his father; and the many points of coincidence and, to some extent, verbal agreements, which we meet with, especially in the predictions concerning Judah and Joseph, bear witness how deeply the prophetic words of his father had been impressed upon Jacob's mind.

Hitherto we have found the blessing of promise not merely handed down to the next generation by the possessor of it for the time-being, but also expressly repeated and confirmed by Jehovah (vol. i. § 72. 1). The latter, however, was not the case with Jacob's sons; there is no intimation of their having been invested with the blessing by Jehovah. And from this time forth even the former ceased. The reason why Jacob was the last to invest his sons with the blessing of promise was, that he was the last *solitary* possessor of the covenant and the blessing. And the reason for the omission of the express investiture on the part of Jehovah in the present case, seems to have been, that now at length the way of grace entirely coincided with that of nature. So long as certain members of the family had to be excluded as natural branches, it was necessary that the divine investiture

should be repeated every time ; but as soon as the patriarch had been pointed out, whose entire posterity, without any exception was destined to carry forward the plans of salvation, *his* divine investiture had force and validity for all future generations.

(2). *Reuben*, the first-born, stood first in the rank of the brethren who surrounded their father's bed. According to the rules of primogeniture, the double inheritance (Gen. xxi. 17) and the headship of the family also belonged to him (1 Chr. vi. 2 ; Gen. xlix. 3) ; but he had forfeited both the rights and the honour of birthright by the commission of incest (Vol. i. § 83). He ought, as the first-born, to have been the firmest defender of the honour of the family, and it was by him that it had been violated. For that reason the crown of dignity and might, to which his birthright entitled him, was taken from his head. *Simeon* and *Levi* were the next in order, but the dignity, which Reuben had forfeited, could not be conferred upon them ; for through their treachery towards the Shechemites (Vol. i. § 82) they had brought disgrace upon the house of Jacob, made his good name "to stink" among the heathen (Gen. xxxiv. 30), and acted in criminal opposition to the call of Israel, to be the channel of blessings and the medium of salvation to the heathen. They had *united* for the purpose of crime, therefore they were to be *scattered* in Israel. "This scattering of Simeon and Levi was an appropriate punishment for their alliance, which was opposed to the spirit of Israel, just as at a former period the forcible dispersion of the nations had been the consequence of their combining in opposition to the will of Jehovah" (*Baumgarten*).

The three elder sons were thus excluded from the rights and privileges of the birthright. They were not to inhabit the heart of the land, which would otherwise have fallen to their share. Reuben's inheritance was to be outside the true holy land, and therefore was not even mentioned. Simeon and Levi were to be scattered in fragments among the rest of the tribes, and therefore to lose the advantages and independence, which only compactness and unity could secure. But, although they were deprived of the blessings of the birthright, they were not separated from the community of the chosen people, or from the call which they had received. They were not placed on the same footing as Ishmael and Esau, but still continued, as *individuals*, members of *the* family, and as *tribes*, members of *the*

people, to whom the promise was given. They were, therefore, to co-operate with the rest in the duties to which the whole people had been called, and that was their blessing. But their co-operation was of a miserable kind, with very little of an independent character, and that was their curse.

(3). The earlier monographical expositions of the *blessing on Judah* have been specified by *Tuch* (Comm. p. 570). There have now to be added to the list *Hengstenberg's* Christology, sqq. : *Sack's* Apologetik ; *Hofmann's* Weissagung und Erfüllung ; and *L. Reinke's* Weissagung Jakob's üb. d. zukünftige glückliche Loos des Stammes Juda und dess. Nachkommen Schilo. The tone and substance of Jacob's discourse changed as soon as he looked at *Judah*. He was able to bestow upon the fourth son at least one part of that, which he had been obliged to refuse to the first three. The one great privilege of the first-born, the rank of chief among the tribes, with pre-eminence in power and dignity, is awarded to Judah. He is in reality, what he is in name, the *praised* among his brethren. The sons of his father bend before him, for with the courage of a lion he has fought as their leader and champion against every enemy, and having maintained their cause successfully, he holds the fruits of his victory with a lion's power. By swaying the sceptre with the force he displays, he is able not only to *enter* into rest, but to *give* rest to the tribes, at whose head he stands. The nations, whom he has conquered by the might of his arm, submit without resistance, yea willingly and cheerfully, to his peaceful government, and share in the blessings of peace and rest, into which he has entered and leads others also. The symbols of the conflict, by which the nations have been subjugated to their own advantage, are now laid aside, and he is surrounded by the emblems of peace alone. " Is he in full armour, a mighty conqueror, who has subdued the nations ? Is his garment full of the blood of the slain, his eye fired with the fierceness of battle ? No, he comes seated on the young colt of an ass, an animal of peace, and carries in a vineyard. Doubtless he has washed his clothes in blood, but it is the blood of the grape. It is wine that makes his eyes so full of fire, and milk, the harmless food by which his teeth are whitened, has made his temper gentle and kind. The blessing to be realized in Judah's future history begins with his victorious conflict, and closes with the

enjoyment of happiness and peace. His princely bearing is placed between the two. But Judah is the champion and leader of his brethren, and therefore they all share in the blessings secured by him." (*Hofmann*, Weissagung und Erfüllung i. p. 118).

The most difficult passage in the blessing of Judah is the much disputed clause "till *Shiloh* come." We have followed *Hofmann* and others in taking שִׁלּוֹחַ to be a common noun, with the meaning *rest*; and have rendered the clause: "till he (Judah) attains to rest." Most commentators, however, regard the words in question as the title of a personal Messiah, who was to spring from the tribe of Judah; though they arrive at this result in different ways. Shiloh is, of course, in this case, the subject, not the object, of the rendering: "till Shiloh (*i.e.* the Messiah) come." Thus *Delitzsch* (in his work on the prophetic theology of the Bible, p. 293) has expressed his firm conviction, "that every attempt to explain *Shiloh* as a common noun fails, and that the only correct rendering is that which treats it as a name of the Messiah, since this prediction formed an indispensable link in the historical chain, which ushered in the proclamation of salvation. For when once the patriarchal *triad* had become a *dodekad* in the family of Jacob, and thus the point of transition from the family to the people had been reached, the question necessarily arose, from which of the twelve tribes would salvation, *i.e.* the triumph of humanity, and the blessing of the nations, arise?" But *Delitzsch* himself has not adhered to this explanation.

We also admit, as will presently appear, that this prophecy forms a necessary link in the historical chain, which ushered in the proclamation of salvation; but we by no means admit that it was important that the question, from which of the twelve tribes salvation was to be expected, should receive an answer at this early age. Such a question in fact could only arise, when the idea of salvation had assumed the form of a confident expectation of a personal, individual Messiah. The organic progress of prophecy, and its close connexion in all its stages with contemporary history, prohibit us from imagining for a moment, that there was any expectation of a personal Messiah in the patriarchal age. In fact such an expectation was not only not indulged, but would have been altogether unsuitable to the cha-

acter of the times. The evident intention of the whole history of that age was to develop the family into a great people; its entire tendency was to expand the unity of the patriarchs into the plurality of a nation. And this impulse, which was inherent in the patriarchal history, was not an unconscious one, but stood before the minds of the patriarchs with the greatest clearness and certainty, and was the one object of all their thoughts and hopes, and strong desires. The patriarchal history *began* with the consciousness of this their immediate destiny, as it was set before them in the clearest light by the call of Abraham. The *progress* of that history was maintained by the constant renewal, or revival of the same consciousness. Nearly every one of the numerous theophanies and Divine revelations, which occur in the history of the patriarchs, point to this end, and contain a promise that by the blessing of God it shall be attained. The earnest longing, which existed, for this expansion into a numerous people, was necessarily heightened by the delay, which arose partly from the barrenness that prevailed at first in the chosen family, and partly also from the necessity of excluding several of the actual descendants, and commencing afresh with a single patriarch. And now, just at the moment when the way was opened for this expansion, when faith in their destiny was exchanged for a sight of the first stage in its fulfilment, when the course of history was making it a reality, the consciousness must have been more vivid, and the assurance stronger, than ever it had been before. But as this was only the commencement of a coming fulfilment, and not the complete fulfilment itself, there was still so much demand for the exercise of faith and hope in connexion with that portion of their destiny, of which they were already conscious, that there was as yet no possibility of awakening the consciousness of still greater things beyond.

Since, then, prophecy, as a general rule, rests upon the age in which it is delivered, and only opens to view those features of the future, of which the germs and prototypes exist in the present, the expectations of salvation, which existed in the patriarchal age, must have been most closely related to the circumstances just referred to. An age, whose only task was to form a great nation from one single chosen man, whose movements, subjective and objective, were all concentrated upon this one result, a result longed for and looked for above all others, could

only regard salvation as dependant upon the attainment of this result. The expectations of salvation, which prevailed in the whole of the patriarchal age and for some time afterwards, were summed up in the promise: "in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, when expanded into a great and independent nation, in other words, the nation itself in its compactness and unity, appears as the bringer, the possessor, and the medium of salvation. This was, doubtless, an imperfect, undeveloped, and faulty shape for the expectation of salvation to assume, but the age to which it belonged was itself imperfect and undeveloped. The expansion of the family into a nation could certainly not in itself bring salvation, but it was the necessary condition, the preparation and first stage of its full and ultimate manifestation; and, just for that reason, in the expectations which prevailed at this time, the one was inseparably connected with the other. It was, no doubt, necessary that before this expansion into a plurality could attain its ultimate and highest end, it must by an organic process be condensed into unity, since salvation could only be exhibited in its perfect form in a personal Messiah, the noblest fruit and ἀκμῆ of this unfolded plurality. But before this fact could be made known in *prophecy*, it was necessary that *history* should furnish a substratum and starting point. So long, however, as the *only* thing towards which their history pointed was the multiplication of the people, the idea of a single personal Saviour could not take root at all. This could only occur after their formation into a great people was completed, and when it had become apparent that the plurality of the nation must necessarily be concentrated in a single individual; in other words, after some *one* man had arisen as the deliverer and redeemer, the leader and ruler of the whole nation. Hence the expectation of a personal Messiah would first arise and assume a definite shape on the appearance of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *David*. Accordingly the earliest promise, which points to a personal Messiah, is found in the *Mosaic age*, and even there it stands alone and is still somewhat indefinite (Deut. xviii. 18, 19), whilst it is only the history of David which gives perfect clearness, certainty, and precision, to the announcement of a personal Saviour.—But the expectations of the patriarchal age were all fixed upon the growth of the family into a people; and as the fulfilment of their destiny

seemed to be wrapt up in this, it appears impossible that in such an age salvation could have been regarded as dependant upon any individual. On the contrary, previous historical events would lead to the conclusion, that isolation would retard the desired end ; for all the instances of separation and isolation that had hitherto occurred had been such as involved exclusion from the fellowship of the chosen people and from the call they had received, and rendered it necessary that the progressive development from unity to plurality should begin again.

From what we have written, it follows that we are not justified in expecting *a priori* the announcement of a personal Messiah, or rather that, so far as the history of the patriarchs in the book of Genesis affords us a glance at the progress of the ideas of salvation in that age, we are justified in not expecting such an announcement. Still this decision at the outset should not, and shall not affect in any way our exegetical inquiry into the prophecy in question. For unless an unbiassed exposition of the prophecy should lead to results in harmony with our foregone conclusion, the latter will have no objective worth, and it will be impossible to sustain it. Should a just exposition show, that the prophecy really treats of a personal Saviour, of one single individual as the medium of salvation, we shall not for a moment hesitate to accept this result, and shall willingly admit that we have been deceived in our expectations. But it will then be necessary to assume that the lives of the patriarchs must have presented some historical links of connexion with the promise of a single personal Saviour, and that unless they are to be found in the book of Genesis and have escaped our observation, the author of that book must have omitted to notice them.—Our present task will be to test the opinion, that the passage before us must necessarily be interpreted as predictive of a personal, individual Messiah.¹

¹ The objections offered to my views by *Reinke* (l.c. p. 184 sqq.), and *Delitzsch* (Genesis p. 370), are removed by what has been said above. I fully agree with the remark made by the latter in one of his earlier writings : "History is not the measure, but the occasion of prophecy." I also agree as fully with what he now says : "We must not prescribe to prophecy, in what way it shall proceed, or decide from the history of any period, how much or how little it can prophesy, for the course of prophecy is often at variance with human logic, as can be proved from unmistakable examples, and its telescopic vision often looks behind the hills, by which contemporary history is bounded." That the *former* is not my intention, and that I am

Our first inquiry is, whether the construction and the connection will permit of our rendering the word *Shiloh* as the subject of the sentence, which it must be if this opinion be correct. We cannot accept without reserve the confident assertion of *Hofmann* (l.c. p. 117), that "the patriarch could not have turned so completely away from Judah, and finished the sentence, which related to him, by announcing the advent of a person, who is not described as one of Judah's descendants, or even as connected in any with the posterity of Jacob." For although the words and the context undoubtedly sustain the correctness of this view, yet the connexion between Judah and Shiloh, as his descendant, might be regarded as naturally implied. But both the context and the train of thought require that we should render *Shiloh* as the *object*. In *Hofmann's* words: "The expression עַד כִּי, *until*, leads us to expect an announcement of Judah's future history, and of the result of his maintaining uninterrupted possession of his princely rank. And since, when we pass from the first half of the verse to the second, we have no reason to expect any other subject than Judah, we ought to receive proofs not only of the possibility, but also of the necessity of taking *Shiloh* to be a person and to be the subject of יִבֶּנֶה." But, as we shall presently show, no such proof can be given. On the other hand, the structure of the tenth verse will only admit of its being rendered as the object; for if we render it as the subject, we at once destroy the parallelism of thought between the two clauses

not unaware of the *latter*, will, I hope, be sufficiently attested by what I have already said. But when *Delitzsch* adds: "In the present instance it is not true that the continuous progress is interrupted, if the word *Shiloh* in the mouth of Jacob denotes the person of the Messiah, since the next great prophecy (that of Balaam, Num. xxiv. 15 sqq.) views the Messiah under the image of a star or sceptre coming out of Jacob," &c., he does not appear to have read what I have written above respecting Moses, Joshua, and David as historical links to which the idea of an individual Messiah could be attached. Whether Balaam's prophecy actually referred to this, and, if so, to what extent, are questions which cannot be discussed here. But I must confess that I cannot see the drift of *Delitzsch's* argument. It is with the meaning of Jacob's prophecy that we have to do, not with that of Balaam. I have myself shown that the foundation was laid in the time of Moses for the expectation of a personal Messiah, though I do not admit that it had been laid 400 years before. And this can never be proved by attaching Balaam's prophecy, by way of explanation, to that of Jacob. But *Delitzsch* himself does not interpret Jacob's words as predictive of a personal Messiah. And if this scholar went to the examination of the prophecy with the expectation of finding a personal Messiah, and yet did not find one, this surely favours the conclusion that *his* expectation was unfounded and *mine* correct.

וְלֹו יִקְרָה עַמִּים and עַד כִּי-יָבֹא שִׁילָה and this parallelism is required by the arrangement of the verse. In the two clauses, "till the Messiah come," "and to him the obedience of the nations," there is no parallelism at all, but merely a progress in the thought. If, however, we regard *Shiloh* as the object, and take Judah as the subject from the previous clause, the two clauses, "till Judah come to rest," "and the obedience of the nations shall be his portion," harmonize beautifully; for the obedience of the nations, who cheerfully and without resistance submit to Judah's rule, forms a part of the rest, which Judah enjoys, after the victorious conflict just described.

The foregoing remarks apply to every interpretation, which refers the expression to a *personal Messiah*. We shall now examine them singly. One of the earliest would read שִׁלָּה instead of שִׁילָה, and regards the former as equivalent to שִׁלָּה=שִׁלָּו=לֹו. אֲשֶׁר is then supplied from the previous clause, and the whole passage rendered thus: "Judah shall retain the sceptre, until he come, to whom it (viz., the sceptre) belongs." The *Septuagint* rendering is based upon this view: ἕως ἔσθαι ἐλθῆ τα ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ (donec veniant quae ei reservata sunt), or, according to another reading, ἕως ἀπόκειται (donec veniat, cui reservatum est); and most of the early versions translate the words in a similar way. The principal defenders of this view in modern times have been *Jahn* (vaticinia mess. ii. 179 sqq., Einl. i. 507 sqq.); *Sack*, christl. Apol. ii. A. S. 266 sqq.; *Larsow* (Uebers. d. Genesis); and *Herd* (mess. Weiss. ii., p. 33 sqq.). But this explanation will not bear an impartial examination; for, *first*, the favourite ellipsis is unparalleled in its harshness; *secondly*, we are compelled to act in the most arbitrary manner, by pronouncing שִׁלָּה the original reading, whereas it is found in very few MSS., and is evidently merely *scriptio defectiva* for the common reading שִׁילָה; and *lastly*, we must declare in a dictatorial way the admissibility of the inadmissible pointing, שִׁלָּה for שִׁילָה. But even supposing that this were granted, or if we determined to follow *v. Bohlen* and read שִׁלָּה at once, even then the sense and the connexion of the verse would compel us to protest against the interpretation. For if it were said,

“Judah shall retain the sceptre, till he come whose it is (to whom it belongs),” there would be a most inappropriate contrast drawn between Judah, who holds the sceptre, and the Messiah, to whom it belongs, from which it would follow, that the sceptre does not belong to Judah ; and there would also be a not less unfounded announcement that Judah, the blessed, would one day resign, *i.e.*, lose the sceptre.—There are two things which seem to *favour* this explanation, the unanimity of the earlier translators, and an analogous passage in Ezek. xxi. 32, עַד-בֹּא יִשָּׁר לֵךְ, הַמְשִׁפֵּט, which might be regarded as an exposition and paraphrase of our word שִׁלֹּה (*Shiloh*). But the two testimonies may be reduced to one, for the early translators have evidently taken the passage in Ezekiel as the foundation of their rendering of the obscure or doubtful word Shiloh, which explains their general agreement. And the proof afforded by the passage in Ezekiel also loses its worth ; for whilst there is an undeniable identity of thought between the translators and Ezekiel, the original Hebrew of the passage in Genesis and the passage in Ezekiel have too little in common, to lead us for a moment to suppose that there was any reference in the latter to the former. Moreover, the two passages are totally different in other respects, for whilst Ezekiel announces *ruin* and *devastation*, which will last till he come, to whom the government belongs, the passage in Genesis would speak of *victory* and *government*, which will last till he come, to whom the government belongs.

A far more plausible interpretation is that which derives the word Shiloh from the root שָׁלַח, adopts the meaning *rest*, and, regarding this as abstract for concrete, renders it *the bringer of rest*. This view is the most prevalent of all. Among its more modern supporters are *Rosenmüller* (ad. h. l.), *Winer* (hebr. lex. s. h. v.), *Baumgarten-Crusius* (bibl. theol. p. 368), *Hengstenberg* (christol. i. 59 sqq., Engl. transl.), *Reinke* (ut supra), and many others. The supposition, that the abstract is used for the concrete, is undoubtedly admissible, and we adhere to the derivation of Shiloh from שָׁלַח in the appellative sense of “rest,” or “the place in which rest is found,” in spite of the opposition of *Tuch* (Comm. p. 575 sqq.), and *Delitzsch* (Comm. p. 372 sqq.), who do not appear to me to have answered the arguments by which *Hengstenberg* (Christol. i. 59 transl.), and

Hofmann (Weiss. i. 116), have *defended* this derivation.—An objection might, no doubt, be offered to the rendering *tranquillator*, as שָׁלוֹם does not mean to *bring peace*, but to *enjoy peace* (*Gesenius*, lex. *salvus, securus, maxime de eo qui prospera fortuna secure utitur*); but שָׁלוֹם might be taken as descriptive of a person, in whom the full enjoyment of rest and peace is first apparent. We should therefore decide at once in favour of this view, were it not for the two difficulties, which have been more fully explained above, (1), That Shiloh must be regarded as the object of the verb, according to the sense, the context, and the structure of the verse; and (2), That the expectation of a personal Messiah was entirely foreign to the patriarchal age.‡

The second objection does not affect the explanation given by *Gesenius* (lex. s. v.), who preserves the abstract signification of the word, and translates the passage: “until the rest (*sc.* of the Messianic age) come, and to him (*sc.* Judah) the obedience of the nations.” But the first objection still applies, and in addition to that, the reference of the suffix in שָׁלוֹם to Judah is no longer admissible, if another subject be introduced, as the nominative of שָׁלוֹם, in the intermediate clause. The suffix would then necessarily refer to Shiloh, the nominative of the verb, and the latter must in that case be regarded as a concrete noun. (*Vid. Hofmann, ut sup.* 116).

Some of the earlier expositors (*Jonathan, Calvin, &c.*) imagine Shiloh to mean *his* (*i.e.* Judah's) *son* or descendant. But there is no foundation whatever for the assumption that the word שָׁלוֹם, with the meaning *son*, ever existed. (*Vid. Hengstenberg, Christol.* p. 63, 64 transl.)

Of all the explanations, which reject the Messianic reference, the only one of any importance is that which supposes *Shiloh* to be the name of the well-known city of Ephraim, where the tabernacle was erected when the Israelites entered the promised land. This opinion is supported by *Eichhorn, Ammon, Bleek* (de libri Gen. origine), *Tuch, Hitzig* (ad Ps. ii. 2), and others. The meaning of the passage is supposed to be that the tribe of Judah should take the first place, and be the leader of the tribes during the whole of the march through the desert, until they arrived at Shiloh. The only thing that can be said in favour of this explanation is, that in every other passage of the Old Tes-

tament, in which the word Shiloh occurs, it refers to this city of Ephraim. But every one will admit that this argument does not amount to a *positive proof*; that, at the best, it merely establishes to a certain extent the probability that there is the same reference in the passage before us. But this probability is more than counterbalanced by the number of arguments on the opposite side. First of all this explanation brings in a subject to the verb יָבֵן, which is quite foreign to the context; for as we have already shown, Judah must be the nominative. But apart from this, there is an insupportable harshness in the *neuter* and *collective* subject thus introduced ("until they [*man*] or the *people* come to Shiloh.") It is true that this might be avoided by translating the clause: "until he (Judah) come to Shiloh;" but as it is impossible to see what Judah had to do as a tribe with this city of *Ephraim*, in contradistinction from the other tribes, there is no other resource than to fall back upon a collective subject; for although Shiloh was a spot of great importance as a resting-place or turning-point in the Israelitish history, it was not important to Judah alone, but to all the tribes in common. This explanation then loses its force unless the blessing of Jacob be regarded as a *vaticinium post eventum*, composed at a later period, say for example the time of David. For what should have led the aged patriarch to associate the glory and goal of Judah or his descendants with a place of so little importance, which is never mentioned anywhere before the time of Joshua, and probably owes both its name and its existence to the circumstance that it was there that Joshua pitched his tent, and set up the tabernacle (*Hengstenberg*, *Christol.* i. 80, transl.)? How bare and miserable would it have appeared, even if Shiloh were really in existence as a small town at the time, for Jacob to introduce in such high-flown terms, and in the midst of such splendid promises, the prediction that Judah would arrive at Shiloh! The assumption that the blessing was composed at some period subsequent to Joshua is overthrown by the most decisive and unanswerable objections, as we shall presently show, and in general is merely a loophole to save a foregone conclusion, that actual prophecies are impossible. But, even supposing that the blessing describes some future event, and does this under the fictitious appearance of prophecy, was there ever a period in which Shiloh was of such importance that the author, whoever

he might be, could possibly regard it as the representative of the highest and most perfect glory of his people's history, a glory so brilliant that no greater could be imagined or desired? Moreover, the period to which the composition of the blessing has been assigned, that of the latest Judges and of David, was one in which the importance and glory of Shiloh had considerably declined.—And what can be made of the promise that the sceptre and dominion should be retained by Judah till the settlement in Shiloh? Was this fulfilled? or fulfilled with *such* completeness in the details as we should expect in the case of a *vaticinium post eventum*? *Bleek* (p. 19) thinks that this can be answered in the affirmative. Judah conducted his brethren till the promised land was conquered, and after that Ephraim took the lead. But *Hofmann* (p. 115) has shown that there is no foundation for the statement: "for no one would pretend that the blessing was fulfilled because the tribe of Judah took the *foremost* place in the army during the journey through the wilderness (Num. ii. 3).¹ The whole army was commanded at that time by a Levite, and after him by an Ephraimite." It was not till long after Shiloh had been fixed upon as the site for the tabernacle, *i.e.* not before but after the *terminus ad quem*, to which our prophecy points, that we meet with the first indication of Judah's actual supremacy (Judges i. 2), but then it did not continue without interruption through the period of the Judges, so that the tribe of Judah did not rise to any decided pre-eminence until David was king. How then could the blessing be applicable to Judah, if, in the midst of the splendid acquisition of power and glory, which was to distinguish this tribe from all the rest, Jacob had announced to him that the consummation of the whole would be that he would lose his supremacy as soon as Shiloh was reached? To avoid these difficulties *Tuch* translates the clause: "so long as they are assembled in Shiloh, *i.e.* for ever." But *Hofmann* has pointed out no less than five fallacies in this pretended improvement. It gives to עַד כִּי

¹ We mean of course from the point of view from which this explanation is arrived at, *viz.*, the notion that we have here a *vaticinium post eventum*, and that the author meant to say that Judah's supremacy ceased at the encampment in Shiloh. For such a prophecy presupposes an outward harmony in matters of detail such as no one will be able to discover between the supremacy of Judah predicted here, and his position in the order of encampment and march during the journey through the wilderness.

a meaning which it does not possess, it always means "until," never "so long as;" it attributes to יָבֵן a subject which is not to be found in the context; "it makes the writer express a hope that the circumstances which prevented Israel from enjoying rest, and hindered the removal of the tabernacle to a permanent resting-place, would last for ever; and lastly, it supposes the perpetual duration of the supremacy of Judah to be dependant upon a state of things, the cessation of which is referred to by Asaph as most intimately connected with the origin of that supremacy" (Ps. lxxviii. 60, 67—72).

We now return to our own explanation. The meaning of the prophecy is that Judah shall remain in uninterrupted possession of the rank of prince among his brethren, until through conflict and victory he has reached the object, and made the fullest display, of his supremacy, in his own enjoyment of peaceful rest, and the cheerful obedience of the nations to his rule. Hence the *terminus ad quem*, which is mentioned here, does not set before us the limit or the termination of his supremacy, but rather the commencement of his secure and irresistible sway. And from this it follows quite as naturally, that the victory gained by Judah, and the blessings of peace which he secures, are shared by *his brethren* in all their fulness, because he fights as the prince and champion of his brethren; and not only so, but the blessings of this peace must necessarily be extended to all the *nations*, who now cheerfully obey him.

To what period, then, does the word "until" refer? First of all, it refers, no doubt, to that period of which the whole blessing treats, the full possession of the promised land. This is in Jacob's view the commencement of the אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, the last time, the time of the consummation. To *him* the relative peace, which closed the strange and pilgrim life of his descendants, and the absolute peace, which is the aim and end of all the movements that originated in the call of Abraham, are one and the same. That which proves in reality to be a long continuous line, extending from the commencement of the comparative rest under Joshua to the final attainment of absolute peace under Christ, necessarily appeared from his prophetic stand-point to be merely a *single point*, since the first point covered the last as well as the intermediate line; or rather because the commence-

ment contained the end, and only exhibited it in a typical form. The first preliminary and imperfect manifestation of the peace here promised was made in the time of Joshua; but the disturbances, to which this peace was exposed, soon proved it to be only a preliminary fulfilment of the promise. Whilst, therefore, the comparative rest enjoyed under Joshua was in one respect a fulfilment of Jacob's prophecy, in other respects it continued, on account of existing disturbances, to be still a prediction, pointing for its highest and final fulfilment to the entrance of absolute rest.

It was Judah's position and bearing, both as a prince over his brethren, and in his victorious engagements with his enemies, which secured the enjoyment of rest and peace. In proportion, then, as the rest predicted by Jacob was enjoyed in the time of Joshua, must the supremacy of Judah have been exercised *before* that time. If, therefore, the rest which was then enjoyed was true and absolute rest, the supremacy of Judah must have been manifested in its most perfect form before the days of Joshua. But if Jacob's prediction of future rest remained a prediction, as we have seen that it did, even after its first and preliminary fulfilment under Joshua, then must the prediction of Judah's supremacy have been only partially fulfilled in the period *antecedent* to Joshua, and after its first fulfilment in the lead taken by the tribe of Judah in the order of encampment and march through the wilderness,—it must still have continued a prophecy pointing onward to an ever-increasing supremacy on the part of Judah, the loftiest eminence of which would as far surpass its first appearance before the time of Joshua, as the comparative rest enjoyed in the days of the latter would be surpassed by the absolute rest secured by Christ.

Jacob's prophecy of the future rest, which Judah would enjoy in common with his brethren, whose prince, representative, and champion he was, points forward to the end. In Jacob's view, indeed, the time of Joshua was the end, for in his days all the wants of the patriarchal age, of which Jacob was conscious, were satisfied, and all the prerequisites of salvation, so far as Jacob was acquainted with them, were fully met. But there were other wants and other prerequisites, of which Jacob was not aware, and which were not supplied in the time of Joshua, and therefore, objectively considered, that time was not the end. In the

prophecy of Jacob there was not only the subjective element, the product and expression of the mind of Jacob, but an objective element also, communicated to the mind of the patriarch by the illuminating influence of the Spirit of God. And hence for every succeeding stand-point this prophecy points upward to a higher form of Judah's supremacy, than the position of his tribe in the journey through the desert, and a rest superior to that produced by the occupation of the promised land.

Though we felt obliged just now to oppose the notion that *Jacob* had any thought of a *personal* Messiah, when pronouncing his blessing, yet we by no means question its *Messianic character*, as will be clearly seen from what we have already said. The announcement made by Jacob, that he was about to tell his sons what should befall them in the end of the days, indicates the Messianic character of the whole blessing, for "the end of the days" is the Messianic period. But most of all is the Messianic character apparent in the blessing pronounced on Judah, for this is unmistakably the leading member of the whole prophecy, the centre, as it were, from which radiates all that the other blessings contain of a Messianic character, viz., the ultimate and certain enjoyment of rest and peace. It is Judah, who opens the way to repose, as the leader and champion of his brethren.

The characteristics of the Messianic idea, so far as it had yet been evolved by history and prophecy, re-appear in the sentence pronounced on Judah. For it not only announces the unparalleled blessing, which is destined for the seed of Abraham, but points out the benefits to be conferred by that seed upon other nations. The obedience of the nations, though won by conflict, is to be cheerfully rendered, and Judah's supremacy is no hard and heavy yoke, but mild and pleasant, dispensing blessings and bringing peace. The proof of this is found in the description of the pleasure of peace, to which Judah now yields himself, and the mild and gentle character which he is able to assume.

The Messianic idea is still essentially the same stage of development as in previous prophecies. This is not to be wondered at, as we are still at the same stage in the historical development as before, viz., the family history. We find the Messianic idea in the same contracted form, with salvation still concealed in the shell of earthly good and material prosperity, though in the

actual kernel there are blessings of a purely spiritual character enclosed. The idea of salvation we find still as indefinite as before; as yet it has assumed no concrete shape. So much indeed is certain, that all the nations of the earth are to be blessed in Abraham's seed; but nothing further is revealed. Yet the way is paved for a further step in the progress of the prophecy, though that step is not yet taken. The new feature introduced is the designation of Judah as the chief among his brethren, who fights as their champion at their head, and secures for them rest, peace, and salvation. But, as we have already shown, this cannot have been understood by either the speaker or the hearer as meaning that the tribe of Judah was to be the sole medium of salvation, to the exclusion of the other tribes, much less that the tribe of Judah was to be shut out from the task, and the whole to be performed by a single member of that tribe. Still in the fact that, when the attainment of rest, and peace, and salvation is spoken of, Judah is named as the prince and leader of his brethren, the way is opened for the proper separation of Judah, as required by the Messianic idea. And as soon as their desires should be satisfied, and the first condition of the call of Israel fulfilled by their becoming a great people, they would be sure to learn from the results that this alone could not ensure the object for which they had been called. Thus it was soon discovered to be necessary that the plurality should be again concentrated in unity. And when such men as Moses, Joshua, and David had risen up as deliverers and redeemers, as leaders and governors of the whole nation, and by their history had furnished a substratum on which the idea of a personal Messiah could be founded, the prophecy before us necessarily led to the association of this idea with the tribe of Judah, and that with the greater facility since this tribe had risen in the meantime to a position of increasing prominence.

Delitzsch, in his latest work (*Ausleg. d. Genesis* p. 373 sqq.), has revived the opinion, which was first employed in the cause of rationalism, that *Shiloh* refers to the well known-city of Ephraim in this, as in every other passage of the Old Testament in which it occurs. The meaning, which he gives to it, however, is essentially the same as that which we have arrived at in another way. He says: "Judah occupied the first place in the

camp, and when the Israelites were marching, Judah always led the way. This position he maintained till he came to Shiloh ; for when the conquered land was divided, Judah was the first to receive his share (Josh. xv.). The division of the land of Canaan, which took place at the tabernacle, that had been set up at Shiloh, forms without doubt the boundary line between two periods in the history of Israel. Their arrival at Shiloh brought their wanderings and conflicts to a close, and formed at the same time the commencement of their settlement in full possession of the land. Shiloh was thus, as its name implied, the place of Israel's rest." But even with this explanation we cannot give in our adhesion to the opinion ; for many of the objections, already offered to it in its rationalistic form, are equally applicable to it in its present shape. So accidental an event, as the selection of Shiloh, rather than any other town, as a temporary resting-place for the tabernacle, could not have been a subject for prophecy. We admit that the settlement at Shiloh was a boundary line in the history of Israel, and that as such it might very well be a subject for prophecy. But the settlement itself, the acquisition of a resting-place, was all that was essential ; the choice of Shiloh in preference to any other place was something unessential and accidental, with which prophecy had no concern. Not that we would for a moment dispute the fact that the form in which the idea of a prophecy is expressed often coincides in a remarkable way with the (accidental) form, in which the prediction is fulfilled. But we most firmly deny, *that the sons of Jacob could have looked upon this insignificant town (even if it then existed), as the end of their dying father's prophecies.* Still we are certainly inclined to recognise a connexion between the Shiloh, in which the tabernacle was placed, and the Shiloh referred to in Jacob's prophecy ; only, we regard the former as dependent upon the latter, as *M. Baumgarten* does, and not the latter upon the former, which is *Delitzsch's* opinion. For it appears to us a very probable thing, that the Israelites gave the name of *Shiloh* to the place in which they rested for the first time, and set up the sanctuary after their victorious conflict with the Canaanites, and that they did so with a conscious reference to the blessing of the patriarch, and as a sign and testimony that his prophecy had here received its preliminary fulfilment. Moreover, we can readily conceive that, in

the fulness of their first delight at the enjoyment of rest, they might look upon this as the complete and adequate fulfilment of the prophecy, and overlook the troubles that were still before them.

(4). The "grammatico-historical method of exposition," as the rationalistic exegesis is called, starts from the concession, that Jacob's blessing is descriptive of circumstances, which had no existence till after his descendants had taken possession of Canaan. It professes "to leave the dispute as to the *possible* or *impossible* composition of the piece by Jacob to those, whose special interest it is to cultivate without effect this barren soil." But yet regarding it as *above all things* certain that a real prophecy is thoroughly incredible, it denies that it was written by either Jacob or Moses, and then proceeds "in a *conclusive* (?!) way to determine the date of the composition on historical grounds." (*Tuch* comm. p. 554 seq.). But the safety of the "conclusive" method, to which this "grammatico-historical" criticism lays claim, is not confirmed by the many different and discordant results to which it leads. *Heinrichs*, for example, in his *commentatio de auctore atque aetate* cap. Gen. xlix. (Göttingen 1790), and *Friedrich* in "*der Segen Jakobs, eine Weissagung des Proph. Nathan* (Breslau 1811), confine themselves to the blessing pronounced on Judah, and pretend that they have demonstrated that it was written in the time of David; *Tuch*, who considers the blessing of Levi the safest criterion, considers it indisputable, that it was composed in the time of Samuel; whilst *Ewald* (Gesch. i. 80), appeals to the blessing on Dan as sufficient to establish the fact that it was written in the latter half of the period of the Judges, most likely during the life of Samson.

It so happens, however, that the *data* which we possess for fixing the time of its composition are so numerous, so decisive, and so favourable, that there is scarcely any disputed passage in the Old Testament, whose authenticity is as certain as that of Jacob's blessing. For (1), its style is not at all that of a *vaticinium post eventum*; (2), it can be proved that there was no one period *post eventum vaticinii*, i.e., after the conquest of the promised land by Joshua, in which all the different expressions could have been written; (3), the blessing itself contains positive data, which compel us to assign it to a *prae-Mosaic* age;

and (4), the matter and the form are perfectly in harmony with the views and expectations of the patriarch, and there is nothing which we might not expect him to say, always supposing that he was enabled to look into the future by a prophetic inspiration.

We have already shown how completely this prophetic picture harmonizes with the historical background, on which it is drawn, how perfectly the substance of it tallies with the patriarch's state of mind, his views, his desires, and his expectations at the time. And as, on the one hand, there is nothing to hinder our receiving the song as an actual prophecy, and recognising the historical frame in which it is set; so on the other, are we led by a careful and *unprejudiced* examination to the inevitable conclusion that the blessing is not a *vaticinium post eventum* either in whole or in part, and that there is a total absence of the characteristic marks of such pretended prophecies. A *real* prophecy looks from the present into the future, or rather it sees the future in the present. The germs and preformations of the future, which are already discernible in the present, and all the imperfections and wants, of which there is an existing consciousness, are viewed by it in the light of God, not merely as germs and deficiencies, but in that state of perfect development, towards which they are striving and at which they must *of necessity* arrive. At the same time the various *phases*, through which the maturity of these germs and the satisfaction of these wants will be actually attained, and the outward *forms*, which they will eventually assume, are not made known even by this real prophecy, inasmuch as the conditions of both of these will be determined by the course of history, and therefore there is as yet no existing substratum or point of contact for such a prophecy. Hence, however definite a prophecy may be in relation to the *idea*, and however keen and clear its gaze, yet in respect of the outward forms, in which the idea will appear, it is always general and indefinite. Still more, if we compare the prophecy with the details of its fulfilment, we shall generally notice an apparent want of congruity between them. The cause of this will be found partly in the fact that in the prophecy we have but a single field of view in which everything is represented in its perfect form, whereas in the actual fulfilment there are successive stages, attended by many oscillations and by retrograde as well as pro-

gressive movements ; and partly also from the fact that, in order to give expression to the idea, with which alone it is concerned, it clothes it in a certain drapery, which is intended *for no other purpose than this*, and therefore very frequently is not found to harmonize exactly with the outward form eventually assumed. This is not the case with *pretended* prophecies. They clothe in the garb of prophecy events which have actually occurred. However great, then, the anxiety to avoid every thing that could betray their real character, they cannot so far overlook the concrete phenomena which lies before them, as to assume the features of a true prophecy in sufficient measure to hide the fraud. And where they are the result of an ingenious illusion, of a character not absolutely evil, where there is therefore not a distinct consciousness of any intention to deceive, there is sure to be all the less ability or disposition to disguise.

If, now, we apply this test to the prophecy before us, we shall be constrained to confess, that it bears the marks of a real prophecy, and not of a *vaticinii post eventum*. It is true, the opposite has been asserted with the greatest confidence. The special details given in the blessing, and their peculiar harmony with the fulfilment, are appealed to as removing all doubt that we have here only a masked copy of the present, and not a real prediction of the future. But, notwithstanding these, the blessing in whole and in part is expressed in such general terms, its descriptions are so free from any sharply defined sketches, any concrete forms, and any reference to such accidental circumstances, as are only of importance to the age itself, and are so little in harmony with the *external, accidental* circumstances of the period, of which it is descriptive, that the idea of a *vaticinii post eventum* is thoroughly inadmissible. We have clearly a case before us, in which the prophecy is *too definite* in certain respects, to be merely the product of natural intuition or subjective anticipation, and yet is *too indefinite* in its general character and in some of its details to have been written after the event. Rationalistic criticism, therefore, as it has no third to fall back upon, naturally attempts through thick and thin to prove one of these two.

We may get an idea of the indefinite and general manner, in which throughout the whole blessing concrete forms and special incidents are referred to, from the blessings pronounced on Judah

and Joseph. Each of these occupies almost as much space as all the others put together. We see that the author was desirous of giving a much fuller description of their prospects, that he entered *con amore* upon this description, and wished to dwell as long as possible upon the picture of their lot, and of their superiority to all their brethren. If now he had taken his materials and his colours from the past or the present, his description would surely be full of references to special details, and rich in concrete forms. Yet how indefinite the two blessings actually are! We find only general ideas and references to lion-like courage and strength for battle, to victory and dominion, to fullness of blessings and pre-eminence of rank, all of which resemble the external events only so far as was absolutely necessary to produce the impression required. Who is there that would for a moment assert that these blessings can only have been copied from events which had actually occurred? The whole blessing is acknowledged to point to the completion of the conquest of the promised land and the distribution of that land among the twelve tribes; and how little do we find, in either of these sections, that is characteristic of the period referred to! If we did not know it beforehand, who would be able to discover a reference to the provinces allotted to the two tribes in the promise to Judah of an abundant supply of wine and milk, and to Joseph of dew and rain, or to recognise in these the distinguishing characteristics of each of those provinces? It is only in the prediction of Judah's supremacy that it could possibly be maintained, that the general idea assumes a concrete, external form;—but even here there is so little outward resemblance to the circumstances, which really existed at the supposed date of its composition, that it is still necessary to assume that the subsequent glory of this tribe was anticipated by the author, a fact which may be assumed in the case of an actual prophecy, but not where the prophecy is merely feigned.

We shall now pass on to the other blessings. The writer says nothing about the circumstances and possessions of the tribe of *Reuben*. How inexplicable is this in the case of a *vaticinium post eventum*! However insignificant the tribe may have been, and though its province may not have been within the limits of Canaan proper, yet the same may be said of Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and of these the author has something to say.

It is not difficult to understand why *Jacob* should only speak of *Reuben* himself, and say nothing about his tribe except that it would not take the lead ; but we cannot conceive how a contemporary of *Samson*, or *Samuel*, or *David*, could so entirely overlook the tribe, as to mention the founder alone, or how he could record the curse pronounced on *Reuben*, without shewing how, where, or by what means the effect of the curse was manifested in the history of the tribe.

Simeon and *Levi* receive precisely the same blessing. There is apparently no difference whatever in their lot. They are both to be scattered in *Israel*. Now *Jacob* might express himself in this way, but not a writer who saw how completely different were the modes of their dispersion. *Tuch* is right in saying that "*Simeon* received his inheritance in the midst of the tribe of *Judah*," but he goes further than he has any right to go when he adds "but without any continuous boundaries" (*vid. Keil's* commentary on *Joshua* p. 419, translation *Clark's For. Theol. Lib.*). Again, how different was this distribution of *Simeon* from that of *Levi* ! So different, that a later writer could not possibly have employed the same words to describe them both.

To the tribe of *Zebulon* there is promised a dwelling-place on the sea-shore and near to the Phœnician city of *Sidon*. Here certainly there is something, which offers apparently no little support to the views of our opponents, and if all the blessings referred to the future in the same manner, there would be some ground for the notion of a *valicinium post eventum*. But if the minuteness and precision, with which the blessings are here described, appear to furnish an argument to our opponents, they are immediately deprived of it by the want of congruity between the prophecy and its fulfilment. "If the prophecy of *Jacob* had been written *post eventum*, there would certainly have been greater geographical accuracy, and the description of the boundary towards *Sidon* would have belonged to *Asher* (*Josh. xix. 28*) rather than to *Zebulon*" (*Baumgarten*). So far as it is possible to determine the boundaries of the tribe of *Zebulon* from the book of *Joshua* (chap. *xix. 10—16*), they did not touch the sea at all (*Keil's* commentary on *Joshua* p. 422 sqq., *Martin's* translation). If, then, the blessing pronounced on *Zebulon* cannot have been a description taken from existing circumstances, since it is only partially in harmony with the circum-

stances of Joshua's days, there must certainly have been something in Zebulon himself, the founder of the tribe, which led Jacob to place him by the sea, and which furnished a substratum and a starting point for the prophecy. The fact, that we do not know what the reason was, is no argument against its existence.

Issachar is represented as a strong but lazy nomad, who enjoys the fruits of peace in his fertile and genial inheritance in a state of careless repose, and who puts up with many an inconvenience rather than disturb his comfortable rest by a firm and warlike bearing. But from what we know of the condition of this tribe in the period of the Judges, the prophecy is by no means so completely in harmony with it, as we should expect it to be if taken from the facts; for it was "just this tribe of Issachar, together with that of Zebulon, which acquired such renown for heroic bravery (Judg. v. 14, 15, 18), whereas Reuben, Dan, and Asher remained inactive." If the author lived, as is supposed, at a later age, he must have been aware of this, and it is pure imagination to say that this heroic courage gave place to cowardice in the second half of the period of the Judges. But the agreement between the blessing and its fulfilment is to be found, not in any single outward event, occurring at a particular period of time, but in the general characteristics of the history of the tribe. And here, as in all the other sections, the whole of the history of the tribe subsequently to the conquest of the land is compressed into one single field of view.

With reference to the prediction concerning *Dan*, *Ewald* says (p. 81): "This clearly points to the times of Samson and to his administration of the office of judge; for then the small tribe of Dan could take its place by the side of any other tribe, however great it might be, possessing as it did in Samson a judge and leader, of whom it could be proud, whose success for a time at least was great, and under whom, though small and oppressed, it boldly resisted the pride of the Philistines, as a snake craftily conquers a powerful rider. And the greater the certainty that this attitude of the tribe under Samson was transient and without important results, the stronger is the evidence that such a description must have been written during Samson's brief and successful career." The argument is plausible enough, but it is nothing more. For the miserable and despicable state of Judah in the time of Samson, the cowardice and want of common-sense

which were manifested by it at that period (Judg. xv. 9 sqq.), when contrasted with the proud picture of the lion-like courage, the conquest, the leadership, and the supremacy of Judah, as set forth in this blessing, are totally irreconcilable with *Ewald's* opinions. Moreover, his views with regard to Dan and Samson are founded upon a misapprehension of the true characteristics of the office of judge, which Samson filled. For even though all the miraculous and wonderful accounts of Samson's deeds were really myths, as *Ewald* says, yet so much would certainly be left as a historical *residuum*, that Samson was distinguished from all the previous judges, by the fact that through his own fault he was isolated, not only from the general body of the tribes, but even from his own, that he was left to fight alone on account of the torn and heartless state of the times, and therefore, that the most gigantic exertions and the most striking success on his part were nearly if not totally barren of permanent results. We can hardly imagine a contemporary ascribing so unreservedly to the whole tribe, what was not merely achieved by a single member of that tribe, but by one who was left alone and forsaken by all the rest. Still, it cannot but appear strange that just this and no other tribe should be selected for the office of judge, and that it should be done in such a manner (for how came the patriarch to be so specific in this instance?); and this fact would furnish an almost unanswerable argument in favour of *Ewald's* views, were it not that the name of the tribe affords a sufficient explanation of so striking a phenomenon. Wherever it is possible, the blessings are founded upon an explanation of the name, and the favourite motto of the patriarchal age "*nomen habet omen*" was a sufficient starting-point for Jacob's prediction that Dan, the judge, should judge his people.

There is nothing special and concrete in the blessing of *Gad*, a triple play upon the name is all that we find in the prophecy concerning this tribe. *Asher* is promised a rich and fertile territory in such general terms, that there is no indication of a *vaticinium post eventum*. The blessing on *Naphtali* and that on *Benjamin* have none of the characteristic marks, which we should look for in a description drawn from existing events. And the fact that the tribe of Joseph is only referred to in its united form, that no particular reference is made to the powerful tribe

of Ephraim, and that nothing is said about the geographical separation of Manasseh, which might have been described as "divided in Jacob" with even greater justice than that of Simeon, can hardly be reconciled with the assumption of a *vaticinium post eventum*.

The views of our opponents are not merely at variance with the individual blessings, but also with the introductory clause, supposing, that is, that the words "in the last days" are to be taken as descriptive of the final era, the time of consummation, as we showed above that they necessarily must be. For a contemporary of Samson, or Samuel, or David would not have been very likely to speak of *his* age as the time of perfection, when there were still so many perceptible wants and deficiencies, and so many germs and unfinished beginnings.

There is a decisive proof of the pre-Mosaic origin of the blessing in the address to *Levi*. *V. Bohlen* is perfectly right when he maintains (p. 453) that Levi cannot have been a priestly tribe at the time when this song was composed; but he jumps to a wrong conclusion when he infers from this that the tribe of Levi cannot have obtained exclusive possession of the priesthood till after the time of Moses; for if there is one thing connected with the early history of Israel, which is indisputably established, it is the fact that the priesthood was conferred upon the Levites by Moses himself (*Tuch* p. 557). But this address does not contain one syllable about the priesthood, nor is there the slightest hint, or reference, from which it could be inferred that the author knew that it had been bestowed upon Levi. *Tuch* further adds, it is true, that "the scattering in Israel, to which our author refers, proceeded from Levi's priestly vocation." But this is evidently *eisegesis*, not *exegesis*; the scattering, "to which our author refers," is merely the consequence of the curse, which is here pronounced upon Levi; it is a fit punishment for that perverse union for perverse ends, in which he had sinfully taken part. This curse was changed into a blessing when the sinful combination and ungodly zeal for which the patriarch had merited dispersion as a curse were cancelled by the proper association and godly zeal, for which the tribe of Levi merited dispersion as a blessing and a favour (Ex. xxxii. 27—29). The outward form remained the same, but the reason of it, and therefore its real nature, were entirely changed. If

the author had already known the tribe of Levi as a priestly tribe, he could not, with his religious, Israelitish mind, have passed over the priesthood in silence, when it must have appeared to him as the essence and guiding star of the whole constitution. He could not possibly have described the dispersion as a curse, when that dispersion was known to result from the priesthood, for by doing this he would pronounce the priesthood a curse likewise. The force of this argument *Tuch* endeavours to evade by remarking that "we find ourselves in the midst of circumstances, in which the national sanctuary united the people with but a slender bond, when the Levites wandered almost houseless through the land, and acted as priests for any one who would pay them (Judg. xvii. 7—12, xviii. 4, 19 seq. cf. ver. 30), and when the descendants of Aaron drew upon themselves the contempt and indignation of the people by their behaviour at the tabernacle (1 Sam. ii. 12—17)." But how unhistorical it is to take the case of a single vagrant belonging to the tribe of Levi (for all the passages quoted from the book of Judges refer to the same individual) and to infer from this that the whole tribe consisted of such vagrants; and how unwarrantable to take the example of a single pair of boys belonging to the priestly family, who were spoiled by their father, and who drew upon themselves the indignation of the people on account of their crimes and acts of violence, and to conclude from this, that the whole tribe to which they belonged, was equally corrupt, and therefore equally despised. The priestly tribe may possibly have lost their rank, their influence, their incomes, etc., during the confusion which prevailed in the period of the Judges, partly on account of the circumstances of the times, and partly by their own fault. But in any case, they had not done so to anything like the extent which *Tuch* supposes. And a theocratic man, so truly religious and thoroughly patriotic, as the author of this song undoubtedly was, could not possibly at this, or any other time, have regarded it as an unmitigated curse to belong to the priesthood of Israel. In fact, the history of that vagrant Levite in the book of Judges shows how highly even this worthless man was esteemed on account of his connexion with the priestly tribe. Micah kept him "as one of his sons" (Judg. xvii. 11), and the Danites, who were wandering northwards, considered it so great an advantage to have him with them, that, when he refused to go of his own

accord, they employed force rather than go without him. If therefore these two things are firmly established, (1) That Levi was not a priestly tribe when the sentence on Levi was written, and (2) That the priesthood was conferred upon the tribe as early as the time of Moses, the prae-Mosaic origin of the blessing is certain, and in that case we have approached so nearly to the date assigned it in the present passage, that no one who admits these two premises will hesitate to adopt the conclusion that it really belongs to Jacob, by whom it is expressly said to have been composed.

It is equally impossible to point out any other period between Joshua and David in which this blessing can have been composed; and within those limits the assumption of a *vaticinium post eventum* must necessarily be confined. For, whether we assume with *Tuch* (in order that the blessing on Levi may appear fulfilled, in however partial or distorted a form), that it was written in the time of Samuel, or with *Ewald* (on account of the blessing on Dan), that it belongs to that of Samson, the blessing on Judah, which was certainly written at the same time, is perfectly irreconcilable with either hypothesis. For how does the glory, which the author heaps in such splendid colours and high-flown expressions upon Judah's head, correspond to the miserable, cowardly, and senseless conduct of the tribe of Judah in the time of Samson (Judges xv. 9 sqq.), or to the thorough insignificance of that tribe in the life-time of Samuel? During the whole of Samuel's career, and even up to the time of David's independent appearance, this tribe is scarcely ever incidentally referred to (1 Sam. xi. 8, xv. 4). And even in the passage in which it appears, its comparative insignificance is very apparent. In the war against the Ammonites, described in 1 Sam. xi., out of 300,000 Israelites only 30,000 belonged to Judah; and in the army which Saul led against the Amalekites, out of 200,000 infantry only 10,000 were of the tribe of Judah (1 Sam. xv. 4). How do the boasted princely rank of Judah, and the imperishable supremacy and rule, attributed to him in this blessing, square with the fact that it was not till the time of David, and only by his instrumentality, that this princely rank was attained? Are we to suppose that the mere outward precedence in the camp and in the order of march through the desert can really have been regarded by the author as fully answering to the

supremacy which he so highly extols, and exhaustive of the description in all its fulness? But apart from the sentence pronounced on Judah, and looking more at the blessing as a whole, is it conceivable that a discourse, which is so full of exultation at the prosperous condition of the tribes, which cannot find words or figures adequate to give expression to the abundance of blessings and power, to the conquest and peace secured by almost every tribe, can possibly have been written in the latter half of the period of the Judges, and composed with the intention of describing both the circumstances existing at the time and those belonging to the immediate past? No truly, the torn, and mournful, and down-trodden period of the Judges, of which our opponents generally draw a darker picture than we can admit to be correct,—that period, in which Israel was again and again oppressed and enslaved by the Gentiles, whilst reproach after reproach was heaped upon the people of God on account of their frequent apostasy, *cannot possibly* have been the time at which so exalted a description of the condition of Israel as our blessing contains was written down in the form of a prophecy, supposed to have been fulfilled in the age in which it was composed.

Perhaps, however, all that is necessary to avoid these insuperable difficulties is to fix a somewhat later date for the composition, the time of David or Solomon, for example, as is done by *Heinrichs*. The blessing on Judah would then remain in full force, and all its gorgeous pictures be realised in David's splendid victories and the pomp or magnificence of Solomon's peaceful reign. But *incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdin*. As the blessing on Judah overthrew the former hypothesis, so now does the sentence on Levi rise up with fatal testimony. For from the time of David the priestly tribe was in possession of the highest rank and the greatest favour, and therefore with this assumption there vanishes the opportunity, so warmly contended for, and firmly defended, of bringing the curse pronounced on Levi into apparent harmony with the pretended date of composition.

If, then, the tone of exultation pervading the whole blessing, and the blessing pronounced on *Judah* especially, preclude us from tracing the origin of the song to the period of the Judges, whilst on the other hand the sentence on *Levi* hinders us from

assigning it to the times of David and Solomon, and if it is only within these limits that it can be supposed to have arisen as a *vaticinium post eventum*, then such a supposition falls at once to the ground as inadmissible and worthless, and we are brought back to the conclusion that the blessing owes its origin to the prae-Mosaic age, and that there is nothing to hinder any one from admitting its authenticity and its claim to the character of a genuine prophecy, except the rationalistic *placet*: "there are no real prophecies at all."

Other objections to the authenticity of the blessing, such as that "so sublime, imaginative, and lively a style of poetry could not be expected from an old man at the point of death," or that "it is impossible to conceive how such a blessing pronounced by Jacob can have been handed down word for word to the time of the author or compiler of the Pentateuch," with more of the same description, no longer merit any notice, and *Hengstenberg*, in our opinion, has paid them too much honour by his reply. *Hävernick* has founded an argument in favour of its prae-Mosaic origin upon the peculiar character of the *poetry* itself (Introd. to Pentateuch, p. 228. Clark's For. Theol. Lib.).

REPLY TO HENGSTENBERG'S OBJECTIONS TO THE FOREGOING REMARKS.

Since the above was written, the passage before us has been most elaborately expounded by *Hengstenberg* in the second edition of his *Christology* (i. 47—90 translation), and as my mode of treating the subject is keenly criticized and warmly opposed, I am induced to add the following supplementary remarks. *Hengstenberg's* work has made me more than ever convinced of the correctness of my views, and the fallacy of those advocated by him; and his retractions, so far from improving his theory, have rather tended to deteriorate it. But the author has written in so confident a tone, made his assertions with such unbending determination, and heaped up such an overwhelming abundance of supposed proofs, that any reader who does not examine his arguments with the most critical care, is likely to be dazzled

and carried away by them. I will begin with the objections brought against me by *Hengstenberg* from the most general points of view.

(1). P. 69. "The most superficial objections have been considered sufficient by *Hofmann*, *Kurtz*, and others, to induce them to disregard the *consensus* of the whole Christian Church. We cannot, indeed, but be astonished at this." I leave the reader to judge whether my reasons are superficial or not. I do not think them superficial. But I am more concerned about the charge that I have set at nought the common consent of the whole Christian Church. I attach as much importance to the assurance that I am supported by the common consent of the whole Christian Church, even in matters of exegesis, as my honoured opponent, perhaps rather more, and I believe that my writings will bear comparison in this respect with those of *Hengstenberg*. Take, for example, his subtle and trifling remarks on the signs and wonders in Egypt, especially on the last plague. In this and many other instances, on grounds to which I will not apply the appropriate epithet, he has disregarded not only the *consensus* of the whole Christian Church, but that of all sound grammatical and historical interpretation, at which I was not the only one or the first to feel astonishment. No one indeed will deny, and least of all *Hengstenberg* himself, that even a christian-minded commentator may and must deviate in many cases from the traditional exegesis. The *consensus* of the whole Christian Church has understood Ps. xxii. 16 to refer to a piercing of the hands and the feet; but *Hengstenberg* in his later writings has disregarded this *consensus*. Many persons, who have thus felt themselves deprived of one of the most cherished, most important, and most convincing predictions of the sufferings of Christ, have probably been as much surprised at this, as *Hengstenberg* himself at my interpretation of Gen xlix. 10. And yet he is undoubtedly in the right.

But let us look more closely at the common consent of the Christian Church in reference to Gen xlix. 10. It is true, the early Christian Church without exception referred this passage to a personal Messiah, and so did the ancient synagogue, *but* on the ground of a decidedly false rendering of the word in question, and one which *Hengstenberg* is no less confident in pronouncing

false than I am, viz., the rendering given by the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*. It is absurd for a man to boast of the consensus of the Church, when he has pronounced the basis on which it rests erroneous, in other words has declared the consensus itself to be without foundation.

(2). *Hengstenberg* constantly speaks of my views as non-Messianic, reckons me without reserve as one of the opponents of the Messianic interpretation, and therefore places me in the same category with the rationalistic commentators *Tuch*, *Gesenius*, and *Knobel*. This is very unjust. I have opposed the opinion that the passage refers to a personal Messiah, but I have expressly and most firmly defended its Messianic character and importance. *Hengstenberg* himself is of opinion that the prophecies concerning the seed of the woman (Gen. iii. 15) and the seed of Abraham (Gen. xii. 3) do not refer to a personal individual Messiah, and yet he calls them Messianic!

(3). At p. 71 *Hengstenberg* says, "a suspicion with reference to the non-Messianic (he means the non-personal) interpretations is naturally suggested by their variety and multiplicity, as well as by the fact that the opponents of the Messianic explanation never agree among themselves, but that on the contrary one of their interpretations is invariably overthrown by another. *Such is, in every case, a sure indication of error.*" This is excellent. *Hengstenberg* himself has already disposed of two Messianic interpretations; *Sack* propounds a third, and others have been given by different commentators. If the variety be "*in every case*" a sure indication of error, it must be so here. On which side again has there been the greatest diversity, or the most frequent change of opinion? The non-personal interpretations are *three* in number, (1) till rest comes, (2) till he (or one) comes to rest or to the place of rest, (3) till he (or one) comes to Shiloh. Of the personal interpretations there are four. (1), *ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ* or *ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὃ ἀπόκειται*; (2), *Donec veniat qui mittendus est*; (3), *Donec veniat filius ejus*; (4), Till the hero (*alias*: rest, i.e., the bringer of rest, *alias*: the man of rest) comes. It is to be observed here, however, that the division of the expositors into two classes, those who refer the passage to a personal Messiah and the non-Messianic, is a very wrong one, even from an exegetical point of view. The principal exegetical difference relates to the question whether *Shiloh*

is the subject or the object. And here there are *five* different explanations on *Hengstenberg's* side, and only *two* on ours (and these two, as we shall presently show, are, exegetically considered, one and the same). Thus *Hengstenberg* has pronounced sentence on his own interpretation. Nevertheless *we* are magnanimous enough to cancel it for the present as undeserved.

(4). P. 71. "It is possible in every case to trace out some interest, *apart from* the merits of the question, which has led to the objections against the Messianic interpretation. . . . *Hofmann* and his followers do not in the least conceal the fact that they are guided by the principle of a concatenation of prophecy with history."—How far the latter is correct, at least in my case, we will enquire by and by. For the present I shall simply say, that it is untrue that I have any interest *apart from the merits of the question*.

(5). At p. 67, *Hengstenberg* says: "The entire relation of the Pentateuch to the sacred literature of later times, and the circumstance that the former constituted the foundation of the latter, and contained, in the germ, all that was afterwards more fully developed, entitle us to expect to find some expression of the Messianic idea in the books of Moses. The more prominent the place occupied in the later books by the announcement of a personal Messiah, the more difficult will it be to one who has acquired correct fundamental views regarding the Pentateuch, to conceive that this announcement should be wanting in it—especially the announcement of the Messiah in his kingly office.

. . . . But there cannot be any doubt, that the promise of a personal Messiah in his kingly office, if it be found in the Old Testament at all, *must* exist in the passage which we are now considering." That is to say, the Pentateuch prepares the ground in every direction, therefore the Messianic idea *must* have taken root in it, and everything that we find subsequently expanded, must have existed here in the germ. Who is there that will dispute this, if he believe in the history of the plan of salvation at all? But imperceptibly the Messianic idea is exchanged for "the announcement of the Messiah in his kingly office," the germ, that is, for the full grown tree. We, too, are of opinion that the foundation of the Messianic idea, *must* be laid in the Pentateuch, but we do not consider that we are justified in maintaining *a priori* that it must have existed in the Pentateuch in

this or that expanded form. *Hengstenberg* decides that, since the Messianic idea appears in subsequent books as an announcement of a personal kingly Messiah, it must be found in the Pentateuch, not merely in the germ, but in its fully developed form. But what are we to say, then, of the announcement of a suffering Messiah, which also appears in the later books? According to *Hengstenberg's Hermeneutics*, this also *must* be found in the Pentateuch. Let him point us, then, to such a prophecy in the books of Moses. No doubt the antecedents are already there, the soil is prepared in which this idea shall strike its roots, namely in the institution of sacrifice, but the application of the idea of sacrifice, and its expansion into the concrete announcement of a personal suffering Messiah belong to a later age.

We do maintain, however (not *a priori* as *Hengstenberg* does, but *a posteriori*), that the idea of a personal Messiah is to be found in the Pentateuch. But in spite of *Hengstenberg's* decision that it exists in Gen. xlix. 10, and nowhere else, we take the liberty of looking for it, not there but in Num. xxiv. 17 (see vol. iii., § 57. 1), and Deut. xviii. 18 (see vol. iii., § 60. 3).

(6.) In commenting upon the remark made by me, to the effect that the historical conditions and preparations requisite to the development of the Messianic idea did not exist in the time of Jacob, but that they are to be found first of all in the time of Moses, and afterwards in a more perfect form in that of David, *Hengstenberg* writes with the greatest indignation (p. 70): "Do you mean to teach God wisdom? we might ask, in answer to such argumentation. To chain prophecy to history, in such a manner as this, is in reality nothing short of destroying it. How much soever people may choose to varnish it, this is but another form of naturalism, against the influence of which no one is secure; for it is in the atmosphere of our day. Men who occupy so narrowminded and trifling a ground of argument as this, who would rather shape history, than heartily surrender themselves to it, and find out, meditate upon, and follow the footsteps of God in it, will be compelled to erase the promise in Gen. xii. 3: 'In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed,' yea, even the words, 'I will make of thee a great nation,' with which the promise begins—for *that* also violates the natural order."

I admire the zeal which is apparent in these words, for it is zeal in a holy cause, though it arises from prejudice, misunder-

standing, and error. But before I proceed to prove this, I will point out to what extent there are errors in my own line of argument. First, I have done wrong in putting the historical proofs of my opinion before the exegetical, for by so doing I have undoubtedly made it appear that I regarded the former as the more important, though I guarded against such a mistake by the most explicit declarations. Exegesis ought to do its work, free and unconstrained, without the fetters either of tradition or of its own system; the results of the exegesis should then be linked on to the system, and the latter should be shaped, completed, or rectified according to the former. In the present instance, the results of exegesis, at which I have arrived with the greatest care and conscientiousness, are completely in harmony with the historical data and the expectations founded upon them. Hence my error was merely one of form. I have only to put the exegetical enquiry before the historical, and everything will be in order. Then again, I have to confess that my historical researches have perhaps been conducted in a more confident tone, than human speculations in general ought to assume, and that this may appear to have been peculiarly unjustifiable in the present case, as no exegetical foundation had yet been laid. But even this is a mere error of form, and I have only to alter the expressions, not the matter.

Let us look, however, at the charge of *naturalism*. Even if I looked upon the history of Israel as purely natural, a purely human development, a concatenation of history and prophecy, regarding these as props and conditions, the one of the other, I ought not to be regarded as the precursor of naturalism. Would it, for example, be naturalism, if I were to maintain that the point of time at which God became incarnate in Christ was affected by the natural development of heathenism, that God performed this, the greatest miracle in the history of the world, just at the time when all the conditions requisite for the cheerful acceptance of salvation on the part of the heathen, and all that could promote the diffusion of the gospel through the earth, were to be found in the political and social state of the Gentile world?

But I can see in the history of Israel, in which, with which, and about which prophecy is occupied, not merely a natural human development, but on the contrary a product of nature

and grace, of human freedom and the sovereignty of God. If, then, I look at divine prophecy in its relation to the history of Israel, that is, to a history which was the result of the most special guidance and constant active interference on the part of God, how can this be condemned as a naturalistic degradation of prophecy? Do not the traces of God's mercy and wisdom in the history of salvation come first and most clearly to light, do they not appear in their most wonderful and attractive form, when we see how divine prophecy was introduced as a living and organic part of history, and on the other hand how the course of history was so directed by God, and his operations therein were of such a kind, as to be constantly opening the way and preparing a place for new and more glorious forms of prophecy? I fall in the dust and worship when I thus discover how the living God was ever moving in history and prophecy, how the mercy and wisdom of God, through his adorable condescension, adapted themselves in both of these to existing wants and circumstances. Is this naturalism? Is this shaping history and destroying prophecy? To my mind, prophecy first acquires its full value, when I can see what God has done in history to prepare a fitting place for prophecy. The incarnation of God in the fulness of time loses nothing of its adorable worth, but rather gains the more, from the fact that it required a historical preparation of 4000 years.

For my own part I am conscious of having "heartily surrendered myself to history," and of having "meditated upon and followed the footsteps of God therein." I have doubtless done so in great weakness and with much liability to error, and shall therefore be always delighted to learn not merely of *Hofmann*, but of *Hengstenberg* also. There may be many an error in the work I have written; but no one can charge me with want of hearty devotion or thoughtful research. Again, there is as much injustice as bitterness in the accusation brought against me, of giving way to the desire to *teach God wisdom*. Might I not, with equal justice, or rather injustice, bring the same charge against *Hengstenberg*, for saying at p. 67, that God *must* have caused the announcement of a personal Messiah and of his kingly character to be made in the Pentateuch, or for similar remarks which might be found in a hundred other passages of his writings? But what shall I say, when *Hengstenberg* is so

carried away by his zeal as to maintain that, with the views which I hold on the relation between history and prophecy, I shall be compelled to erase the promise in Gen. xii. 3, "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed," as well as the prediction, "I will make of thee a great nation," since they also violate the natural order? Such arguments as these bear upon the face of them convincing proof that the writer either could not, or would not, understand his opponent.

The charge of naturalism, of destroying prophecy, &c., would only be justifiable, if I looked upon prophecy as *Ewald* does, as a natural product of the human mind, and supposed it to be attributable to an elevated and enlightened spirit, skilled in anticipating the future, as the result of the study of the history of the past. But *Hengstenberg* knows, or ought to know, that these are not my views. Prophecy, in my opinion, is an objective communication of divine knowledge to man, but one that is vitally associated with the circumstances of the age in which it is made, which supplies its wants and enters as an organic element into the general course of affairs. The dependence of prophecy upon history, as I understand it, is no other than this, that God does not scatter the seeds of prophecy, until by his guidance of history, he has brought the soil to such a state, that as soon as those seeds are scattered, they will strike their roots and bring forth fruit. The seeds of prophecy do *not* resemble the grains of wheat, which the Egyptians placed in the hands of their mummies, to lie there perhaps for thousands of years, before they fell into a genial soil, where they could unfold the blessing that was in them. They bear a far greater resemblance to the sowing of the husbandman, who scatters every kind of seed at the proper season, and either seeks a fitting soil, or *makes* it so by cultivation.

Hengstenberg has left the field of scientific discussion, and made a very cutting appeal to my conscience. I am far from denying that any one has a right to do this. But before bringing against another charges so sweeping as those of naturalism, of shaping history, destroying prophecy, and sacrilegiously wishing to teach God wisdom, charges which, as *Hengstenberg* might well have known, would go to my heart like a two-edged sword, it is a duty to weigh the terms employed with greater care than *Hengstenberg*, in his excessive zeal, appears to have

exercised. I desire no mercy, even from *Hengstenberg*, but I desire justice and truth, and these I do not meet with. Nor can I avoid acknowledging that I look upon *Hengstenberg* as having even less right than others to speak upon such subjects in a way like this, for, were he measured by his own standard, he would hardly escape the same, or rather, I believe, far greater condemnation. I shall not call it naturalism that we find him so often depriving miracles of their miraculous character, nor shall I say that he is a destroyer of prophecy, though so frequently he dissipates the concrete substance of a prophecy into shadowy ideas. I will not speak of him as shaping history, when he explains away everything in it that displeases him, nor will I charge him with wishing to be wiser than God, when he so completely sets at nought all the laws of exegesis, in his interpretation of the miracles wrought by God for Israel, as to bring out exactly what *he* would have done if he had been in the place of God.¹ As I have said I *neither will nor can* bring such severe and unjust charges against him; but I say with confidence and without reserve, that if *Hengstenberg* were measured by the same standard by which he has measured me, there are none of these charges which he would be able to rebut or evade.

(7). *Hengstenberg* had formerly translated the passage under review: "till rest, *i.e.* the bringer of rest, shall come," and had endeavoured to prove from such examples as *קִיטֵר*, *בִּידוּר*, *שִׁילָה* that *שִׁילָה* might be an abstract noun. But it is very clear that this explanation is not a true one, even apart from the context, the structure, and the parallelism of the verse. It might indeed be possible to defend the use of an abstract for a concrete noun; but as *עֵלָה* does not mean *to bring rest*, but *to enjoy rest*, *שִׁילָה* (*Shiloh*) cannot indicate one who brings rest, but one who enjoys it, and this is a predicate which can hardly be applied to the Messiah, who came not to enjoy rest himself, but to impart it to others (Gen. xii. 3). *Hengstenberg* has, therefore, done right in dropping this explanation, but he has done wrong in substituting for it one which is even weaker and more untenable. He now interprets *Shiloh* as a personal appellative, or (what he appears to regard as the same thing) a proper name, and translates it *man of rest*. He has been led to make this modification,

¹ See my treatise on Jephthah's Sacrifice in the *luther. Zeitschrift*, 1853.

partly by the discovery that such forms as שִׁילֹן = שִׁילָה cannot possibly be *abstract* nouns, and partly by the fact that in every other passage, Shiloh is the *proper name* of the town in which the tabernacle was first set up after the conquest of the Holy Land. "An interpretation," he says at p. 74, "which discevers the connexion betwixt Shiloh and Shiloh, betwixt Shiloh and Solomon, betwixt Shiloh and the Prince of Peace, betwixt Shiloh and him "whose right it is," must for that very reason be self-condemned." But this town of Shiloh is just the Achilles' heel in *Hengstenberg's* explanation of the passage as referring to a personal Messiah, and, to say the least, it is not a prudent thing to run, with the heel exposed, upon the adversary's sword. If once we decide that the passage alludes to the town of Shiloh, then all reference to a personal Messiah is hopelessly gone; for we shall have no other resource open to us than to say that the word Shiloh is the *object* of the passage, indicating the point at which they were to arrive. But how unsuitable does the conjecture, expressed by *Baumgarten* and myself, that the town of Shiloh owes its name to this prophecy, appear in *Hengstenberg's* mouth! For such a thought is just as much at variance with his interpretation, as it is in harmony with ours. Shiloh, he says, is a proper name, the name of the Messiah, and its appellative signification is *man of rest*. Then, Joshua named the town where he first erected the tabernacle "*man of rest*," because Jacob had called the personal Messiah the man of rest! What an absurd idea! For what had the town of Shiloh to do with the personal Messiah, the future king of Israel? What a ridiculous name for a town: *man of rest*! Can we conceive of the Jews returning from the Babylonian captivity and calling Jerusalem "*Messiah*," in commemoration of the rebuilding of the temple?!! If not, it is just as *inconceivable* that Joshua should have given the name of *Shiloh* to the town where he erected the tabernacle, if Shiloh was then an appellative noun, or, as *Hengstenberg* says, a proper name of the personal *Messiah*.

Hengstenberg's new interpretation has thus left all the weak points of his former explanation unaltered (we shall discuss them presently), and has merely added fresh impossibilities. He has even retained the weak point already referred to, viz. the derivation of שִׁילָה from שִׁלָה, which means *salvus, securus fuit, maxime de eo qui prospera fortuna secure utitur* (*Gesenius*

thes.), and the inference that *Shiloh* can only mean a *man of rest*, in the sense of one who enjoys rest, not of a man who brings rest and peace.

(8). The first and most essential question to be asked in connexion with the interpretation of this passage, the question, in fact, upon which everything else depends, is not whether the passage speaks of a personal Messiah or no, but whether שִׁילֹה is to be translated as the subject ("till Shiloh come"), or as an object ("till he come to Shiloh"). To the latter rendering, which I gave in my first edition in the abstract form ("till he comes to rest"), but in the present edition in the concrete shape ("till he arrives at the place of rest," *i.e.* at the place where rest shall be made apparent), *Hengstenberg* offers the following objections: (1) *Shiloh*, from its very form, cannot be an abstract or appellative noun, but must necessarily be either a concrete adjective or a proper name, and (2) if *Shiloh* were either of the two former, the object, to which they were to come, would necessarily have been introduced with a preposition.

I do not consider the comparison of שִׁילֹה with כִּידּוּר, שִׁילוּחַ, כִּידּוּר, קִיּוּשׁ, קִיּוּשׁ absolutely inadmissible, although *Hengstenberg* has adopted *Tuch's* arguments against such a comparison. Nor can I adopt the opinion of *Delitzsch*, that where there are already so many synonymes for the one word *rest* (מְנוּחָה, שְׁלוֹמַי, שְׁלוֹמִי), it would be impossible that the form שִׁילֹה should have the same meaning. Does the fact that there are four words in a language with the same meaning, rest, establish the impossibility of our meeting with a fifth? Still I see no objection on the other hand to the derivation of *Shiloh* from an original form שִׁילוּחַ, which is advocated by *Hengstenberg* and *Tuch*. The existence of such a form is rendered very probable by the *nomen gentile* שִׁילֹה־נִי, which we meet with in 1 Kings xi. 29, xii. 15.

But so much may be admitted without our being, therefore, unable to interpret שִׁילֹה as an abstract noun. *Ewald*, at least, informs us, that adjectives and abstract nouns are formed by the terminations *an* and *on* (*Lehrbuch* § 163 b.). The adjective signification he regards as the primary one, and states that at present there is no distinction in the terminations, but that it is certain that *an* was originally the form of the adjective, *on* that of the abstract noun.

We have already pointed out an instance, in which *Hengstenberg* has condemned himself whilst attempting to rectify his opinion. We have another proof of this in the case before us ; but here also we must reverse the sentence as an unjust one. In the excess of his zeal, for example, in attempting to overthrow our explanation, he has adopted *Tuch's* assertion, that "it is quite impossible to give the word the signification of an appellative noun, since it is only in proper names, where the signification of the derivative suffix is of the less consequence, that *on* is shortened into *oh*." This reasoning suits *Tuch's* interpretation very well, for in his opinion *Shiloh* is the name of the well-known town, in this and every other passage of the Old Testament, in which it occurs. But instead of sustaining *Hengstenberg's* view, that *Shiloh* means a *man of rest* in the passage before us, it is directly opposed to it. Is *Shiloh*, then, simply a proper name in this connexion ? Is the word *Messiah* a proper name ? Are such terms as the king, the ruler, the conqueror, &c., proper names ? Undoubtedly these and other similar words may all become proper names, but they only become so when they are associated with particular individuals. *Victor* is primarily an appellative noun, but it becomes a proper name by becoming the name of a person ; *Shiloh* is an appellative noun, but it becomes a proper noun by being used as the name of a town ; so with the name *Solomon*, &c. If *Jacob*, then, predicted the coming of a *man of rest*, did he mean that "*man of rest*" was to be his name ? Certainly not ; he surely meant that he would *be* a man of rest, and did not intend to say whether that would be his *name* or not. If he had, he would have predicted something, which was *not* fulfilled, for in *Luke ii. 21*, we do not read that "when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called *Shiloh*." It is evident therefore that if the word *Shiloh* in *Gen. xlix. 10* refers to a person at all, it must be an appellative noun descriptive of that person, and not his proper name. The identification of an adjective and a proper name is a self-delusion, which in our case, at least, has not succeeded in imposing upon others also.

With regard to the assertion itself, it is certainly true that only one exception can be found to the rule, that the abbreviation of the ending *on* into *oh* took place in none but proper names. But the fact that there is at least *one* exception (אֲבִירָה)

= death, hell, in Prov. xxvii. 20), is a proof that the rule is not an absolute one. And *Ewald* has shown that there are other analogous instances of the softening down of the final consonant *n*: e.g. אָתְנָה (Hos. ii. 14) for אַתְנָה and שָׁרְיָה (Job xli. 18) for *Shirjân* (1 Kings xxii. 34) and *Shirjôn* (1 Sam. xvii. 38); *vid.* Lelubuch § 163 seq.

What, then, is the meaning of *Shiloh*? Two things are certain, that *Shiloh* is derived from the root שָׁלַח, and that *Shiloh* was the name of a town. Either of these is sufficient to establish the appellative signification of the word, from which undoubtedly the name of the town originally sprang. And from these two data, even apart from the laws which regulated the formation of the language, we may argue conclusively that the original notion expressed by the word is either *rest* in the abstract, or, what I decidedly prefer, *the place of rest*, i.e., the place in which one rests, or where rest is first enjoyed. But we must defer the consideration of the question, whether, in the passage before us, *Shiloh* is the proper name of the well-known town, or still retains the appellative signification which was kept in view when the town was named.

(9). It is not necessary to offer proofs that the verb בּוֹא is often followed by an accusative without a preposition, to indicate the object arrived at. We find it in various connexions, both with proper and appellative nouns, e.g., to come to *Shiloh*, to come to Jerusalem, to come to the town, to come to the gate, to arrive at wisdom (Prov. ii. 19), to come to the sabbath (2 Kings xi. 9, בּוֹא הַשַּׁבָּת, i.e., for the purpose of performing the priestly duties of that day), to come to the feast (Lam. i. 4 בּוֹא מוֹעֵד). But the arguments of our opponents assume that the *objects* can only stand without a preposition when it is a *concrete*, not when it is an *abstract* noun. And if the two expressions, "to come to the sabbath," and "to come to the feast," are not allowed to be cases in point, I must candidly confess that I know of no other instance in which בּוֹא is connected with an *abstract* noun without a preposition, and that in every other case we find it with *places* or *persons*. Still even if we must admit, that the ordinary rules of the language required a preposition with abstract nouns, this would not prove that

poetry may not have emancipated itself from this law, seeing that it always adopts so very different, and so much bolder a style.

However I do not require this admission. I have already stated that I also regard the word Shiloh not as an abstract, but as a concrete noun, with the meaning *place of rest*. But I have not yet been able to determine, whether it is to be taken as an appellative or a proper noun. Should further investigation establish the former, I have no doubt that it will be just as possible to do without the preposition in the phrase, "to come to the *place of rest*" as in the other phrases "to come to the *town* (Jer. xxii. 24), or "to the *gate*" (Gen. xxiii. 10, 18; Ps. c. 4).

(10). There is nothing in the rules of the language, therefore, to prevent our rendering the passage עַד כִּי-יָבֹא שִׁילֹה: "till he come to the place of rest (town of rest)." *Shiloh* may be the *object*, and there is nothing to prove that it *must* be the *subject*. This we have already demonstrated, and therefore all that we have to do here is to adduce still further evidence, and to answer *Hengstenberg's* objections. I said above that the parallelism of the verse leads us to consider *Shiloh* as the *object*. I have probably laid too much stress upon this argument, but I must still maintain so much at least, that in my view the parallelism is unmistakably clear; and *Hengstenberg* admits that the parallelism is "somewhat concealed" by his interpretation. inasmuch as, instead of (?): "till the bringer of peace comes, *and he, to whom* belongs the obedience of the nations"—we have in the second member, "*and to him* belongs the obedience of the nations."

The context and the train of thought in the blessing on Judah speak much more decidedly and, as I think, with absolute proof in favour of my interpretation, and in opposition to *Hengstenberg's*. The following reasons may be assigned: (1), We should expect the word "*until*," to introduce some information as to the course of Judah, and what would be the result of his uninterrupted possession of the post of leader? (2), What could induce the patriarch, when describing the blessings that awaited Judah, to look so far away from Judah himself, as to place the climax of the blessing in the announcement of a person, who is not said to have been connected with Judah in any way whatever? For it is nowhere stated that the person, supposed to be indicated by Shiloh, will be the descendant of Judah, nor is this by any means

necessarily implied. (3), But even granting that the supposed person, Shiloh, can or rather must be regarded as descending from Judah, and that the word Shiloh describes the person of the Messiah according to his kingly office and his peace-bringing rule, then Jacob will have prophesied that Judah should rule until the ruler sprang from Judah, *i.e.*, that Judah should rule till Judah ruled. There is no sense in this. (4), If the word Shiloh really denoted the Messiah, *i.e.*, a particular, well-defined personality, there would be every reason to expect that the article would be prefixed, and that thus the expression would be somewhat less general. (5), The first half of the tenth verse speaks only of Judah, and according to *Hengstenberg* another subject, *viz.*, Shiloh, is introduced into the second half. Be it so ; but what are we to make of the next verse (11) which commences, "he binds his colt to the vine," &c., "he washes his garments in milk," &c. ? Who is the *he* in this case ? Judah or Shiloh ? According to the laws of exegesis *Hengstenberg* ought to reply, Shiloh. But how does the description given in ver. 11 apply to the Messiah ? This verse is most clearly descriptive of Judah's inheritance in the Holy Land, a province rich in wine and milk. Hence *Hengstenberg* says without the least reserve (p. 74) : "What is here assigned to Judah, belongs to him only as a part of the whole, as a fellow-heir of the country flowing with milk and honey." The subject is *Judah*, then, not Shiloh ? But what is to be done with the "*he*" in ver. 11, which can only refer to Shiloh ? (6), The train of thought in the whole of Jacob's address to Judah (ver. 8—12) requires that we should render Shiloh as an object, and precludes our taking it as the subject of this sentence. How beautifully and smoothly does thought link itself to thought with our interpretation ! What life there is in the whole section ; and how natural is every part ! Judah, the praised one, is the conqueror of his enemies, the champion of his brethren. By his victorious, lion-like power, and his inalienable supremacy, Judah passes on from conflict to victory, from war to peace, and the nations gladly obey the conqueror. This peaceful and happy condition is still farther pictured in vers. 11, 12, by a description of the abundant blessings to be enjoyed in the land, into which Judah enters as the leader of the rest. What man is there, with any feeling for the proper order and consecutiveness

of thought, who will not grant, that with this interpretation the connexion and the train of thought are as natural, and free from violence, as they are intelligible and easy? And what does *Hengstenberg* say? "We further remark, that verses 11 and 12, which ancient and modern commentators (*e.g.*, *Kurtz*) have attempted to bring into *artificial* connexion with ver. 10, simply finish the picture of Judah's happiness by a description of the luxurious fulness of his rich territory" (p. 74). Indeed! Then the connexion, which I have pointed out, is *artificial*, and it is sufficient that *Hengstenberg* says so without waiting to prove it. But when we ask what natural, simple, and unforced connexion he suggests instead, we receive for answer, *none*. Now, undoubtedly, a connexion which has no existence at all, cannot be called an *artificial* connexion. But if there is any place, in which an expositor must necessarily find out the connexion between two consecutive sentences, it is just here between ver. 10 and those which follow. For as there is no subject named in ver. 11 seq., the subject must be sought in the verses immediately preceding, and, therefore, there must be a connexion between the two, which it is the duty of the expositor to point out.

This is the exegetical ground on which I have based my view. I will not maintain that all these arguments are absolute proofs: on the contrary the only ones to which I attribute such force as this are Nos. 3, 5, and 6; though I do not regard the others as unimportant. Yet all that *Hengstenberg* has to say in reply to the whole of these multifarious arguments is found in the bare and unsupported assertion, that I have attempted to bring ver. 11 into artificial connexion with ver. 10.

If, now, we further consider the fact, that *Shiloh* is the name of a *town*, and that a town cannot possibly have been named the "man of rest" or have been called by the personal name of the Messiah, I think I shall have adduced all the exegetical proof that can be required of the impossibility of *Hengstenberg's* opinions, whether new or old.

The word *Shiloh* occurs forty-one times in the Old Testament as the name of a town. What then is more natural than to suppose that in the forty-second passage, that is, the passage before us, either this town is expressly designated, or there is some essential connexion between the *Shiloh* mentioned here and the name of the town? Everything depends upon the ques-

tion, whether the town was in existence in Jacob's time, or rather, whether it was then called *Shiloh*. For if so, there would be no doubt that Jacob's prophecy had reference to the town, and we should have to adopt the rendering of *Tuch*, *Delitzsch*, *Diestel*, and others: *till he come to Shiloh*. But if not, then the name of the town had some reference to Jacob's prophecy. *Shiloh*, therefore, will in that case have been used by Jacob as an appellative noun, meaning the *place of rest*, and will subsequently have become a proper name by being transferred to the town as the "town of rest."

I still give a decided preference to the latter explanation. All that I have said *in opposition* to the former appears to me as convincing as ever. Moreover, I am now of opinion that I can support my view, that the name of the town was changed with direct reference to Gen. xlix. 10, by biblical data (for which I am indebted to *Hengstenberg* himself, p. 81). In the first passage, in which the word *Shiloh* occurs as the name of the town, viz., Josh. xvi. 6, we find it written *Taanath-Shiloh*, and shortly afterwards it is mentioned in a connexion which points unmistakeably to Gen. xlix. 10. In Josh. xviii. 1, we read that "the whole congregation assembled together *at Shiloh*, and set up *the tabernacle* of the congregation there, *and the land was subdued before them*." With this we should compare Josh. xxi. 44: "And the Lord *gave them rest* round about, according to all that he swore unto their fathers; and *there stood not a man of all their enemies before them*," &c., and Josh. xxii. 4: "And now the Lord your God *hath given rest unto your brethren*, as he promised them; therefore, now return ye, and get you unto your tents," &c. From these passages we perceive that Israel regarded the erection of the tabernacle at Shiloh as a boundary-line in its history, marking the termination of its previous wanderings and homeless condition, and the commencement of its quiet and peaceful possession of the land, which was promised to the fathers. And they had good reason for so doing, for the permanent erection of the tabernacle, the setting up and taking down of which had hitherto served as an invariable signal of the encampment and the departure of the Israelites during the journey through the desert, naturally served as a sign and guarantee of the termination of their wanderings and the attainment of a settled rest. What Jacob had foretold in his blessing to

the fathers, was now fulfilled (at least in a preliminary form). And whilst it was perfectly natural that the blessing of the patriarch should be remembered on that occasion, the passages referred to distinctly intimate that it was so remembered. When the tabernacle was set up at Shiloh in the place of its rest, all Israel had also arrived at its resting-place. If the town had actually been called Shiloh before, it was not till now that it became fully and truly what its name indicated, *a place of rest*. To judge from appearance, however, this was *not* its name previously, but it was so called *for the first time on the occasion referred to*, in commemoration of the important manner in which their previous history had been brought to a close. It is true that the absence of any reference to a city of Shiloh in the earlier history, is not a proof that no such town existed, or that it bore some other name, but it gives a certain amount of probability to the assumption. More than this, the fact that, when the town is first mentioned, we find another name, *Taanah*, by the side of the name Shiloh, and that this name subsequently vanished, confirms the conclusion, to which we were brought by the other data mentioned above. There is not the least improbability, therefore, in the opinion, which we have been led to form, that the town was formerly called *Taanah*, but that it received the name of *Shiloh*, after the erection of the tabernacle, with especial reference to Jacob's prophecy.

Hengstenberg agrees with me in this, except that with the greatest *naïveté*, he adopts the most incredible notion, that the town was named the *man of rest* or *Messiah*. But in a note on p. 81 (transl.), by the use of the word *vielleicht* (perhaps) he suggests the possibility that the name *Taanath-Shiloh*, in Josh. xvi. 6, "may not be a combination of the earlier and later names, but the full form of the original name, of which the latter, *Shiloh*, is only an abbreviation. From the well-ascertained and common signification of the word אָנֶה, we are entitled to translate *Taanath-Shiloh*: the *futurity*, or the *appearance of Shiloh*. *Shiloh shall come*: such was the watchword at that time. The word *Taanah* would then correspond to the יבֵּא of the fundamental passage."—*Hengstenberg* has certainly acted with great prudence, in leaving a backdoor open, when setting up his impossible theory; only it is unfortunate that it should lead to a תִּהְיֶה נְבוֹרָה. For (1) There is something very beautiful and

edifying in the assurance that “‘*Shiloh will come,*’ was the *watchword* of the time;” but unfortunately this assertion is a mere piece of imagination, as there is not the slightest or most remote trace of such a *watchword* in the whole of the book of Joshua. The *actual* watchword is given most clearly and unmistakably in Josh. xviii. 1, xxi. 44, xxii. 4: “*Jehovah has given rest to Israel,*” and this watchword was incorporated in the new name, that was given to the town. (2). It is just as fatal an objection, that the “well-ascertained and common” signification of אָנָה does not admit of the explanation: the future, or the appearance of Shiloh. תָּאָנָה, in Jer. ii. 24, is generally admitted to mean sexual connection, *coitus*. And even if we assume that this is merely a derivative meaning, and that the primary meaning (the one applicable here), is a *meeting*, or *combination*, it will not be easy to extract from this the idea of the “future, or appearance, of the Messiah.” The verb אָנָה is not used in the Kal. In the Piel, Pual, and Hithpael it has the meaning to light upon, to happen *accidentally*, and the notion of that which is accidental always appears as essentially connected with the verb. The meaning of the Kal, from which *Taanah* is derived, is given by both *Gesenius* (p. 123), and *Fürst* (*Handwörterbuch* 112), as, “to be a suitable, convenient, proper time; to meet or fit exactly.” This does not in any way suit the explanation “future of the Messiah.” If this be the true meaning of the Kal, the proper interpretation of Taanath-Shiloh would be not “Shiloh’s future,” but “Shiloh’s present.” The name could only be intended to say: what Shiloh signifies, has now come to pass. And this would harmonise with my views very well, but not with those of *Hengstenberg*.

(11). “Up to the time of their arrival in Shiloh,” says *Hengstenberg*, p. 72, “Judah was never in possession of the sceptre, or lawgiver; and this reason would alone be sufficient to overthrow the opinion, which we are now combating” (*viz.*, that advocated by *Tuch*, *Delitzsch*, &c.) “We have already proved that, by these terms, *royal* power and dominion are designated, and that, for this reason, the *beginning* of the fulfilment cannot be sought for in any period *previous* to the time of David.” This argument is equally applicable to the views I entertain. I will not enter into a controversy with *Hengstenberg* on account of his having translated כְּזֹקֵק *lawgiver*, though

I regard this rendering as decidedly erroneous, and feel myself compelled by Num. xxi. 18 (where the word is used in just the same connexion and from the same point of view as in Gen. xlix. 10), to render it the *ruler's staff*. But it is an assertion altogether without foundation to say that *Shebeth* and *M'chokek* can only refer to *royal* supremacy. The context in the case before us shows, that they must both of them be interpreted as referring to the lead taken by the tribe of Judah. *Shebeth* occurs in Judg. v. 14, as the staff of the head of the tribe of Zebulon, and *M'chokek* in Num. xxi. 18, as the ruler's staff held by the nobles of the nation. And in neither of these passages can it denote really *royal* insignia.—*Hengstenberg* then continues (p. 72, 73): “But even if we were to come down to the mere *leadership* of Judah, we could demonstrate that this did not belong to him. His marching in front of the others cannot, even in the remotest degree, be considered as a leadership. Moses, who belonged to another tribe, had been solemnly called by God to the chief command. Nor was *Joshua* of the tribe of Judah.” But in spite of all this, the fact, that when Jacob said, “the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from the place between his feet,” he merely thought of the lead to be taken by the tribe, may be inferred (1), from the passage itself, for he promises the sceptre and the staff to the tribe, and not to one particular member of it; and (2), with still greater certainty from the relation between the words addressed to Judah, and those previously addressed to *Reuben*, *Simeon*, and *Levi*.—*Reuben*, the first-born, had forfeited the pre-eminence in might and dignity, which properly belonged to him, on account of his wickedness. And for a similar reason, the pre-eminence in might and dignity, which naturally belonged to the first-born, could not be transferred to either *Simeon* or *Levi*. The patriarch's eye then fell upon *Judah*, and he at once exclaimed: “It is thou my son, the children of thy father bend before thee.” Thus *Judah* was assured of the pre-eminence in dignity and power, which had been taken away from *Reuben*. And what was this pre-eminence in power and dignity, or the bending of the other children before this one, but the leadership and rule? But, replies *Hengstenberg*, in the journey through the desert and during the conquest of the promised land, *Judah* was not the leader. In making this remark, however, (1), He overlooks

the fact, that the words of Jacob speak of the leadership of one tribe among the rest. Moses and Joshua were what they were, not on account of their belonging to this or that tribe, but by virtue of an extraordinary call on the part of Jehovah. Judah was still the first of the tribes, notwithstanding that neither Moses nor Joshua belonged to that tribe. "In every numbering of the people, Judah appears as the most important and populous of the tribes, and whenever the camp broke up, Judah led the way. When the land was divided, it was Judah again which received its inheritance in Gilgal before any other tribe." (*Delitzsch.*) (Compare also *Hengstenberg's* remarks at p. 76 seq.). Moreover, the blessing pronounced upon Judah by Moses was based upon the fact, that Judah was the acknowledged leader of the tribes. *Hengstenberg* himself says with reference to this (p. 79): "The whole announcement (of Moses concerning Judah) is based upon the supposition that Judah is the fore-champion of Israel; and this supposition refers us back to Gen. xlix. This is especially apparent in the words: 'bring him to his people,' on which light is thrown only by Gen. xlix. It is for his people that Judah engages in foreign wars, and the Lord, fulfilling the words: 'from the prey, my son, thou goest up,' brings him safely to his people." Is not this a leadership, or chieftainship?—(2), We have also to observe, that our interpretation, at all events, does not compel us to regard the fulfilment of the prophecy contained in Gen. xlix. 10, as completed, exhausted, and therefore terminated by the erection of the tabernacle at Shiloh. The conquest of the land by Joshua ushered in the period in which the Israelites were to dwell in peace and quiet in a land of their own. But when it became apparent that the repose already secured was to be mixed up with, and even exchanged for, disquiet and trouble, it was also apparent that Jacob's prophecy was not yet absolutely fulfilled, that it had only received a provisional fulfilment, and was now entering upon a new stage, which would lead to a later fulfilment in a higher sense and wider form. We are, therefore, justified in appealing to the progressive development of the chieftainship of Judah during the subsequent history, as first exhibited in Judges i. 2, xx. 18 (*vid. Hengstenberg, p. 81*), and continually advancing till the time of David, and then till that of Christ.

(12). Having thus exhibited the *exegetical* proofs, that Jacob did not announce a personal bringer of rest, but merely a period and a place of Messianic rest, and having defended these proofs against all attacks, it will now be perfectly in keeping and very proper, that we should show how completely this exegetical result answers to the historical data furnished by that age, and in how vital, harmonious, and organic a manner history and prophecy are blended together. I have already entered fully, and as I think conclusively, into this subject. All therefore that I have to do, is to refer to what I have said before. But it is necessary here to test the arguments by which *Hengstenberg*, in his description of the connexion between this prophecy and history, has attempted to establish his views and overthrow mine. We read, for example, on p. 67: "The promises which were first given to Jacob's parents and then transferred to Jacob himself, included two things: *first*, a numerous progeny and the possession of Canaan; and, *secondly*, the blessing which should come through his descendants upon all nations. How, then, could it be expected that Jacob, in transferring these blessings to his sons, and while in spirit seeing them already in possession of the promised land, and describing the places of abode which they should occupy, should have entirely lost sight of the second object which was much the more important, and just as often repeated?" There are two statements here which are not true: (1), It is *not true* that the second portion of the prophecy is *as often* repeated as the first. It is only in those promises in which *Jehovah himself* pronounces the blessing directly, formally, and solemnly upon the three patriarchs (on Abraham, Gen. xii. 3 and 18, xxii. 17 seq.; on Isaac, xxvi. 4; on Jacob, xxviii. 14), that the spiritual blessing is mentioned in connexion with the temporal. In Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 16, xv. 5, 18, xvii. 4—8 and 16, we have a whole series of promises made by God to the patriarchs, in which the temporal blessings alone are referred to. (2), It is *not true* (at least according to our interpretation), that Jacob has altogether passed over the blessing which was to flow through his descendants to all the nations of the earth. It is expressed in ver. 10, "and to him shall the willing obedience (the cheerful submission) of the people be." No doubt the reference made by *Jacob*, when blessing his sons, to benefits of a spiritual kind, is

less distinct than in Gen. xii. 3, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, where *Jehovah* himself bestows and describes the blessing. But this is equally applicable to Gen. xxvii. 29, where Isaac bestows the blessing upon Jacob. The relation between these striking variations in the patriarchal blessing has already been examined and put in the proper light (*vid.* Vol.i. § 72. 4, and my *Einheit der Genesis*, p. 94, 95). We see here the difference between the *objective* proclamation of the blessing on the part of God, and the *subjective* apprehension of that blessing on the part of the patriarchs. On this point I need not repeat what I have already written.

Hengstenberg continues (p. 67), "Is it not probable that, as formerly from among the sons of Abraham and Isaac, so now from among the sons of Jacob, *he* should be pointed out who should become the depository of this promise, which was acquiring more and more of a definite shape?" We reply (1), It is *not true* that this blessing had acquired *more and more of a definite shape* from the time of Abraham's call to that of Jacob's death. On the contrary, the whole of the descriptions and repetitions referred to above, which extended over the entire patriarchal age, did not open it a hair's-breadth wider, and nowhere, I say nowhere, did it receive a more definite shape till Gen. xlix. This is a fact of great significance, that the blessing, however often it was repeated, was not extended or more clearly defined during the whole of the patriarchal age. And for that reason we have at least *no a priori ground* for expecting, that under Jacob, who stood upon the same footing, under the same influences, with the same hopes, this blessing would make such enormous progress in the attainment of a more definite shape. (2), It shows an utter want of insight into the nature of the progress observable in the patriarchal age, when *Hengstenberg*, in so unreserved a manner, desires and expects, that because a distinction had been made between Isaac and Ishmael, and between Jacob and Esau, the blessing being transmitted to the one to the exclusion of the other, therefore the same distinction should be made by the blessing of Jacob among his twelve sons. Did Judah, then, stand in exactly the same relation to his eleven brethren as Isaac to Ishmael, or Jacob to Esau? Did the selection of Judah from the twelve amount to a *rejection* of the rest, a severance from the tree of the history of salvation? (3), I have maintained that there is some progress apparent in Jacob's blessing, viz., in the

elevation of Judah *above* his brethren, but I cannot possibly class this elevation with the distinction made between Isaac and Ishmael, or between Jacob and Esau.

Again, at p. 68, we read: "If we do not admit the reference in this passage to the Messiah, then a very large department of the future, which was notoriously accessible to Jacob, is left untouched by his announcement."—This sentence is left without any proof. But an *ipse dixit* is not admissible in the field of science. Let *Hengstenberg* demonstrate to us, therefore, that the expectation of a personal Messiah was a "department of the future which was notoriously accessible to Jacob!"—Till then, I shall very properly continue to doubt it. Still, the Spirit of God, by whose inspiration Jacob prophesied, was not necessarily restricted to that department of the future which was notoriously accessible to Jacob; and therefore the Spirit of God may have opened up to him for the first time a department of the future which had not been accessible before. Let us assume, then, for the moment, that *Hengstenberg* has given a correct interpretation of Gen. xlix. 10. In that case the expectation of a personal Messiah would be set forth in this passage in a manner so clear and intelligible, so definite and free from ambiguity, that the anticipation of a personal Messiah must henceforth have pointed out a department of the future notoriously accessible to every Israelite, and therefore most certainly to *Moses*. It is an indisputable fact, however, that in his blessing on the twelve tribes, which is completely parallel and analogous to Jacob's blessing on his sons, *Moses* does not make the slightest reference to a personal Messiah. Hence, if *Hengstenberg's* exegesis of Gen. xlix. 10 be the correct one, there is an entire department of the future which was accessible to *Moses*, and yet which is not in any way referred to in his announcement. It is evident, therefore, that either *Hengstenberg's* mode of arguing is inadmissible, or his assertion that, after Jacob's prophecy, the expectation of a personal Messiah was a department of the future notoriously accessible to every Israelite, is incorrect.

"If," he proceeds (p. 68), "the reference of the passage to a personal Messiah be explained away, we should certainly be at a loss to discover, where the fundamental prophecy of the Messiah can possibly be found. We should then, in the first place, be thrown upon the Messianic Psalms—especially Ps. ii. and

cx. But as it is the office of prophecy alone to make known to the congregation truths absolutely new, it would subvert the whole relation of Psalm-poetry to prophecy if, in these Psalms, we were to seek for the origin of the expectations of a personal Messiah. They are unintelligible unless we recognise in Shiloh the first name of the Messiah."—Is this proof? Is there any one holding our views, who would think of appealing to Ps. ii. and cx. as the primary prophecy, the source and starting point of the expectation of a personal Messiah? Have we not 2 Sam. vii. ? And why should not this be regarded as the primary prophecy on which Ps. ii. and cx. are based ?

Lastly, on p. 70 he says: "But the historical point of connexion for the announcement of a personal Messiah, which here at once, like a flash of lightning, illuminates the darkness, is by no means so completely wanting as is commonly asserted. . . . All the blessings of salvation, which the congregation possessed at the time when Jacob's blessing was uttered, had come to them through single individuals. . . . Why should not Abraham be as fit a type of the Messiah as Moses, Joshua, and David? . . . Or why not Joseph, who, according to Gen. xlvii. 2, 'nourished his father and his brethren, and all his father's household,' and whom the grateful Egyptians called 'the Saviour of the world.'"—This is evidently the most plausible, or rather the only plausible argument which *Hengstenberg* has employed in opposition to my interpretation. And yet it is mere plausibility, which vanishes as soon as any one takes the trouble to examine my arguments more closely. I have said, for example, that in Jacob's time the Messianic expectation was still bound up with *the* promise and expectation, that the unity of the family would be expanded into the plurality of a nation. The entrance of salvation could not be regarded as dependent upon the selection and singling out of any individual. On the contrary, from the nature of their previous historical experience, this could only be regarded as deferring the end desired. For whilst, on the one hand, the multiplication of the family into a great nation, and the possession of a land of their own, had been made prominent in all the promises, as the first and for the present the only conditions of the entrance of salvation, on the other hand, when any had hitherto been singled out, it had always involved the exclusion of others from the chosen commu-

nity and the necessity for a fresh commencement. It was not till the unity of the family had been expanded into the plurality of the nation, and it had been historically demonstrated that it was not only advantageous but necessary, that this plurality should be recondensed into the unity of *one* helping, saving, and governing individual, that the true foundation was laid, on which the expectation of a personal Messiah could be based.

(13). On p. 76 sqq. *Hengstenberg* traces the blessing on Judah through the entire history of Israel, for the purpose of showing that this prophecy was made prominent in every period of the Old Testament, and particularly that the Shiloh passage was understood by the biblical writers and prophets in the same way in which he has interpreted it. But we have still only arguments in which confident assertions are used as substitutes for proof. Thus in p. 83 he says: "*There cannot be a doubt* that David gave his son the name Solomon, because he hoped that he would be a type of the Shiloh" predicted by Jacob. We cannot be required to examine these arguments one by one, and treat them as they deserve. I will merely notice two points more. On p. 79 *Hengstenberg* mentions the blessing of Moses. He very properly maintains that this is connected with the blessing of Jacob, and that it carries it forward. How then, we ask, are we to explain the fact that Moses' blessing on Judah does not contain the slightest trace of the expectation of a personal Messiah, if that of Jacob had already announced this expectation in so clear and unmistakable a manner, and had placed it on so firm and indestructible a foundation? My answer to this question may be found in Vol. i. § 98. 2. But what is *Hengstenberg's* reply from his standpoint? The most charitable supposition, which I gladly adopt, is that he makes no reply. For if the answer is to be found in p. 79, where he says, "even the remarkable brevity of this utterance (Moses' blessing on Judah) points back to the blessing of Jacob; and with this brevity the length of the blessing upon Levi, of whom too little had been said by Jacob, corresponds,"—I must say that I have seldom met with anything more flimsy. For why is the blessing on Joseph so long in both instances, if length and brevity alternated in the two blessings?—In conclusion, I will again refer to Ezek. xxi. 32. It is time that the words עַד-בֵּא אֱשֶׁר לוֹ הַמְּשִׁיחַ should cease to be taken as the rule by which to render and explain the word *Shiloh*, in

Gen. xlix. 10, especially after the theory, that שִׁילֹה is but another form of שְׁלֹה = שְׁלֹו = אֶשֶׁר לוֹ, has been most properly given up as utterly fallacious. Moreover, we should altogether abstain from attributing to the prophet Ezekiel such a play upon words, as *Hengstenberg* imputes to him when he says (p. 86) : “the words אֶשֶׁר לוֹ הַמְּשֻׁפָּט, which Ezekiel puts in the place of Shiloh, on the ground of Ps. lxxii., allude to the letters of the latter word which form the initials (?) of the words in Ezekiel. That ש is the main letter in אֶשֶׁר is shown by the common abbreviation of it into ש, and that the ך in שִׁילֹה is unessential, is proved by the circumstance, that the name of the place is often written שְׁלֹה.” If the passage in Ezekiel bore any conscious reference to Gen. xlix. 10, and this I no longer dispute, it is not to be regarded as an explanation or confirmation of it, but simply as a free allusion to the passage, which the prophet has enriched with the fulness of his own more expanded views in relation to the coming Messiah.

DEATH OF JACOB AND JOSEPH.

§ 4. (Gen. xlix. 28—l. 26).—When the patriarch had thus looked forward with prophetic eye ; had seen his descendants in possession of the land of his pilgrimage ; and had announced in prophetic words the vision he had seen : he concluded by uttering with renewed earnestness the last wish of his life, that he might be buried there, in the land of his reminiscences and hopes, and in the *family grave* of his fathers. The execution of this wish, of which Joseph had already given him an assurance on oath, he now pressed most urgently upon all his sons. His account with life was closed, and he died at the age of 147 years. (1). Joseph had the body *embalmed* by his *physicians* in the Egyptian mode, and after the usual period of mourning, obtained *Pharaoh's permission*, and went with all his brethren and their households to convey the corpse to its place of destination.

The Israelites were accompanied to the borders of the promised land, by a solemn and numerous attended funeral procession of Egyptian courtiers and officers of state. There they remained for seven days mourning together; after which the Egyptians departed, and left the members of the family to bury the corpse in the cave of Machpelah. (2). The guilty conscience of Joseph's brethren now began to trouble them again, and they became uneasy, lest Joseph should perhaps have only deferred their well-merited punishment till their aged father's death. But the noble-minded deliverer and protector of his family anticipated their fears, and dispelled them with words of comfort: "Ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive." Joseph lived sufficiently long to witness the commencement of the fulfilment of his father's blessing, for he saw his grandchildren and great-grandchildren; and as his end approached, looking with faith at the promises of the future, he took an oath of the children of Israel, that whenever these promises were fulfilled, they would carry his bones with them to the promised land. He died at the age of 110 years. His body was embalmed and placed in a mummy-case for preservation. (3).

(1). On chap. xlix. 33: "And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost," *Calvin* correctly observes: non est supervacua locutio, nempe qua exprimere vult Moses placidam sancti viri mortem, ac si dixisset, sanctum senem tranquillo animi statu membra direxisse quo volebat, qualiter sani et vegeti se ad somnum componere solent;" and *M. Baumgarten* adds: "Jacob is the only one of the Old Testament patriarchs, whom we are able to accompany to his very last hour. And here we see how the Old Testament death-bed was surrounded by brightness and peace, the fear of death being swallowed up in the certain hope of the rest that remaineth for the people of God."—On the family-vault and the interest attaching to it in the minds of the patriarchs, see Vol. i. § 66.

(2). For the *Egyptian customs* referred to here, consult *Hengstenberg's Egypt* and the Books of Moses, p. 66 sqq. (translation). The fact that Joseph is said to have possessed a large number of *physicians*, may be explained from *Herodotus* (ii. 84), where we read that there were special physicians in Egypt for every disease. On the different modes in which the *mummies* were prepared, see *Herodotus* (ii. 86—88) and *Diodorus* (i. 91). Compare also *Friedreich* on the Bible (ii. 199 sqq.). The difference between the account given here, that Joseph's physicians embalmed his father, and the statement of *Diodorus* (l. c.) to the effect that there was a regularly organised, hereditary guild appointed for that purpose, and that the different departments were assigned to different individuals, may easily be explained, if we take into consideration the different periods to which the two accounts refer. *Hengstenberg* is certainly correct in saying (p. 67) that "it is quite natural to suppose, that in the most ancient times this operation was performed by those to whom any one entrusted it; but that afterwards, when the embalming was executed more according to the rules of art, a distinct class of operators gradually arose." There is a striking coincidence between the statement made here, that the whole period of mourning, evidently including the forty days of embalming, extended to seventy days, and the account given by *Diodorus* (i. 72, 91). *Hengstenberg* (p. 68) has shown that there is no discrepancy between *Herodotus*, ii. 85, and *Diodorus*, i. 72, 91. The extravagances of the funeral rites of the Egyptians are depicted in both these passages, and their monuments show the intensity and solemnity of their lamentations (*vid. Wilkinson*, i. 256). Joseph appeals to the courtiers to intercede for him, and obtain *Pharaoh's permission* to bury the corpse in Canaan. The reason why Joseph did not lay his own request before the king, has been correctly explained by *Hengstenberg* (ut supra) on the ground that, according to Egyptian customs, Joseph allowed his hair and beard to grow during the term of mourning (*Herod.* ii. 36), and that no one was permitted to enter the presence of the king in this unseemly condition (Gen. xli. 14). Moreover, the request had reference to Joseph himself, for as a matter of course, the minister of a well organised state could not leave the country without the knowledge and consent of the king. The rest of the brethren required no royal permission to bury the

body in Canaan and accompany it thither. The fact that so numerous and influential a body of the Egyptians, viz. the elders of the house of Pharaoh (*i.e.* the officers of the court), and the elders of the land of Egypt (the state officials), accompanied the procession, most likely with an armed guard, shows how highly Joseph was esteemed and beloved by both the court and the king. "The custom of *funeral-processions*," says *Rossellini*, ii.3, p. 395. "existed in every province of Egypt and in every age of its history. We have seen representations of them in the oldest graves of Elethias; there are similar ones in those of Saqqarah and Gizzeh, and others also exactly like them in the tombs of Thebes, which belong to the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties." To this, *Hengstenberg* adds, "When we look at the representations of processions for the dead upon the monuments, we can fancy we see the funeral train of Jacob (*vid. Taylor*, p. 182)."—As *the threshing-floor Atad* (אֲתָד גֵּרְן הַתְּאֵזֶבֶד : the buck-thorn threshing-floor), at which the Egyptians turned back after seven days' mourning, is on the other side, *i.e.* the east, of the Jordan, the procession did not take the nearest road, by Gaza and through the territory of the Philistines, but went by a long circuitous route round the Dead Sea, and so crossed the Jordan and entered Canaan on the eastern side. The reason of this may be attributable to political circumstances, with which we are unacquainted. So large a procession, attended by an armed guard, would probably have met with difficulties from the contentious Philistines. It is a remarkable coincidence, however, that Jacob's corpse should have taken, or have been compelled to take, the same road, which his descendants were afterwards obliged to follow in their journey to the promised land. We should not be surprised to find some critic detecting in this an unmistakable proof, that the road, by which the legend states that the body of Jacob was carried, was first taken from the journey of the Israelites. For our part, however, we do not hesitate to express our opinion most freely, that we discover in this similarity of route one of those events, unintentional and therefore apparently accidental, that abound in history in general, but particularly in sacred history, and from the stand-point of the observer are proofs of the *prophetic character* with which the biblical history is always secretly pervaded. *Tuch* (p. 593), with his usual delight at the discovery and imputation of crudities, says that

the Egyptian escort is described in the Saga as stopping short before reaching the Jordan, because "the foreign attendants could not be allowed to tread the holy promised land;" and so important does he consider the discovery, that he has had the words printed in italics. But where do we find, in any part of the Old Testament, the least trace of so harsh and trivial an idea? And how particularly crude and absurd would such a notion have been, at a time when the "holy promised land" was entirely in the possession and occupation of foreigners. But *Tuch* himself assigns the true and perfectly satisfactory reason for the departure of the Egyptians, when he says: "the actual interment of the corpse was a matter for the family alone." This sufficiently explains, why the Egyptians only accompanied them to the frontier of Canaan. Had so numerous an escort gone further, it might have excited political disturbances in Canaan. From the very nature of the case, too, an escort only goes, as a rule, to the line which separates their own from a foreign land. But in this instance the procession had hitherto passed only through a desert, in which there were none but nomad-hordes, and therefore the boundary of Canaan, at which the escort stopped, might be regarded in a certain sense as the boundary of Egypt, especially when we consider, that it was their intention to pay the greatest honour to the funeral procession, by going as far as they possibly could. No one will consider it an improbable thing, that the place where the Egyptians encamped, by the *floor of Atad*, may have received the name "meadow of the Egyptians," אֶבֶל מִצְרַיִם from the fact that this splendid procession sojourned there for seven days; and it will hardly be regarded as a crime, either against the grammar or the lexicon, that the author should have laid stress upon the paronomasia between this name and אֶבֶל מִצְרַיִם "the mourning of the Egyptians." We have no means of determining the site of the threshing-floor of Atad with exactness. *Jerome* identifies it with Beth-Hogla, two miles from the Jordan on the road to Jericho, *i.e.* to the west of the Jordan (*vid.* Onomast. art. Arca Atad), but this is at variance with the evident meaning of the text.

(3). In v. 23 we read that the children of Machir, the son of Manassch, were born *on Joseph's lap*. From chap. xxx. 3 it is

evident that this can only mean, that they were adopted by him ; and as that would not lay the foundation of a new tribe, the tribes of Israel having been fixed once for all, it could only involve the transfer of Joseph's special rights and property to these children of Machir, *vid.* § 2. The body of Joseph was placed in a *wooden sarcophagus*. The Egyptian coffins were generally constructed of sycamore wood, and were made to resemble the human body. (See *Herodotus* ii. 86). *M. Baumgarten* has most truly observed : " the last instructions, which Joseph gave to his brethren, and made them swear that they would fulfil, are peculiarly important. Joseph remained an Egyptian to the day of his death, and was, therefore, separated from his brethren. If, then, before his death, he expressed his certain hope that they would one day return to Canaan, and his wish to be associated with that return, his former separation must have given the greater force to such a desire. From that time forward the coffin with Joseph's remains became an eloquent witness of the fact that Israel was only a temporary sojourner in the land of Egypt, and continued to turn its face towards Canaan, the promised land."

The intercourse between Joseph and his brethren terminated with their anxiety on account of the injury, which they were conscious of having inflicted upon him, and with Joseph's declaration of his forgiving love, by which he removed all doubt as to the unalterable nature of the reconciliation that had taken place, and the perpetuity of his affection for them. Henceforth the brethren were able to give themselves up to the full enjoyment of the rich provision he had made for them, without any lingering fear lest they might one day be punished for their fault, by one whom they had so deeply injured, in fact without a thought that such a thing was any longer possible. The touching history of Joseph is now lying in all its completeness before us, and we have therefore a fitting opportunity for surveying it as a whole.

All the teachers of the Christian Church, who regard the Old Testament history as the result of God's special and supernatural direction, have recognised in Joseph a distinct type of Christ (*e.g.* *Sack*, *Apologetik* 2. A. p. 340 seq.). " In the person of Joseph," says *Luther*, " God foreshadowed both Christ and his entire kingdom in the most brilliant manner in a bodily form. He received his name on account of his perpetually growing and increasing,

heaping up and accumulating, for *Joseph* means *one who adds*. And the crowning point of the figure is this: as Joseph was treated by his brethren, so was Christ treated by his brethren, *i.e.*, by the Jews." Following this rule, there are some who have discovered the most striking agreement between Joseph's call and the events of his life on the one hand, and those of Christ on the other, even in the most trifling, and apparently the most accidental circumstances (*vid. e.g. Vitringa* observv. ss. l. vi. c. 21; *Heim*, Bibelstunden i. 540 sqq. and others without number). There is, in our opinion, just ground for regarding Joseph as a type. But in this, as in other instances, the true historical relation between the type and the antitype has been reversed. The proper method would have been, first of all, to determine *the fact*, that the position, the calling, and the task of Joseph bore the same relation to the lower stage of development, at which the kingdom of God had then arrived, as was borne by those of Christ to the fulness of time, or the time of fulness, and also to decide *how, why*, and *to what extent* such a resemblance existed. When this had been done, then would have been the time to show that the resemblance, which can be traced between the events and results of their lives, was necessary and essential; whereas otherwise it could only be regarded as accidental, and therefore unimportant, or else as purely imaginary. And in this way it would be shown, that the dissimilarities, which would otherwise appear sufficient to outweigh and destroy the resemblance, were equally necessary and essential. Instead of this, expositors have contented themselves with a merely external comparison of particular phenomena, and thus have lost themselves in strange and arbitrary conjectures, and grasped a baseless and visionary result.

There are two things to be considered in the history of Joseph, his relation to heathenism, and his relation to his own people. He brought salvation to the heathen, and to his brethren also. We have already shown, in § 1 and 2, both *how* and *why* Joseph's peculiar position as the deliverer of Egypt, the representative of the whole heathen world, was in itself a prophetic event; an event, which was the result of the deepest impulses at work in his history, and which, although merely transient and imperfect, on account of the imperfection of the age of Joseph himself, and of the circumstances, was for that very reason prophetic. But

the salvation, which was to proceed from the house of Israel, was not merely salvation *for the Gentiles*, but first of all salvation *for the house of Israel* itself. And in this respect also, the moving principle of the history of Israel was typically exhibited in the person and life of Joseph. The reason and the cause of this prototypical manifestation of Israel's vocation, precisely at that time, and in the person of Joseph, are one and the same. We have already explained, that the patriarchal epoch formed the first complete and definite stage of the kingdom of God in Israel; and that this stage bore the same relation to the whole of the Old Testament history, as the smaller of two concentric circles bears to the larger. The common centre will generate in both *the same forms*; but in the smaller circumference these forms are on a smaller and less perfect scale, in the larger they reach their fullest development. So we do find in Joseph the noblest blossom of the patriarchal life, the embodiment of all the true worth that it possessed; but in Christ we see the perfect blossom, the entire fulness of the whole of the Old Testament dispensation.

The opposition which Christ and Joseph both met with from their own people, the hatred, contempt, and persecution, to which both were exposed, on the part of those to whom they were bringing salvation, were not accidental. They sprang from the same soil, and were the fruit of the same perverse and hostile disposition, the same evils, which are so exuberant in the whole of the Old Testament history, but which appeared in a concentrated and more fully developed form, just at those epochs in which salvation itself was manifested in a similar way. The soil, from which they sprang, was the perversity and selfishness of human nature; and these had to be overcome by the devotion and self-sacrifice, in which alone salvation comes to view. In other words, it was that natural enmity of the heart, which consciously or unconsciously resists the ways of grace, but which has to be subdued by the power of the love that comes to meet it. This selfishness and enmity were manifest, not only in the rude and profane minds of an Ishmael and an Esau, whose hearts were hardened into perfect insensibility, and in whose case they were not subdued by the grace of God; but also in the expressions of self-will, of weak faith or of unbelief, to which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, gave utterance; though in their case, after a

conflict, of less or greater violence, between grace and nature, submissive faith and resisting unbelief, they were entirely subdued. They showed themselves more decidedly in Jacob's sons, since with them the selfishness of nature was no longer under the immediate and express control of God, but had to submit to one who was himself a recipient, as well as a mediator of the divine mercy, one who was naturally their equal, but, according to the hidden and marvellous wisdom of God, was destined to be their deliverer and redeemer. Yet even in this instance the power of forgiving love, displayed by Joseph, triumphed over the obstinacy of selfishness in the hearts of his brethren.

This then being the leading principle, on which the course of salvation in the kingdom of God depends, that its victory over the evils existing in human nature shall be gained by godlike love, submission, and self-sacrifice, it is a fundamental law of the whole of the sacred history, till its ultimate completion, that the way of salvation leads through abasement to exaltation, through serving to ruling, through sacrifice to possession, through suffering to glory. And this fundamental law, of which the highest and most perfect manifestation is seen in the life of the Redeemer, was first displayed in a definite and concrete form in the life of Joseph.

The typical character of the life of Joseph, then, consists in this, that he, the first temporary deliverer of Israel, who brought the first stage of its history to a close, like the perfect Saviour of Israel, in whom its entire history terminated, was slighted, despised, persecuted, and betrayed by "his own;" that, like Him, he passed through abasement, service, and suffering, to exaltation and glory, and also that, like him, he succeeded at length in softening their hardened hearts by the fulness of his forgiving love, and in raising his own to the enjoyment of the benefits which he had secured for them. If, in addition to this, there is often a striking resemblance between particular incidents and the accidental circumstances, we cannot lay any very great stress upon this, though we regard it as a mark of that prophetic spirit, by which the history was directed and controlled.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PATRIARCHAL AGE.

REVELATION, RELIGION, AND GENERAL CULTURE IN THE TIME OF THE PATRIARCHS.

§ 5. We have already seen (Vol. i. § 12. 13), that in order to determine to what extent the consciousness of God was developed under the Old Testament economy, it is essentially necessary to make a twofold distinction in the process of divine revelation ; that is to say, it is necessary to distinguish the preservation and government of the world in general, from the more special operations connected with the introduction and working out of the plan of salvation. We have also seen that this distinction was exhibited to the religious consciousness of the chosen people, in the two names by which God was known, *Elohim* and *Jehovah*. The only questions remaining for discussion at present are, whether there was any distinct apprehension in the patriarchal age, of the difference between these two manifestations of God ? and if so, whether it was expressed by the two different names of God at that early age ? Some have thought that a negative answer to these questions is rendered necessary by Ex. vi. 3 ; but this is not the case. For, on the one hand, the explanation of the passage on which this answer is founded is an erroneous one (1), and on the other, whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the composition of the book of Genesis (Vol. i. § 20. 2), such a reply is decidedly at variance with the contents of that book (2).

(1). On the ground of Ex. vi. 3 (where *Elohim* says to Moses: "I am Jehovah, and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם, but by my name יְהוָה was I not known to them"), it has been very confidently maintained by modern critics, that the name יְהוָה was not in existence before the time of Moses, but was first introduced by him in connexion with his peculiar instruction respecting the nature of God. But in my work *Einheit der Genesis* (p. xxii.—xxxii.) I have proved at length that this is an erroneous explanation of the passage. We shall therefore content ourselves with giving the correct explanation here, and for a fuller discussion of the question refer to the work just named, *vid.* also *Keil*, in the *Luth. Zeitschrift* 1851, i. p. 225 seq.; *Hofmann, Schriftbeweis*, i. 82 seq.; *De-litzsch, Auslegung der Genesis*, p. 26).

For a correct understanding of these words of God, it is indispensable that we should first determine whether the word נִדְרַעְתִּי, "I was known," is to be regarded as emphatic or not. The whole tenor and connexion of the passage, its peculiar mode of construction and expression, the remarkable importance of its contents, and the great solemnity with which the words were uttered, compel us to take the word as emphatic, and to seek the meaning of the solemn address of God in this word alone; and doing so, it is necessary to take into account all the depth and fulness of meaning of which the verb יָדַע is capable. Now it is well known, how deep and comprehensive a meaning this verb is capable of, and, where it is used emphatically, must necessarily have. In such a case it denotes a thorough insight into, and grasp of any object, even in its inmost essence. *Perception* in its primary and peculiar sense is by no means merely a superficial knowledge, which only touches the shell, and is content with the external and accidental appearance of an object; on the contrary it is the reception of an object into one's own spiritual life as the result of actual personal experience. It presupposes a close and intimate communion between the subject and the object, the perceiving mind and the object of perception. Hence it appears to us to be by no means a forced explanation, but a very natural one, and one which suits the words as well as the circumstances, and does full justice to the history contained in the book of Genesis, as well as to the expression itself, if we suppose the meaning intended to be conveyed to be this: that

the Israelites were to be made fully conscious, that they would immediately receive such a glorious manifestation of the operations of God, as even their celebrated ancestors had not been permitted to see. The latter had never witnessed, known, or experienced the whole extent of the fulness and glory of the divine operations, expressed by the name *Jehovah*, but these were now shortly to be displayed. *El-Shaddai* is the Almighty God, who, by his creative omnipotence, prepared the natural conditions and vital agencies required for the development of salvation, and hence the word sets forth one view of the Elohist existence of God, on which it was necessary that peculiar stress should be laid (see *Einheit der Genesis*, p. 124). *Jehovah*, on the other hand, is the God engaged in the development of salvation, who enters into it himself, manifests himself in it and with it, and therefore conducts it with absolute certainty to the desired result. *Jehovah* had already ruled and worked in the history of the patriarchs. Their history commenced with *Jehovah*. It was by *Jehovah* that Abraham was *chosen* and *called*; and He *appointed* him to be the father of the chosen people, the channel of blessings to the nations. But to accomplish this result, *Jehovah* had to become *Elohim*, *El-Shaddai*, that as creator he might produce the *promised* seed from an unfruitful body, and make of it a numerous *people*. And therefore *that which was actually accomplished in the patriarchal age, that which the patriarchs (not merely hoped for and believed, but) saw and experienced as a fact fulfilled, was the work, not of Jehovah, but of EL-SHADDAI*. All that *Jehovah* had performed, in connexion with the patriarchal history, *was limited to the election and call of individuals, to the communication of directions and promises, and the fostering of faith in the directions and promises given*. Hitherto, there had been no embodiment in *fact*; there had been merely the introduction of an idea, which was to be realized and embodied for the first time at Sinai. *Hence the patriarchs could only grasp the operations of Jehovah in faith and hope; they could not see them; they did not feel and know them as something actually accomplished and fulfilled*. This was reserved for their descendants, to whom Moses was sent with the message that it was now about to happen. This then, and this alone, is the meaning of the words of God: "They have *known* me, my nature, and my operations, as *El-Shaddai*,

but not as Jehovah; *you*, however, shall soon know me as Jehovah also."

(2). It is a fact that the name *Jehovah* occurs all through the book of Genesis, quite as frequently as the name *Elohim*, not only in the objective narration of the author, but also in the mouth of God and of the patriarchs. Various suggestions have been made, for reconciling this fact with the words of God in Ex. vi. 3. *De Wette*, *Tuch*, *Stühelin*, *Lengerke*, and many others suppose the meaning of these words to be, that the name *Jehovah* was not in existence before the time of Moses; and on this supposition they deny the unity of Genesis, and assume that such passages of that book, as do not contain the name *Jehovah*, form together a complete work (the so-called ground-work), whose author intentionally and consistently avoided using that name in consequence of the statement made in Ex. vi. 3. A subsequent interpolator or finisher extended this ground-work, and, overlooking the statement contained in that passage, either used the two names promiscuously in his additions, or with special reference to their different significations. On the other hand *Hävernick*, *Hengstenberg*, *Drechsler*, *Keil*, and many others, oppose this interpretation of the verse in Exodus, and defend the unity of the book of Genesis. The interchange of the names of God in that book, they explain entirely on the ground of the different notions conveyed by the two names. *Ebrard* (*das Alter des Jehovahnamens: hist. theol. Zeitschrift v. Niedner*, 1849. iv.), and *Delitzsch*, in his exposition of Genesis, endeavour to find a *via media* between the two, but seek it in opposite directions. For whilst *Ebrard* adopts *Tuch's* explanation of Ex. vi. 3, and yet wishes to maintain the unity of Genesis, *Delitzsch* gives up the unity of the book of Genesis, but yet adopts *Hengstenberg's* explanation of the passage in Exodus (Vol. i. § 20. 2).

We have already given our opinion as to the meaning of Ex. vi. 3; and all that we have still to do, is to say whether we give in our adhesion to the views of *Hengstenberg* or of *Delitzsch*. But this question has little connexion with our present topic, and, therefore, we shall defer the discussion of it to a more fitting occasion (see, in the meantime, Vol. i. § 20. 2). The only point of importance here is whether the name *Jehovah*, and the consciousness of the difference in the manifestations of God

which that name expresses, were in existence at so early a period as the patriarchal age. If we admit the unity of the book of Genesis, this question must of course be answered in the affirmative. But we are convinced, and that we have now to prove, that it can and must be answered in the affirmative, even *if the correctness of the supplementary hypothesis be assumed*. As proofs of this we mention the following: (1). In Ex. vi. 3, it is not expressly said that the name Jehovah was *unknown* before the time of Moses, but simply that in the patriarchal age God had not revealed the fulness and depths of his nature, to which that name particularly referred. The author of the ground-work, however, from the peculiar nature of his legal and priestly standpoint, was chiefly desirous of making it as clear as possible to his readers, and of keeping the fact constantly before their minds, that the Sinaitic covenant and legislation had introduced into the sacred history a fresh and incomparably superior element of divine revelation, and that this element alone expressed all that was included in the name Jehovah. For this reason he purposely avoided the use of that name, in connexion with the earlier history. But he had no intention of saying, that the name Jehovah was entirely unknown in the patriarchal age; for (apart from other reasons), we have an absolute proof of this in the fact that in Jacob's blessing, which indisputably belongs to him, he puts that name into the mouth of the patriarch (ver. 18). And this he could very well do, without at all departing from his original purpose, since Jacob was carried by the spirit of prophecy into the heart of the Jehovistic times. If, then, this blessing was actually pronounced by the patriarch, and handed down by tradition in the form in which the author has recorded it, as we think we have unanswerably demonstrated (§ 3. 3), the evidence afforded by the occurrence of this name is all the more important.—(2). The supposed finisher of the work cannot have intended, that Ex. vi. 3 should be understood in the way in which *Tuch* and the rest explain it; for in that case he would have placed himself in conscious and evident opposition to the ground-work, which it was his design to extend. We cannot imagine this a possible thing, especially when we consider, that a slight alteration of the expression contained in the ground-work would have been sufficient to remove the discrepancy, which is supposed to be so apparent; and if the

critics are correct, he has frequently made such alterations when there was far less to be gained.—(3). If it be undeniable, that the later author represented the name Jehovah, as already known and current in the patriarchal age, his historical representation is in our estimation authoritative, for we regard him as a writer who was filled and directed by the Spirit of God, just as thoroughly as the author of the ground-work.—(4). It is *a priori* both a natural and probable supposition that the name Jehovah was in existence in the patriarchal age. For if the patriarchs were conscious of the special call, which they had received, of the peculiarity of their position, and of the extraordinary relation in which God stood to them (and even the ground-work teaches as much as this), there must have been some definite terms, which expressed this consciousness, especially when we consider that it was the source and guiding star of the whole course of their lives.

§ 6. *Miracle* and *prophecy* are the two indispensable accompaniments, vehicles, and messengers of revelation (see Vol. i. § 4). In each there is a manifestation to man of the fulness of the godhead; in the former of the power of God, in the latter of his wisdom. And through each the divine fulness enters into a covenant association with the history of humanity, co-operates in its development, and ensures its safe arrival at its destined end. That end is the incarnation of God and the consequent entrance of the whole fulness of the divine essence, in a living and personal form, into an intimate and abiding union with man. We have already shown in Vol. i. § 50, how the first advances towards this end were manifested in elementary forms, as it were; how, for example, there was as yet no miraculous power given to man, whilst the gift of prophecy was but seldom possessed, and that only in particular, culminating points of history (1).—The *substance* of patriarchal revelation, and its *results* in patriarchal history, have already appeared, as we followed the course of that history in the former parts of this work. The sum of the whole is, that the *will* of God was revealed in the

selection, the call, and the appointment of Abraham and his seed, to be the instruments through whom salvation should be introduced and completed ; the *knowledge* of God in the announcement of this call to those who were intrusted with it ; and lastly, the *power* of God in the creative production of the promised seed from an unfruitful body, in the separation of that seed from the natural branches, and in the protection and guidance of those who had been chosen.

(1). It is a striking fact, that *in the whole of the patriarchal history, and in the primeval history anterior to it, we do not meet with a single miracle performed by a man.* Not even by an Enoch, who had this testimony that he walked with God, nor an Abraham, with whom God talked as a friend with his friend ; in fact, none of the fathers of the old world were workers of miracles. Where any miracles occur, they are performed solely and exclusively by God himself. We have in this fact a decisive argument against every mythical explanation of the patriarchal history, and a strong proof of the historical credibility of this portion of sacred history, as *Sack* has already shown (*Apologetik* Ed. ii. p. 174). With what a dense *nimbus* of miracles would any legendary tale have enveloped the heads of the celebrated founders of the race ! They would assuredly have been made to surpass in this respect an Elijah and an Elisha, who were far less celebrated, and whose forms were not so obscured by the haze of a distant antiquity. The same may be said of the gift of prophecy, for, though not perhaps altogether wanting, there is an analogy in its infrequent and exceptional appearance. Abraham is, no doubt, called a prophet in *Gen. xx. 7* ; but evidently in so general and indefinite a sense (*Vol. i. § 63. 3*), that we cannot for a moment think of that specific gift of prophecy, which we meet with at a later period as an essential co-efficient in the development of the nation's history. We do not find the least trace of a prophetic utterance on the part of Abraham. Isaac and Jacob both prophesy, as Shem had done before them in an exactly similar way, but each of them prophesies only once in his life, and in a manner perfectly unique. Prophecy does not appear in their case as a continuous endow-

ment to all, and this is the main point of importance. It was not an office with which they were entrusted. In all three the paternal authority to bless and curse was the principal thing; the prophecy was a subordinate matter. The supernatural force of this paternal authority assimilated itself both to the authority of God, of which it was the symbol and the medium, and also to the foreknowledge of God; it brought them down to itself, as it were, on this particular occasion (see Vol. i. § 72. 1). If we take a comparative survey of the further course of the sacred history, we find that Moses was the first to work a miracle, and that from that time forward, there was a visible increase in the number of miracles performed by men, through several stages of the history: again they appear less frequently, and for a period cease altogether, till at length the miracle appears in its most absolute form in the incarnation of Christ. The gift of prophecy passes through essentially the same phases. On the other hand we find that visions of God, which are almost the only form of revelation in the patriarchal history, gradually decrease in the subsequent history, in proportion to the increase in the number of prophets and workers of miracles. In the visions of God the divine power and knowledge did not enter *into* human nature, but moved *by the side of*, and *in connexion with*, the agency of man. But in the gift of prophecy, and the power to work miracles, they entered *into* human nature and became subservient to it. In the impartation of these gifts to man, there was an advance towards the incarnation of God. This absence of miraculous powers and of the gift of prophecy in the patriarchal age, and the frequency with which God appeared, are therefore to be easily explained, as parts of God's regular plan for gradually revealing and communicating himself to the people of the covenant. On the other hand, it was no less conditioned by the regular and gradual development of the people of the covenant themselves, and especially by the fact that as yet the history of the patriarchs was a *family-history*, and they had not become a numerous and organised people. It was an essential element in the gifts of miracles and prophecy, that the performer of miracles did not work them primarily *for himself*, but *for others*, and that the prophet did not proclaim the message from God *for himself*, but *for those around*. Now Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were the solitary recipients of the divine call; God was

related to them as a friend to a friend, and all the blessing, the protection, and the light, which he had to impart to them, were necessarily imparted directly to themselves, since there was no third person in existence who could mediate between the two. It was very different when the seed of Abraham had become a numerous people. Individuals could then be raised up, endowed with divine power and wisdom, to be the channels of power and light from God to the rest of the people. In fact, *it was necessary* that such persons should rise up, to be the typical representatives of the perfect mediatorship of the God-man, to whom the whole history of the covenant pointed, and at the same time to prepare the way for his coming, so that when he appeared, it might be not as a *deus ex machina*, but as the ripe fruit, the complete and mature result of the entire history.

§ 7. The *religion* and *worship* of the patriarchs were modified and determined by the nature and extent of the revelation, which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors, or communicated directly to themselves. As the accounts of primeval times, which are preserved in the book of Genesis, must, if historically true, have been handed down by tradition, and as this tradition must have been restricted to the family of the patriarchs, we must necessarily assume that this family possessed an acquaintance with the religious views embodied in those accounts. Hence we must presuppose a knowledge on their part of the unity, the personality, and the holiness of God, the almighty Creator of the heavens and the earth, of the image of God, in which man was created, of the corruption into which he had fallen through sin, and of the hope of a future victory to be gained by humanity over the principle of evil. These views were now to receive a fresh vitality, to be deepened, expanded, and rendered more definite, by the revelations of which they were to be the personal recipients. The peculiar intimacy with God, which they enjoyed, the call they received, the promises given to them, and the guidance of God, which fitted them

for their vocation, all confirmed and enlarged their knowledge of God and of salvation, and awakened the faith which was reckoned to them for righteousness, the obedience which cheerfully followed the leadings of God, and the hope, which grasped the promised salvation as something already possessed, and rested upon it amidst all the privations they had to endure. The truth and purity of the religious knowledge of the patriarchs are great and marvellous when contrasted with heathenism, which was so deeply sunk in mere nature-worship. But when looked at from an objective point of view, however thoroughly it was fitted to the progressive character of the sacred history, it appears faulty, imperfect, and one-sided ; for it does not present a single religious notion, in a form sufficiently complete and definite to express fully the objective truth, and even heathenism often surpassed it in the greater richness and comprehensiveness of its religious views, although they were perverted to pantheism, and therefore issued in its own destruction (1). In its comparative poverty, yet absolute purity, the patriarchal worship resembled the patriarchal religion. It was always sufficient to meet the necessities of the moment, but it was destitute of any systematic and complete organisation ; it had no established, binding rules, and was not attached to any particular persons, places, or times (2).

(1). The patriarchal *consciousness of God* did not comprehend the doctrine, which was the crowning point of its full development, viz., the Christian *doctrine of the Trinity* ; whilst heathenism had prematurely grasped this truth. But for that very reason the conceptions of the latter were false and distorted, and in a pantheistic *Trimurti* the truth was so caricatured, as to preclude the possibility of any return or advance towards a true and purified form of belief. The doctrine of the Trinity could not be conceived of, comprehended, and preserved in its fulness and purity, until it had appeared as a fact in history, that is, until the Logos had become man in Christ, working out redemption

as the incarnate God, and the Spirit had been poured out upon all flesh on the ground of this complete redemption. A premature revelation of this sublime mystery in the Divine nature (that is a revelation, for which no sufficient preparation had been made in history, and which had not assumed a concrete shape in these two facts, the incarnation and the outpouring of the Spirit) would have been all the more injurious, since the spirit of the age and of the world at that time tended towards a pantheistic and polytheistic perversion of the idea of God, and Israel was in danger of being drawn away by its attractions on account of the elective affinity of its natural inclinations. In contradistinction to this perversion, and as a safeguard against it, it was necessary that the idea of the unity of God should be ineradicably implanted in the consciousness of the people of the covenant, and that the basis should thus be laid for the manifestation and appropriation of His true tri-unity. But as these two facts, the incarnation of the Logos, and the outpouring of the Spirit, set forth the predetermined end, and the highest perfection of the covenant-history, and as the whole of that history from its very commencement was constantly urged forward towards this point by the vital principle, with which it was imbued, a corresponding intellectual culture must also have existed throughout the Old Testament, so as to pave the way for the announcement of this doctrine, and therefore the germs of the doctrine itself must have been deposited even in the patriarchal history. We have already pointed out in *Fr. Delitzsch's* words, how the two names of God, *Jehovah* and *Elohim*, contained the undeveloped and unconscious germs of the perfect doctrine of God (Vol. i. § 13. 1), and we have also shown that the appearance of God in the *Maleach Jehovah* (the angel of the Lord) was a typical precursor of his incarnation. Moreover, the description of the vivifying and fructifying action of the Spirit of God in creation, contained in Gen. i. 2, was adapted to prepare the way for the revelation of the triune nature of God. Yet we do not find in the patriarchal history the least indication of any development of this doctrine. The patriarchs had no definite conception of any hypostatic plurality in the God, who appeared in the *Maleach Jehovah*, and the recognition of the personality of the Spirit of God was still at so great a distance, that there is not the slightest reference to it in the patriarchal history.

There was something in the *exclusiveness* of the call given in the time of the patriarchs, in the fact, that is, that Jehovah was solely and exclusively the God of Israel, which must have rendered the views entertained, respecting the nature and operations of God, one-sided, rude, and contracted, though there was a wholesome counteracting influence in the universality of the promise. But this very rudeness and partiality were necessary and salutary, for they opposed a powerful barrier to the threatened amalgamation with heathenism. It was only out of a mature and self-sufficient exclusiveness, that true universality could be produced. The doctrine of salvation, also, had not yet advanced beyond the very earliest rudiments, as we may learn from the fact, that the idea of a personal incarnate Messiah, without which that doctrine could never become perfectly definite and clear, or be in any way richly developed, was not yet understood even in its first principles. It was just the same with the *doctrine of eternal life* as with that of the Trinity, and the revelation of the former in contradistinction to the false and distorted belief in immortality, which prevailed at that time in the heathen world, (*vid. Hengstenberg* Beitr. iii. 565 sqq.), was wisely delayed by the providence of God. In this case also we find, not error, but imperfection. The doctrine of *divine retribution* in general was not wanting, but it had not yet led to a knowledge of retribution *hereafter*. In the living consciousness of the retribution, which takes place in this life, the true basis was laid for the belief in retribution in the life to come. Still the old Israelitish notion of death was, that it was followed, not by annihilation or by the cessation of the individual life, but by a departure into *Sheol*. (𐤇𐤍𐤏 is not a derivative of 𐤇𐤍𐤏, to ask, with the meaning, "the ever-craving, that which demands all life for itself," as *Hengstenberg*, on the Psalms, still maintains; but is to be regarded as derived from 𐤇𐤍𐤏 = *cavum esse*, as *Gesenius*, *Fürst*, *Böttcher*, and others assume. On the etymology of the word, *Gesenius* says, *s.v.*: "The true etymology of the word seems to be, that *Sheol* signifies a hollow and subterraneous place; just as the German *Hölle*, hell, is originally the same with *Höhle*, a hollow. For the thorough discussion of this question see *Böttcher*, *de inferis rebusque post mortem futuris*, vol. i., Dresden 1845, p. 64—78, where the frequent softening of *y* into *n* is clearly shown. The imperfection of this view

consisted in the fact, that the hopes of the future could not pass with any clear consciousness beyond this *Sheol*, that *Sheol* itself was not what it is described in the New Testament as being, a *middle place* and an intermediate state (*vid.* Matt. xii. 40; Luke xvi. 22 sqq.; 1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6; Phil. ii. 10), from which the righteous would pass to the blessedness of everlasting life, but was regarded as a state in which the development of life would for ever *terminate*. There was another respect in which the early notion of *Sheol* was imperfect; but the imperfection in this case was conditioned and demanded by the objective imperfection of the actual reality. It was this, that *Sheol* was supposed to be a thoroughly gloomy place of abode, which had only negative advantages over this earthly life, inasmuch as it afforded to those who were oppressed by the pains and sorrows of life, or by the burden of a weary and decrepit old age, the rest they longed for, and oblivion of earthly care and toil (Gen. xxv. 8, xxxv. 29); whilst it was actually destitute of the rich blessings of our earthly existence, since it condemned to an inactive vegetation and the loss of all the pleasures of life (Ps. vi. 6, xxx. 10, xxxi. 18, lxxxviii. 13, xciv. 17, cxv. 17). The latter notion was the necessary effect, produced by the consciousness that death was the wages of sin (Gen. ii. 17, iii. 19), and therefore a sentence and a punishment, and the absence of any clear consciousness of redemption and of its influence upon our future state of existence. Yet there were certain provisions connected with the patriarchal age for the further development of these eschatological elements. There was a source of comfort in the fact that death was regarded as being gathered to their fathers (Gen. xlix. 33), and though the gloominess of the prophet was not entirely removed in consequence, it was certainly considerably diminished. Here was at least *one* element of positive happiness, connected with the life after death, which opened and prepared the way for the New Testament doctrine of a separation of the righteous from the wicked, and a happy meeting of the former with one another and with the Lord (Luke xvi. 22 sqq.; Phil. i. 23, &c.). There is a more distinct reference to an *everlasting* life, superior to the barren and gloomy shade-life of *Sheol*, and stretching beyond it, in the account of Enoch's translation to God, "in which it is of especial importance to remark, that his walk with God is intentionally and expressly

placed in a causal connexion with his being taken by God. And this passage also bears an enigmatical character, tending to produce the impression, that the original revelation was meant to spread a veil of secrecy over this doctrine, the blessed influence of which presupposed conditions, that were not then in existence," *Hengstenberg*, Psalms vol. iii. p. lxxxvii. translation). In the work just quoted, *Hengstenberg* calls attention to another element of great importance in the development of the doctrine of eternal life, viz., the belief that death was not the natural and necessary concomitant of human existence, but the wages of sin. "With this view of death, faith in an everlasting life could not but break forth, as soon as the hope of redemption, and of the restoration of that which was lost in Adam, had taken root. As death entered into the world by sin, it could not but be removed by the redemption, which restored to man the happy state of paradise" (see Is. xi.)—On the Old Testament doctrine and its gradual expansion consult, particularly, *Hengstenberg*, Beitr. iii. p. 559—593; *Dess*, comment. on the Psalms iv. 2, p. 314—326; *H. A. Hahn*, de spe immortalit. sub. vet. test. gradatim exulta, Breslau 1846; *Oehler*, vet. test. sententia de rebus post mortem futuris, Stuttg. 1846; *Hävernick* Theol. d. A. T., p. 105 sqq.; *Hofmann*, Schriftbeweis i. 560 sqq.

(2). On the *worship* of the pre-Mosaic times see *C. Iken's* two dissertations *de institutis et ccerimoniis legis mosaice ante Mosem* (in his diss. theolog. vol. ii. 1770).—The fact that so many of the forms of worship, and of the manners and customs, which are mentioned in the pre-Mosaic age, re-appear in the legislation of Moses, has been regarded by modern criticism as so inexplicable a phenomenon, that it can only be accounted for on the ground that the author transferred the full-blown "Leviticism" of his own age in a thoroughly unhistorical manner, into his (mythical) description of earlier times. But for our part, all that we find thoroughly unhistorical is this discovery of modern criticism itself; for nothing appears to us more *natural*, than that the forms of worship, and the manners and customs which had already taken deep root among the people, should be adopted and sanctioned by the legislation of Moses, inasmuch as they were not at variance with the principles of that legislation, but, on the contrary, were completely adapted to its require-

ments. On the other hand, nothing appears to us more *unnatural*, than to suppose that there were no forms of worship in the pre-Mosaic times at all, or, if there were any, that they were entirely ignored by the Mosaic legislation. Besides, it must also be observed, that whilst there are many points in which the forms in question resemble each other, there are many others in which they diverge and differ. And this *dictum* of criticism appears the more absurd, inasmuch as the forms adopted in the early history of the Israelitish people were of so general, simple, and inartificial a kind, that their adoption was just as natural and intelligible as the absence of them would be unnatural and inexplicable (see my *Einheit der Genesis*, p. xlix. seq., &c.).—We shall content ourselves at present with merely mentioning the forms of worship existing in the patriarchal age, and shall reserve any discussion of their meaning till we come to treat of the Mosaic legislation.—The most general expression, descriptive of the patriarchal worship, is the frequently recurring phrase קָרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה (Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20); which means “to call, to address by the name of Jehovah,” and always implies the adoration of Jehovah (Ps. lxxix. 6, cxvi. 17; Is. xii. 4). *Luther’s* translation: “to preach the name of the Lord,” is very correctly criticized by *M. Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 172), as follows: “The different epochs in the divine economy are confounded by those who suppose, that the patriarchs ever thought of, or aimed at, the conversion of the heathen. Missionary work was by no means the task of the Old Testament. When Abraham built altars, and praised the name of the Lord, this was the expression of his own personal feelings, and his service as the father of his race.” The more special forms of worship, which we meet with, are prayer (chap. xxiv. 63), altars and sacrifice (the former principally upon hills and high places, chap. xii. 8, xxii. 2, for the hills were already regarded as natural symbols of exaltation, from the humility of their earthly condition to one more heavenly and divine), purification (chap. xxxv. 2), vows (xxviii. 20 sqq.), tithes (xiv. 20, xxviii. 20), and circumcision. This exhausts the forms of worship, to which any reference is made.

There are still two points, however, about which a great deal has been written on both sides, and on which we must give our

opinion as briefly as possible, viz., on the observance of the Sabbath, and the existence of any priestly institution in the pre-Mosaic times. With reference to the *Sabbath*, see *Iken*, p. 26 sqq. The week of seven days is the earliest measure of time amongst all nations (*vid. G. H. Schubert* Lehrb. d. Sternkunde, Erlangen 1847, p. 204 sqq.), and *Philo* justly designates the weekly cycle as *πάνδημον καὶ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσιον* (de opif. mundi). We need not discuss the question here, whether the universal agreement in this respect is to be explained on the ground of the agreement between such a division and the four phases of the moon, or the number of the planets, or from the symbolical dignity of the number seven, or whether it should rather be referred to a universal revelation made before the dispersion of the people, in which case we should have to seek the record of it in Gen. ii. 2. At all events the division by weeks was known in the patriarchal age: we find it in fact as early as the history of the flood, and we have a proof of its symbolical or religious meaning in its connexion with the marriage festival, chap. xxix. 27, 28, and also with the rite of circumcision, chap. xvii. 12. Hence it is not in itself an improbable thing, that there may have been some kind of festival connected with the seventh day, as early as the days of the patriarchs. At the same time, it must be confessed that we cannot bring any proof of the existence of a Sabbatic festival in the ante-Sinaitic period. Neither the divine determination in Gen. ii. 3, to sanctify the seventh day, nor the peculiar form in which this is first enjoined in the law: “remember the seventh day to keep it holy,” nor the event, which prepared the way for the legal proclamation of the Sabbath, viz., the fact that no manna fell upon the seventh day (Ex. xvi. 22 sqq.), can be appealed to as yielding decisive testimony in the affirmative. But, on the other hand, we cannot quote these passages as proofs of the contrary as *Hengstenberg* has done (The Lord’s day, p. 7 sqq., Engl. transl.).

According to the Talmud and the Rabbins, the *priestly* rights belonged exclusively to the *first-born* before the giving of the law, and this opinion is shared by *Jerome*, *Selden*, *Bochart*, &c. But it has been warmly opposed by *Outram* and *Spencer*, and especially by *Vitringa* (*de synag. vet.* ii. 2, and *observ.* ss. ii. 2, 3). And their objections are certainly just, for the arguments

adduced in favour of any peculiar priesthood are quite untenable. That Esau's raiment, mentioned in Gen. xxvii. 15, was priestly raiment, is an absurd fiction. That Jacob's blessing in Gen. xlix. 3 included the priesthood among the privileges of the birthright, is a notion founded entirely upon *Luther's* false rendering. That the young men, whom Moses sent to offer sacrifice (Ex. xxiv. 5), were all eldest sons, is a gratuitous assumption; and the substitution of the tribe of Levi for all the firstborn of the congregation does not prove anything, since *Vitringa* is certainly right in saying (p. 272): *illos Deo consecratos esse ad ministerium sacrum non ad sacerdotium, s. non ut sacerdotes sed ut sacrificia.* The natural and historical order of events was certainly this, that the priestly functions were usually discharged by the fathers and heads of the families; and therefore, if the firstborn inherited any priestly rights, it was simply on account of his becoming the head of the family. See *Buddei hist. eccl. ed. iv. Vol. i. p. 311 sqq.*

§ 8. The general *culture* of the patriarchs was undoubtedly affected by their nomadic mode of life. But nothing can be more unwarrantable, than to attribute to the patriarchs all the rudeness and hopeless degradation of ordinary nomad-hordes, who determinately fence themselves against any influence from the civilization by which they may be surrounded. Their wandering mode of life in the holy land was the necessary consequence of their being foreigners without a home. Their pilgrimage was *forced upon them*, and the period of its cessation was the constant object of their hopes and desires. Hence we find that, so far as it was possible, they did participate in the benefits resulting from the culture and civilization of the more settled tribes, with whom they came in contact. (1)—The external *constitution* of the patriarchal commonwealth partook of the characteristics of a family. The head of the family concentrated the whole authority and jurisdiction in his own person; he even possessed the power of life and death, controlled only by certain fixed traditions (Gen. xxxviii. 24). The position of the woman was a subordinate one, as it always was before the time of Christ,

her claim to equal rights being nowhere fully recognised. Hence polygamy was regarded as perfectly justifiable. But we find no trace among the patriarchs of such degradation of the woman, as is found wherever she is regarded as nothing but a slave of the man, affording him the means of perpetuating his race and gratifying his lusts. On the contrary, we find many a proof of the esteem and love which she received as a wife, and of the personal rights which she possessed as the mistress of the house. (2) We also find the *inviolable* purity of the marriage bed maintained with such severity that adultery was punished with death (Gen. xxxviii. 24), and in the case of the patriarchs it was rendered peculiarly important from their consciousness of a divine call and of the destiny of the family. The strongest incitement to polygamy arose from the desire to maintain and enlarge the family, and this was also the cause of the peculiar institution of the Levirate marriage (see Vol. i., § 86. 2).

(1.) *Hengstenberg* (Beitr. ii. 431 seq.) has made an excellent collection of proofs that general culture was both sought after and possessed: "In the case of the patriarchs it is very apparent, that their wandering mode of life was forced upon them by the fact that they were sojourners in a land, the whole of which was held in possession by its original occupants. We find no marks of the rudeness of nomad tribes. Both mentally and morally they were on a level with civilized nations. They shared in the advantages, conveniences, and luxuries enjoyed by more favoured nations. Jacob possessed a signet-ring; Joseph wore a richly ornamented dress; Abraham paid for the field he bought, in coin; the sons of Jacob also took money with them to purchase corn; and Abraham's servant presented Rebekah with a gold ring and armlets. Wherever it was possible, the nomadic life was immediately relinquished. Lot settled in Sodom, occupied a house there, and entered too readily into the habits of the town. When Abraham went down to Egypt, instead of doing what nomads by profession and inclination have been in the habit of doing for thousands of years, namely taking up his abode in the pasture lands on the border, he went direct to the court of the king

(Gen. xii. 10 sqq.). He afterwards settled in Hebron as a home, and was there the prince of God in the midst of the Hittites (Gen. xxiii.). Isaac lived in the capital of the Philistines, and occupied a house opposite to the palace (Gen. xxvi. 8). He also sowed a field (ver. 12). Jacob built himself *a house* after his return from Mesopotamia (chap. xxxiii. 17).—Joseph's dream of the sheaves of his brethren bowing down to his sheaf is also an important illustration of the point in question (cf. Vol. i., § 84. 1).

(2). There are many proofs that the person of the woman was highly esteemed. The history of Sarah shows, that in several respects she had the right to exercise her own authority in the sphere of domestic life. The consent of the bride was asked on the occasion of her marriage (chap. xxiv. 58). The husband showed the most devoted affection to his wife (chap. xxiv. 67, xxix. 20). The multiplication of wives does not appear to have been entirely dependent upon the caprice of the husband, but was generally founded upon, and defended by the barrenness of the lawful wife (chap. xvi. 2 sqq., xxx. 3, 4, 9). And when any plan was decided upon, which was intended to alter the general condition of the family, the wife was asked to give her consent. Thus, for example, when Jacob fled from Mesopotamia, he explained his reasons to his wives, that he might obtain their approbation (chap. xxxi. 4 sqq.).

SECOND STAGE
IN THE
HISTORY OF THE COVENANT.

THE NATION:
FORM ASSUMED IN THE TIME OF MOSES.

EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND IMPORTANCE OF THIS STAGE,

IN THE

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT COVENANT.

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§ 9. The first stage in the covenant history, which displayed itself in the form of a *family*, was brought to an end by the death of Jacob, unity being an essential element in the idea of a family. With the death of Jacob, the last solitary representative and father of the whole tribe, this unity of the one family was resolved into a plurality of families; and thus the way was opened for their becoming a nation. We have now reached the commencement, therefore, of the *second* stage in the covenant-history, in which we shall see the family expand into a nation. But the growth of any nation is directly and primarily determined by the *people* themselves, that is, by the mass of individuals and families who are united together in a higher, independent commonwealth, by virtue of a common ancestry, a common language, a common religion, and a general uniformity of character. Such an association, of course, necessarily requires a *constitution*, by which the individuals are held together. This again involves another indispensable condition, viz., a prosperous population, in independent possession of a *land* of their own, and one that is suited to the character of the inhabitants. But at the commencement of the stage before us, we find none of these conditions fulfilled; though by the decree and promise of God they existed potentially in the *dodekad* of the families, and gradually attained to the requisite fulfilment. The *first step*, then, towards the future nation is to be found in such an organisation of the people, as formed the substratum of all further development. This was the embryo-state of the nation. Egypt (§ 1. 7)

was the womb, as it were, in which the germs of the promised people were deposited, that it might guard them and nourish them by its natural powers, till they had grown into a great nation. As soon as the embryo had reached maturity, *i.e.*, as soon as the people had become so strong as to require and demand an independent existence, an impulse from within urged them to seek that independence, and did not rest till it was secured. The *exodus* from Egypt represents the natural birth of the people, and the Egyptian oppression resembles those labour-pains without which, in this earthly state, no life can be brought into existence. The wonders of God in Egypt, the strong arm of the Lord, which was stretched out to help and save, were the instruments of divine surgery by which the natural force of the mature embryo, then striving for independent existence, was enabled to attain its end. By the *exodus* Israel gained an independent position, and stood upon an equal footing with other nations, in fact, became a nation *like* all the rest. The *first step* in the development of the national existence, *viz.*, the *preparation of the people of the covenant*, had now attained its object. *Moses*, the man of God, was the instrument of the divine assistance; being called by God, and furnished with divine power to be the saviour of Israel.

But Israel was *not* to be *merely* a nation, like the other nations, resting on no other basis than that of natural life. According to its vocation and its destiny it was to be *the nation of God*, the holy nation, the chosen race, the possessor and messenger of salvation for all the nations of the earth. And thus the nation entered upon the *second* stage in its history. *Moses*, the deliverer of the people by the power of God, led them to the majestic altar of the Lord, that altar which He, the creator of the heavens and the earth, had erected for himself among the rocks of Sinai, with their heads lifted towards heaven; and there they were set apart as a *holy* nation. If the *exodus* from

Egypt was the natural birth of the nation, the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai was the religious consecration of the new-born infant; its *regeneration* to a higher life. But as God never demands without giving, so he never gives without demanding. And therefore, when Israel entered upon the *privileges* of the covenant-nation, and obtained possession of the gifts and goods, the promises and hopes of the covenant, it necessarily undertook the *duties* of a covenant-nation, and submitted to the commandments, the restrictions, and the sacrifices which such a relation involved. The conclusion of the covenant was therefore accompanied by the *giving of a law*, which defined the privileges and prescribed the duties of the covenant-nation. This law also conferred upon Israel *a constitution*, suited to its vocation and its future destiny, by which its internal organisation was completed, its external distinctions defined, and its safety ensured. The events attendant upon the legislation and the conclusion of the covenant ushered in the *second step* in the onward progress of the nation, namely, the determination of the peculiar constitution, which was henceforth to regulate the course and development of the history of Israel, in other words, *the establishment of the theocracy*. The mediator of the covenant and the agent in the foundation of the theocracy was *Moses*, the man of God (1).

But the development of the nation was not yet complete. In the first step of this stage in its history, Israel had received its natural freedom and independence; in the second, its sacred dedication and covenant. One thing was still wanting, however, which was an essential pre-requisite to the actual realization of the whole of these, viz. *a country* suited to its natural and spiritual character, its position, and its destiny. In the *third step* of its national history this want was satisfied, and it *obtained possession of the land*, which the providence of God had selected as the arena on which the covenant-history was to run its course, and

which the mercy of God had already promised to the fathers. The divine hero, by whom Israel was led through conflict and victory to the possession of this treasure, was *Joshua*, who continued and completed the work which Moses had begun.

The condition and possessions of Israel now embraced all that was requisite, to sustain and exhibit a national existence *devoted to God*, by the side of the other nations, which were *at enmity against God*. Country and people, laws and promises, constitution and worship were given ; and they contained the germs of all their future development. This brings us to the commencement of the *fourth step* in the history of the covenant, which we find in the existence of a nation entrusted with the task of *working out its peculiar nationality*. Hitherto the operations and gifts of *God* had stood in the foreground. But the time had now arrived, when the works of Israel in performance of the covenant were to stand prominently forward ; when Israel might, and should have shown, that the gifts, and leadings, and revelations of God, which it had hitherto received, it could now use and apply for itself ; and when it should have taught the way in which this could be done. Again and again, however, it forsook the path of the covenant ; and God had continually to interfere, and by punishment and chastening to save and heal. Surrounding nations were employed to execute his sentences, and *Judges* were afterwards sent as his messengers of salvation.

(1). The second step of this stage was indisputably the most important and eventful. We must, therefore, examine it with especial care. In doing so we shall divide it into two parts. The first will contain an account of the *historical foundations*, on which the theocracy was based, and the *circumstances* amidst which the legislation, that established it, was completed. The second will consist of a systematic analysis of the *legislation* itself.

The sources from which our knowledge of the first two steps must be derived are the last four books of Pentateuch. As cri-

tical and exegetical *aids* we recommend especially the works already mentioned (in Vol. i. § 14—20), of *Hävernich*, *Ranke*, *Hengstenberg*, *Wette*, *Keil*, *Rosenmüller*, and *M. Baumgarten*. In addition to historical works of a more general character, the following monographs deserve particular notice: *Warburton's divine legation of Moses*; *Fr. Hauff*, über Mose's welthistorische Bedeutung (Studien der evangelischen Geistlichkeit. Würtemberg vi. 2 p. 3 sqq.); *E. Osiander*, Blicke auf Moses (Christoterpe, 1837 p. 77 sqq.); *Patr. Fairbairn's* Typology of Scripture, vol. ii., the Mosaic period, Edinburgh, 1847.

SCENE OF THE HISTORY.

Compare the aids mentioned in Vol. i., § 15. 2; also *Léon de Laborde et Linant, voyage de l'Arabie pénétrée*, Paris, 1830, and *Léon de Laborde, Commentaire géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres*, Paris and Leipzig, 1841-4, as well as the works named in Vol. iii., § 2 and 23.

§ 10. An immense tract of desert stretches along the north of Africa, commencing at the coast on the north-west, and running not only through Africa, but into Asia as far as the steppes of the Euphrates. The only interruption which it meets with is from the *Nile*, whose fertilising waters flow completely across the desert, and have produced a fruitful oasis, which bears the name of *Egypt*, and is one of the most ancient and important of all the civilized lands, that have figured in the history of the human race. By far the larger part of this desert, towards the west, consists of low land, and is known by the name of the *Sahara*. The portion immediately bordering upon Egypt is called the *Libyan desert*. On the other side of the Nile, at the point where the sand regains its supremacy, the *Arabian desert* commences, and stretches thence to the Euphrates. This eastern division, which is much smaller than the other, is hilly, and is

intersected or bounded by mountain ranges, which vary in extent, and on which there are here and there fertile spots, proportioned in size to the springs which produce them. For some distance the breadth of the Arabian desert is considerably diminished by the Red Sea, which reaches almost as far as the Mediterranean. This enormous bay is formed by the Indian Ocean, and terminates in two smaller gulfs, which enclose a portion of the Arabian desert, and give it the character of a peninsula. Both of these gulfs receive their ancient, as well as their modern names, from towns which stand, or have stood, in the neighbourhood. The western arm was formerly called the *Heroopolitan* gulf, the eastern the *Elanitic*; at present the former is called the *gulf of Suez*, the latter the *gulf of Akabah*. The mountains of *Idumæa* (Mount *Seir*) stretch from the Elanitic gulf to the Dead Sea, intersecting the Arabian plateau from north to south, and dividing it into two unequal parts. The western half (the smaller of the two), including the mountains of *Idumæa*, has been known since the time of the Romans as *Arabia Petræa*. This name is not derived from the rocky nature of the soil, as is commonly, though erroneously, supposed, but from the strong city of *Petra* in the land of the Edomites. Under the last of the Emperors *Arabia Petræa* was called *Palestina tertia*. The name was given on correct geographical grounds, the whole district being apparently an integral part of the mountainous region of Palestine (the provinces of Judah and Ephraim were named *Palestina prima*, and Galilee, with the country beyond Jordan, *Palestina secunda*). It was also designated *Palestina salutaris* on account of the healthy nature of the climate in the mountains of Edom. The northern boundary of *Arabia Petræa*, from the mouth of the Pelusiæc arm of the Nile as far as *Gâza*, is formed by the Mediterranean Sea; from *Gâza* to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, it is bounded by the mountains of Judah, which are already known to us by the name of the

mountains of the Amorites (Vol. i., § 40. 4). Towards the south, it runs between the two arms of the Red Sea, and terminates in the promontory of *Ras-Mohammed*. The larger or eastern half of the Arabian desert, to which the Romans gave the name of *Arabia deserta*, commences on the other side of the Idumean mountains. It stretches eastward as far as the Euphrates, northward to Damascus, running by the side of the fertile highlands of the country beyond Jordan (§ 42), and southward to a considerable distance into the heart of Arabia proper (*Arabia felix*.) The last-named portion of the Asiatico-African desert, and also the portion first referred to (the Sahara with the Lybian desert) lie altogether beyond the province of our history, the first stage of which belongs to *Egypt*, the second to *Arabia Petraea*, and the third and fourth to *Palestine*. Palestine has already been described (Vol. i., § 38—43). The only portion of Egypt with which we are concerned is the eastern part of the country, viz., the province of *Goshen*, for which see § 1. 5, and § 37—42. It only remains for us to take a survey of the characteristics of Arabia Petraea. At present, however, we shall content ourselves with the most general features. A more particular description will be given, as the history brings the different localities under our notice.

§ 11. In the heart of the *peninsula*, which is enclosed by the Heroopolitan and Elanitic gulfs, somewhat towards the south, rise the mountains of *Sinai* (Jebel el Tur), from which the whole country has received the name of the *peninsula of Sinai*. Sinai consists of a nearly circular group of mountains from forty to sixty miles in diameter. The average height of the mountains composing this group is six or seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, about 2000 feet above the surrounding valleys and plains. Two of the highest points are almost in the centre of the range, *Sinai* itself (Jebel Musa, 7097 feet high) and *Mount Catherine* (Jebel el Homr, 8168 feet). As soon as the traveller

leaves the burning heat of the sandy desert, and enters within the limits of these mountains, he finds a genial Alpine climate, and a cool refreshing breeze. Copious streams of water flow down from the mountains, and fertilize the soil, causing it to produce a most luxuriant herbage. Date-palms, acacias, dense bushes of tamarisks, white thorns, mulberry trees, vigorous spice plants, and green shrubs are found on every hand, wherever the bare rock is not entirely destitute of soil. And where the hand of man has done anything to cultivate the ground, there are apricots and oranges in rich profusion, with other valuable kinds of trees. It is true, there is a striking contrast between the richly wooded valleys and the steep, barren rocks by which they are so closely confined; but so much the more majestic is the aspect of these mighty masses of rugged rock. The mountains are also frequented by great quantities of game and fowl of different descriptions; among others by antelopes and gazelles, partridges, pigeons, and quails. The geological base of this range consists of large masses of primary rock, principally granite, porphyry, and syenite. The promontories are chalk, limestone, and sandstone. There is another large group of mountains on the north-west of the mountains of Sinai, called the *Serbal Mountains*, which rise like an island between the lower coast-line of el-Kaa and the deep valley of Feiran, by which they are bounded on the north. They reach the height of 6342 feet. The *Serbal* itself, a mighty giant of the desert, crowned by five peaks, is surrounded by lower mountains; the whole group deriving its name from the lofty mountain in the centre. This cluster is connected with that of Sinai by the Saddle-mountain, *Jebel-el-Kaweit*. For further details see Vol. iii., § 5—8.

§ 12. In the northern part of this cluster of mountains, there is a waste and sandy tract of table-land, *Debbet-er-Ramleh*, about 3000 feet above the level of the sea. It is nearly semicircular, and runs diagonally across the peninsula (from E.S.E. to

W.N.W.), reaching almost from the one gulf to the other. On the north of this are the *limestone et-Tih mountains*, which rise to the height of 4300 feet, and run like a crescent-shaped wall, parallel to the tract of table-land, from the Elanitic gulf, almost to the gulf of Suez. At this point they turn towards the N.N.W., and follow the line of the coast. The latter portion of the range is called *Jebel-er-Rahah*. This long mountain wall, of about sixty German miles in length, forms a second section of Arabia Petræa. On the northern side of the *et-Tih mountains*, and the eastern side of those of *Jebel-er-Rahah*, there is an extensive tract of table-land called the desert of *et-Tih-Beni-Israel* (*i.e.*, the confusion of the children of Israel). The Arabs still make a distinction between this and the *desert of Jifar*; and confine the latter name to the western and north-western edge of the tract, which lies at a lower level, and extends to Egypt and the Mediterranean Sea. Properly speaking, these two deserts form the (Asiatic) continuation of the Sahara, which is interrupted by the Nile. Barren rocks of lime and sandstone, hills of dazzling chalk and red sand, form almost the only variation in this dreary desert, which is thickly strewed with black flints and gravel. It is only in the recesses of the Wady, that sufficient water is collected in the rainy season to enable a few miserable plants to yield a meal to the passing herds; and there are a few springs, surrounded by trees, which furnish to the travelling caravans a welcome place of encampment. (For further particulars see Vol. iii., § 23—31). On the north a wide valley, the *Wady Murreh*, separates the desert from the mountainous district of Palestine. Towards the east it slopes off into a broad, deep valley, the so-called *Arabah*, which extends from the southern points of the Dead Sea to the northern end of the Elanitic gulf, a distance of more than a hundred miles. This valley is like a continuation of the valley of the Jordan, the *Ghor* (see Vol. i., § 39. 5), and in the Old Testament they are called by

the common name, *Arabah*. It is a broad sandy desert, the surface of which is covered with innumerable sand-heaps and little hills. Here and there you meet with green oases, shrubs, and palms, and even with the ruins of ancient towns. The water-shed of the Arabah is twenty-five miles from the Elanitic gulf. Further to the north the waters flow through the Wady *el-Jib* into the Dead Sea. The low level of the Dead Sea (Vol. i., § 39. 6) is a sufficient proof that the northern part of the Arabah is below the level of the ocean.

§ 13. On the east of the Arabah rise the steep and rugged mountains of *Idumæa* (or Mount *Seir*, now *es Sherah* or *Jebal*), which are almost of the same length as the Arabah itself, stretching from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akabah, with an average breadth of fifteen or twenty miles. The loftiest peaks are hardly 3000 feet high. They are steep and rugged cliffs of porphyry, which protrude themselves from the chalk formation, and are again surrounded by immense masses of sandstone. Among the shattered fragments of rock, there are valleys covered with trees, shrubs, and flowery meads. The higher ground is sometimes sown with corn. The vines in these valleys are as large, and the grapes as sweet, as in any part of Palestine itself. In some places there are woods, or what pass for woods in these countries, and spice-bearing plants, growing out of clefts in the rock, which furnish a plentiful supply for the sustenance of wild goats and gazelles. But while there are isolated examples of great fertility, the general aspect of the mountains is wild and bare, and the western mountains especially are described as altogether barren and unfruitful (Vol. i., § 73. 1).

On the eastern side, the mountains of *Idumæa* slope off just as smoothly and gradually, as they rise abruptly on the western. Following the range on which *Idumæa* is situated, we arrive at the mountainous country of the *Moabites*, the modern *Kerek*, which lies to the north of *Idumæa*, on the east of the

Dead Sea. The *southern* boundary, by which this district is separated from the mountains of Idumæa, is the Wady *el-Ahsy* (*el-Kurahy*), which opens at the southern end of the Dead Sea. On the *north* it is bounded by the deep rocky valley, through which the brook *Arnon* flows, which enters the Dead Sea near the centre of the eastern side. The Arnon divides the Kerek from the highlands of *el-Belkah* on the east of the Jordan (Vol. i. § 42, 3). In the nature of its soil the Kerek forms a link between the highlands of Palestine beyond the Arnon, which consist for the most part of table-land, and the mountains of *es-Sherah*, the aspect of which is most rugged and grotesque. But the conformation and geological character of the Kerek are far from being sufficiently known, to enable us to describe its details with accuracy, or to employ all the Old Testament data with any degree of certainty.

FIRST STEP
TOWARDS THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION.

ISRAEL'S SOJOURN IN EGYPT;
OR
THE PREPARATION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE COVENANT,
A PERIOD OF 430 YEARS.

CONDITION OF THE ISRAELITES

AND

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION DURING THE PERIOD SPENT IN EGYPT.

§ 14. (Exodus i.)—The historical records of the Old Testament pass very quickly over the first three centuries and a half of the *period of 430 years* (1), to which the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt extended. Still there is no ground for attributing to these records *either faultiness or omissions*, provided we do not measure them by such a standard, as is foreign both to the intention of the records and to the circumstances of the case (2). In accordance with both of these, the historian is content to relate the extraordinarily rapid *increase of Jacob's descendants* in general but characteristic terms (ver. 6, 7), and then passes at once to a description of the circumstances, which eventually led to Israel's departure from Egypt. The rapidity with which their numbers increased may be learned from the census, taken shortly after the Exodus, from which we may infer that there were in all about two million souls (3). So long as there was a continuance of the good understanding, established by Joseph between the ruling dynasty in Egypt and the Israelitish settlers,—so long, that is, as the former could ensure the faithfulness and attachment of the latter,—this rapid increase in the number of the Israelites must have been a most welcome thing to the Egyptian rulers; for it enabled them with the greater ease to fulfil the task which the policy of Egypt imposed upon them, of guard-

ing carefully against incursions on the part of the hostile hordes to the East.—But the government of that time was apparently overthrown by force, and a *new dynasty* (4) arose. As this put an end to the relations of confidence and devotion, which had existed from the time of Joseph, between the government and the nomadic settlers in the land of Goshen, the extent to which the latter were increasing could not but suggest the possibility, that opposing interests might one day give rise to political difficulties. On the one hand, for example, it must have appeared a dangerous thing to have so powerful and numerous a body of men, estranged from the ruling government, just in that border province of the kingdom, which was continually threatened by the tribes on the East, who were ready to invade it for the purpose of plunder or conquest. How easily might it happen, that the latter would find in the Israelites, not protectors of Egypt, but confederates in their enterprise. On the other hand, it was to the interest of the government to prevent the settlers from leaving the country, that they might not lose so considerable a body of useful subjects; and it became all the more important to put a timely check upon their wish to emigrate, on account of the increasing desire of the descendants of Jacob to possess the promised land, which they regarded as their proper home. Under these circumstances it seemed most advisable to break the free and independent spirit of the shepherd-tribe, and to set bounds to the excessive rate at which they were increasing, by forcing them to hard labour and *tributary service* (5). But this was so far from accomplishing the end desired, that the dreaded increase went on at a still more threatening rate. This partial failure in their plans only drove the government to adopt severer measures still. The Hebrew *midwives* received secret orders from the king, to put the Hebrew boys to death in some private way, as soon as they were born. But these measures were also unsuccessful, and, therefore, the king of Egypt made known his ruthless policy in

the most undisguised manner, by issuing a command to all the Egyptians, to drown the new-born sons of the Israelites in the river Nile (6). It is not known how long this command was strictly enforced, but its extreme inhumanity is sufficient to warrant us in believing that it could not be carried out for any considerable length of time. Moreover, the Egyptians knew well, that whilst it was policy on their part to weaken, it was highly impolitic to exterminate the Israelites.

(1). *The length of their stay* in Egypt is clearly and unequivocally stated in Exodus xii. 40 to have been 430 years : “ *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.*” In the *Septuagint*, however, (*Codex Vaticanus*) we read : ‘*Ἡ δὲ παροίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ἦν παρόκησαν ἐν γῆ Ἀιγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν γῆ Χαναὰν ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα.*’ In the Alexandrian Codex the word *παρόκησαν* is followed by the clause *αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν*. We find the same reading in the Samaritan texts and the Targum of Jonathan. Hence, according to these, the 430 years included the 215 years, during which the three patriarchs sojourned in Canaan.

We must first enquire, therefore, which is the *reading of the original text* : whether the words in question have been omitted from the Hebrew, by accident or design, or whether they have been interpolated in the versions in which they occur. To this we reply, that an impartial examination of all the arguments *pro* and *con* yields the most decided and indisputable testimony to the genuineness of the Hebrew text. There are no various readings in the Hebrew MSS. (*vid. Rosenmüller Comm. ii. p. 222*), which might lead us to doubt the authenticity of the received version ; and whilst the Hebrew is recommended by its simple, natural, and inartificial construction, the *Septuagint* is rendered just as suspicious by the opposite qualities. At the very first glance these additions look like artificial emendations of the text, which have been made on the supposition that 430 years was too long a period for the stay in Egypt. Starting with this assumption, it was very easy to include the period spent in Canaan, especially as this embraced exactly half of the 430

years. But this rendered it necessary to add the clause *ἐν γῆ Χαναάν*. Moreover, we see the evidence of a guilty conscience in the unskilful clause *αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν*, which is introduced for the purpose of removing the apparent incongruity, of reckoning Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, among the children of Israel; for this inaccuracy would no more have given offence to an unprejudiced mind, than the similar one in Gen. xlv. 8, where Jacob is reckoned as one of the children of Israel. Moreover, the alteration is a very unfortunate one, for it does not entirely answer its purpose, as the principal clause, "the sojourning of the children of Israel was 430 years," still remains. It is not likely that the words were written by the translator himself, since *Theophilus of Antioch*, who always follows the *Septuagint*, frequently speaks of a 430 years' sojourn in Egypt (ad Autolyicum iii. 9. 24). But if they were, we know what liberties he took with the text, and how often he has altered it, especially in chronological statements, probably to suit some preconceived system. *Seyffarth's* hypothesis, that the chronological accounts in the Hebrew text originally tallied with those of the *Septuagint*, but that they were altered by the Jewish academy at Tiberias, for the purpose of sustaining their Messianic expectations, is too arbitrary and unfounded to meet with support (*vid.* his *Chronologia sacra* p. 218 sqq.). The agreement between the Samaritan and Chaldee and the *Septuagint* only proves that in their case there was the same reason for shortening the 430 years. The apostle Paul, it is true, also reckons 430 years from the call of Abraham to the giving of the law (Gal. iii. 17), but as his statement is founded upon the *Septuagint*, it cannot be regarded as an independent authority. Paul was writing for Greeks, who were only acquainted with the *Septuagint*, and as the question of chronology did not in the least affect his argument, it would have been as much out of place on his part to correct the *Septuagint*, as it is on the part of his expositors to appeal to the doctrine of inspiration in connexion with this passage. *Josephus* also says (Ant. ii. 15, § 2), that the Israelites left Egypt 430 years after the entrance of Abraham into Canaan; but we know how little dependence can be placed upon his chronological statements with reference to the earlier times, and in this case they lose all their worth, on account of his having spoken in two other places of 400 years as the duration of the

oppression of Israel in Egypt (Ant. ii. 9, § 1, and De bello jud. V. 9, § 4). In addition to the arguments already adduced in favour of the authenticity of the reading in the Hebrew text, we may also mention the circumstance that it is impossible to see what end could be served by an intentional omission of the words in question; whereas, as we shall presently show, it is by no means difficult to ascertain the motives for an artificial emendation of the passage by the introduction of the clause. And if that be the case, the agreement between the Samaritan, the paraphrase, and the *Septuagint* loses all its importance, though they are apparently independent of one another.

By the influence of the authorities just named, the notion, that the 430 years were to be reckoned from Abraham, became a settled tradition both among Jews and Christians, and was adopted even by expositors, who followed the Hebrew text in every other case, and admitted its authenticity in the present instance. The fetters of this tradition were first broken by *J. B. Koppe* (progr. quo Israelitas non ccv. sed ccccxxx. annos in Aegypto commoratos esse efficitur. Göttingen 1777), and he was immediately followed by *J. G. Frank* (novum syst. chronol. fundam. Göttingen 1778). Since then the opposite view has become the prevailing one. It has been supported by *Rosenmüller* (ad. h. l. p. 220 sqq.), *Hofmann* (in the *Studien u. Kritiken* 1839, p. 402 sqq.), *Tiele* (Comm. ad. Gen. xv. 13 sqq., and his Chronol. d. A. T. p. 33 sqq.), *Ewald* (Geschichte i. 454 sqq.), *Bunsen* (Aegypten i. 214 sqq.), *Delitzsch* (Genesis Ed. 2. 1. 363 sqq.), *L. Reinke* (Beitr. zur Erklärung d. A. Test. Münster 1851), and many others. *M. Baumgarten*, however, has revived the old traditional explanation (theol. comm. i. 474 sqq.)

We will commence by examining the arguments of those who are of opinion that the call of Abraham must be taken as the *terminus a quo*. They are founded upon Gen. xv. 13—16, Ex. vi. 16—20, and Num. xxvi. 59, all of which are said to be irreconcilable with the notion that the stay of the Israelites in Egypt lasted 430 years.—The *first* passage cited is Gen. xv. 13—16. Jehovah announces to Abraham: “*thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years. And also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterward will they come out with great substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in*

peace, thou shalt be buried in a good old age. *But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again.*" The argument founded upon this by *Bengel* (*ordo temporum*, ed. ii. p. 53 seq.), and *Baumgarten* (i. 190 seq.), rests upon the assumption that the announcement of a 400 years' sojourn in a foreign land refers to a definite chronological period, to be reckoned from the birth of Isaac (viz. from that time to the birth of Jacob sixty years, thence to the migration into Egypt 130 years, and lastly the time spent in Egypt 210 years, in all 400), whereas the 430 years, mentioned in Ex. xii. 40, are supposed to be calculated from the first call of Abraham in Haran (which must in that case have taken place five years before he removed to Canaan). But the commencement of the 400 years of service must be looked for, not in Canaan, but in Egypt. This has been shown in a brief but forcible manner by *Hofmann* (p. 402). "Can it be supposed," he says, "that God was here predicting to Abraham something which had already taken place in part, in his own history? To Abraham's seed Canaan was not 'a land that was not theirs;' on the contrary, it already belonged to his seed by promise, though not by possession. Moreover, there was nothing resembling service and oppression in Canaan." *Baumgarten* replies to this, with some plausibility it must be confessed, that the last argument tells as much against *Hofmann's* own explanation. The actual servitude was confined to the closing period, the reign of only two Pharaohs. And if the whole of the time from Jacob's going down to Egypt to the accession of the new king (Ex. i. 8) must be included in the period of Israel's servitude and oppression, there is no reason why the same designation should not apply equally well to the history of the last two patriarchs. The reason why it must be so applied is, that the most important part of the announcement is the fact of their living as foreigners (גֵר יִהְיֶה), and that this mode of life commenced with Abraham, and was to continue with Isaac. But even if this were granted, there would still be two difficulties in the way. In the divine announcement only *one* land is spoken of, in which they were to be strangers, to serve and to be afflicted, as in a land that was not theirs; and we cannot, therefore, think of both Canaan and Egypt, especially as the words "afterward shall they come back" (יָשׁוּבֵי) place the land in which

they were to serve and to be oppressed for 400 years in direct antithesis to the land of Canaan, the land of their fathers. The *departure* from the land of bondage (ver. 14) is a *return home* to their own land. Moreover, it is expressly announced to Abraham, in evident contrast with the foreign life, the servitude, and the oppression of his seed, that he shall die *in peace* and in a *prosperous* old age. From this it follows that the remainder of Abraham's life, at least, cannot be included in the 400 years; and just as little can we include the lives of Isaac and Jacob, which in this respect resembled Abraham's. But if we are thus brought to the conclusion, that the 400 years refer exclusively to the period spent in Egypt, there is certainly a difference between this announcement, and the passage in Ex. xii. 40 which speaks of 430 years. But who would think for a moment of calling this a discrepancy? In Gen. xv. 13 we have a prophetic declaration, in which a round number is quite in place. In Ex. xii. 40, on the contrary, we have a definite chronological and historical statement.—With regard to the *four generations*, mentioned in ver. 16, it would be a most arbitrary thing to assign to these a different starting point from the 400 years in ver. 13, and to restrict them to the stay in Egypt, as *Bengel* and *Baumgarten* are obliged to do. The four generations are evidently identical with the four centuries. *Baumgarten* is perfectly right when he says, in opposition to *Tiele*, that דוד does not mean a century, but a generation, an age; but he is just as decidedly in the wrong, when he supposes it to represent the modern artificial notion of a generation of thirty years. *Hofmann* had already given the correct explanation. “דוד,” he says, “was not to the Hebrew an artificially calculated γενεά, of which there were three in a century, but embraced, as Gen. vii. 1 is quite sufficient to prove, *the sum total of the lives of all the men who were living at the same time*; and according to the ordinary length of life at that time, this would give a century as the duration of each generation.” The meaning of the word דוד is still more apparent from Ex. i. 6, where we read “and Joseph died, and all his brethren, and *all that generation*,” especially if we compare Gen. i. 23, where Joseph is said to have seen his grandchildren's grandchildren, all of whom are reckoned in Ex. i. 6 as *one* generation.

The second passage, which is thought to be irreconcilable with

a 430 years' stay in Egypt, is Exodus vi. 16—20. We have there a genealogical table of the tribe of Levi, in which Moses and Aaron are said to belong to the fourth generation (Levi, Kehath, Amram, Aaron). Levi was 137 years old when he died, Kehath 133, Amram 137; and when the Israelites went out of Egypt, Aaron was only 83. If from these numbers we deduct Levi's age when they first went down to Egypt, and the age at which Kehath and Amram begat children, the sum of these numbers will fall very far short of the 430 years mentioned in Ex. xii. 40, and consequently, it is said, we must either give to Ex. xii. 40 a different meaning from that which lies upon the surface, or there will be an irreconcilable discrepancy between the two accounts.—*J. G. Franck* endeavours to bring this genealogy into harmony with the 430 years, by assuming that the sons in this family were not born till their fathers had nearly reached the end of their life, and that Levi begat Kehath seventy-five years after he went down to Egypt (*Astron. Grundrechnung der bibl. Gesch. Gottes. Dessau u. Leipzig 1783*, p. 178). But there is something so forced and unnatural in this explanation, that it is not likely to meet with approbation. Moreover, it is impossible to reconcile either this or *Bengel's* explanation with Num. iii. 27, 28, on which we shall presently speak more at large. But we do not want any such artificial aids in order to escape from the difficulty; for the explanation suggested by *Koppe, Tiele, Hofmann*, and others, that some of the members have been omitted from this genealogical table, is perfectly satisfactory. It is well known that such omissions are very common in the biblical genealogies, and in the present instance their occurrence is attested by indisputable proofs. In Num. xxvi. 29 sqq., we find *six* members comprised within the same space of time, viz., from Joseph to Zelaphehad; in 1 Chr. ii. 3 sqq., there are *seven* persons mentioned between Judah and Bezaliel; and in 1 Chr. vii. 22 sqq., there are as many as *ten* named from Ephraim to Joshua. Then, again, from a comparison which *Hofmann* has instituted between the other genealogies of Levi in Ex. vi. and 1 Chr. vi., it is evident that there are names omitted from the former, which have been obtained from other sources and inserted in the latter. The fact that only four names are given in the pedigree of Moses and Aaron, may be simply and satisfactorily explained, as *Hofmann* has acutely observed, if we suppose that the

number was selected with an evident reference to Gen. xv. 16, for the purpose of showing that the prediction was fulfilled. "Sometimes particular members are omitted; at other times several are linked together. The four members, which commonly appear, are intended merely to represent the four generations who dwelt in Egypt. And this is the reason why the ages of Levi, Kehath, Amram, and Moses, are given; and not to enable us to calculate how long the Israelites were in Egypt, which they would never enable us to do."

Lastly, we are referred to *Num.* xxvi. 59, compared with *Ex.* vi. 20. In the second passage, Moses' mother, *Jochebed*, is called the aunt (דודת) of her husband Amram, and this is stated even more plainly and decidedly in *Num.* xxvi. 59: "The name of Amram's wife was Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom (his wife) bare to Levi in Egypt." If now Moses' mother was Amram's aunt and Levi's daughter, it is at once apparent that there is no room for the assumption that any members have been omitted from the genealogical list in the sixth chapter of Exodus. But when we look a little more closely into this argument, which is evidently the most important of all, it is quite clear that the expression, "a daughter of Levi," is not to be taken literally. Jochebed may be called a daughter of Levi, in the same sense in which Christ is called a son of David. Nor is there anything more conclusive in the statement that Jochebed was *Amram's aunt*, for דודת and דודת may both be used to express blood-relationship in general; for example, on comparing *Jeremiah* xxxii. 12 with ver. 7, we find דודת applied to the son of the uncle, and also to the uncle himself. But even if there have been several members omitted, the probability of which we pointed out above, Jochebed may still have been Amram's aunt in the strict sense of the word. At the same time we must admit, that the words "*Jochebed a daughter of Levi, whom (his wife) bare to Levi in Egypt*" (*Num.* xxvi. 59), as they stand here, cannot mean anything else than his own daughter. But if this be the meaning, Jochebed must have been at least fifty or sixty years old when she was married, even if the stay in Egypt lasted only 210 years; and that would be certainly a most improbable age. There is sufficient, therefore, to suggest the thought, that there may be a corruption of the text or an error of some kind in *Num.* xxvi. 59; and we might perhaps be justified in coming to the

same conclusion on account of the harsh and peculiar form of the sentence, בַּת-לֵוִי אִשֶׁר יִלְדָה אֶתְהָ לְלֵוִי בְּמִצְרַיִם, in which there is no subject. The *Septuagint* appears to have read אֶתְהָ instead of אֶתְהָ: *θυγάτηρ Λευί, ἣ ἔτεκε τούτους τῷ Λευὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ*. The word *τούτους* here can only refer to Aaron, Moses, and Miriam, whose names occur immediately afterwards. We cannot certainly make up our minds to pronounce the reading אֶתְהָ the correct one, on the authority of the *Septuagint*. Moreover אֶתְהָ does not, strictly speaking, mean *τούτους*, but *αὐτούς*, and would properly refer to persons already mentioned, not to those about to be named. Still even this deviation on the part of the *Septuagint*, when taken in connection with the absence of any subject, is a proof of the suspicious character of the passage in general. To us the whole clause, commencing with אִשֶׁר יִלְדָה, has the appearance of a gloss, appended to the preceding words בַּת-לֵוִי; and the author of the gloss seems to have understood בַּת-לֵוִי in its literal sense, as denoting an actual daughter of Levi, and then to have endeavoured to soften down the improbability of Moses' mother being a daughter of Levi, by appending a clause, to the effect that the daughter in question was born in Egypt. This gloss, we admit, must have been introduced at a very early period, as it is found in every codex and every version. But, in any case, the professedly chronological statement in Ex. xii. 40, confirmed as it is in a most decided manner by Gen. xv. 13, is more deserving of confidence than the suspicious notice in Num. xxvi. 59.

But, to return to Ex. xii. 40, *Baumgarten* holds fast to the reading of the Hebrew text, but thinks it possible to explain it as the *Septuagint* has done. He says: "There is an analogy in the computation of the forty years occupied in the journey through the desert (Num. xiv. 33, 34). In this passage thirty-eight years were reckoned as forty, because the two years, which had already elapsed, were considered as belonging to the same category of years of punishment, as the other thirty-eight, when once the apostasy of Israel had come to light" (p. 475 sq.). And just in the same manner, he thinks, could the 210 years, spent in Egypt, be reckoned as 430, the 220 years, which had elapsed from the call of Abraham to the migration to Egypt, being placed in the same category of servitude and exile, as the subsequent 210.

In this, however, we cannot agree with him. The difference between thirty-eight and forty is not by any means the same as that between 210 and 430. An inaccuracy of expression in the case of the former would not be very striking, but in that of the latter it would be a most startling thing. However, this is not really how the matter stands. The two years spent in the desert, of which great part had already elapsed, might very well be regarded as years of punishment, inasmuch as *the* apostasy, which came to a head at Kadesh, and was followed by the rejection of the people, had really commenced at Sinai in the first year of their journey, when they worshipped the golden calf (see Vol. i., § 51. 2). Now there is nothing resembling this in the circumstances before us. The free, unfettered pilgrimage of an independent nomad-chief in a land, which God had promised him as his own inheritance, could not be placed, without further explanation, in the same category as the residence of a tribe in a state of oppression and servitude in a foreign land. Moreover, in the former case, the two years were spent in the same place as the thirty-eight; but in the latter the 220 years were passed in a totally different place from the 210. Luther spent thirty-eight out of the sixty-three years of his life at Wittenberg; but no reasonable man would think of saying that he lived at Wittenberg sixty-three years, however true it might be that the first twenty-five years of his life were but the "preliminary stages" of his Wittenberg career. The absurdity of the attempt made by *Buldeus* (hist. eccl. i. 455) and others, to save the traditional explanation by translating the passage: "*Peregrinatio filiorum Israel, qui commorati sunt in Aegypto, fuit 430 annorum,*" is too apparent on philological grounds, for it to need any refutation.

Lastly, *Baumgarten* brings against such of the modern expositors, as have given up the old, traditional explanation, the very severe charge of "having no eyes for anything but the mere surface of things." He fancies that he has discovered in the essential unity of the whole period, from the call of Abraham to the exodus from Egypt, a reason why it was absolutely necessary, that a chronological statement should be given in Exodus xii. 40, embracing that period in its entire extent. But as the chronological limits of the interval between the call of Abraham and the migration into Egypt had already been described in the

book of Genesis, we are quite unable to discover any such necessity.

Another argument against the old interpretation is founded upon Num. iii. 27, 28, and is sufficient in itself to decide the question. It has been brought forward by *Koppe*, *Rosenmüller*, and *Tiele*, and we will give it in *Tiele's* words. In his *Chronology* (p. 36) he says: "According to Num. iii. 27, 28, the Kehathites were divided into four branches, the Amramites, the Izcharites, the Hebronites, and the Uzzielites, containing together 8600 men and boys, the women and girls not being counted. Of these about a fourth part, or 2150 men and boys, would belong to the Amramites. Now Moses himself had only two sons, as we learn from Exodus xviii. 3, 4. Hence if Amram, the son of Kehath and the founder of the Amramites, was the same person as Amram the father of Moses, Moses must have had 2147 brothers and nephews. But as such a supposition is quite impossible, it must be granted that this is sufficient to prove, that Amram the son of Kehath was not the father of Moses, but that a series of names, whose number cannot be determined, have been omitted between the first Amram and his later descendant and namesake." To this *Baumgarten* replies (i. 2, p. 268 seq.): "this would be trifling with the whole science of statistics, but it is founded upon too hasty a calculation, viz. upon the supposition, that the rate of increase proceeded quite as slowly in the three other branches, as in that of Amram himself, which would be in any case a very extraordinary phenomenon." But this does not by any means remove the difficulty. Are we to believe, then, that Kehath's descendants through Amram consisted of no more than six males, at the time of the census recorded in Num. iii. (viz. Moses and his two sons, and Aaron and his two sons, Eleazar and Ithamar), whilst his descendants through the other three sons consisted, at the very same period, of 8656 males (i.e. 2885 each). This certainly is a large demand upon our faith. Still, as we cannot positively say that it is impossible, we submit, and believe. But we are further required to believe (according to Num. iii. 27) that at this census the six Amramites—(what am I saying? there could not have been six of them; there could really only have been two included in the census, viz. the two sons of Moses; for Aaron and his sons were priests, to whom the Levites

were to be assigned as a present, and as it was for this very purpose that the census was taken, they would certainly not be included in it any more than Moses himself);—hence then we are required to believe that the *two* remaining Amramites formed a distinct “family,” a *Mishpachah* (§ 16), with precisely the same privileges and duties, as the 2885 Izcharites, the 2885 Hebronites, and the 2885 Uzzielites (Num. iii. 27 sqq.)! We must candidly confess, that our faith will not reach so far as this.

Whilst *Bengel*, *Baumgarten*, and others pronounce 430 years much too long a period, according to the standard of their biblical-theological system, for the stay of the Israelites in Egypt, *Bunsen* measures it by the standard of his Egypto-chronological system, and decides that it is much too short. And his conviction, that the statement is not historical, is strengthened by the fact, that 430 years is just double the 215 years of the patriarchs. These 215 patriarchal years he considers historical, because they form part of the tradition. “For the period of the stay in Egypt no historical reckoning was handed down, any more than the history itself. Hence the patriarchal number was doubled, and the number thus obtained was applied to a period of much longer duration, and treated as historical, though not founded upon genealogical tables.” *Lepsius*, on the other hand, arrives at the very opposite conclusion, and thinks that he can find in Ex. vi. 16 sqq., a proof of his Egyptologico-chronological statement, that the Israelites did not remain in Egypt more than about ninety years!!! (*vid.* § 43. 1).

(2). *De Wette* complains of the “immense gap” between Genesis and Exodus, and expresses his opinion that it is “useless to attempt to restore the history and establish any connexion;” (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in d. A. T.* ii. 169). On this supposed gap *Valke* rests his hypothesis, that Mosaism was a later product of the prophetic period, and says that even according to the account contained in the Pentateuch, there was evidently but little foundation for the Mosaic constitution to rest upon; (*Religion d. A. T.* 1. 204). *Bruno Bauer* (in his *Rel. d. a. Test.* i. 105 sqq.) says that the historian leaps over the lengthened period without the slightest suspicion of its importance; that even to the present day, commentators have imitated him in taking this leap in an equally unscrupulous manner; and that although there has been at length a revival of the critical consciousness

in *De Wette*, apologists have not been able to offer any reply to his arguments, since hitherto they have not manifested the least idea of the importance of the gap itself. Yet the remarks of *Hüvernick* (Einl. i. 2, p. 173), and especially of *Ranke* (Unterss. ii. p. 2), are not so irrelevant after all. The latter observes, "the work would be faulty, if it had been the intention of the writer to give a complete history of all the events which happened to the Israelites. But as the express design of the work embraced merely the relation of Israel to Jehovah, he was content to pass over the whole interval, during which the chosen people were growing into a great people according to the prophecies in the book of Genesis, and simply state that those prophecies were fulfilled. This was all that the centuries in question contributed to the development of the theocratic plan, and in this respect they stood far behind the few days, in which Jehovah magnified himself in his people before the eyes of the Egyptians." We may also quote the general remarks of *Bertheau* (zur Gesch. d. Isr. p. 202) as both striking in themselves and applicable here. "There is no historical work," he says, "in which the selection and arrangement of the events narrated are so exclusively and unmistakably regulated by *one* idea as in the historical books of the Old Testament. Everything is looked at from one point of view; prosperity and misfortune, slavery and redemption, joy and sorrow, are all regarded as operations of God on behalf of his people. *There is nothing mentioned, which does not admit of being easily and intelligibly described from this point of view.* This will explain the fact that nothing is said of the lengthened period, during which the Israelites were in Egypt, and so little of the period of the Judges. The historical writings of the Hebrews are as different as they possibly can be from chronicles and annals, or a mere recital of naked facts." Even *Lengerke* expresses himself in the same considerate manner (i. 368): "A description of this period formed no part of the plan proposed by the authors of the Pentateuch. The prediction in Gen. xv. 3 (? 13) contained all that was necessary. Whatever did not serve to exhibit the fulfilment of the promises of God is either treated very briefly, at least by the original work, or else passed over in perfect silence. The intention is merely to write a history, having a particular reference to the possession of Palestine. And even of the period of the captivity in Eastern Asia, which

occurred in an age of letters, the reminiscences are very few."

If we look into the question a little more closely, we find that in reality everything has been given, which from the nature of the case *could* be given, or which from the tendency and design of the record *ought* to be given; and it soon becomes apparent, that it is unreasonable to require anything further, or at all events to speak of it as a necessary thing. (1). One of the principal facts of historical importance, connected with this period, was the multiplication of Jacob's descendants. It is evident that this was an important subject to introduce into the record, since it was both the result of the foregoing history and the fulfilment of its predictions, and also the substratum for the history of the time to come. And have we not all that is required in the account contained in Exodus i., which, however summary it may be, gives a lively and graphic description of the rate at which this increase took place? There is no one, surely, who would demand complete genealogical evidence of this increase! —(2). The history, which immediately follows, contains an account of the exodus from Egypt, in which Jehovah first manifested himself in so glorious a manner as the *deliverer* of his people; and it was quite as indispensable that this should be preceded by a historical description of the change which occurred in the policy of the Pharaohs, when the favoured foreigners became an object of hatred, mistrust, and ever-increasing oppression. And in our opinion, *this* demand has been amply met, so far, at least, as the intention and standpoint of the author were concerned.—(3). Another object of importance in the history of this period would be a sketch of the lives of prominent individuals. But it is a question, whether there were any persons of peculiar distinction, and if there were, whether the events of their lives were handed down by tradition in the same vivid manner as those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and even if this were the case, whether they were of such a nature, that the author could regard them as bearing sufficiently upon the design of his work to be worth preserving. The last question may be answered decidedly in the negative; the second may probably be so answered, and possibly the first also. The biographical sketches, which have been handed down to us in the patriarchal history of the book of Genesis, were regarded by

the author as interesting and important ; merely because, and so far as, they were proofs of the special care and guidance of God. If, then, this special guidance of God was not apparent during the period in question, because it was not required ; however interesting the lives of particular persons might be from other points of view, for our author's purpose they would not be of any importance. But on the whole it is very probable, that there were no memorials of any particular note handed down by tradition, and perhaps there were no persons of any particular note during that period ; for the peculiar circumstances which gave so much importance to the persons of the patriarchs, and impressed their history upon tradition in so indelible a manner, were altogether wanting during the period spent in Egypt.—(4). This period evidently derived great importance from the fact, that Israel was then brought into contact with a state, which had reached the highest stage of development both in a religious and political point of view ; and this contact could not fail to exert a considerable influence, either of a beneficial or an injurious character, upon the early history of a people, which was just then in a condition to receive and to require cultivation. We have already said (§ 1. 7), that one of the principal reasons why Israel was led by God into Egypt, must in our opinion have been, that the Israelites might there undergo such *human* preparation as would fit them to receive a theocratic constitution. Should we not then be justified in expecting that the author would mention this, and give some information respecting it ? Most certainly, if his manner of writing history had been the same as that of the 18th and 19th centuries. A historian of our age would no doubt feel it to be his duty, and a necessary part of his work, to enter into the peculiar nature of Egyptian culture, its science and religion, its industry and politics, and to search for the traces, unfortunately too few, of the influence exerted by these upon the culture and development of Israel ; but this formed no part of the plan of the Israelitish historian, who had no eye for anything but the movements, which took place under the immediate guidance of *God*.—And (5), lastly, with regard to the condition and progress of Israel in matters of religion and worship, and in the arrangements of domestic and civil life, we must not overlook the fact that it is never the custom of Israelitish historians to enter into any minute description of such

points as these, or to notice their historical development ; so that we must gather our information respecting them from such occasional data as we possess, just as we are obliged to do in the case of the patriarchs themselves (§ 5 sqq.). On the other hand we must equally bear in mind the fact, that to an Israelite the theocratic legislation at Sinai appeared so much like a *new creation* on the part of *Jehovah*, that he lost sight altogether of the other, viz., the natural side of that legislation, that is to say, of its connexion with any manners, customs, and circumstances, which had existed before. And however little we may regard the giving of the law at Sinai as a *Deus ex machina*, however we may be disposed to recognise the important bearing of previous circumstances upon that legislation, we can easily understand how an Israelitish historian might overlook that importance, and undervalue the human basis, on account of the high estimate which he formed of the part performed by God in the giving of the law.

(3). From the census taken at Sinai (Num. i.) it appeared, that the whole number of men, "from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel," was 603,550. If to these we add 400,000 male children under twenty years of age, and suppose the females to have been about as numerous as the males, we find that the entire mass of the people of Israel amounted to more than *two million souls*. But it is a gross mistake to suppose that the two millions were all the direct descendants of Jacob. When Jacob and his sons went down to Egypt, they must certainly have taken with them all their men-servants and maid-servants, as well as all their cattle, for these formed a portion of their wealth. We have no information as to the exact number of the latter. But we know that Abraham had 318 servants fit for war and trained to arms ; his nomadic household, therefore, must have contained more than a thousand souls. Jacob, again, who inherited all these, brought with him from Syria so many men-servants and maid-servants, and so much cattle, that, when he was afraid of an attack from Esau, he divided them into two armies. With such data as these, then, we are justified in assuming that the number of those who went down with Jacob to Egypt was not limited to his sixty-six children and grandchildren, but consisted of several thousand men-servants and maid-servants. But according to Gen. xvii. 12, 13, these had been all received by circumcision into the re-

ligious community of the children of Israel, and thus the distinction between master and servant, which is never very marked among nomads, must have been still further softened down. In Egypt, where the striking contrast between Israelites and Egyptians was necessarily a great impediment in the way of intermarriages, the descendants of Jacob will no doubt have married the descendants of his servants. And under such circumstances the distinction must gradually have worn away. Hence we regard the two million souls, who left Egypt after the lapse of 430 years, as the posterity of the whole of the people who went down into Egypt with Jacob. But even then, this increase to two millions would be unparalleled in history. We must look upon this fact therefore in the light of divine providence, and regard it as a special blessing from God, the fulfilment of the promise given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In addition to this we may also quote both ancient and modern witnesses, who all agree, that the productiveness of both men and animals is far greater in Egypt than elsewhere. *Aristotle*, for example, says (*hist. animal.* 7. 4): Πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχού (τίκτουσι γυναῖκες) οἶον περὶ Αἴγυπτον, τίκτουσι δὲ καὶ τρία καὶ τέτταρα, πλείστα δὲ τίκεται πέντε τὸν ἄριθμον, ἤδη γὰρ ὠπται καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείονων. *Columella* writes to the same effect (*de re rust.* 3, 8): Aegyptiis et Afris gemini partus familiares et paene solennes sunt; and *Pliny* (*hist. nat.* 7, 3): Et in Aegypto septenos uno utero simul gigni, auctor est Trogus. For more modern accounts consult *Rosenmüller's* *altes und neues Morgenland* i. p. 252. From this we may see that, even if we deduct something from the accounts as being greatly exaggerated, Egypt must in this respect have been peculiarly fitted for effecting the purpose, which it was intended to accomplish in connexion with the house of Israel.

(4). We are of opinion that the statement in chap. i. 8: "there arose a NEW KING in Egypt who knew not Joseph," indicates not merely a change of government within the same dynasty, but the suppression of a former dynasty. It was so understood by *Josephus* (*ant.* ii. 9. 1.: τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἄλλον οἶκον μετεληλυθυίας); and the following reasons lead us to the same conclusion. (1). The word יִרְמָה requires it. Let any one take a concordance in his hand, and he will find that קָהָם and הִקְהָה, when used in such a connexion, always denote an entirely

fresh commencement, and *never* a regular advance of the same description, or a renewal of something which existed before. (2). This explanation is supported by the expression, לֹא יָדַע לֵאמֹר "he knew not Joseph." For these words must mean, either that the new king actually did not know, or that he would not know anything of Joseph's services on behalf of Egypt. If the latter be the meaning, we must necessarily assume that some kind of hostility existed between the new king, who now arose, and his predecessors, to whom Joseph had rendered such services; and this would be most simply explained on the assumption, that there had been a forcible change of dynasty. In the former case, we should either have to seek an explanation of the ignorance of the new king with regard to Joseph's history, in the fact that the Egyptians had entirely forgotten it and therefore the new king had never heard of it at all; or else to assume that there was some other cause, which prevented the new king from becoming acquainted with what Joseph had done. The former is absolutely inconceivable, when we consider the diligence and zeal, which the Egyptians are well known to have displayed in the preservation of their history. And we cannot think of any other cause, unless the new king had moved in a totally different sphere from his immediate predecessors; which brings us at once to the assumption, that he was the founder of a new dynasty. Some light is thrown upon the meaning of the word יָדַע "to know," in such a connexion, by Deut. xxviii. 36. "The lawgiver there announces to the people, that the punishment of their apostasy from Jehovah will be, that they will be brought into slavery, "unto a nation, which neither thou nor thy fathers *have known*." From this passage we clearly see, that the word יָדַע in such a connexion does not denote a mere historical acquaintance with any object, but an acquaintance founded upon friendly intercourse with each other. The nation, to whom Israel was to be given up as a prey, would be an entirely foreign nation, which would have no regard whatever for the Israelites. And this was the case here; the new king, who rose up in Egypt, had no regard for Israel, and took no interest in its welfare.—(3). The connexion of this passage with ver. 6, 7, is to our mind *completely* decisive: "and Joseph died, and all his brethren and all that generation, and the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied and waxed exceedingly

mighty, and the land was filled with them ; and there arose up a new king, &c." In this passage all the kings, who reigned from the time of Joseph to the period in question, are evidently placed together under one point of view, and in a common relation to the *new* king. The new king must therefore have been *new*, in a totally different sense from that in which every one of the successors of the earlier Pharaoh had been a *new king*. In the writer's view they all formed *one Melech*, in contrast with *the* king, who now came to the throne; *i.e.*, they were *one* dynasty by the side of the founder of a *new* dynasty. In support of this, also, we may appeal to Deut. xxviii. 36: "Jehovah will bring thee, and *thy king which thou shalt set over thee*," into subjection to a foreign nation. The general and particular use of the word *Melech* are here fused together. For the meaning of the legislator was evidently not that *the very* person, whom the people should first set over the kingdom, would be led into captivity, but that the government, which the people would establish in connection with the theocratic constitution, should go into captivity in the person of one of its administrators.—Although *Hengstenberg* maintains, in his *Egypt and the Books of Moses* (p. 252 transl.), that "the reason why the king is called new is given in the phrase, 'who knew not Joseph;'" every unbiassed reader must at once perceive, that the very reverse is the truth, namely that he knew not Joseph just because he was a *new* king.

For the history of the Israelites, it is of no importance whatever in what sense the king, who began to oppress them, was a new king. The question is of more importance, for the determination of contemporaneous events in connexion with the history of Egypt. And if our explanation be correct, we have a most important *datum* in Ex. i. 8, which may serve us as an Ariadne-thread in the confused labyrinth of Egyptian history and chronology. But we shall return to this question again. (*Vid.* § 45. 4).

(5). The TRIBUTARY SERVICE, which the Israelites were forced to render, consisted chiefly in *brick-making* and *field-labour*. By the latter we are undoubtedly to understand the severe labour of watering the land in the more elevated districts (see § 15. 2); and from the former we learn that the Israelites were employed both in the erection of the colossal monuments, and in the building of cities and fortresses (Ex. i. 11: Pithom and Raemeses, *vid.* § 41. 2). The preparation of the incalculable

number of bricks, which were required, must, no doubt, have taken up the greatest amount of time, and demanded the greatest exertion, and therefore this is mentioned *instar omnium*. As the Egyptians prided themselves, according to *Herodotus* (i. 108) and *Diodorus* (i. 56), on the fact that not a single native was employed in the erection of their monuments, but that they were built entirely by captives and slaves, *Josephus* is probably right in associating the tributary service of the Israelites with the construction of the pyramids (Ant. ii. 9. 1).—On the manufacture of bricks in Egypt see § 22. 2. It is a memorable fact, that to all appearance a contemporaneous testimony to this tributary service of the Israelites is still in existence in a picture found in the tomb of *Rochsceré* at *Thebes*. *Rosellini*, by whom it was first discovered, has given a copy and description of it in his great Egyptological work, under the heading: "Explanation of a picture representing the Hebrews making bricks." (Vid. *Hengstenberg* Egypt and the books of Moses p. 80 transl.). According to *Rosellini's* description, which we copy from *Hengstenberg's* work: "Some of the labourers are employed in transporting the clay in vessels, some in intermingling it with the straw; others are taking the bricks out of the form and placing them in rows; still others, with a piece of wood upon their backs and ropes on each side, carry away the bricks already burned or dried. Their dissimilarity to the Egyptians appears at the first view; their complexion, physiognomy, and beard, are proofs that we are not mistaken in supposing them to be Hebrews. They wear at the hips the apron, which is common among the Egyptians, and there is also represented as in use among them a kind of short trowsers, after the fashion of the *Mikbesim*. Among the Hebrews, four Egyptians, very distinguishable by their mien, figure, and colour, are seen; two of them, one sitting and the other standing, carry a stick in their hand ready to fall upon two other Egyptians, who are here represented like the Hebrews, one of them carrying on his shoulder a vessel of clay, and the other returning from carrying brick, bringing his empty vessel for a new load. The tomb belonged to a high court-officer of the king, *Rochsceré*, and was made in the time of *Thothmes IV.*, the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. The question, "how came this picture in the tomb of *Rochsceré*?" *Rosellini* answers as follows: he was the overseer of the public buildings, and

had, consequently, the charge of all the works undertaken by the king. To the question, "how came the representation of the labours of the Israelites at Thebes?" it is answered: we need not suppose that the labours were performed in the very place where they are represented, for Rochsceré was overseer of the royal buildings throughout the land, and what was done in the circuit of his operations could, wherever performed, be represented in his tomb at Thebes. It is also not impossible that the Hebrews went even to Thebes. In Ex. v. 12 it is said, "that they were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather straw" (p. 80, 81 transl.).—*Wilkinson* has again carefully examined this painting on the spot, and confirmed *Rosellini's* account. It is true that he disputes the reference to the Israelites, but on grounds which *Hengstenberg* justly pronounces inconclusive. As the eighteenth dynasty undoubtedly ruled over the whole of Egypt, we may very well imagine that the Israelites were sent away as far as to Thebes to work, for it was the interest of their oppressors to distribute them as widely as possible through the land, and to the present day the Fellahs are brought in droves from the most distant parts of Egypt, whenever any great work is going on. This at once removes *Wilkinson's* principal objection, that according to the inscription the bricks were intended for some building in Thebes. *Wilkinson* also relies upon the fact that the majority of the workmen are without any beard. But this may be explained on the assumption, which is quite admissible, that most of the Israelites had adopted this custom either voluntarily, or on compulsion. And the decidedly Jewish cast of countenance, which even *Wilkinson* cannot deny, is a most powerful argument in favour of *Rosellini's* views.

We have already pointed out the important bearing of the Egyptian oppression and compulsory service upon the sacred history of the Israelites (§ 1. 7). The importance of this is the more obvious, since it is unmistakeably implied in the biblical record. In proof of this we refer, not merely to the fact that the record lays so much stress upon the character of a *redeemed people*, which Israel acquired in consequence of their oppression, but also to the prominence given to it in the announcement made to Abraham (in Gen. xv. 13).

(6). *Josephus* (Ant. ii. 9. 2) attributes the murderous edicts

of the king to a prediction made known to him by one of his scribes, that a Hebrew boy would inflict great injury upon the Egyptians. There is no notice of anything of the kind in our record. Moreover we do not believe that Josephus found this in any ancient tradition. It is most likely an invention of his own, intended to place the hero of the Hebrew nation upon a level with *Cyrus* and others, for the benefit of Gentile readers.—*Josephus* speaks of the *midwives* as Egyptian women, evidently in direct contradiction to the Scripture record, which describes them as *Hebrew* midwives. Moreover, it is said that they feared God, and that God made them houses, and this would hardly be said of heathen women.—The midwives defended themselves before Pharaoh, on the ground that the Hebrew women were generally delivered without requiring their assistance, and we are not justified in questioning the truth of their assertion. It is well known that in warm climates the births are generally quicker and easier; and we can very well imagine that the different mode of life adopted by the Hebrew women may have given them an advantage in this respect even over the wives of the Egyptians. Still it is expressly stated in ver. 17, that “the midwives feared God and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them,” but saved many children alive, whom they ought according to the king’s orders to have killed. Hence their answer looks like a subterfuge, which on the strict ground of morality must be condemned. They were *not* bound to obey the king, when he required that which was ungodly, but they were bound to speak the truth by giving a direct refusal (as in Acts iv. 20, 21). But on this standpoint they did not and could not stand, for such a standpoint had never yet been reached. Nevertheless their *fear of God* was genuine, and as such it was followed by the approbation and blessing of God. Still what they did from fear of God is not on that account to be confounded with what they did from fear of Pharaoh.—The biblical record has preserved the names of two of the midwives, *Shifrah* and *Puah*. It is evident from the number of the people and the frequency of the births, that there must have been others. Whether these two were superintendents of the whole class, or whether there was some other reason for their names being handed down, it is impossible to determine.

§ 15. Jacob and his descendants came into Egypt as *nomads*. So long as they dwelt in Palestine, where they lived as pilgrims and strangers, they were compelled to adopt this mode of life by the circumstances in which they were placed. But even there, whenever it was practicable, they combined agriculture with the rearing of cattle. When Isaac dwelt in the land of the Philistines, he sowed corn there, and reaped the same year a hundredfold (Gen. xxvi. 12). And even if this is to be regarded as an exceptional case, it proves that the patriarchs were not such nomads by nature, that a settled mode of life was intolerable to them, or that they would rather suffer hunger and destitution, than take the trouble to cultivate the ground. It was to be expected, therefore, that when they came down to Egypt, where the circumstances were entirely different, they would soon exchange their wandering habits for a settled mode of life, and add to the rearing of cattle the *cultivation of the soil*. The land of Goshen, which embraced the garden-ground of the Nile on the one hand and the pasture-land of the desert on the other, provided the means and offered an inducement to both of these occupations. The intention of Joseph from the very first was, undoubtedly, to pave the way for such an improvement in his brethren's mode of life. He obtained not only the king's consent to their leading a nomad life with their flocks in the tracts of pasture-land on the east of the land, but also a grant of certain fixed hereditary possessions (מַדְבָּרָה) in the best portion of the country (בְּמִיטָב Gen. xlvii. 11, 27). The name *Metab* is in itself a proof that the district assigned them was not merely pasturage, but contained also some of the fertile soil, which is watered by the Nile and its branches; and this supposition is confirmed in many passages by express statements to that effect (§ 1. 5). The much more remunerative character of agriculture must have been sufficient to lead the Israelites, if not to prefer agriculture,

at least to associate it with the rearing of cattle. For there is no country in which agriculture is more remunerative than in Egypt. No doubt it requires much preliminary labour and many contrivances, which are not needed elsewhere. But as the land was given to the Israelites as an hereditary possession, and they had therefore a guarantee that whatever trouble they might take in cultivating the land would be for the benefit of their children and children's children, the difficulties did not present an insuperable obstacle. There was also another strong impulse to the adoption of agricultural pursuits, in the extraordinarily rapid multiplication of the people, which rendered it necessary that they should search for productive land in every direction. And lastly, the disgust, excited by nomad-shepherds in the minds of the Egyptians, must have contributed to wean the Israelites from their wandering mode of life. These expectations completely tally with the actual condition of the Israelites, as we find it incidentally referred to in different passages of the Pentateuch (1). We meet with no intimation of life in tents, which is characteristic of nomads. The Israelites live in houses and cities, and even in the royal cities (Ex. xii.). They cultivate fishing and gardening (Num. xi. 5), and water the soil in an artificial manner for the sake of the crops (Deut. xi. 10) (2). Even the tributary service, to which they were forced, presupposes such a change in their mode of life as we have described. It would hardly have been possible to compel a nomad-race to perform this labour, at least so generally as Ex. i. 13, 14, and chap. v. describe; for the words of *Maillet* (quoted by *Heeren*, *Ideen über Aegypten*, p. 148) with reference to the nomads of eastern Egypt in the present day, were undoubtedly quite as applicable then: "they only need, in fact, to go a day's journey into the desert to ensure themselves against any kind of retaliation." Lastly, this is attested by the legislation of Moses, which is framed exclusively for an agricul-

tural mode of life, and instead of containing the slightest indication of having been intended to bring about a transition from wandering habits to agricultural pursuits, presupposes that the change had already completely taken place. The fact that the Israelites returned to a nomad life after they had left Egypt, and continued it during the forty years which were spent in the desert, of course proves nothing. This was an affliction, the removal of which was longed for and anticipated as a mark of the favour of God. The great mass of the nation had become an agricultural people long before the exodus from Egypt; and having been accustomed to the enjoyments and fruits of a settled agricultural life, they were doubly sensible of the privations which their life in the desert necessarily involved (Num. xi. 5). Still there was one portion of the nation, which seems to have retained its nomad habits even till the time of the departure from Egypt, viz., the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and part of the tribe of Manasseh. At any rate, there was a striking contrast between these two tribes and a half and the rest of the tribes, when we consider the number of cattle possessed by the former (Num. xxxii. 1—4). Such wealth in cattle leads to the conclusion that the rearing of cattle was the only industrial occupation known among them, and this is inconceivable except in connexion with a nomadic mode of life. We feel justified in assuming, therefore, that these tribes had dwelt along the eastern border of the land of Goshen, and that their habits were to be attributed not to any particular preference for a wandering life, or any natural disinclination to settled habits, but simply to the peculiarity of the district assigned them, which was not fitted for cultivation.

The adoption of Egyptian agriculture was necessarily followed by a participation in Egyptian civilization. The peculiar nature of the agriculture of Egypt encouraged this, requiring, as it did, machinery and contrivances of various kinds, which again gave an

impulse to arts and manufactures. But their settled life contributed still more to bring about this result. Fixed habitations are always promoters of industry ; they foster both a love of comfort and a want of the means of enjoying it. Many things, which a nomad regards as luxuries, become matters of daily and indispensable necessity. But the greatest influence of all must have been exerted by the fact that the Israelites lived in the same towns, and sometimes even in the same houses, as the Egyptians. In this respect also we find our expectations confirmed by the data of history. For example, we learn from 1 Chr. iv. 14, 21, 23, that in some of the families of the tribe of Judah there were carpenters, byssus-weavers, and potters on a very large scale. And since these are only incidentally alluded to, we may assume that other trades and arts were carried out to the same extent. From the work which the people performed in the deserts, we may estimate the various departments of industry in which they had been trained, and the perfection they must have reached. What a variety of arts and handicrafts, and what eminence in both of these, does the mere erection of the tabernacle presuppose ! The finest and most beautifully woven cloths were used, and the most accurate knowledge and skill, in the working of precious as well as common metals, in the grinding and engraving of precious stones, and in many other pursuits, must have been indispensably requisite.—So much, at least, we may clearly and certainly discover, that the time spent by Israel in Egypt, the land of highest culture, had not been lost. They had acquired considerable knowledge, they had been initiated into the advantages of civilization, and had learned how to apply the culture they received. Their *natural* development had been advanced to an incomparably higher stage; the natural foundation had been laid there for a fresh and more glorious revelation from God, and the natural pre-requisites had been attained for a new and nobler form of covenant with God. The announcement made to Abraham

(Gen. xv. 14), "they shall come out *with great substance*," was thus fulfilled in a much higher sense, than by their coming out of Egypt with vessels of gold and silver (Ex. xii. 35, 36).

(1). In connexion with what we have said above consult the complete and searching investigations of *Hengstenberg* (Beitr. ii. 432—439), and the remarks of *v. Lengerke* (Kanaan i. 369 seq.), who arrives at the same conclusions.—*Heeren* has clearly pointed out, in his *Ideen* (hist. Werke xiv. 161), how thoroughly Egypt was adapted by nature to elevate the lower habits of a nomad-life into the superior habits fostered by agricultural pursuits. He says:—"The objects, which the founders of the Egyptian state naturally kept in view, were to promote the cultivation of the soil and to accustom the nomads to settled places of abode. In doing this they had the great advantage, that nature had already performed more for them, than in any other part of the world. The transition from a nomad-life to agriculture, however difficult of explanation it may generally be, was at any rate nowhere easier than in Egypt, where field-labour required scarcely any exertion, and nearly all that had to be done was to scatter the seed and reap the harvest." *Robinson* calls attention to the fact, that even now the nomads, who settle in Egypt, are almost involuntarily changed into farmers (Palestine i. 77). It is a very remarkable fact that there is not the slightest allusion to camels in any part of the history of Israel in Egypt and the desert, whereas according to Genesis they formed part of the cattle possessed by the patriarchs in Palestine. (See *Ritter* Erdkunde xiv. 739, and xiii. 701. 704).

(2). However easy the cultivation of the soil may be in the lower districts of the Nile-country, where the river overflows the land, and both waters and manures it without any interference on the part of man; in the higher ground there are peculiar difficulties to be overcome. The water must be raised by artificial means, before the land can be irrigated. That the Israelites were accustomed to make use of these means is apparent from Deut. xi. 10: "for the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy feet, as a garden of herbs." *Philo* gives a more minute description of the process here referred to (in his *de confusione linguarum* T. i. p. 410 ed.

Mangy): "the same may be said of the *pumping-wheel* (ἐλιξ). There are several steps (βαθμοί) in it, by treading on which the wheel is turned, and the water raised for the irrigation of the land. But in order that the man may not fall, he holds by his hands to some fixed object connected with the machinery, so that the whole body is suspended. Thus, instead of the hands he uses the feet, and instead of the feet the hands; for he stands with the hands, with which *we* are accustomed to work, and works with the feet, with which *we* are accustomed to stand." According to *Diodorus Siculus* (l. i. c. 34) this machine (which was called *κοχλια*, *i.e.*, a snail with a twisted shell, on account of its shape) was invented by Archimedes; but of course there is no ground for such an assertion, as Archimedes was the mythical centre of all mechanical inventions. The miners in Spain made use of similar machines for pumping water out of the pits. Of these *Diodorus* gives a detailed description in Book v. chap. 37: "When water flows in, it is pumped out with the so-called *Egyptian Kochlia*. With this they draw it out in a continuous stream till the pit is dry. By means of this extremely scientific contrivance an immense mass of water is pumped up with very little exertion, and all the water that may have come into the mine is easily raised from the bottom to the top." Pumping-wheels are still used in Egypt to water the higher ground, though they are constructed somewhat differently from those described by *Philo* and *Diodorus* (see *Niebuhr Reise-beschr.* 1. 148, and *Abbild. Taf.* 15). *Robinson* says (i. 541): "The water-wheel, *Súkieh*, is usually turned by an ox, and raises the water by means of jars fastened to a circular or endless rope, which always hangs over the wheel." *Hengstenberg* (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 221) hesitates to apply the words of Deut. xi. 10 to the watering machine, because there is no representation of such a machine in any of the sculptures, and therefore it is most probably of later origin. And as there are representations, on the other hand, upon the monuments of persons carrying water, he thinks it more advisable to explain the passage as referring to this occupation, seeing that in the *carrying* of water "the *feet* have the most to do and to bear." We must refuse our support to this interpretation, for it would hardly occur to any one to describe such a method of watering, as watering *with the foot*. The omission of the machine from the monuments may be accidental.

(3). In proportion as the Israelites laid aside their wandering habits, and adopted the civilized customs of the Egyptians, the latter ceased to regard them with that abhorrence which they had felt towards them as nomads. Thus it came to pass that the Israelites were allowed to live in Egyptian towns, and even in the same houses with the native Egyptians (Ex. iii. 22). As the Israelites possessed houses of their own (Ex. xii. 4—7), it may sometimes have happened that Egyptians lodged in their houses. But *Hengstenberg* seems to lay too much stress upon the expression in Exodus iii. 22: "Every woman shall ask of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house (מִקְרַבֶּתָּהּ בֵּיתָהּ), vessels of silver and vessels of gold," when he concludes from this passage, that Egyptians of great wealth and eminence lodged with the Israelites (p. 434). Persons who had a superfluity of gold and silver ornaments were most likely to have houses of their own. "*Her house*" need not be understood as meaning a house of which she was the owner; the house may have belonged to another, whilst she was the tenant at the time.—Closely as the Israelites approximated to the Egyptians, and greatly as their mode of life was changed in consequence, the difference of religion and of nationality always raised a sufficient barrier between them to prevent intermarriages. Yet there are cases on record in which this barrier was broken through, and that in a most striking manner. Thus, *e.g.*, according to 1 Chr. iv. 18, a daughter of Pharaoh, named *Bithjah*, was married to a man of the tribe of Judah, named *Mered*. But her name *Bithjah*, which is not only not Egyptian, but is a Hebrew word formed from the name of the God of Israel, must have been received at the time of her marriage, and is a sufficient proof that this unusual step was attended by the relinquishment of her Egyptian nationality and religion. She may possibly have been an Egyptian *Ruth*, with faith as strong as that which dictated the words, "Thy God shall be my God, and thy people my people."

§ 16. The Israelites entered Egypt as a single family, whose unity was represented by the one common father. As their numbers increased, it was both natural and necessary that the entire body of the people should be arranged in classes. From

the independent manner in which the Pharaohs allowed the Israelitish community to develope itself, there was no necessity for this classification to be made according to the artificial division into castes required by the principle of the Egyptian state; on the contrary, full liberty was granted for the adoption of a strictly Hebrew classification. This was a purely natural one, founded upon the idea of a family. It was merely an expansion of the family ties which existed already. The connexion was closer or more distant, just according to the nearness or distance of the relationship. From the patriarchal unity there first proceeded a plurality of tribes (מַמְזוֹת or שְׁבֵטִים, also בְּרֵי אֲבוֹת), of which the sons of Jacob were the founders. The increase proceeded with such regularity and rapidity, that in the next generation the tribes began to divide themselves into different *clans* (*Geschlechter*, מִשְׁפָּחוֹת). As a general rule the grandsons of Jacob are to be regarded as the founders of these *Mishpachoth*; but in reality new *Mishpachoth* continued to be formed for several generations. This is evident from Num. xxvi. The number of *Mishpachoth* at that time was about sixty, and their numerical strength varied from four to sixteen thousand men who were capable of bearing arms. Such numbers as these would lead us to expect the principle of natural classification to be carried out beyond the *Mishpachoth*. And this was really the case. The *Mishpachoth* were divided into *families* or *houses* (בְּתִים). This was the smallest division of the tribe, for the next in order were the גְּבֻרִים, *i.e.*, *individual men*, with their wives and children. The fourfold division is most clearly and fully exhibited in Josh. vii. 14, 17, 18. It is true that reference is there made to the state of things which existed in the time of Joshua; but we are perfectly justified in assuming that the same arrangement existed both in the Mosaic and the pre-Mosaic times, for there were the same elements for the division of the tribes in

the days of Moses, though they may not be so clearly described ; and there is not the slightest intimation anywhere, that Moses made any alterations, or introduced any fresh organisation in this respect. On the contrary, the existence of a complete and final classification of the tribes is always presupposed. At the head of the tribes, and sections of the tribes, there were *princes* and heads, who occupied their position by right of primogeniture. They represented the unity of the tribe, or of the section, and in that capacity had undoubtedly corresponding magisterial rights and duties. The common name for these chiefs of every grade was רֹאשֵׁי בֵּית-אָבוֹת heads of fathers' houses (generally written elliptically רֹאשֵׁי-אָבוֹת). Those of them who stood at the head of a whole tribe were called princes, (בְּשֵׂיאי הָעֵדָה, בְּשֵׂיאי מִשּׁוֹת) נְשֵׂיאים ; see Num. i. 4, 16. So far as the command of the tribes was in their hands, Israel was under a federal, aristocratic government. The *elders* (זְקֵנִים) are mentioned in connexion with the heads of the tribes, and are much more frequently referred to than the latter. There is not the slightest appearance anywhere of their being identical with the heads of the tribes, of either the higher or lower grades ; on the contrary they are expressly referred to as distinct from these (Deut. xxix. 9). Their name may have lost its strictly literal signification, but it always indicated that they were the *élite*, of those who were distinguished for their age, their experience, and the general esteem in which they were held. Hence, in addition to the hereditary nobility of the heads of tribes, we find in these men a personal nobility, or nobility of merit belonging to the people. And whilst the former were nobles by birth, the latter were elevated to their rank and official standing on account of their wisdom, prudence, and experience, and were no doubt appointed by a free popular election. They always appear as the representatives of the people (Ex. iii. 16, 18, iv. 29, xii. 21,

xvii. 5, 6, xviii. 12, xix. 7, xxiv. 1, 9, 14, &c.). Whenever any communication had to be made to the people generally, or it was necessary that they should be represented, the *elders* were always convened. Hence they formed, to a certain extent, a democratic element in the otherwise aristocratic constitution. For want of farther information, it is impossible to give an accurate description of the nature of their office. In addition to their duties as representatives of the people, they seem to have possessed a peculiar kind of judicial authority. They were very numerous, for Moses appointed seventy of them as a council, to assist him in the general superintendence of the nation (Num. xi. 16). Probably every *familia* in the more general sense (as the smallest subdivision of the tribes), or at least every *gens* (*Mishpachah*) had its own council of elders, who were chosen from the wisest and most esteemed of the fathers of a family (גְּבֻרִים).—Under the influence of Egyptian customs a new office was created, viz. that of *Scribe* (שֹׁטְרִים; LXX. γραμματεῖς; *Luther, Amtleute*). There was no country of the ancient world in which so much writing was done as in Egypt. For every trifling occurrence of public and private life, pen and ink, pencil or chisel, were close at hand, and everything, however unimportant, was written down. As soon as the Israelites began to adopt the civilized customs of Egypt, they felt the want of written documents, and men were quickly discovered to meet the want. These men acquired an official character, which gave authority to what they wrote. It is probable that one of their duties was to draw up the genealogical tables. When the Egyptian oppression commenced, and the people were required to render tributary service, the Israelitish *Shoterim* were commissioned by the government to distribute the labour, and were held responsible for its performance (Ex. v. 10, 14).

(1). According to Josh vii. 14, 17, 18, the whole body of the people were divided into *tribes*, the tribes into *Mishpachoth*,

the Mishpachoth into *Bottim*, and the Bottim into *Gebarin*. For the reason already assigned, we consider ourselves justified in assuming that this classification existed in the Mosaic and pre-Mosaic times, though the last two subdivisions are not mentioned in the Pentateuch, where the people are always numbered and classed according to tribes and Mishpachoth. In this opinion we differ from nearly every modern commentator, the general opinion being that the *בֵּית אָבוֹת* (father's houses) correspond to the *בָּתִּים* (houses) of the book of Joshua, where-as we regard the former as a designation of the leading tribes.

In order to get at the idea of *Beth-aboth*, we start from the meaning of the word *Aboth*. Two explanations of this are possible. It may either denote the fathers, who were still alive,—those who had become fathers by begetting children, in contradistinction to the unmarried men,—or it may refer to the forefathers (*Majores*), as distinguished from the existing generation. It appears to us, that there can be no great difficulty in deciding which of these two are meant. There are innumerable passages in the Pentateuch, as well as in the other books of the Old Testament, in which the term *Aboth* occurs with the meaning *Majores*; and, so far as we know, there is not a single instance in which it is used, without further explanation, with the meaning *husbands*, or *fathers of a family*. The usage of the language had so thoroughly associated the meaning *Majores* with the plural of the word *אָב*, that it was necessary to select another word, if it was to be employed with a different signification; and thus we find the word *גְּבָרִים* substituted in the book of Joshua.

If, then, the term *Aboth*, whenever it occurs, and therefore in the compound word *Beth-aboth*, denotes, not the fathers then living, but their ancestors and forefathers; it certainly follows, that a *Beth-aboth* must be an association comprising all the families and individuals, descended from the *Aboth* referred to at any particular time. But the question then arises, how far back the term *Aboth* extends, for this must be determined before we can tell whether a *Beth-aboth* was one of the earlier or later divisions, in other words, whether it was a *familia* (א *בֵּית* in the sense of Josh. vii. 14) a *gens* (= *Mishpachah*), or lastly a *tribus* (גִּבְעוֹנִי). If we enquire into the general usage, we learn that as

a rule the Aboth denoted the earliest ancestors of the people; and therefore a Beth-aboth was most probably one of the earliest of the divisions of the people, viz. a *tribe*. This conjecture of ours is raised into a certainty, when we examine the following passages :

1. Num. i. 4, 16. Here the same persons are mentioned singly in ver. 4, as “every one *head of the house of his fathers*,” and are classed together in v. 16, as “princes of the *tribes of their fathers*,” from which it necessarily follows, that “the *house of the fathers*” and “the *tribe of the fathers*” were one and the same, i.e. that a *Beth-aboth* was one of the tribes.

2. Num. i. 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, &c. These passages are just as conclusive as the former. The census of the twelve tribes is here described, and the same formula is repeated in the case of every tribe; viz. “of the children of (Judah, &c.) their generations were according to their families, *according to the house of their fathers*, according to the number of their names” so many. The evidence in favour of our interpretation is to be found here in the constant recurrence, without any exception, of the singular *Beth-aboth*, *house of the fathers* (never *Botte-aboth*), whereas the *Mishpachoth*, families, are always in the plural. If the *Beth-aboth* were a subdivision of a *Mishpachah*, it would necessarily be always used in the plural also. We see, therefore, that the plurality of the *Mishpachoth* passed into the unity of a *Beth-aboth*, and hence that the *Mishpachoth* must have been subdivisions of a *Beth-aboth*, in other words, that a *Beth-aboth*, a house of the fathers, must have been a *tribe*. It is true that *Gesenius* and many other expositors answer the argument, founded upon the use of the singular, by saying without explanation that *Beth-aboth* is a plural, (equivalent to בְּתֵי אָב : “quæ pluralis formandi ratio in nominibus compositis apud Syros usitata est.” But it is not proved, and cannot be proved, that this *formandi ratio* was a *usitata* in Hebrew; least of all can בֵּית-אָבוֹת be adduced to establish it, since this always makes good sense, when interpreted as a singular in its simplest and most natural meaning. Moreover *Beth-ab* has been proved to mean something entirely different from *Beth-aboth*.

3. Num. iii. 15, sqq. throws peculiar light upon this question. In ver. 15 we read, “number the children of Levi,

according to the house of their fathers, according to their *Mishpachoth*." This is done with the following result : (1), "according to the house of their fathers," the children of Levi are Gershon, Kehath, Merari" (ver. 17) ; these three therefore form the *Beth-aboth* of the children of Levi ; (2) according to their *Mishpachoth*, the names of the sons of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari are given, as the founders of the *Mishpachoth* of the tribe of Levi (ver. 18, 20). The enumeration concludes with the words "these are the *Mishpachoth* of Levi according to the house of their fathers." Thus the *Beth-aboth* of the children of Levi included the whole of the tribe of Levi, and the *Aboth* were Gershon, Kehath and Merari. The *Beth-aboth* of the children of Levi was divided into three sections, each of which was called a *Beth-ab*, and every *Beth-ab* was subdivided into a certain number of *Mishpachoth*. This is indisputably proved by the following passages : ver. 24 : "and the prince of the *Beth-ab* of the Gershonites shall be Eliasaph;" ver. 30 : "and the prince of the *Beth-ab* of the families of the Kehathites shall be Elizaphan;" ver. 35 : "and the prince of the *Beth-ab* of the families of Merari shall be Zuriel;" ver. 32 : "and the prince of the princes of Levi shall be Eleazar."—Here then we have an authoritative explanation of the difference between *Beth-ab* and *Beth-aboth*. The expression *Aboth*, as indicative of the point from which the division of the tribes started, carries us back to the sons of the twelve patriarchs; in other words, only such of the descendants of Jacob, as were the founders of the nation in the land of Egypt, and are expressly mentioned as such in Gen. xlv., were *Aboth* (fathers) κατ' ἐξοχήν.—The following was the classification of the tribe of Levi: the tribe, or *Beth-aboth*, was divided into as many houses (*Beth-ab*) as the patriarch (Levi) had sons; and every *Beth-ab* was then subdivided into single *Mishpachoth* according to the number of the patriarch's grandsons.

In the case of the other tribes, indeed, the classification was not so completely carried out, or at any rate was not so perfectly maintained. For instance they had no *Beth-ab* between the *Beth-aboth* and the *Mishpachoth*. At least, in the two numberings described in Num. i. 20 sqq. and Num. xxvi. the people are merely classified under these two heads. In the second census (Num. xxvi.) the different *Mishpachoth* are mentioned by

name. By far the greater number of these derive their name and their origin from the sons of the twelve (or rather, since the adoption of Joseph's sons, thirteen) patriarchs, very few of them from their grandsons or great grandsons. The latter are always co-ordinate with the rest, not subordinate to them. Hence there was no room for the name *Beth-ab*. The tribe of Levi formed the only exception in this respect. The intermediate class, *Beth-ab*, which was omitted in all the other tribes, was restored in the case of this tribe (probably by Moses, Num. iii.), and, as this chapter most clearly shows, it was done for the purpose of securing regularity in the order of encampment, and a better distribution of their duties in the sanctuary.

4. We have thus discovered from Num. iii., that the name *Aboth* (in its highest sense) only reached as far back as the grandsons of Jacob, *i.e.* to those who went down with Jacob to Egypt, and there became the founders of the nation. A *Beth-ab* was a division of the people, springing from one *individual* among these *Aboth*; a *Beth-aboth* was a division of the people, in the formation of which *several Aboth* were concerned. Thus a *Beth-aboth* included several *Beth-abs*. In this manner *Beth-aboth* became fixed as the name of a *tribe*. But as the sons of Jacob and Jacob himself were *Aboth*, and not merely his grandsons (see Gen. xlv.), *Beth-aboth* may have been employed in a wider sense, to denote the house of the (12) *sons of Jacob*, *i.e.* all the descendants of Jacob, and may thus have been equivalent to the congregation. It occurs in this sense in Ex. vi. 14. A genealogical section is there introduced by the heading: "these be the heads of *Beth-Abotham*." It then proceeds: "the sons of Reuben are Hanoah, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi. These be the *Mishpachoth* of Reuben." The children of Simeon and Levi are then named in the same way. The genealogy ends with Levi, as the author was merely writing about Levi, and there was therefore no reason for carrying it farther. The heads (*i.e.* the founders, originators) of the *Beth-aboth* were Reuben, Simeon, Levi. Hence the *Beth-aboth*, here referred to, was formed by a combination of the sons of Jacob.—At all events this passage most decidedly proves, that a *Beth-aboth* was not a section of a *Mishpachah*.

5. If then, as Ex. vi. 14 shows, the expression *Beth-aboth* may be used to designate a combination of all the tribes, it

follows that *Beth-ab* (the house of one of the fathers referred to above) may also be used for a *tribe*. And, undoubtedly, it is so used in Num. xvii. 2: "take of the children of Israel *twelve rods, one rod for each Beth-ab*, of all their princes according to *Beth-abotham, twelve rods*."—*Beth-abotham* is probably used here, as in Ex. vi. 14, to denote the twelve-membered unity of the whole people; and *there can be no possible doubt* that *Beth-ab* is to be regarded as a designation of each one of the twelve tribes.

From the passage referred to it is evident, that although the meaning of the words *Beth-ab* and *Beth-aboth* is not sharply defined or invariably the same, they never can be explained as denoting subdivisions of a *Mishpachah*, that, on the contrary, the *Mishpachah* must be a subdivision of the *Beth-ab* and *Beth-aboth*. This is so certain and so plain, that it is almost inexplicable, how so many excellent commentators can have overlooked their proper relation. It does admit of explanation, however, seeing that there are many passages, which *appear* to favour the opposite view. The first thing, which strikes us as at variance with our conclusion, is the fact that very frequently a number of heads of *Beth-aboth* (or still more frequently by ellipsis heads of *Aboth*) are mentioned, and *that* evidently within the limits of a single tribe, so that it seems necessary to render the *Beth-aboth* as a plural, indicating the sub-divisions of the tribes and *Mishpachoth*. When, for example, the *Mishpachah* of the Belaites is spoken of in 1 Chr. vii. 7, as containing five heads of *Beth-aboth*, and in 1 Chr. vii. 40 a large number of descendants of Asher are called heads of *Beth-aboth*; when again the *Mishpachah* of the Gileadites is referred to in Num. xxxvi. 1 as containing a plurality of heads of *Aboth*, and the same occurs in many other passages; it appears that we are justified in assuming, or rather actually compelled to assume, that the term *Beth-aboth* is used to describe a number of minor divisions, subordinate to the *Mishpachah*. Yet the whole difficulty vanishes before the simple observation, that tribe-leaders (*Rashe-Beth-aboth*) were not necessarily heads of the tribe, but might also be heads *in* the tribe, that is, not those who presided over the whole tribe, but over certain of its sub-divisions. The *Rashe-Beth-aboth*, or, in the abbreviated form, *Rashe-aboth*, were all those who were by birth the leaders of the people within the

limits of a *Beth-aboth*, whether they stood at the head of an entire tribe, of a gens, or of a family in the less restricted sense. This is so clear and indisputable, that we scarcely think it necessary to bring forward analogous cases in proof of it. Let it suffice, therefore, to point out the expression, princes of the congregation, which so frequently occurs in the Pentateuch, and by which we are to understand not princes over the entire community, but princes over particular sections of the community.

In the foregoing remarks we have shown, that there are a number of passages, in which the meaning is so clear that we are necessarily forced to the conclusion, that the term *Beth-aboth* is the name of a whole tribe, if not of the entire community. In all the other passages, in which the expression occurs, it may easily be so explained as to admit of this meaning. The most likely passage to create a difficulty is Ex. xii. 3: "speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, in the tenth day of this month, they shall take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for a house." But I do not see why *l'beth-aboth* should not be rendered *κατὰ φύλην*. At any rate so much is certain, that the passage does *not* compel us to adopt our opponents' explanation of *Beth-aboth*.

There is only one passage in which we have been unable to see our way clear, to the removal of every difficulty. We refer to 1 Chr. xxiii. 11. In this passage it is said of the two grandsons of the Levite Gershon: "they had not many sons, therefore they were *לְבֵית אָב*, in one reckoning." The passage is apparently all the more important, as treating of the period, in which, according to the views of our opponents, the "*fathers' houses*" began to be formed. But if the *Beth-ab* in this passage is to be regarded as a fixed genealogical term, in the sense of a sub-division of the *Mishpachah*, there is evidently an undisguised and irreconcilable discrepancy between the statement here made and Num. iii. 24, where, as we saw above, Gershon himself is the founder of a *Beth-ab*, and the *Mishpachoth* subordinate to it are founded by his sons, whilst *here* the grandson of Gershon lays the foundation of a *Beth-ab*, as a minor section of a *Mishpachah*. With such a discrepancy before us, we should decidedly feel bound to give the preference to the authentic, and at all events more trustworthy account in the Pentateuch, and to leave the statement in the Chronicles alone.

Great stress is laid by our opponents upon the fact that we only meet with the words *Beth-ab* and *Beth-aboth* (never *Botte Ab* or *Botte Aboth*), as justifying, *if not* necessitating the conclusion, that *the latter* is the plural of *the former* (*Beth Aboth* for *Botte Ab*). But so long as not a single example can be adduced from the whole of the early Hebrew thesaurus of a plural so formed in the case of a compound word, whereas in *every case* the *nomen regens*, as the more important of the two, naturally takes the plural form, I adhere to my opinion that *Beth-aboth* can only mean "house of the fathers," not "houses of the father," especially as the former meaning, as I have shown, is admissible in every passage in which the word occurs. It has been already apparent from Num. i. 16, compared with ver. 4, that the plural *aboth* is not a dependent word, governed by the *nomen regens*. In ver. 4 the plural *Nes'e Mattoth Abotham* is substituted for the singular *Rosh-l'beth Abotham*. If, then, *Beth-aboth* were used in ver. 4 for *Botte Ab*, we should necessarily find *Mattoth-ab* in ver. 16. But it is just this passage, which apparently proves, that the plural forms *Botte-ab*, and *Botte-aboth* were intentionally avoided, and that, wherever the context required a plural, some other form was selected in preference to *Botte*. It is impossible to decide with certainty, what gave rise to this wish to avoid using the forms *Botte-ab* and *Botte-aboth*,—it probably arose from the fact that *familiae* was regarded as the fixed meaning of *Bottim* (as Josh. vii. clearly shows).

§ 17. All divine *revelation*, both direct and indirect, by *prophetic* discourse and visions, as well as by the words, and acts, and appearances of *God* himself, had ceased since the days of Jacob. At least we cannot find the slightest trace of its continuance. It was not till the end of their stay in Egypt, that the Israelites began to receive it again, as a preparation for their entrance upon a fresh and more advanced stage in their history (1). Even the birth of Moses, the hero of God, and the greatest of all the heroes of the Old Testament, was not attended by any such divine manifestation, as we should expect from other analogous cases.¹ The reason of this interruption of divine revelation for 400

¹ We take the liberty, in opposition to the mythical theology, of calling attention to this omission as a fresh argument against the mythical theory.

years, appears to us to have been that the peculiar end to be answered by the sojourn in Egypt, was one which could be attained by purely natural means. When once the grace, which worked in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had overcome the natural curse of barrenness which rested upon this family, the growth of the nation could be effected by the simple process of nature, which merely required the general superintendence of divine providence for its successful results. And so far as the training of Israel as a cultivated nation was concerned, Egypt was to be its tutor. In this no special assistance from God was required. It is true that the civilization of Egypt, in which Israel was to participate, was thoroughly impregnated with the worship of nature, which Israel was to avoid; but it was not impossible to take the one without the other. In the religious consciousness which they had inherited from the fathers, in the recollection of the revelations and promises which they had received, and in the consequent hope of a coming day, when their independence as a nation would be secured, the Israelites were furnished with safe and powerful re-agents, by which to test and separate all that was ungodly in the customs of Egypt.—We have no direct information with regard to the *worship* of the Israelites during their stay in Egypt, but there are incidental allusions from which many things may be inferred. We may lay it down as *a priori* certain that they were not entirely without forms of worship; for where was there ever a nation of antiquity which did not stand in an acknowledged relation to the Deity, and did not express that relation in some mode of worship? The only question that can arise is whether, and to what extent, the Israelites adhered to the mode they had inherited from their fathers, or adopted the ceremonies of Egypt. From the vivid recollections of the history of the fathers, which were universally preserved in the consciousness of the people, as we may infer from the elaborate description of that history contained in the book of Genesis,

we should be led to imagine that they remained true to the forms of worship inherited from the patriarchs. But the comparative poverty of the patriarchal forms, when compared with the gorgeousness and variety of the ceremonies of Egypt, with which they came into such close contact, would also lead us to expect that the latter exerted a constantly increasing influence upon the former. There are two ways in which the Israelitish forms of worship may have been enriched by elements of Egyptian origin. No harm could result, so long as they adopted only forms and symbols in harmony with the religious views which they had inherited from their fathers, *i.e.*, such as were adapted to give a more fitting expression to those views, to display them in richer and more various ways, without destroying or in any way detracting from their peculiar and distinctive (theistic) character. This, in fact, was one of the services to be performed by Egypt for the chosen people of God. The history of the giving of the law proves that their worship must have been so enriched, and that in no slight degree. How many religious customs, symbols, and institutions are there referred to as familiarly known, the relation of which to the ceremonies of the Egyptian worship cannot be disputed (*e.g.* the Urim and Thummim). With an impartiality, which presupposed that these forms and symbols were already current among the people, the lawgiver did not stop to give any detailed description of them, whilst others, of which this could not be assumed, were described by him in the most minute manner, one might almost say with trivial carefulness. All that the law had to do, in such cases as these, was when necessary to improve, legalise, and regulate what had been already adopted, and to assign to each its proper place in the whole system of religious symbolism, of which it was to form a part. But there was *another* way in which the worship might have been enriched, and which would not have been so harmless. The Israelites might have adopted religious forms and

symbols together with their heathen signification, or, what is the same thing, have adopted such forms as were *a priori* unfitted to serve as vehicles for theistic ideas and views, on account of their having been created for and adapted to purely heathen notions. In such a case, even if the discordant theistic idea had been forced into association with the form, the latter would naturally and inevitably have turned it into a heathen idea (an example of this was the worship of God under the image of a calf, Ex. xxxii.) The worship of nature possessed a magic power, and presented irresistible attractions to the minds of men in the ancient world. Against these, it is true, such of the Israelites as were spiritually minded were protected by the religious inheritance, bequeathed by the fathers, and by their own promises and hopes; but they were just as seductive to carnally minded Israelites as to any other people. Hence from the power possessed by the worship of nature in those days, it was to be feared from the very first, that the lawful adoption of Egyptian forms and symbols would not be attended by so strict a process of sifting and refining, as would be requisite to prevent their being guilty of mixing up different religions in a false and ungodly manner. How much reason there was for such an apprehension is proved by their history, to a far greater extent, perhaps, than we should expect. Ezekiel (chap. xx. 5—8, cf. xxiii. 3) complains that Israel defiled itself with the idols of Egypt in the days of its youth. So also does Joshua in chap. xxiv. 14. And in the making of *the golden calf* in the desert (Ex. xxxii.), we have an example and a proof of the extent to which this false syncretism had taken root and spread among the people. Again the constantly recurring prohibitions of nature-worship, and of the ceremonies associated with it, on which it was thought necessary to lay such frequent stress in the law, presuppose existing indications of a strong tendency to such worship. Thus from Leviticus xvii. 7, we perceive that the Egyptian goat-

worship,¹ especially, had found great favour with the people. We cannot suppose that the people intended by this an express denial by the God of their fathers, or were conscious that it involved an apostasy from their fathers' religion. But the precepts of the law and the discipline of history were required to open their eyes to the dangers of that abyss, into which they were ready to plunge. When we enquire for proofs of the actual employment of forms of worship, which had already been known and adopted by the fathers, our attention is especially directed to circumcision, sacrifice, and the Sabbath. With regard to *circumcision* it is evident from Exodus iv. 24—26 (*vid.* § 21. 3), that this token of the covenant never lost its validity or fell into disuse, and in Josh. v. 5 it is expressly said, that all the people who came out of Egypt had been circumcised. We might think ourselves justified in inferring from Ex. viii. 25—28, that the offering of *sacrifice* had been entirely discontinued during their stay in Egypt, from a regard to the Egyptians, to whom the Israelitish mode of sacrifice was an abomination. But there is a reference in this passage to a particularly solemn festival, in which the whole community was to take part, and which would therefore necessarily attract universal attention. Hence it could not but appear unadvisable to celebrate such a festival within the limits of the Egyptian territory (§ 29. 3). But it does not follow from this, that it was impossible to offer sacrifices within the walls of private houses, without attracting attention or assuming the character of a demonstration, and therefore without any hindrance or fear of disturbance. At any rate this passage proves, that the necessity for sacrificial worship had not lost its hold on the religious consciousness of the people, and also that that mode of sacrifice, which had been inherited from the fathers, and was an abomination to the Egyptians, was still

¹ The English version is: "They shall offer no more their sacrifices unto devils." But the word used here is the ordinary Hebrew word for a *bu*ck, or *he-goat*.—(*Tr.*)

in force, so that in this respect at least, the Israelites had faithfully preserved the religious peculiarities, which distinguished them from the Egyptians. We find no trace of any special *order of priests*. The existence of such an order cannot be inferred from Ex. xix. 22 any more than from 1 Sam. ii. 27; for at Sinai the elders evidently officiated as priests (ver. 7), and the second passage says nothing about the tribe of Levi having held the priesthood in Egypt. If sacrifices were offered, there can be no doubt that the fathers or heads of the families officiated, as in the time of the patriarchs, unless the sacrifice was offered for the whole nation, when the representatives of the nation, *i.e.*, the elders, would officiate. With regard to the *Sabbath*, not only is the mode of its celebration doubtful, but there is reason to question its existence even during the patriarchal age (§ 7. 2), and neither Ex. xvi. 22 seq. nor Ex. xx. 8 furnishes any certain information with reference to the practice in Egypt. We may safely assume, however, that the Egyptian taskmasters (Ex. v. 13, 14) would pay no attention to any Sabbatical institution that might be in existence.

(1). It has been argued from 1 Sam. ii. 27, that there was not an interruption of divine revelation during the stay in Egypt. But the argument is unsound. The meaning of the words: "I plainly appeared unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt in Pharaoh's house," &c., is fully exhausted, if we suppose them to refer to the last year of the sojourn of the Israelites there.—At the same time there is a strong proof, that the religious consciousness was kept alive in the hearts of the people, in the fact that in so many of the proper names which were given during that period (Num. iii.), the name of God is found as one of the component parts.

§ 18 (1 Chr. vii. 20—24).—There is no account in the *Pentateuch* of any particular events, which may have happened to individual tribes during the first centuries of these 430 years.

But the passage, cited above, contains some data of a most remarkable kind, from which, if our explanation be the correct one, we learn that some of the Israelites began to think of returning to Palestine at a very early period, and attempted to carry out their intentions by their own power. One portion of the tribe of *Ephraim* returned and settled in the southern highlands of Palestine, even during the lifetime of *Ephraim* himself. From these settlements they made predatory incursions into the plain of *Philistia*, in which, however, they suffered such severe losses that the whole of their father's house was thrown into the deepest sorrow. This repulse probably weakened them so much that the quixotic undertaking had to be relinquished.— An enterprise of a similar character is referred to in 1 Chr. iv. 22, where some of the descendants of Judah are said to have ruled over *Moab*. The writer of the Chronicles refers to the *דְּבָרֵי עֵתִיקוֹם*, that is, to the ancient accounts belonging to a very remote period. On the relation of the Israelites to the Hyksos-dynasty see § 34 sqq.

(1). In 1 Chr. vii. 21 there are almost as many enigmas as words. The preceding verse contains a genealogy of *Ephraim* carried down to the seventh generation : “ The sons of *Ephraim* are *Shuthelah*, and his son *Bered*, and his son *Tahath*, and his son *Eladah*, and his son *Zabal*, and his son *Shuthelah*, and *Ezer* and *Elead*.” Then follows in ver. 21 : “ *And the men of Gath, who were born in the land, slew them, for they had gone down to take their cattle*; (ver. 22) and their father *Ephraim* mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him. (Ver. 23) And he went in to his wife, and she conceived and bare a son, and called him *B'riah*, for it went evil with his house. (Ver. 24) And his daughter *Sherah* built lower and upper *Beth-horon* and *Uzzensherah*.”

The first thing that is doubtful is the period here referred to. *Ewald* (i. 490) places it before the migration into Egypt. As *Ewald* thinks he has a right to construct history at his pleasure with oracular authority, it does not of course trouble him in the

least, that, according to the book of Genesis, Ephraim was born in Egypt. *Lengerke* (i. 355) and *Bertheau* (*Chronik*. p. 83) on the other hand assign it to the period immediately subsequent to Moses, and arbitrarily identify the Beriah in chap. vii. 23 with the Benjamite Beriah in chap. viii. 13. Moreover, in reply to the question: "How are we to dispose of the father Ephraim, who mourns for the loss of his sons?" *Bertheau* says, we shall be obliged to regard Ephraim as meaning the tribe, which mourned for the calamity that had happened to two of its sons, *i.e.*, to two divisions of the tribe." Good, we reply, but what are we to understand, then, by the Ephraim, who *after* this calamity goes in to his wife and begets a son named Beriah? Does this mean the whole of the tribe? As we cannot possibly think of any other Ephraim of later date, the account in the *Chronicles* brings us at the latest to the commencement of the second century of the sojourn in Egypt. But this does not seem to tally with what precedes, provided, that is, we look upon Shuthelah, Ezer and Elead (in ver. 21) as descendants of Ephraim in the seventh degree. Undoubtedly the suffix in יהרגום (and they slew *them*) may refer to the last names only. But it is certainly a mistake to string the *three* last names together and look upon them as sons of Zabad, for in that case we should expect to find "his sons" instead of "his son." The more correct arrangement is that adopted by *Bertheau* (p. 82), who classes the two last-named (Ezer and Elead) as sons of Ephraim himself, who continue the series commenced with Shuthelah in ver. 20.

Again it is doubtful whether the Ephraimites or the Gathites are to be regarded as the subject of ירדו (they had gone down) and what was the scene of this event." It has generally been supposed by earlier expositors, that the Ephraimites made a predatory attack upon the Gathites, entering Philistia from Egypt. *Calovius* (*Bibl. illustr. ad. h. l.*) gives the following unsatisfactory explanation of the event: "De Ephraimitis res ita habet: mora impatientes et gloria primogenituræ a Jacobo concessæ tumentes tentarunt magnis consiliis eductionem ex Aegypto, adcoque progressi sunt, collecto exercitu, vivente adhuc patre Ephraimo, ex Aegypto affines terræ Canaan. Quo nomine accusat eos Assaph (Ps. lxxviii. 9), quod non expectato justo tempore terram promissam invadere ausi fuerint fiducia copiarum et peritia sua in re bellica, additque, quod justo Dei judicio

temeritatis suae poenas dederint, terga verterint, inque fuga misere perierint." But apart from the fact that Ps. lxxviii. 9 contains nothing at all of what *Calovius* has discovered there, this exposition is rendered impossible by the word ירך, which cannot refer to an expedition from Egypt to the more elevated land of Philistia. If we suppose the Ephraimites to have been in the land of Goshen at that time, we must necessarily regard the Gathites as the aggressors. Or if, on the other hand, we refer the words "they came down" to the Ephraimites, we must assume that they were no longer living in the land of Goshen, but had already established themselves in the highlands of Palestine.

Between these two interpretations we have to make our choice. *Bertheau* and *Lengerke* decide in favour of the latter, though we have already shown that the explanation given by *Lengerke* is inadmissible. *Saalschütz* (*Mos. Recht*, Berlin 1848, p. 651, seq.) also adopts it, and his interpretation is original and well worthy of consideration. His views are to some extent the same as those advocated by *Calovius*, but he describes and accounts for the expedition in a very different manner. "From chap. vii. 24, we perceive, he says, that a great-grand-daughter of Joseph built both upper and lower Beth-horon in the land of Canaan. If the building of these towns took place during the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, as some suppose, and as the context of the passage indisputably implies, seeing that it speaks of Ephraim as still alive, we have a positive proof that a portion of the Hebrews drove their flocks back to Palestine, and that they even went so far as to establish themselves in the land and build cities there." From chap. vii. 21, it follows as he thinks, "that the Ephraimites had settlements in Palestine, before the death of Ephraim; and if these settlements were in the district in which Beth-horon was built, either at that time or a little later, the map will furnish us with the best exposition of this passage in the Chronicles, for the situation of Beth-horon is pretty well known to us, being identical, as *Robinson* thinks, with *Beit-Ur*, which is about five hours' journey to the north-west of Jerusalem, that is, in the mountainous district at a short distance from Gath."

The other view, which makes the Gathites the aggressors, has been advocated by *Lightfoot* (*Opp.* i. 23, Rotterdam, 1686),

C. B. Michaelis (Annotations in hagiogr. iii. 370), and many others. As the words "born in the land" must necessarily be understood as applying to the land, into which the incursion was made, the only explanation, which can possibly be given by those who adopt this view, is that the Gathites, by whom the attack was made, had formerly dwelt in the land of Goshen, and that having been forced out by the spread of the Israelites, they retaliated by making this attack upon their oppressors. We admit that the words of the text allow of such an interpretation, but in several respects it appears to us a forced one. First of all, it seems more natural to render the passage thus: "The Gathites slew the Ephraimites, for (כִּי) they had gone down to steal the cattle of the Gathites." Again it appears to us to be much more natural, *i.e.* more in accordance with the context and with history, to understand the words "born in the land" as referring to the land of Philistia. And lastly, there is the unmistakable testimony of ver. 24, if we are correct in our supposition that the erection of Beth-horon occurred before the time of Moses. For these reasons, then, we are inclined to give the preference to the interpretation of *Saalschütz*.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF MOSES.

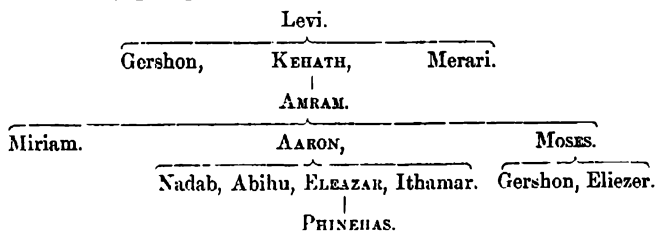
§ 19 (Exodus ii. 1—22, vi. 16—25).—Just at the time when the oppression was most severe, and when the command to drown the new-born boys of the Israelites was most stringently enforced, a son was born to an Israelite named *Amram*, of the tribe of Levi and the family of Kehath, by his wife Jochebed (1). The child was remarkable for its beauty; and therefore the mother was all the more concerned to save it, if possible, from the threatened destruction. She succeeded in concealing it for three months, but she could not hope to hide it any longer from the keen eyes of the Egyptian executioners. Maternal love, however, is always inventive. Jochebed knew that Pharaoh's daughter was accustomed to bathe at a certain spot in the Nile. This knowledge helped her to form her plan. She reckoned on the tenderness of a woman's heart. She placed the

child in an ark constructed of papyrus stalks and securely pitched, and laid it among the reeds in the well-known spot by the side of the Nile, and left her eldest daughter *Miriam* to watch its further fate. The plan was successful. The king's daughter noticed the ark, and had it brought to her ; and the sight of the beautiful weeping infant did not fail to produce the desired impression upon her heart. She soon conjectured that it must be one of the Israelitish boys ; and as if by accident, *Miriam* came forward. She offered to fetch a Hebrew nurse. Of course she fetched the child's own mother, and Pharaoh's daughter gave her the child with the words : "take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages" (2). We look forward with anxiety to the future course of the child that has been so wonderfully rescued, feeling sure that he is destined for some remarkable mission. Nor can we doubt that some such surmise or hope must have been entertained by his parents, and that this increased their anxiety to give such a direction to his mind, as would be most likely to lead to the fulfilment of their own hopes. It is true that the child would only remain a few years in his parents' house, seeing that Pharaoh's daughter intended to bring him up as her adopted son ; but even at a subsequent period it could not appear strange if the boy frequently visited his nurse's home. The people, too, to whom he belonged by birth must certainly have gazed upon him with looks full of expectation and hope ; or, at any rate, they must have regarded the extraordinary events of his early life, as proofs of an overruling providence and divine call.—After he was weaned, Jochebed brought back the boy to his foster-mother, who gave him the name *Mo-udshe* (*i.e.*, ex aqua servatus, LXX. *Mωῦσῆς*, Hebraized מֹשֶׁה) (3), and had him educated *in all the wisdom of the Egyptians* (4). In this position a splendid career awaited him. The highest honours were within the reach of the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter. But he

felt within him a different call. He had imbibed affection for his people with his mother's milk, and the sufferings of his brethren went to his heart. He believed that he was called to be their deliverer and avenger. Whilst brooding over such thoughts as these, he happened one day to see an Egyptian ill-treating an Israelite. At once he was carried away by his zeal for his people, and, having slain the Egyptian, he buried him in the sand. There was no witness of what he had done except the injured Israelite; but the news soon spread among the rest, and it was probably the Israelite himself who circulated the report. Such a deed was like a general summons to them to rise against their oppressors, and Moses imagined that he had thereby obtained a certain amount of authority over his brethren. A short time afterwards he saw two Israelites quarrelling, and wished to act as arbitrator, but he was rudely thrust aside by the one whom he pronounced in the wrong. "Who," said he, "made thee a prince and a judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian?" On account of this, the report of what Moses had done began to spread among the Egyptians as well. The king heard of it, and determined to put him to death. Under these circumstances—pursued by the king, and forsaken by the people—Moses saw the necessity for *flight* (5). He sought refuge, and found it, in the land of the *Midianites* (6). A prince and priest of this people, named *Reguel* (7), received him into his house on account of the protection he had afforded to his daughters against the rudeness of the shepherds, gave him his daughter *Zipporah* as a wife, and entrusted his flocks to his care. The flight of Moses from Egypt introduced him into a new training school. At Pharaoh's court he had learned much that was required to fit him for his vocation, as the deliverer and leader of Israel, as the mediator of the ancient covenant and founder of the theocracy, and also as a prophet and lawgiver. But his education there had been of a very partial character. He had learned to rule,

but not to serve, and the latter was as necessary, if not more so than the former. He possessed the fiery zeal of youth, but not the circumspection, the patience, or the firmness of age. A consciousness of his vocation had been aroused within him when in Egypt; but it was mixed with selfishness, pride, and ambition, with headstrong zeal, but yet with a pusillanimity which was soon daunted. He did not understand the art of being still and enduring, of waiting and listening for the direction of God, an art so indispensable for all who labour in the kingdom of God. In the school of Egyptian wisdom his mind had been enriched with all the treasures of man's wisdom, but his heart was still the rebellious unbelieving heart of the natural man, and therefore but little adapted for the reception of divine wisdom, and by no means fitted for performing the works of God. And even the habit of sifting and selecting, of pondering and testing, acquired by a man of learning and experience, must certainly have been far from securing anything like the mature wisdom and steadfastness demanded by his vocation. All this he had yet to acquire. Persecution and affliction, want and exile, nature and solitude, were now to be his tutors, and complete his education, before he entered upon the duties of his divine vocation (8).

(1). On *Amram* and *Jochebed* see § 14. 1. Moses was not their first-born son. His brother Aaron was three years older than he (Ex. vii. 7); whilst his sister, whose name (*Miriam*, LXX. *Μαριαμ*) we do not learn till afterwards (Ex. xv. 20), had evidently grown up before he was born (Ex. ii. 4). The following is the family-pedigree:



(2). The biblical record expressly mentions the striking *beauty* of the child, as leading to the mother's determination to conceal and, if possible, save it. Ver. 2: "And she saw the child that it was good" (בָּרֵאשִׁית, LXX., ἀστέιος). It is true, that it is not an unusual thing for a mother to think her new-born child beautiful; but just because it is not unusual, the peculiar character of the sacred record leads to the conclusion, that in this case there must have been something more than usual. *Stephen* had this impression, for he expressly traces the connexion between the beauty of the child and God himself (καὶ ἦν ἀστέιος τῷ θεῷ). Some message from God must have been communicated to the mother in a peculiar manner by the eyes of the child; she may have seen in them the intimations of an eventful future, which, with her faith in the promises made to the fathers, stood out before her mind in marked contrast with the oppressions, the sufferings, and the anxieties of the present.

This was also the view taken by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews (chap. xi. 23), for he extols the concealment of the child as an act of faith. The whole affair would be still clearer, if we could rely upon the Jewish tradition that Amram was a prophet. But there is nothing to warrant this; on the contrary the tradition itself appears to have been founded entirely upon the passage before us. If the birth of Moses had been attended by any direct revelations or predictions from God, the sacred record, according to its usual custom, would certainly have mentioned them. And in its silence in this respect we find a proof of its historical fidelity.—*Josephus* mentions the name of Pharaoh's daughter. In Ant. 2. 9. 5 he calls her *Thermuthis*. But there is no more reliance to be placed upon his account, than upon that of *Eusebius* (praep. evang. ix. 27) who calls her *Méppis*. The latter looks like a corruption of *Miriam*.—The *queen's daughter bathing* in the Nile causes great offence to *Herr v. Bohnen* (Genesis lxxxi.), who regards it as an evidence of the author's gross ignorance of Egyptian customs. However the "gross ignorance" falls back upon the critic. In Egypt there was nothing like the same restraint upon women as in oriental countries or even in Greece. On some of the monuments we meet with scenes, in which the women associate with the men with almost as much freedom as modern Europeans (*Hengstenberg* Egypt and Moses, p. 26). "That the king's

daughter went to the Nile to wash (יָרַח־לָהּ) is explained by the Egyptian notion of the sacredness of the Nile. A representation of an Egyptian bathing scene—a lady with four female servants who attend upon her to perform various offices,—is found in *Wilkinson* iii. 389" (*Hengstenberg*, p. 86). The preparation of the little ark too (whose name תִּבְרָה reminds one of Noah's ark), the papyrus of which it was composed, and the asphalt and pitch with which it was covered, all harmonize with the antiquities of Egypt (see *Hengstenberg*, p. 85).—Under the circumstances there is nothing surprising in the fact, that as soon as the princess saw the boy, she concluded that it must be a Hebrew child; and there is certainly no necessity for assuming with *Aben Ezra* and *Theodoret*, ὅτι ἡ περιτομή τοῦτο ἐδήλωσε.—We may introduce here a most sensible remark made by *Baumgarten* in his *Theological Commentary* (i. 1, p. 399): "In the fact, that it was necessary for the deliverer of Israel from the power of Egypt to be himself first delivered by the daughter of the king of Egypt, we find the same interweaving of the history of Israel with the history of the Gentiles, which we have already observed in the history of Joseph; and we may now regard it as a law, that the preference shown to Israel, when it was selected as the chosen seed, on whom the blessings were first bestowed, was to be counterbalanced by the fact, that the salvation of Israel could not be fully effected without the intervention of the Gentiles. This was the opinion of *Cyril of Alexandria*, which he expressed in his usual allegorical style by saying: the daughter of Pharaoh is the community of the Gentiles." In all the decisive turning points of the sacred history, whenever a new bud was about to open, some heathen power always came forward, as though summoned by the providence of God, to assist in bursting the fetters by which the bud was held, in order that it might open into a splendid and fragrant flower.

(3). The time of *weaning* is generally supposed (according to 2 Macc. vii. 27; 1 Sam. i. 23, 24; *Josephus*, Ant. ii. 9, 6), to have been at the end of the third year. As the princess was about to adopt the child and bring it up as her own (ver. 10), it is most likely that, according to a mother's rights, she gave it its *name*. If so, she would naturally select an Egyptian name. But the name מִצְרָיִם is certainly Hebrew (= one who draws out, the deliverer). We have here, however, without doubt, a similar

case to that which we meet with in Gen. xli. 45, where the Egyptian name, Psomtomphanech, which Pharaoh gave to Joseph, is handed down in the form, Zaphnath-Paaneah, which admits of a Hebrew etymology (Vol. i. § 88, 2). And in both cases the *Septuagint* puts us upon the right track, by writing the name in a manner more closely resembling the original Egyptian form. Thus the name of Moses is always written, Μωϋσῆς, of which *Josephus* (Ant. ii. 9, 6), gives the correct explanation: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ ΜΩ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ΥΣΗΣ δὲ τοὺς ἐξ ὕδατος σωθέντας. *Philo* explains it in a similar manner (de vita Mos. ii. 83, ed. Mang.): διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖσθαι τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ ΜΩΣ ὀνομάζουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι). In this *Clemens of Alexandria* (Strom. i. 251 ed. Sylb.), and *Ezekiel* the tragedian (*Eusebius* praep. ev. ix. 28) agree. The derivation here given is confirmed by our present acquaintance with the Coptic, in which *Mo* means *water*, and *Udshe* saved (*cf. Jablonski* opusc. i. 152 sqq.). Most modern authors adopt it; but though *Gesenius* will not actually reject it, he says in his *Thesaurus* that reputans sibi nominum propriorum apud veteres Aegyptios usitatorum, quae pleraque cum Deorum nominibus conjuncta sunt ratione (*e.g.* Amôs, Thuthmôs, Phthamôs, Rhamôs, &c.), he must prefer to trace the name to the Egyptian word Môs, a *son*, and to assume that the first part of the word, which contained the name of a god, was dropped in Hebrew usage. No one but *Lengerke* (i. 390), supports this explanation, and it will hardly meet with any further approval. Many of the earlier theologians made it, to a certain extent, a point of honour to affirm, that it was not Pharaoh's daughter, but the child's own mother, who gave it its name. Thus *Pfeiffer* (dub. vex., p. 214), following *Abarbanel*, renders ver. 10: "adduxit eum (sc. mater ipsius) ad filiam Pharaonis et factus est ipsi filius. Vocarat vero nomen ejus (sc. mater jam dudum) *Mose* (quod tum indicabat filiae Pharaonis), et dicebat: quia ex aqua educendum *curasti* eum," defending his translation on the ground that מִשִּׁיתָהּ not only *can*, but *must* be the second person feminine (since it is written *defective*, without י). But apart from every other consideration, we should in this case expect to find not מִשִּׁהָ but מִשִּׁהָי. *Meier* also decides that the name was originally Hebrew (*Wurzel-wörterb.* p. 704). In his opinion the real name of

Moses was Osarsiph (meaning Osiris-sword), for which we have the testimony of *Manetho* (in Josephus c. Apion i. 26—28); and he received the name *Moses* (meaning the deliverer, leader, duke, *dux*) in connexion with the exodus from Egypt. We cannot adopt this explanation, since the Scripture-record attributes the naming to the princess, though under other circumstances it would commend itself; on the other hand, we do not hesitate for a moment to adopt the explanation given by *Josephus*, *Philo*, and *Clemens*, and based upon the *Septuagint*, since it meets all the requirements of the language and necessities of the case. The name did not suit the Hebrew organs of speech, and was therefore involuntarily changed by the Israelites into the form in which we have received it. At the same time this involuntary change became an unintentional prophecy, for he who had been *delivered* (taken out) actually became a *deliverer*. *Vox populi, vox Dei*.

(4). "*Moses was trained*," says *Stephen*, (Acts vii. 22), *in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*." These words are not founded upon a baseless tradition, or the creation of his own fancy, but form a just and necessary comment upon Ex. ii. 10: "and he became her son." The adopted son of the daughter of an Egyptian king *must* have been trained in all the wisdom of Egypt. This is also in harmony with the tradition reported by *Manetho*, which makes Moses a priest of Heliopolis, and therefore presupposes a priestly education. It was precisely this education in the wisdom of the Egyptians, which was the ultimate design of God in all the leadings of his providence, not only with reference to the boy, but, we might say, to the whole of Israel. For it was in order to appropriate the wisdom and culture of Egypt, and to take possession of them as a human basis for divine instruction and direction, that Jacob's family left the land of their fathers' pilgrimage, and their descendants' hope and promise. But the guidance and fate of the whole of Israel were at this time concentrated in Moses. "As Joseph's elevation to the post of grand-vizier of Egypt placed him in a position to provide for his father's house in the time of famine, so was Moses fitted by the Egyptian training received at Pharaoh's court to become the leader and lawgiver of his people." (*Baumgarten* theol. Comm. I. i. 399). There can be no doubt that the foster-son of the king's daughter, the highly-gifted and well educated youth, had

the most brilliant course open before him in the Egyptian state. Had he desired it, he would most likely have been able to rise like Joseph to the highest honours. But affairs were very different now. Moses could not enter on such a course as this without sacrificing his nation, his convictions, his hopes, his faith, and his vocation. But that he neither would, nor durst, nor could. And hence it is with perfect truth that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, when tracing the course of the history, says (ch. xi. 24—26): “by faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh’s daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward.” *Winer*, who generally defends the historical character of our record against the attacks of the myth-loving critics, finds it difficult to explain “how it is that Moses should have been trained by an Egyptian princess, and yet is never represented as known to the court, when engaged in his subsequent negotiations with Pharaoh, whilst even in Ex. ii. 11, there is no allusion to his connexion with Pharaoh’s daughter.” (*Realwörterbuch* ii. 10). But for my part I cannot perceive the slightest difficulty in this. With regard to the former, a long series of years had passed since the flight of Moses from Egypt (Ex. vii. 7); the king who was reigning then had long since died (Ex. ii. 23); an entirely new generation had grown up; and we cannot therefore be surprised at the fact that Moses was no longer known at the court. But even supposing that he had been recognised, was there any reason why this should be specially noticed in the biblical narrative? Is there anywhere an express statement to the effect that he was not known? We believe that a negative reply must be given to both these questions. There is just as little ground for the second difficulty. The princess may have been dead when the event referred to in Ex. ii. 11 occurred, or, if not, it is just possible that as the attachment of Moses to his own people and his dislike of their oppressors became more and more apparent, there may have sprung up a growing estrangement between him and his foster-mother. And it is also probable that he may have begun to keep aloof from the court, meditating more upon the way to deliver his people, than

upon the means of retaining the favour he had previously enjoyed.

Winer has made a good collection of the legendary tales associated with the early history of Moses in the Jewish mythology: "He is said to have been instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, both by Egyptian and foreign teachers, including Greeks, Assyrians, and Chaldeans, and to have been remarkable as a boy for his enchanting beauty (*Philo* Opp. ii. 84, cf. *Clemens of Alexandria* Strom. i. 148. *Josephus* Ant. l. c. cf. *Justin* 36. 2). *Justin* says, '*Moses . . . quem formae pulchritudo commendabat.*' When he had grown up to be a young man, he led an Egyptian army against Ethiopia, and forced his way to Meroë, where he married the Ethiopian princess Tharbis, who had become enamoured of the fine manly youth, and had opened the gates of the fortress to his army (*Josephus* Ant. ii. 20)." The additional account given by *Josephus* (Ant. ii. 9. 7) is evidently copied from the legend concerning the elder Cyrus. He says the childless princess intended that the child should succeed to the throne, and endeavoured to win over her father, the aged king, to her plan. As a token of his consent, the king took the boy in his arms, hugged him, and put the royal diadem upon his head. But the child threw the crown upon the ground and stamped upon it. Upon this a scribe, who had formerly prophesied that a child would be born, who would be dangerous to Egypt, declared that this was the dangerous child, whose birth he had predicted, and requested that he should be put to death. But, *Thermuthis* protected the child, and the king gradually forgot the occurrence, &c. The marriage of Moses with an Ethiopian princess was probably founded upon Num. xii. 1, where we read of his Ethiopian wife (Vol. iii. § 27. 3).

(5). The conduct of Moses towards the *offending Egyptian*, and the reply he received from the *insolent Israelite*, are very important, as helps to an acquaintance with his inner life at that time, his thoughts and imaginations, his hopes and fears. Here again, *Stephen* furnishes us with a complete, and well-founded explanation (Acts vii. 25): "he supposed his brethren would have understood how that God by his hand would deliver them; but they understood not." He is full of thoughts of deliverance, but does not yet know how he shall carry them out. He feels

within himself that he is called to this work, he believes that this feeling is the voice of God ; but there is a carnal thirst for great achievements and worldly ambition mixed up with it, and these are unfitted for the ways of God. He is anxious to attract the attention of his brethren ; he thinks that the adopted son of the king's daughter has naturally a right to stand at the head of his people ; he has only to show that he is ready to do this, and all the people will acquiesce in a moment. But he was greatly mistaken. This, however, formed part of his training for his vocation ; it was necessary that he should pass through some such experience as this, before he could be matured for his future work. He must find out the perverseness of his people, who would not observe and learn ; and the perverseness of his own heart, whose courage and confidence were changed into cowardice and despair at the first failure that occurred. He must also discover the ways of God, who will not tolerate a man's self-confidence or self-elected ways. Still the love of Moses to his people was strong and noble, his vocation was true, and his aims were essentially godly. All these, however (as in the case of Joseph, Vol. i. § 84. 1), required a thorough purification and sanctification in the school of affliction and of humiliation, before God could use them to work out his designs. Hence, for the present, Moses could not succeed. Moreover, the weakness of his carnal mind and his natural pride was soon apparent, from the manner in which they gave way to despondency and cowardice at the very first failure. But this also was necessary to bring him into *the* school, whose discipline he still greatly needed, and in which his training was to be of a very different kind. The means which he thought most likely to rescue his people from misery, only led him into misery himself. And the events which seemed to carry him away from his vocation, were those which opened the right way for its accomplishment. Such are the ways of God. The Scripture-record does not blame him for killing the Egyptian, but leaves the Nemesis, which appeared in the consequences, to pronounce the sentence. The *Pentateuch* contains no information as to the age of Moses, when he fled from Egypt ; but when he returned in obedience to the command of God, he is said to have been in his eightieth year (chap. vii. 7). *Stephen*, who most likely follows the Jewish tradition, says that he was forty years old when he fled (Acts vii 30). But when

we consider that his sons must have been still young at the time of the exodus from Egypt (Ex. iv. 20, 25, xviii. 3), it does not seem probable that he remained with the Midianites so long as forty years. Still it is possible that his sons may have been born some years after his marriage.

(6). The *Midianites* were an Arabian tribe, descended, according to Gen. xxv. 2—4, from Abraham by his second wife Keturah. As early as the time of Jacob, we find them associated with the Ishmaelites in carrying on the caravan-trade between Asia and Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36). This is in itself sufficient to indicate that their proper and original settlement was in the neighbourhood of the Elanitic gulf, which was the central point of such international commerce. And our conclusion is confirmed both by ancient and modern accounts and researches (*vid. Ritter's Erdkunde* xiii. p. 287). *Eusebius* says that the town of Midian was situated *ἐπέκεινα τῆς Ἀραβίας πρὸς νότον ἐν ἐρήμῳ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐπ' ἀνατολᾶς* (*Onomast. s. v. Μαδιάμ*); and in the middle ages the Arabian geographers *Edrisi* and *Abulfeda* (*Arab. descr.* p. 77 ed. Rommel) spoke of the ruins of this city as being found on the eastern side of the Elanitic gulf, five days' journey from Ailah. *Seetzen*, following these accounts, fixed upon a spot in the Wady Magne (Mukne) on the eastern side of the gulf, nearly opposite to Sinai, as the site of the town, of which at present no trace remains (*vid. monatl. Corresp.* xxv. 1812, p. 395). *Laborde*, on the contrary, thinks that he has proved that the city stood upon the western side of the gulf, near to the present harbour of *Dahab*, in the same latitude as Mount Sinai, with which it was connected by the Wady Zakal (es-Sa'l): (*comment. geogr.* p. 6 sqq.). This opinion is expressed with great confidence, but it is fallacious in every respect, and destitute of the slightest foundation. Dahab is undoubtedly identical with the biblical Di-Sahab (*Deut.* i. 1); *cf. Ritter Erdkunde* xiv. 233; *Hengstenberg, Balaam* p. 225; *Ewald* ii. 326, 327. Towards the end of the Mosaic period, however, we meet with a numerous tribe of Midianites, who lived to the east of Canaan near the Moabites and Edomites, and who sustained a considerable defeat from the Israelites (*Num.* xxii. 4, 7; xxv. 6, 17; xxxi.). These Midianites had come into collision with the Edomites at an earlier period, and had been repulsed by them (*Gen.* xxxvi.

35). From the data thus obtained, we conclude that the Midianites spread northwards from Midian as far as the borders of Moab, but it is very doubtful whether they also spread westwards into Arabia Petraea. The sojourn of Moses in the land of the Midianites has been adduced as a proof that this was the case. For it seems more likely that Ex. ii. 15 sqq. refers to Arabia Petraea, where Moses would undoubtedly have been perfectly secure from discovery by Pharaoh, than to the more distant land on the other side of the Elanitic gulf. Moreover, when we read in Ex. iii. 1 that Moses led the flock of his father-in-law to the back of the desert, to *Horeb* the mountain of God, it can hardly be supposed that the fixed abode of the Midianitish Emir was so far from his flock, as it must have been if the settlements of the tribe were on the other side of the gulf. And again, the accurate acquaintance of Hobab the son of Reguel with the localities of Arabia Petraea (Num. x. 31) favours the conclusion, that his tribe had formerly dwelt in that district. But there are data, on the other hand, which render such an assumption a very doubtful one. The Israelites did not once meet with the Midianites during their journey through the desert; and when the father-in-law of Moses visited him during the encampment at Sinai, and brought him his wife and children, he evidently came from a great distance (Ex. xviii.). Now it is evident that there is no irreconcilable discrepancy between these different accounts. The only difficulty is to make a selection between the many possible solutions; and the Scripture-record does not supply us with data of sufficient certainty for this. The only precise information is that given in Ex. iii. 1: Moses led the flock of his father-in-law behind the desert (אַחַר הַמִּדְבָּר) to Mount Horeb. *Ritter* believes that this is quite in harmony with his assumption that Reguel's tribe also dwelt on the east of the Elanitic gulf (Erdk. xiv. 234). He explains אַחַר as meaning westwards: Moses drove the flock from the eastern coast of the gulf to the western. But if we regard this explanation as admissible, it seems to me that we must also assume that the whole tribe, of which Reguel was the head, went over to the eastern coast at the same time as Moses, for it is highly improbable that Moses went away alone to so great a distance with the flock entrusted to his care. However, "*westward to the desert*" is in itself a very questionable rendering of *achar ham-*

midbar. In any case it might be more advisable to abide by the natural translation, "to the back of the desert," from which it would follow that Moses traversed a barren tract of desert with his flocks, before he arrived at the pasture land of the mountains of Sinai. We should then have to look for the settlements of this tribe of Midianites somewhere to the east or north-east of Sinai, but still on the western side of the gulf. Subsequently, however, and *after* the call of Moses, they must have left this district and sought pasturage elsewhere, probably returning once more to the eastern side of the gulf. We are obliged to assume this, for the simple reason that the Israelites never met with the Midianites, and the father-in-law of Moses came from a distance to visit him (Ex. xviii., Num. x. 30). But whatever our decision may be, we must at all events regard the Midianitish tribe of which Reguel was the head as a nomadic branch, which had separated from the main body of the nation, and never united with the rest again; for whilst the great mass of the Midianites always maintained a hostile position towards Israel, the descendants of Reguel continued friendly to the last (Vol. iii. § 32. 2).

(7). A fresh difficulty arises from the different names given to the *Midianitish priest*, into whose service Moses entered, and to whom he became related. In Ex. ii. 18 sqq. he is called REGUEL (רַעֲוֵל), and described as the *father* of Zipporah. But afterwards (in chap. iii. 1, iv. 18, xviii. 1 sqq.) he is called JETHRO, and described as the *father-in-law* (רוּתֵן) of Moses.

In Num. x. 29 we meet with him under the name of HOBAV, where he is described as the *son* of Reguel, and the *Chothen* of Moses; and the same description occurs again in Judg. iv. 11. *Hartmann, De Wette*, and others regard these differences as attributable to differences and discrepancies in the genealogies employed. But in that case we should have to impute to the author, be he who he may, an amount of carelessness, which is really inconceivable (and this even *Winer* admits, ii. 310). The author, who wrote two different names so close together as in chap. ii. 18 and iii. 1), must certainly have been conscious of this difference, and if he had found any discrepancy in the two accounts, he would not have adopted them both. But if he saw no discrepancy, we are not justified in supposing that any really existed. The different notions conveyed by the word רַב, which

meant both father and grand-father, and by **הרתן**, which was used for brother-in-law and father-in-law, as well as the constant fluctuations in the use of names, justify us in assuming that the cause of the difference is to be sought in the one or the other. The most probable explanation is, that one of the names was a title of honour, given to indicate his priestly and princely dignity. *Lengerke* supposes the name *Reguel* (*i.e.* friend of God) to have been the official name (Kenaan i. 391). But he appears to me to be mistaken in his selection, since we should expect to find the proper name, and not the official designation, mentioned in connexion with his first appearance in Ex. ii. 21, and still more in the genealogical account in Num. x. 29. We prefer to ascribe to the name *Jethro* (*i.e. excellentia ejus*) the dignity of an official title, especially as we find it written in the form **יתר** in Ex. iv. 18. The three names would thus be reduced to two, and the only questions remaining would be: (1) whether we are to identify the *Jethro* of Ex. iii. 4, 18, with the *Reguel* in Ex. ii. 18, or with the *Hobab* in Num. x. 29 and Judg. iv. 11; and (2) whether we are to regard *Reguel* as *Ziporah's father*, or *grand-father*, and *Hobab* as the *brother-in-law* or *father-in-law* of *Moses*. To the first question it seems to us that the only possible answer is that the *Jethro*, mentioned in Ex. iii. 4, 18, is the same person as the *Reguel* referred to in Ex. ii. 18; with regard to the second we are doubtful whether we are to consider the **אב** in Ex. ii. 18 or the **הרתן** in Num. x. 29 as used indefinitely, *i.e.* whether the former is to be rendered *grand-father*, or the latter *brother-in-law*. *Ranke* (Pentat. ii. 8) decides in favour of the latter, and adduces Judg. xix. 4, 6, 9, to confirm the indefinite character of the word **הרתן**; for in these passages, on account of the ambiguity of the word, which might just as well mean *brother-in-law* as *father-in-law*, the words "the father of the damsel" are added to point out what the meaning of the word really is.—So much, at all events, is clear: that *Reguel*, who was also called *Jethro*, was at the head of the tribe up to the period referred to in Ex. xviii. It is in Num. x. that we first meet with *Hobab* as the leader of the tribe, and on this account he is also classed genealogically as the son of *Reguel*. In the meantime, therefore, *Reguel* must have died. The father-in-law of *Moses* is held in veneration as

a prophet, both in the Koran and among the Arabs, under the name *Shoëib* (which has arisen probably from an alteration of the name Hobab).

The description given of Reguel, that he was a *priest* of Midian, suggests the enquiry, what was the *religious condition* of that people? In seeking for an answer to this question, we must necessarily make a distinction between the different groups into which the Midianites were divided. We know nothing at all with regard to the religion of those who dwelt on the eastern side of the Elanitic gulf, and who, according to Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36, were a trading community mixed up with the Ishmaelites. On the other hand, we know that those who dwelt on the north, and were allies of the Moabites (Num. xxii. 25), had given themselves up to the abominable worship of Baal-peor, probably in consequence of their connexion with the Moabites. With reference to the third group, of which Reguel, and subsequently Hobab, were chiefs, we can safely assume, so much at least, that they were not worshippers of Baal-peor. Such a thing is absolutely inconceivable, when we consider the close association which was constantly maintained between them and the Israelites (Vol. iii. §32. 2). Their nomadic isolation from the rest of the tribe renders it probable (and the earlier the separation took place the greater the probability would be), that in general they had preserved the theism, which they inherited from Abraham (see Ex. xviii. 9 sqq.). Still, we must not form too exalted a notion of the purity and genuineness of their theism, since Moses evidently refrained from communicating much to Jethro respecting the divine revelations which he had received. And the obstinate refusal of Zipporah to allow her sons to be circumcised (Ex. iv. 25) indicates a feeling of contempt for the religion of the Israelites.

(8). The house of the Midianitish priest was, doubtless, a severe but salutary *school of humiliation and affliction*, of want and self-denial, to the spoiled foster-son of the king's daughter. We can understand this, if we merely picture to ourselves the contrast between the luxury of the court and the toil connected with a shepherd's life in the desert. But we have good ground for supposing that his present situation was trying and humiliating in other respects also. His marriage does not seem to have been a happy one, and his position in the house of his

father-in-law was apparently somewhat subordinate and servile. The account, given in Ex. iv. 24 sqq. (§ 21. 3), shows us clearly enough the character of his wife. *Zipporah* is there represented as a querulous, self-willed, and passionate woman, who sets her own will in opposition to that of her husband, who will not trouble herself about his religious convictions, and, even when his life is evidently in danger, does not conceal the reluctance with which she agrees to submit, in order to save him. We might be astonished to find that a man of so much force of character as Moses possessed, could ever suffer this female government. But the circumstances in which he was placed sufficiently explain them. He had arrived there poor and helpless, as a man who was flying from pursuit. A fortunate combination of circumstances led to his receiving the Emir's daughter as his wife. It is true he could not pay the usual dowry. But the remarkable antecedents of his life, his superior mental endowments, his manly beauty, and other things, may have been regarded at first by his chosen bride and her relations as an adequate compensation for its omission. But if the character of *Zipporah* were such as we may conclude it to have been from Ex. iv. 24 sqq., we can very well imagine that she soon began to despise all these, and made her husband feel that he was only eating the bread of charity in her father's house. Nor does he seem to have been admitted to any very intimate terms with his father-in-law; at least we might be led to this conclusion by the reserve with which he communicated to Jethro his intended departure, and the little confidence which he displayed (Ex. iv. 18). Thus he was, and continued to be, a foreigner among the Midianites; kept in the background and misunderstood, even by those who were related to him by the closest ties. And if this was his condition, the sorrows arising from his exile, and his homeless and forlorn condition, must have been doubly, yea trebly severe. Under circumstances such as these, his attachment to his people, and his longing to rejoin them, instead of cooling, would grow stronger and stronger. There is something very expressive in this respect in the names which he gave to the sons who were born to him during his exile (Ex. ii. 22; xviii. 3, 4). They enable us to look deeply into the state of his mind at that time, for (as so frequently happened) he incorporated in them the strongest feelings and desires of his heart. The eldest

he named *Gershom*, which means a stranger there, "for," he said, "I have become a stranger in a strange land;" and when the second was born, he said, "the God of my father has been my help, and has delivered me from the hand of Pharaoh," and he called him *Eliezer* (God is help). We may also call to mind the miserable style in which he set out to return to Egypt (Ex. iv. 20): his wife and child he placed upon an ass, and he himself went on foot by their side.

THE CALL OF MOSES.

Vid. Die Berufung Mose's (by Hengstenberg?) in the Evangelische Kirchenzeitung 1837. No. 50—51.

§ 20 (Ex. ii. 23—iv. 17).—The oppression of the Israelites in Egypt still continued. The king died, but the principles of his government were carried out by his successor. The change of rulers appears to have excited hopes in the minds of the Israelites, which were doomed to disappointment. Their oppression was not only perpetuated, but rendered increasingly severe, and their disappointment added to their sufferings. But the first signs of a powerful agitation were just appearing among the people, an agitation which was to ripen them for freedom. It was not a resolution to help themselves, or a plot to overthrow the existing government, which grew out of these disappointed hopes, but a movement of a much more powerful character, namely a disposition to sigh and mourn and call upon Him who is an avenger of the oppressed, and a friend of the miserable. And this movement attained its object; God heard their complaint and remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The hour of their redemption was drawing nigh. Moses, too, who was destined to be the saviour of Israel, had passed through the chief school of his life, the school of

humiliation and affliction, and was now ready to obey his call. This call was now for the first time distinctly made known to him as the voice of God. He was feeding the flock of Jethro in the fertile meadows of Mount *Horeb* (1), when there appeared to him one day a miraculous vision. He saw a *bush* in the distance *burning* with brilliant flames, and yet *not consumed* (2). As he was hastening to the spot to look at this wonderful phenomenon more closely, he heard a voice calling to him and saying, "put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." This was a *voice* which had been silent for 400 years, the voice of the angel of God, in whom God had so often appeared to the fathers of his people (Vol. i. § 50. 2). Moses was not left for a moment in doubt as to the Being who was addressing him, for the voice continued: "I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." On hearing this, Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look on God (3). The word of God, which was then addressed to Moses by the angel of the Lord, contained the key to a right understanding of the vision: Jehovah had seen the affliction of his people in Egypt, had heard their sighing and their cries, and had come down to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyptians, and bring them into the land of promise. "Come, now, therefore," he said, "I will send thee unto *Pharaoh*, that *thou* mayest bring forth my people out of Egypt." Moses was directed to go to Egypt, and having assembled the elders of Israel, to introduce himself to them as a messenger of God sent to effect their deliverance. He was then to go with them to Pharaoh, and first of all demand of him, in the name of Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews, that he would let the people go a three days' journey into the wilderness and sacrifice to their God. It could be foreseen that such a request would be strongly opposed by the king; in fact, this was expressly foretold him by God: but with this prediction there was coupled the assurance, that the almighty

hand of Jehovah would open the way before him by means of signs and wonders (4).

How did Moses act when he heard the words of God announce this divine commission, and beheld the representation of its object in the miraculous sign? He had become a different man in his exile. Formerly he had burned with eager desire to appear as the deliverer of his people, and had offered to effect it of his own accord; but now he sought in every way to excuse himself from the divine command, by which he was called and equipped for the task. The training he received at Pharaoh's court had borne its fruit, and this fruit was essential to the fulfilment of his vocation; but it also gave birth to pride, false confidence, and a trust in his own power, which were unsuitable for the work. The discipline of his desert-school had broken down this pride and taught him humility, and had made him conscious of his utter weakness. His false confidence in his own power and wisdom had vanished, but he still wanted that true and proper confidence in the power and wisdom of God, by which the weak can be made strong. Not that he had any doubt as to the power of God; but he doubted *his own* fitness to serve as the organ of this power, although God himself had called him: and in these doubts there was just as much *false* humility, as there was false pride in the confidence he felt before. Still, excessive humility is always nearer to the proper state of mind than pride, that knows no bounds. And this was the case with Moses. With inexhaustible patience God follows the windings of his false humility, meeting his difficulties with promises and assurances of strength, and his refusals with mildness, but with firmness also (5). "Who am I," said Moses, "that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?" To this Jehovah replies: "I will be with thee," and places the issue of his mission in the most striking manner before his mind, by telling him that on that very

mountain the people should sacrifice to God, when they had been delivered out of Egypt. The *altar* for the sacrifice was already built. So certain was God that it would be offered, and so important was the sacrifice in the estimation of God, that when he founded the world, he had prepared the place on which it was to be presented. Thus Sinai itself was a pledge of success, a monument, and a witness of the call of Moses and the promises of God. The scruples of Moses were at length removed, at least for a time. He began to grow familiar with the thought, that he was to appear before the people as the messenger of God, and to reflect upon the manner in which he should introduce himself to them. It was now four hundred years since the God of the fathers had manifested himself. Hence it appeared the more important, that this God should be announced to the people by a name, which would clearly and definitely express the character of the new revelation. It was requisite that the *name* of the God, who appeared to deliver, should contain in itself a pledge of success, if it was to excite any confidence at all. Moses, therefore, asked for some name, which he might hold up before the people, as the banner that was to lead them to victory, and which he might use as the watchword of the coming conflict. His request was granted. God communicated to him *the* name, which from the very first had expressed his relation to the sacred history, the name *Jehovah* ; but by the explanation, which He gave of that name, He made Moses feel that it was a name, whose fulness would not be exhausted, till the eternal counsels of salvation had been fulfilled and exhausted by the events of history, and which therefore, whatever might be its age, would still be always new (6). Moses then raised another difficulty : " Will they believe me, when I appear before them as the messenger of God ?" Jehovah met this difficulty by giving him a *threefold miraculous power*, by which to attest his mission both before the people and Pharaoh (7). There was still one ob-

stacle remaining : his slowness of speech, his want of eloquence. But Jehovah replied : " Did not I create man's mouth ? Go and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shall say." The difficulties in Moses' path were now all removed, and his *reasons* for refusing were exhausted ; so that we naturally expect to find him cheerfully yielding obedience to the will of God. But no ; faint-hearted and froward, praying and doubting at the same time, he exclaimed : " O my Lord, send I pray thee whom thou wilt send !" This showed at once all that was in his mind, and the festering unbelief, which had been hidden, unknown to him, beneath the outward covering of humility, now came to a head. But this is the way to a cure, first softening applications, then the sharp lancet of the physician. " Then," says the record, " the anger of the Lord was kindled" (8). But this anger was still attended by the love which assists the weak. Moses was told that Aaron, his brother, should be sent by Jehovah to meet him, and should stand by his side to assist him in his arduous task. The eloquence of Aaron would thus hide his brother's want of the gift of speech, and supply the deficiency. " He shall be thy mouth, and thou shalt be his God. And now take the rod in thy hand, with which thou shalt work miracles, and go." And Moses went (9).

(1). The name *Horeb* is applied in the Bible to the whole of the mountains in the peninsula ; *Sinai*, on the other hand, is the name of the particular mountain, on which the law was delivered. (See Vol. iii. § 8. 1). The fact that the mountain, on which God appeared to Moses, is here called " the mountain of God," is a proof that the call of Moses took place on the very same spot which was afterwards to be the scene of the calling of the people, the conclusion of the covenant, and the giving of the law. Even now it was holy ground (chap. iii. 5) ; when Israel departed from Egypt to offer sacrifice to the Lord in the desert, they had a definite spot in view, and one which had been already appointed by God. And in this consecrated spot they were to gain the as-

surance, that as the call of Moses, which had previously taken place there, had been attested by signs and wonders in Egypt, so their own call would be attested by signs and wonders in the land of Canaan. As the spot, on which Moses was then feeding the sheep, was one from which Sinai could be seen (chap. iii. 12), it must have been either one of the side valleys (Wady Leja and Wady Shoeb), which form the eastern and western boundaries, or the broad plain of Sebayeh to the south of the mountain. This will appear from the further descriptions given at Vol. iii. § 6. The testimony of tradition is in favour of the Wady Shoeb (*i.e.* Jethro-valley) on the eastern side of Sinai.

(2). It is very evident that the *vision of the Brier, which burned but was not consumed*, was not merely a *θαυμαστόν*, but was especially designed to be *σημείον*; in other words it was not merely intended, that the fresh manifestation of God, which was thus introduced, should be attested by the extraordinary character of the phenomenon, and its evidently supernatural cause, but also that the meaning of the revelation to be made should be symbolically represented by the phenomenon itself. Had the former been the only design, any extraordinary appearance would have answered the purpose quite as well, and in that case the selection of this, out of the one or two thousand means which the Almighty had at command, would be perfectly arbitrary and unimportant. But where God works there can be nothing arbitrary.

The divine miracle was followed by the divine address. They must have stood in close connexion with each other. The address served to explain the meaning of the symbol; the symbol was a visible representation of the substance of the address. Not that the two necessarily cover and exhaust each other. A symbol often reaches beyond the substance of the address which accompanies it. In a symbol the whole revelation is made simultaneously, it represents in one complete picture, and from one single point of view, all that is to be revealed. An address, on the contrary, is a successive revelation, the substance of which is gradually unfolded and explained. This we shall find to be the case here. The sign which Moses beheld was a picture of the whole of that stage in the progress of revelation, which was then about to commence. And it retained its validity to the

end of that stage, whereas the words addressed to Moses in connexion with the sign, merely referred to the circumstances and necessities belonging to the very commencement of this stage of revelation.

There are two things requiring explanation in connexion with this sign : viz. the bush and the fire. In the Brier we have a symbol of the people of Israel. From this time till the cursing of the fig-tree, which had no fruit on it but only leaves, the chosen people of God are frequently and variously referred to, under the figure of a bush or tree. Here they are represented as a low, contemptible brier, in contradistinction to the tall majestic trees, which proudly rear their heads to the clouds, and are gazed at and admired by the world. Hence the brier was symbolical of Israel, as a people despised by the world. The FIRE is always used in the Scriptures as a symbol of divine holiness. And this is the case here ; for the record expressly says that the presence of God was made known in the fire : “ the *angel of the Lord* appeared to him *in* the flame of fire out of the midst of a bush” (chap. iii. 2) ; God spake “ out of the midst of the bush” (ver. 4) ; Moses had to take off his shoes, because the place on which he stood was rendered *holy* by this appearance (ver. 5) ; he “ hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon *God*” (ver. 6). The burning brier, therefore, was a symbol of the community of God, in which the holiness of God had its abode. The brier was burning in the fire, but it was not consumed, although from its nature it deserved to be consumed, and could easily be so. It was a miracle that it was not consumed. And thus was it also a miracle of mercy, that the holiness of God could dwell in a sinful community without consuming it. But in the midst of the thorns of the natural life of the community there was hidden a noble, imperishable germ, namely, the seed of the promise, which Jehovah himself had prepared. It could not, indeed, be set free without the pain of burning, but by that burning it was made holy and pure. There was also another fact of great importance represented by this symbol, viz., that the fire of divine holiness, which burned in Israel, without consuming it, served also as an outward defence. Hitherto, every one who passed by might ridicule, injure, or trample on the insignificant bush, but henceforth whoever touched it would burn his own fingers. “ I

will be unto her a *wall of fire round about*," said the Lord by the prophet Zechariah (2. 4), "and will show my glory *in the midst of her*." Pharaoh was soon to find this out.

The brier had not always been surrounded by the flames. The time had only just arrived, when the holiness of God was about to condescend to dwell in Israel. The words afterwards spoken by God (ver. 12), informed Moses of the time when the events, symbolized by that vision, would occur. On that very mountain, on which the miraculous *sign* appeared, (and which for that reason was called the *mountain of God*, chap. iii. 1), the great miraculous *fact* which it represented was to be afterwards accomplished, and to that end Moses was to bring the people out of Egypt and conduct them thither.

This explanation of the vision is different from the traditional one; and only *Hofmann* supports it (Schriftbeweis i. 335). Most commentators (including even *Baumgarten* i. 1, p. 406), explain the vision as referring not to the future condition of Israel, into which it was to be first brought at Sinai, but to the circumstances in which Israel had hitherto been placed, and was still living in Egypt. The fire is generally supposed to represent the affliction, which the people were enduring from the oppressions of Pharaoh, an affliction in which Israel was burning, but was not consumed, was suffering pain, but for its good, since by that means it was being purified and fitted for its future destiny. This explanation is borne out by Deut. iv. 20, where the sufferings of the Israelites in Egypt are compared to an iron furnace. But as fire is introduced in innumerable passages, in fact every where else, as a symbol of divine holiness, and as the fire which envelopes the bush is expressly described in this passage as a manifestation of God, we must either give up the reference to the afflictions in Egypt, or else identify those afflictions with the fire of the holiness of God. The only way in which the latter conclusion is arrived at, is by regarding the afflictions as sent by God for the purification of Israel, although in one sense they proceeded from Pharaoh.

But there are very grave difficulties in the way of this interpretation. The attempted combination of the two points of view is so forced and complicated, that even if there were nothing else in the way, we should on that account alone feel very great hesitation about giving it our support. But, when

we look at the design of the vision, it becomes at once apparent that it is absolutely inadmissible. The vision was intended to bring distinctly before the mind of Moses, not something present, but something future; from the nature of the case it must have been so, moreover it is expressly intimated in ver. 12. Moses did not require to be reminded of the misery of his people in Egypt, or to have the afflictions which they were enduring brought visibly before him; that fire was burning perceptibly enough in his own life. And even the information that Israel was not to be consumed, but purified by this fire, had but little connexion with the call, which Moses was about to receive. What he actually required was, now that God had come down to deliver his people, to have their future condition set before him. There was no occasion to set before him the circumstances that had led to his mission; the design and issue of that mission were what he wanted to know.

(3). The command *to take off the shoes*, was in accordance with oriental views and customs which are still in force. As shoes are worn in the East as a protection, not against cold, but against dirt, the necessity for wearing them ceases where a place is clean. Moreover, as the shoes *are* already defiled with dust, if not with mud, by walking on the streets and roads, not only would it be unnecessary to wear shoes in a clean place, but the clean place itself would be thereby defiled. *Here*, of course, the removal of the shoes had a symbolical meaning. The respect due from the feet to the clean place, represented the reverence, with which the inward man should approach the Holy One. As soon as Moses perceived that God was in the fire, he *hid his face*; a sinful man cannot look openly and freely at the self-revealing holiness of God, and therefore he shuts or hides his eyes.

We must not overlook the fact that in this, the first revelation that had been made for 400 years, God announced himself as the *God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*. This name was, as it were, a bridge, which spanned the vacant interval of 400 years between Jacob and Moses, a bridge, by which the past was linked with the present, and which gave to the present a hold upon the promises, the lessons, and the results of the past. The lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, constituted the first stage in the history of the covenant. In each of these patriarchs the

subjective, human side of the kingdom of God under the ancient covenant was unfolded in a peculiar manner, and hence in each of them, the presence and power of God were peculiarly attested. Together, they formed a distinct and complete whole. The distinction, however, was merely temporary, the completeness merely relative. It was only in the form of a family, that the development of the covenant had attained distinction and completeness. As soon as the family had grown to a nation, the covenant entered afresh upon its course of development, with the same powers and tendencies as before, but on a larger scale and with more abundant materials. All that God had effected and promised during the first stage of the covenant, was summed up in the name, "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." This name was the inscription on the portal of the historical development of the covenant in the form of a nation, and it continued to be the seal of that covenant, till the Old Testament expanded into the New, till the covenant with one nation gave place to the covenant with all, and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, ~~became~~ ^{rose as} the God and Father of our Lord Jesus ^{himself} Christ ; in other words, until the time arrived, in which Abraham ceased to be the rock whence the people of the covenant were hewn, and Sarah the hole of the pit whence they were digged (Is. li. 1, 2), and the new Israel found in Christ the author and finisher of faith, and in the Spirit of God the fountain of life (*vid.* Vol. i. § 48. 1).

(4). In ver. 12 we read : " This shall be a token unto thee, that I have sent thee ; when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, *ye shall sacrifice to God upon this mountain.*" We have already pointed out in the paragraph above, how an event, which was not to happen till afterwards, was a token of *assurance* to Moses even at that time. But we cannot for a moment doubt, that something *more* was intended than merely to give to Moses a sign which should strengthen his faith, that there was a highly important end to be answered by this *sacrifice*. Even in the presence of Pharaoh, the motive to be assigned for the departure of the people was, that they might sacrifice to their God in the desert. Every sacrifice presupposes an interruption of communion with God, which is to be restored and renewed by the sacrifice offered. Now, even though it is possible that sacrifices may have been continually offered by individuals

during the sojourn in Egypt, it is certain that the community as a whole, as a united body, had *never* sacrificed for 400 years (§ 17). Hence this sacrifice which was represented as the immediate object, the first-fruits of the deliverance, was the first offering ever presented by the community, *the first national sacrifice*. But every first thing contains potentially the fulness of all that comes afterwards; it is the type, representative, and pledge of all that succeeds. And if Israel, henceforth, was related to God as a community, as an entire body, if it entered into that communion with God, which is the object of sacrifice, and persevered in such communion; the foundation of all this was laid by the sacrifice at Sinai. Hence, from the very outset we must ascribe to this sacrifice an extraordinary meaning, a meaning such as cannot be ascribed to any of the sacrifices, which were subsequently offered during the same stage of the history of revelation;—in a word, this was to be the sacrifice, by which Israel was to become the people of God, the covenant-sacrifice, by which the covenant, made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, was to be renewed, that it might be more fully and gloriously developed. And if, in accordance with the vision which Moses saw, we expect to see Israel exalted to be a nation, in which the holiness of God resided without consuming it, it could only be by means of *this* sacrifice, that such an end would be attained.

In ver. 18 we read that Moses was directed to say to Pharaoh: “Let us go *three days’ journey* into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to Jehovah, our God.” In these words we naturally suppose that Sinai was the place intended, for according to ver. 12 it was there that the sacrifice was to be offered. But the geography does not permit of such a supposition. For Sinai is 150 miles from Suez, and even a caravan, with the greatest possible speed, would be unable to accomplish so much as this in three days. It must, therefore, be admitted that permission was to be asked of Pharaoh, not to go to Sinai, but merely to cross the borders of Egypt. The request was represented to him as indispensable, on the ground that the sacrifices of the Israelites were an abomination to the Egyptians (chap. v. 3, viii. 25 seq.). Still God had already expressed his will, that the sacrifice should not be offered in any place which they might choose in the desert immediately bordering upon the frontier of Egypt, but on Sinai, which

was at least seven days' journey from the Egyptian boundary. Moreover, we learn from ver. 8, that God had come down to lead Israel altogether out of Egypt, and bring them back to the land of their fathers' pilgrimage, that he might assign them this land as a permanent possession and abode; and yet Moses was merely to request permission of Pharaoh to go away to a distance of three days' journey at the most; a request, which of course tacitly involved a promise to return when the sacrifice had been offered. Are we then to regard this as an intentional and dishonourable deception of Pharaoh on the part of both God and Moses? By no means. It would certainly have been a deception, or would have become one, if Pharaoh had acceded to the request in good faith, and had given them permission to go a three days' journey and no more; and if, in spite of their promise, and without further permission, they had marched away to Canaan, or even if from the first they had intended this. But such was not the case. Pharaoh, as was foretold in ver. 19, did not accede to the request of Moses. And as he annulled the *request* by his refusal, so *eo ipso* he annulled the *promise* implied in that request. It is true that he afterwards permitted the Israelites to depart; but he was forced to do so by the plagues, with which the God of Israel smote him, and his permission had no connection, therefore, with their friendly petition. Hence, when once Jehovah had placed himself in a hostile relation to Pharaoh, the amicable negotiations having entirely failed, the first limited and conditional request had no longer any force, and even Pharaoh himself, when utterly defeated, gave an unconditional and not a conditional permission to depart (*vid.* § 35. 2). God could foresee that this would be the ultimate issue of the whole transaction; and on the ground of this foreknowledge he announced to Moses, that Sinai would be the spot on which the appointed sacrifice would be offered, and Canaan their final and permanent destination. But although at the very outset he made known to his friend and servant Moses the whole of his design, it did not follow that it was necessary to exhibit it to Pharaoh also. And it was *mercy* towards Pharaoh, which dictated a different course. If Pharaoh had known at the outset the whole of the divine demand, which was eventually to be made upon him, it would have been an infinitely more difficult matter for him to prepare his heart to obey the will of God,

than it was under the plan adopted by the wisdom and condescension of God which commenced by making known but a small part of the entire demand. If we could imagine Pharaoh yielding to the first, partial request made by Moses, of course the second and more unpalatable half of the demand would still remain to be made. But as faithfulness in little prepares for faithfulness in much ; so would the obedience manifested to the will of God in that which was least, have been a stepping-stone to obedience in something greater, and God would have given him grace to overcome the resistance and selfishness of his own will.

(5). The *conversation between God and Moses*, this divine "*I will not let thee go*," forms a counterpart to the human "*I will not let thee go*," which is first met with in its original force in the case of Jacob (Gen. xxxii. 26). The whole conversation is related in such a manner, that it carries in an eminent degree the pledge of its own authenticity within itself. Where can we find a legend in the whole range of mythology, which will bear comparison with the narrative before us? Where does fiction present a similar psychological picture, with such striking scenes and yet such deep, psychological truth? The only object of a myth is to glorify the hero ; he is without a flaw, a hero from top to toe, from the cradle to the grave, with superabundant force and confident elation at the beginning, with irresistible, irrepressible power in the middle, and triumphant power at the end. We never meet with a myth, which imputes to its hero such timidity and despondency, as was here displayed by the greatest, the most celebrated, and the most powerful hero of the people of Israel. Look, for example, at the full and elaborate way in which the weakness and faint-heartedness of Moses are here described, the evident interest with which the author dwells upon them, as though he could hardly turn away from the subject. How striking and unusual, and yet how deep and true are the lineaments of this picture from life ! Observe the progressive steps in the psychological development, how appropriate they evidently are ! When Jehovah first gives him the commission, Moses shrinks from the weight of the enormous burden, which is laid upon his shoulders, and which he is not strong enough to bear. But he does not unconditionally decline the commission, on the contrary he fancies the future already

present, transports himself to the circumstances in which he will be placed ; and counts the cost, to see whether he has enough to meet the demands. Then doubts and fears, wants and weaknesses, start up on every side. But Jehovah has an answer to every doubt, a promise for every fear, an inexhaustible supply for every want, and divine strength for every human weakness, which he lays in the scale. We look with heartfelt joy at the manner in which one fear after another is taken away from the trembling Moses. And when at length his fears are all exhausted, and he has no more excuses left, we expect to find him yield, and to hear at length his "yea and Amen." But no, hitherto his refusal has been conditional, but now it is unconditional. All that God has spoken, and promised, and done, appears to be thrown away, and to have been utterly in vain.

How unexpected and improbable does this turn *appear* ; and yet how true and necessary it really *is* ! So long as the refusal of the flesh could give reasons for its opposition to the demands of the spirit, it appeared to be somewhat justifiable. And an inexperienced observer might fancy that as soon as every doubt had been entirely removed, and every fear had been set aside, the will would yield itself captive, that in fact it could not do anything else. But whoever has looked into the dark recesses of the human heart, knows well that it is there that the most severe and violent opposition commences, namely, the opposition of capriciousness and self-will. "*I cannot*" then comes forward openly and without reserve in its true character, as an unvarnished "*I will not.*" And thus the most improbable of all the steps is that in which there is the deepest *truth*.

Hitherto, when all that had been said was, "I cannot," the mercy of God replied to the objection, with inexhaustible long-suffering and patience, "thou canst in my power," but now it meets the insolent "I will not," with a determined "thou shalt," and *this* is the moment of decision. As faith has to constrain God, (Gen. xxxii. 26 ; Matt. xi. 12 ; Luke xi. 8, xviii. 6 sqq.), that the mercy of God may break forth from righteousness ; so does God put restraint upon man, that the germ of faith, which is imprisoned in unbelief (Mark ix. 24), may be set free and expand in all its glory. And this was necessarily the case with Moses. That which was least expected was just the most *necessary* step of all.

A certain amount of enthusiasm, which is sometimes regarded as inspiration, the confidence of self-assurance, a superabundance of power, insensibility to difficulties, and the boldness which rushes headlong into dangers, all these befit the hero of this world. But for men, who are to do the work of God, the heroes who are to fight in His cause, not only are they unsuitable, but they actually disqualify them for their vocation. Forty years before, Moses possessed them all in rich abundance. But at that time, God found him unfitted for the work he was destined to perform. Modesty and circumspection, humility and self-abasement, consciousness of one's own weakness and insufficiency, are the indispensable conditions of all employment in the kingdom of God, for they are the vehicles of divine inspiration and wisdom, of divine power and strength. Therefore it is that the apostle says: "when I am weak, then am I strong" (2 Cor. xii. 10). To this *weakness* Moses had been trained in the desert-school. But the perverseness of human nature was again manifested in the fact, that even in this he went to the extreme. He overstepped the boundary between negative weakness, which places no confidence in self, and is the weakness that God desires and demands, and that positive weakness, which not only renounces all self-confidence, but cherishes a want of confidence in the power of God. Thus he went from one extreme to the very opposite. But the discipline of God can reclaim a man from his wandering to the right, just as well as when he wanders to the left.

We may see how necessary it was, that all the weakness and faint-heartedness, the incredulity and unbelief which Moses displayed, should be brought out and overcome before he entered upon his mission, when we consider how serious and dangerous the slightest manifestation of it at a later period would have been, whether in the presence of Pharaoh or of the people. Then the reproach of Moses would have been the reproach of God, and his fall would have ruined his work. It was necessary that he should stand before God weak and faint-hearted, despairing and of little faith, in order that he might be strengthened by God to stand firm before Pharaoh and the people, as a divine hero possessed of undaunted courage and unshaken confidence.

(6). It is apparent from the etymology, that אֲדִירָא אֲשֶׁר

יְהוָה, the name which God announced to Moses (in ver. 14), as the name by which he was to make him known to the people as their deliverer, was merely an alteration and explanation of the name *Jehovah*, which was so well known to the people; and this is put entirely beyond the reach of doubt by Ex. vi. 1 sqq. We have already entered into some explanation of these two passages in § 5, and in vol. i. § 13; but we have a few additional remarks to make here. The different theories respecting the origin of this name, which have been based upon the assumption that it is of foreign origin, have been for ever refuted by *Tholuck* (über den Ursprung des Namens Jehova, in his vermischte Schriften i. 377—405), and *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 235 sqq. cf. *Gesenius*, thesaurus, p. 576 sqq.), such, for example, as that the Egyptians invented the name of the deity by combining together the seven vowels *Iehouova*; that the name originated in Phoenicia, India, or China; and again that it was identical with Jupiter, Jovis, &c.—The derivation of the name from יהוה = יהיה, which is based upon Ex. iii. 14, is still firmly maintained by every commentator, in spite of *Ewald's* curious objections (Vol. i. § 13. 1).—The superstitious fear with which the Jews refrained from uttering the quadriliteral word יהוה (calling it in consequence שֵׁם הַמְפֹרָשׁ = *nomen separatum*, ὄνομα ἄρρητον), was founded upon Lev. xxiv. 16: יְשֵׁם-יְהוָה; מוֹת יוֹמָת. Now, the verb נָקַב, by itself, does not mean to *blaspheme*, to *curse* = קָבַב, but to *utter*; still the context shows plainly enough what kind of utterance is referred to, viz., utterance in the way of blasphemy (*Buxtorf*, lex. talmud. p. 1847, and *Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch vol. i. 245). The frequent occurrence of the name of Jehovah in the composition of proper names is a proof that no such fear existed in Old Testament times. It probably arose shortly after the return from the captivity. For it must have prevailed as early as the date of the *Septuagint* translation, where the name Jehovah is always rendered by *Kύριος*. Even the apocryphal writers of the Old Testament do not venture to use the name. *Philo* (de vita Mos.) describes it as a name, ὃ μόνους τοῖς ὄτα καὶ γλῶτταν σοφία κεκυθαρμένους θέμις ἀκούειν καὶ λέγειν ἐν ἁγίοις, ἄλλω δ' οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν οὐδαμοῦ, and *Josephus* says (Ant. 2. 12. 4): 'Ο Θεὸς αὐτῷ σημαίνει τῆν ἑαυτοῦ προσηγορίαν . . . περὶ ἧς οὐ μοι

θέμυς εἰπεῖν. In the *Talmud* we read: Etiam qui pronunciat Nomen suis litteris, non est ei pars in seculo futuro. *Maimonides* (*More Nevochim* i. 61) states: "Nomen hoc non pronunciat batur nisi in Sanctuario et quidem a sacerdotibus Dei sanctificatis in benedictione sacerdotali et a pontifice ipso die jejunii. But after the death of Simeon the just even this custom was abolished, and henceforth the substitution of אֲדָנִי was required in temple, as it had long been outside, ne illud nomen disceret homo, qui non esset honestus et bonae existimationis" (*Jad chasaka*, xiv. 10).

In consequence of the substitution of אֲדָנִי (*Kýrios*) for יהוה, which had taken place as early as the date of the *Septuagint*, the vowel points of the former were attached to the latter, when points were introduced into the text, and thus יהוה became a *Keri perpetuum*. But notwithstanding the fact that this is evident and indisputable, there have even been Christian theologians, who have maintained with great pertinacity that יהוה was the correct and original pointing. The last who asserted this was *J. F. v. Meyer* (*Blätter für höhere Wahrheit* xi. 306; cf. *Stier* *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Grammatik* i. 327). *Reiland* made a collection of all the treatises on the subject that were in existence in his time, whichever side they advocated; (see his *Decas exercitationum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehova*. 1707). In the preface to his work he gives it as his opinion, that we have not the original pointing. *Hengstenberg* has, since then, published a most elaborate defence of the correct view, (*Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, Vol. i., 231 sqq. trans.). The following points are especially decisive: 1, Wherever אֲדָנִי is joined with יהוה, the latter has the pointing of אֱלֹהִים; 2, whenever יהוה occurs with the prefixes ב, ל, כ, מ, י, they do not take *chirek* (*ביהוה* &c. like *בירהוה*) but *patach*, except in the case of מ which takes *Zere*, just as they do when joined to אֲדָנִי; 3, when יהוה is followed by one of the letters ב ג ד כ פ ת, the latter takes a *Dagesh lene*, though it could not take it with the reading יהוה, which ends in a *littera quiescens*. Moreover the word יהוה is beyond the reach of any admissible etymology; for the favourite explanation, given by the earlier theologians, that יהוה is a composite word formed from the future, present, and preterite of

the verb **הוֹרָה** (וְ) representing the future, **הוֹרֶה** the participle, **הוֹרָה** the preterite), can only be regarded as a curiosity belonging to the childish days of Hebrew Grammar. Such an etymology is impossible according to the rules of the language, and is not sustained, as some suppose, by Rev. i. 4. We subscribe to the opinion that the description there given of God, *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾄων καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, is as a paraphrastic rendering of the name *Jehovah*; but the ground for deducing all three from the word *Jehovah*, is to be found solely and exclusively in the imperfect formation of the name, and this reason is amply sufficient.—**יְהוָה** is, no doubt, formed by changing the first person imperfect **אֶהְיֶה** (Ex. iii. 14) into the third person; or rather the explanatory word **אֶהְיֶה** in Ex. iii. 14 is merely **יְהוָה** changed into the first person. We have already observed in Vol. i. § 13. 1, that among the different pointings that are grammatically admissible the reading **יְהוָה** is most probably the genuine one. And this agrees with *Theodore's* remark in reference to Ex. vi.: *καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Σαμαρεῖται μὲν Ἰαβὲ, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ Αἰά*. The latter form is merely **יְהוָה** written in Greek characters. It is well worthy of observation that the name **יְהוָה** is founded not upon the more modern form **הוּיָה**, but upon the form **הוֹרָה** which was already antiquated when the *Pentateuch* was composed; for it follows from this, that if the *Pentateuch* dates from the time of Moses or Joshua, **יְהוָה** must have been an ancient, pre-Mosaic name. If we consider the dignity of the verb **הוּיָה** (essence, being) on the one hand, and that of the imperfect sense on the other (*cf. Ewald's* *ausführl. Lehrbuch* § 136), it will be at once apparent that the name **יְהוָה** means *the existing one*, whose operations have commenced and still continue, and who permits us continually to look for more glorious manifestations of his existence (*vid.* Vol. i. § 13. 1).

We have already entered into a thorough discussion of Ex. vi. 3, 4, at § 5. 1, 2, and have shown that the words, "I am *Jehovah*, and appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as **אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם**, but by my name *Jehovah* was I not known to them," do not imply that the name *Jehovah* was altogether unknown till then. And we have also fully explained there, why, even assuming the correctness of the supplement-theory, the author of the so-called ground-work naturally avoided the use of the name,

Jehovah until Ex. vi., whilst the writer of the supplementary parts employed it without hesitation. As proofs of the incorrectness of *Ewald's* opinion, that the name was first made known to the people by Moses, but was used proleptically by the (sole) author of Genesis, we may mention the following arguments, in addition to those already adduced: 1. The name occurs in pre-Mosaic surnames. Among these we reckon the name of the mountain *Moriah* in Gen. xxii. 14 (*cf.* Vol. i. § 65. 1), that of Jochebed, the mother of Moses, Ex. vi. 20, and the name *Bithjah* (1 Chr. iv. 18 *cf.* § 15. 3). The comparatively rare occurrence of the name Jehovah, in the proper names of the Mosaic and pre-Mosaic times, may be explained simply enough, from the fact that the name had certainly not taken so firm a hold of the minds of the people, and was not so fully understood before the time of Moses as afterwards (this is evidently implied in Ex. vi. 3). 2. The name *Jehovah* is formed from the verb יהוה, which was an obsolete form in the time of Moses (Ex. iii. 14). 3. The name occurs in Jacob's blessing, which is a pre-Mosaic document (Gen. xlix. 18). 4. The words of God in Ex. iii. 14 do not by any means indicate that he was about to reveal a new name, which had hitherto been quite unknown, but are evidently explanatory of a name already known, whose depth and fulness had never yet been completely exhausted. The latest attempt to explain the passage has been made by *J. Richers* (*die Schöpfung-, Paradieses-, und Sündfluths-geschichte*, Lpz. 1854, p. 453 sqq.), but we cannot adopt his explanation. He thinks that the frequency with which the passages are altered in Hebrew, the same pronouns and verbs being employed with reference to entirely different persons in one and the same discourse, justify the conclusion that ליהם, "to them," in the words of God, "but by my name *Jehovah* was I not known to them," does not refer to the patriarchs and the families mentioned in the book of Genesis at all, but to the Israelites who were groaning beneath the Egyptian yoke. In his opinion God was known to the patriarchs as Jehovah, but their descendants in Egypt lost both the name and the knowledge of Jehovah; they neither knew him, nor lived under his especial protection and rule.

The name Jehovah *was* (or rather *became*) undoubtedly a new one then, but only in the sense in which Christ said (John xiii. 34): "A *new* commandment give I unto you," whereas he

merely repeated one of the primary commandments, which we find in the Old Testament, and meet with on every hand in the laws of Moses. It was a commandment, however, the fulness and depth, the meaning, force, and value of which were first unfolded by the gospel. And just as the greatest act of love, which the world ever witnessed, provided a new field for the exemplification of this command, in greater glory than was possible under the law, and thus the old commandment became a *new* one; so did the new act of God, in the redemption of Israel from Egypt, furnish a new field in which the ancient name of God struck fresh and deeper roots, and thus the ancient name became a new one.

(7). *Three miraculous signs* were given to Moses, by which he was to legitimate himself as a messenger from God, first before *the people*, and then in the presence of *Pharaoh*, in order that it might be evident that he had *not come empty*, but had been sent by God and filled by Him with divine power. It was not stated at the outset, that the signs were meant for Pharaoh as well as for the people (this first occurs in chap. iv. 21). All that was required here was to remove the difficulty suggested in chap. iv. 1: "The people will not believe me." Moreover, there were only two of the signs, which were intended and adapted to be performed in the presence of Pharaoh. The gift of miracles was also communicated with especial reference to Moses himself. His doubts and incredulity were to be overcome by the consciousness, that he was the possessor of such powers; and the miracles themselves were of such a nature, as to furnish a type and guarantee of the progress and success of his mission. *Baumgarten* (Comm. i. 1. p. 415) is on a wrong track, when he looks upon the three signs, which Moses received, as intended *for the people alone*, and denies that they had any reference to *Moses himself*. It is not true that the sign referred to in chap. iii. 12, which could only be witnessed in the future, was sufficient for Moses, and that the people required more visible signs, because they were more completely under the dominion of the senses than he was. Had this been the case there would have been no necessity for the signs to be performed, as they now were, before the eyes of Moses. But the continued refusal of Moses proved, that the sign referred to in chap. iii. 12 was too spiritual for him, and that he needed a present sign of a more tangible character.

The miracle of the burning bush was, as we have seen, not merely a *θαυμαστόν*, but also a most significant *σημείον* (note 2); and in the same manner the three miracles which Moses was commissioned to perform, must have been significant signs, intended as revelations from God, adapted to the senses of all concerned, of Moses as well as of the people of Israel and the king of Egypt, and designed to convey to the heart of each, just so much as he required to know. For this reason, as *Baumgarten* has well observed, we find in chap. iv. 8 *voices* ascribed to the signs.

The *first sign* was as follows. At the command of God, Moses threw his *staff* upon the ground. The *staff* became a serpent, and Moses *fled* from it. But Jehovah told him to take it by the tail; and on his doing so, it became a staff in his hand once more. The staff was the *shepherd's crook*, with which he had hitherto conducted the flock of Jethro. Hence it represented his vocation as a *shepherd*. This he was to throw away, *i.e.*, he was to give up his calling and follow a new one. But *the staff which he had thrown away became a serpent, and Moses fled before it*. His vocation hitherto had been a poor and despised one; but it was also quiet, peaceful, and free from danger. When this was given up, he was to be exposed to dangers of such magnitude, that even his life would be threatened. Moses could foresee all this, and hence the obstinacy with which he refused to enter upon his new vocation. But at the word of God he laid hold of the snake, and it became a staff in his hand once more. This showed that, by the power of God, he would be able to overcome the dangers that would surround him, when he relinquished his present calling. By overpowering the snake he recovered his staff, but it was no longer *his* staff; it was the *rod of God* (iv. 20), and with the staff thus altered he was to perform the work entrusted to him (iv. 17). It was still a shepherd's staff, and his new vocation was a shepherd's calling. From being a shepherd of Jethro's sheep he was to become the shepherd of God's sheep, the leader and lawgiver of the people of God. And he became so, by overcoming the dangers which intervened between these two different employments. We must also observe, that this was the rod with which he was to bring the plagues upon Egypt; and therefore it was the retributory counterpart to the rod with which the Egyptian taskmasters had

beaten the Israelites (chap. v. 14; *vid. Hengstenberg*, Beiträge iii. 523). As soon, then, as Moses appeared before the people and performed this sign, it showed them, first, that the dangers to which the mission of Moses would expose them—dangers which they soon experienced (chap. v.)—would be overcome; and secondly, that the staff of shepherd and ruler, with which Moses was to lead and govern them, was not assumed without authority, but given to him by God, and therefore the question could not be asked, as it was before, “who made thee a prince and a judge over us” (chap. ii. 14)? He afterwards performed the same miracle *in the presence of Pharaoh* (vii. 10 sqq.). We shall see by and by what was its meaning then (§ 24. 2).

We come now to the *second sign*. Moses put his hand into his bosom, and it became *LEPROUS like snow*. But as soon as he put it into his bosom a second time, it became *CLEAN and whole as before*. The *bosom* is the place into which the hand is put, to shelter it from cold and other evils; in the warmth of the bosom it is protected and cherished as in a mother’s lap. But behold in that very place, in which we expect it to be protected and warmed, the hand of Moses became leprous. *Leprosy* was impurity in its worst possible form; and for this reason the leper was put away and banished from the society of his fellow-citizens. These data, which are indisputable, are amply sufficient to explain the sign. That which happened to the hand of Moses was a picture of what had happened, and was still to happen, to the people of Israel. By going down to Egypt, the Israelites had been preserved from the injurious influence of Canaanitish customs (§ 1. 7). Through the favour of the first Pharaohs, Egypt was undoubtedly a hiding-place, in which the family of Jacob had been cherished and preserved, when it was distressed both in body and mind. But there had been a change in both the men and the times, and Israel was enslaved, despised, and held in abomination in the land of Egypt. When Israel departed from Egypt, he was like a homeless leper. But Jehovah led him once more to a hiding-place, where he was cleansed from the leprosy which he had brought with him from Egypt, and where he was set apart as a holy people and a priestly nation (xix. 6). It is very easy to explain why *this* sign was not exhibited before Pharaoh as well as the others (chap. vii.). The thing signified was of too internal and spiritual a nature, it was too closely con-

nected with the counsel of God concerning his people to be appropriately displayed to Pharaoh. The objects indicated by this sign, were such as could only be treated of between God and his people.

The *third sign* belonged to a totally different sphere. It is clearly and expressly separated and distinguished from the other two. Moreover, it was not manifested on this occasion, even to the eyes of Moses; it could only be seen in Egypt. Moses was directed, in the event of the people disbelieving the first two signs, to take some *water out of the stream* (the Nile), and pour it upon the earth, where it would be turned to blood. The reason that in this instance Moses only received a command and a promise, and that the sign was not actually accomplished before his eyes, is not to be sought in the fact that there was no water near. The whole force of this sign depended upon the water being taken *from the stream, i.e. from the Nile*. This sign, as will afterwards appear, Moses was also to perform in the presence of Pharaoh, but on an incomparably larger scale. It was then not merely a handful of water which was affected, but the whole body of water, when touched by the rod of Moses, was turned into blood (vii. 17 sq.); for in this instance it was not merely a sign for *Pharaoh*, but a *plague* and judgment upon the land of Egypt (*vid.* § 26. 1). To enter fully into the meaning of this sign, we must remember what the Nile was to the Egyptians. It was the source of all the wealth and fertility of the land of Egypt, and was therefore worshipped as a god. With the same rod, which God had placed in the hand of Moses, that he might tend and lead the Israelites, he was also to overthrow the gods of Egypt, and demonstrate their utter weakness in comparison with the power of the God he worshipped. That which brought a blessing to Egypt was turned by Moses into a curse; and that which had been the object of veneration and worship was made an object of disgust and abhorrence. Moses was first of all to show to his people that he possessed this power, by taking a handful of water out of the Nile; but to Pharaoh he was to demonstrate that God was in earnest in his determination to smite the gods of Egypt, by corrupting the whole of the river.

Thus did God furnish his servant with *three signs*. They were all related, each in its own way, to the work which he had

to perform. The number *three* is the mark of perfection and completeness, an indication that the process of development is at an end, and the idea embodied is fully manifested. Hence the three miraculous signs were proofs, that the miraculous power of God would be put forth in all its fulness through the instrumentality of Moses. A fourth sign Israel could not and durst not demand, without convicting itself of obdurate unbelief. But in this case it was necessary, that with the triple sign there should also be progress and a culminating point in the manifestation of the idea. And our interpretation of the signs exhibits this. There were *three* objects upon which the power of God was to be exerted: *Moses*, who was appointed to be the leader and shepherd of Israel; *the people of Israel*, who were to be cleansed from their leprosy and made a holy priestly nation; and *Egypt*, which was now to discover the impotence of its gods. There was a special sign, containing a distinct intimation, for each of these; and thus the idea was actually exhibited in the whole course of its development. Even the order in which the signs occurred, is thus shown to have been both significant and necessary. No other order would have harmonized with the natural development and the idea.

There is one more point, and a very essential one, to which we have still to refer. It has already been frequently observed, that Moses was the first prophet sent by God, and more especially the *first* worker of miracles in the history of the world. We refer the reader to our remarks in § 6. 1, on the absence of the gifts of prophecy and miracles during the pre-Mosaic age. In accordance with those remarks, we discover here an essential advance in the course of the kingdom of God upon earth, and the arrival of a turning-point in its history. Hitherto the covenant works of God and man, though constantly related to each other, had been kept more distinct the one from the other. The union of the divine and human, which is the true characteristic of the history, and the perfect realization of which in the person of the God-man was foreshadowed from the first, had never before been displayed in such a way through the instrumentality of a man, expressly called and fitted for the purpose of manifesting the word and power of God. In this respect, therefore, Moses was the first type of Christ, the God-man.

(8). When Moses complained of his *heavy tongue* and his want

of eloquence,—faults the removal of which he could see no reason to anticipate, notwithstanding the call that he had received,—the words do not, in our opinion, denote that he *stammered*, as some commentators suppose. Moses said that he was not a man of words, his mouth was not fitted for addressing others. And Jehovah replied, “Did not I make man’s mouth?” This answer implied a promise, that a gift of grace should make up for the lacking gift of nature; and the subsequent history of Moses’ career contains the proof that the promise was fulfilled (compare ver. 15, “I will be with *thy* mouth and with his mouth, and will teach *you* what ye shall do”). But notwithstanding this promise, Moses replied: “send, Lord, whom thou wilt send.” The difficulty arising from the fact that he was not a man of words, was removed by the promise of God; but Moses could not fully enter into the meaning of the promise, or place implicit confidence in it. Jehovah, therefore, referred him to the eloquence of his brother Aaron, who was to be always at his side when engaged in the duties of his office. I cannot persuade myself that *M. Baumgarten* (i. 1 p. 418) and *O. v. Gerlach* (i. p. 213 seq.) are right in the inference which they draw from the passage before us: viz. that it was the original intention of God that Moses should stand alone in delivering, conducting, and organizing the people, and should even hold the office of High Priest as well; but that he forfeited the honour by his refusal, and had now to share with Aaron both the office and the glory. There is no reference at all to the high priesthood here. Aaron was to be Moses’ interpreter; this is stated in ver. 16, “he shall be thy spokesman unto the people, and he shall be thy mouth, and thou shalt be his God,” and in chap. vii. 1, 2, “Aaron shall be thy prophet, and shall speak *unto Pharaoh* all that I command *thee*.” There is nothing else referred to here. And this office of Aaron does not seem to have lasted long. It served for a time to remove the doubts and difficulties of Moses, and to sustain and help him in his *first* appearance before the people and Pharaoh. But when once Moses had discovered that the grace and gifts of God rendered him mighty in word and deed (Acts vii. 22), he stood no longer in need of another’s mouth; henceforth he was his own. It was at a later period that Aaron received the call to the priesthood, and even then the arrangement was not of such a nature as that Moses relin-

quished anything in consequence of his brother's call, or in any way shared his office and his honours with Aaron. Even in the capacity of high priest Aaron was *under* Moses, and did not stand in an independent position by his side. Moses still continued to be Aaron's God, and Aaron the interpreter of Moses. It was this which constituted the peculiarity of Moses' position, a position which has no parallel in the Old Testament (Vol. iii., § 33. 4); he stood entirely alone as the founder and mediator of the ancient covenant just as Christ was alone as the founder and mediator of the new; though Moses and the ancient covenant were but feeble and imperfect types and copies of Christ and the new (*cf.* § 11).

The expression in ver. 16, "*he thy mouth, thou his God*" scarcely requires an explanation. As the prophet stood in such a relation to God, that he only spake what God put into his mouth, so was it to be with Aaron and Moses. Moses was the inspiring God of Aaron's prophetic activity. Aaron was the organ and representative of Moses, as Moses was the organ and representative of God. Compare chap. vii. 1, 2, "behold, I have made thee a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron shall be *thy prophet*," &c.

Simultaneously with the call of Moses, a violent agitation took place among the people, by which they were prepared for his mission. Here was an exhibition of the great and secret power of sympathy, a vague presentiment, in many perhaps a conscious anticipation, that a turning point was approaching, and that the time of deliverance was at hand. The divine promise to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13, 14): "They shall afflict them *four hundred years*, and afterward shall they come out with great substance," was probably associated with this presentiment, and served to explain it. The fact that there was such a movement among the people, we infer from the people's fervour in prayer, to which reference is made in chap. ii. 23 and iii. 7, but more especially from the impulse which constrained Aaron to go and seek out his brother in his exile (iv. 14); probably for the sake of consulting him, possibly to urge him to return to Egypt. It is not likely that the people in Egypt had entirely forgotten Moses, or that they had altogether relinquished the hopes, which the marvellous events of his life had apparently justified them in cherishing. It is even possible that Aaron may have been charged with a commission from a select body of men from among the people, who had already drawn

up plans of escape, and were desirous of seeing Moses at the head of their enterprise.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF MOSES IN EGYPT.

§ 21. (Ex. iv. 18—31).—Moses at once obtained leave of absence from his father-in-law. He said nothing to him about what had occurred at Horeb (§ 19. 8); but merely expressed a desire to visit his relations in Egypt. He then set off upon his journey with his wife and children.—The intercourse between God and Moses was uninterruptedly maintained, after the first appearance of God at Mount Horeb. Even on the road Moses was not without divine encouragement. He received further instructions as to his future interview with Pharaoh. “*Israel is my first-born son,*” said Jehovah. Upon *this* Moses was to found his demand upon the king of Egypt, and also the threat, that Pharaoh’s refusal should be punished with the death of *his* first-born son (1). He was further reminded once more, that he had to expect the most obstinate resistance on the part of the king (*vid.* chap. iii. 19, sqq.). It would be to no purpose, that he would perform before him all the miracles which Jehovah had commissioned him to work. Nevertheless there was no reason why Moses should be afraid of this opposition on the part of the king, for Jehovah had already taken it into account in his counsels. In fact Jehovah had *willed* this resistance, and was bringing it about as a judgment upon Pharaoh, for the greater glory of his own name, not only in the sight of the Israelites and Egyptians, but in that of all the nations round about. “*But I,*” said He to Moses, “*but I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go*” (2). Thus Jehovah prepared himself for judgment. It was right, however, that judgment should begin at the house of God (1 Pet. iv. 17). The demand of Jehovah upon Pharaoh was founded upon the fact, that Israel was his *first-born son*. Israel had become so

by the election of Abraham, and by the covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which was now to be renewed and extended, and to enter upon a higher stage in its development. Circumcision had been instituted as the sign of this covenant. And yet Moses, who was to contend for the covenant, had broken it himself, for his youngest son was still *uncircumcised*. In the weakness of his heart he had yielded to the haughty spirit of his wife, who from a false maternal tenderness, and a disregard to the religious institutions of Israel, had refused her consent to the bloody operation. As Moses was now returning from his exile to enter upon the duties of his vocation in Egypt, he found himself in similar circumstances to those in which Jacob was placed, when he returned from his exile in Mesopotamia to the land of Canaan, to enter upon the work of his life (vol. i. § 80, 4). The relation in which Moses stood to God was, like Jacob's, not a pure one. In his case there was also a disturbing element, which had to be removed, before Jehovah could acknowledge him entirely and without reserve. And it was necessary that this should be removed, before Moses entered the land of Egypt, in which he was called to labour. Jehovah, the friend and protector of Moses, still found in him reasons for anger and enmity. When Moses, therefore, was stopping at an inn on the road, Jehovah met him and was about to kill him. Moses at once discovered the cause, either because his own conscience accused him, or else from some intimation of his guilt, with which the hostile encounter of Jehovah was accompanied. Zipporah then took a stone-knife, and circumcised her son, and in the excitement of passion threw the foreskin at her husband's feet. (3) The way was now clear, and the first intimation that the favour of God had been restored, was the arrival of Aaron, who had been sent by Jehovah, and met his brother at Horeb, the mount of God. It was probably from this spot that Moses sent back his wife and children to his father-in-law (Ex. xviii. 2) (4).

The two brothers then proceeded to Egypt, where they called together the elders, and having performed the miracles in attestation of their mission, announced to them the words of God. The people believed, and bowed their heads and worshipped (5).

(1). *Israel is Jehovah's first-born son* (iv. 22). *M. Baumgarten* justly complains, that commentators have shown such a disposition to explain these words away, and to regard them as indicating nothing more than the preference of God for Israel, which resembled the love that a father generally bears to his first-born son, above all the rest of his children. "If," as he truly says, "Jehovah calls himself the father to Israel, we must understand these words as referring to some *fact*, which is to be regarded as the generation of Israel. But we cannot possibly concur with him in his opinion, that this fact is to be found in the physical generation of Isaac, which resulted, not from the power of nature, but from the power of grace. Shortly afterwards (i. 1 p. 425) *Baumgarten* correctly observes, that the expression, first-born son, has reference to the Gentiles; since the term *first-born* implies a contrast to those who are born *afterwards*, and by the latter we must necessarily understand the Gentile nations. He seems, however, to have been quite unconscious, that by this explanation, which is undoubtedly the correct one, he entirely upsets his previous theory. For, if the term *first-born* can only be fully justified, by our tracing its origin to a *physical* generation through the grace of God, the same rule must also apply to those who are born *afterwards*; and if those who regard the former as indicating merely a spiritual relation are to be charged with explaining the words away, the same charge must certainly be brought against those who do precisely the same with the latter. And where could such a generation be found in the case of the Gentiles?

It cannot be disputed that the notion, contained in the term son of God, requires some concrete act of generation on the part of God. We cannot discover this in creation; for here there was no difference between the Gentiles and the Israelites. Nor can it be found in their organization as a distinct people, that is to say, in the multiplication of the descendants of the patriarch to

such an extent as to constitute a nation, in consequence of the blessing pronounced by God (Gen. i. 26, ix. 1) ; for in that case Israel could not be the first-born, but the youngest of the nations. Moreover, in either of these cases it would not be *Jehovah*, but *Elohim*, who would be described as the father. All nations are sons of Elohim from the very first, for they all owe their origin, their existence, to the creative, world-sustaining, and superintending operations of God. But only those, who are begotten according to the counsel of salvation, can be called sons of *Jehovah*. The generation of Isaac was undoubtedly of this kind. But Israel was not called a *son of Jehovah* merely (he is never called the *only son*), but the *first-born son*, who would therefore be followed by other sons, begotten in the same manner. Hence, as we understand the words, we are shut up to the spiritual explanation ; and the generative act of God, which constituted Israel his first-born son, cannot have been any other than that one act, by which Israel received its peculiar character, as a people distinguished from all other nations on the earth, by which *the seal of Jehovah* was stamped upon it, and which was to make a perpetual distinction between the Israelites and other nations, until the time arrived when these also should be described as sons of a later birth. This act was the election of Abraham, with all the consequent leadings, and promises, the blessings and chastisements, which had made Israel what it then was ; that is to say, all the dealings of God with Abraham and his seed, from the first call out of Ur in Chaldaea to the summons to the mountain of God in Midian, which are thus brought into a focus and placed in one single point of view. This also serves to explain the reason, why the seed of Abraham could not be designated as the son of Jehovah until now (a fact which *Baumgarten's* views will not allow him to explain) ; for the birth of this son was only completed by the exodus from Egypt. Till then, the Israelites had no individual and independent existence.

The idea of sonship embraces both the act of begetting on the part of the father, and essential likeness on the part of the son ; for generation is the transmission of being, and the nature of the father must also be that of the son. If, then, *Jehovah* had begotten Israel, there would necessarily be a *Jehovistic* nature in Israel. But the Jehovistic nature of God relates exclusively to His

operations in the development of the plan of salvation. Israel, therefore, if begotten of Jehovah, must have had imparted to it some living germ and divine call, in connexion with that plan.

Moreover, the idea of sonship involves both paternal and filial rights. The son owes to the father obedience, confidence, reverence, and love, and the father is bound to render to the son sustenance, protection, and education. Thus, in the name "son," there is involved the duty of faith in Jehovah on the part of Israel, and the pledge of constant and immediate training on the part of Jehovah.

But the idea of sonship is still further defined by that of primogeniture ; and the first-born has peculiar rights and privileges apart from the rest. He has already enjoyed the father's discipline and care, long before the others begin to participate in it. His education is complete, when the training of the others is still in progress, and therefore, for a time at least, he has essential advantages over them. Moreover he also takes part in the father's supervision over the rest, and assists in their training. And at all times he is the first and most natural representative of the father. If, then, Israel was actually the *first-born* son of Jehovah, all this must have been manifest in their case. The very consciousness of being the first-born in the house of Jehovah, was therefore a prediction for Israel of the future history of that house ; it was a repetition in a more concrete form of the original prediction : " In thee and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." When Israel knew that he was the first-born, he must also have known that the rest of the nations were destined to be born at a later period, and therefore that they also were called to inherit and share the possessions of the father's house. And this knowledge determined the duties of Israel with regard to these nations, in both the present and future course of their history.

Such a sonship as this, though it may be the result of spiritual generation, is quite as real as that which proceeds from physical generation. In consequence of this generation, Jehovah could no more forsake the Israelites, than a father neglect his son (*cf.* Jer. xxxi. 20 ; Is. xlix. 15, &c.), for he had made Israel an actual partaker of his own nature. Moreover, the character which was imparted to Israel through this generation, and which for the

time distinguished it from every other nation, was a thoroughly real one, which had been implanted and had taken shape in the flesh and blood, as well as in the spirit and soul of the people. The call and election of Israel were something more than a mere idea, which floated like a vapour above the people, and could be driven away by the first wind that blew. It had become the soul, the national soul of Israel, and continued to fill with true life all its healthy, normal, vital functions, so long as it did not touch its own existence with suicidal hands.

(2). On the *hardening of Pharaoh's heart* we have an excellent dissertation by *Hengstenberg* (*Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 380), which, though not entirely free from partial views, has rendered essential service towards the elucidation of this subject. The earlier Lutheran theologians went so far in their opposition to the doctrine of predestination, as to maintain that the sinner always *hardened himself*, the part performed by God being limited to *permission* alone. "The rationalistic theology appropriated the rationalism of the orthodox all the more readily, since in the estimation of the former the co-operation of God even for good does not extend beyond permission." In this, however, both the orthodox and the rationalist were at variance with the Holy Scriptures, which so frequently and distinctly represent the hardening of man as the result of an actual interposition on the part of God. But the Scriptures were regarded by orthodox theologians as the word of God, and therefore they endeavoured to show that the discrepancy was merely apparent, and explained the Bible according to *their* notion of what hardening is. Thus, for example, in *Pfeiffer's Dubia vexata*, p. 229, the *decisio* respecting the case before us is as follows: "*Deus dicitur cor Pharaonis indurare permissive, permittendo scil. justo judicio, ut ille, qui se emolliri non patiebatur, sibi permixtus durus maneret in propriam perniciem.*" The rationalistic theology, on the other hand, was not fettered by any doctrine of inspiration, and therefore candidly acknowledged the discrepancy, and even exaggerated it to such an extent as to affirm that the Scriptures made God the author of sin. *Hengstenberg* has defended the authority of the Scriptures in opposition to both of these, with especial reference to the hardening of Pharaoh.

The first thing to be decided is, what interpretation the writer

of the Scriptural record intended us to put upon the whole transaction? With regard to this, *Hengstenberg* has at the outset very properly laid stress upon the fact, that the Scriptural account represents the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, no less frequently and decidedly as Pharaoh's own act, that is as self-hardening, than as an act of God of which Pharaoh was the object. He finds on examination that there are *seven* passages in which Pharaoh is said to have hardened his own heart (Ex. vii. 13, 22, viii. 15, 19, 32, ix. 7, 34), and also *seven* in which God is said to have hardened Pharaoh's heart (chap. iv. 21, vii. 3, ix. 12, x. 1, 20, 27, xi. 10). In his opinion the number seven is significant. "It indicates," he says, "that the hardening rested upon the covenant of God with Israel, of which this number was the mark." But in this we must differ from him. From the point of view referred to, we can easily understand why the hardening should be represented seven times as *an act of God*, for His covenant with Israel was the cause of all that He did. But it is impossible to apply the same explanation to the fact that Pharaoh is also referred to seven times, as hardening himself by his own voluntary act. Where Pharaoh acted *freely*, he cannot be regarded as having in any way acted in subservience to the covenant. It is only where his actions appear as the result of what God had done, that such a reference is admissible. However, as *Baumgarten* has already shown, *Hengstenberg* has not reckoned correctly. It is not seven times but *ten times* that God is said to have hardened Pharaoh's heart, and *ten times* also that Pharaoh is said to have hardened himself.¹ At the commencement of the narrative the hardening is attributed twice to God (chap. iv. 21, vii. 3), then seven times to Pharaoh (chap. vii. 13, 14, 22; viii. 15, 19, 32; ix. 7), then again once to God (chap. ix. 12), twice to Pharaoh (chap. ix. 34, 35), four times to God (x. 1, 20, 27; xi. 10), once more to Pharaoh (xiii. 15), and, lastly, three times to God (xiv. 4, 8, 17). This considerably alters the state of the case. *Ten* is the sign of completeness, being the last number of the *decad*, in which every possible numeral appears. If, then, the Scriptural record sets

¹ If the article in the evang. Kirchenzeitung 1837 was written by *Hengstenberg* himself, (and we have no reason to doubt it), it appears an inexplicable thing, that he should have given the right number "ten" in that article (p. 496), and then afterwards have altered it to seven.

before us the hardening of Pharaoh's heart ten times as his own act, and also ten times as the act of God, we may conclude from the equality in the numbers, that the two aspects are to be placed side by side as of equal importance, and that neither of them is to be sacrificed to the other. On the other hand, from the fact that the number *ten* is used on both sides, we may infer that each of the two processes, which were the determining causes of Pharaoh's hardness, ran its own course both freely and fully, and that in his case they were both of them exhausted and completely fulfilled. For this reason we are also unable to subscribe to *Hengstenberg's* opinion, when he says that "the equality in the numbers denotes, that the hardening attributed to Pharaoh stood to that ascribed to God, in the relation of effect to cause." We might reverse the sentence with quite as much propriety, or rather impropriety. If the author had desired to convey the idea, which *Hengstenberg* imagines, he would certainly have arranged the two causalities in such a manner, that every instance in which the hardening was ascribed to God, should be followed by another, in which it was attributed to Pharaoh. Even in the fact that, "in the introduction and the summing up the hardening is attributed to God," and therefore "the part performed by Pharaoh is surrounded by that of God," we can not discover any evidence of an intention to represent "the former as determined by the latter." The announcement of the obduracy of Pharaoh was necessarily made from that point of view, in which it appeared as the work of God; for this was the only light, in which it could awaken confidence or give the intended pledge. In making such an announcement, God could not possibly refer exclusively or even prominently to the fact that Pharaoh would harden *himself*; for that would have implied, that the people would be left to the caprice and hard-heartedness of an enemy. On the other hand, there is certainly truth in the further remarks of *Hengstenberg*, that "there are also marks of design in the fact, that the hardening at the beginning of the plagues is attributed, in a preponderating degree, to Pharaoh, and towards the end to God. The higher the plagues rise, so much the more does the hardening of Pharaoh assume a supernatural character, and so much the more obvious is the reference to a supernatural cause." But after the divine causality has been placed in a most decided manner in the foreground, the

self-hardening is again brought prominently forward; and in this we discover an evident intimation, that the two causalities are to be regarded as working side by side to the very close. We will here merely observe in passing, that *Hengstenberg* really contradicts himself, one of his assertions completely upsetting the other. In one place he says that the hardening attributed to Pharaoh stood to that ascribed to God in the relation of effect to cause; and yet afterwards he says, that in the circumstance that the hardening is at first chiefly attributed to Pharaoh, and towards the end almost exclusively to God, we have a proof that at the outset the human causality predominated, and subsequently the divine, in other words that the former was the effect, the latter the cause (the former the cause, the latter the effect—*Tr.*). If the two causalities really stood to *each other* in the relation of cause and effect, it is evident from the fact just referred to, that the human has the stronger claim to be regarded as the cause. But we deny that this is the relation in which they are to be placed, and we found our denial upon the Scriptural narrative itself. Each contains its own *cause* within itself, the one in the evil will of man, the other in the holy will of God; the *effect* of the one is the hardening of a man to his own destruction, that of the other the hardening of man to the glory of God. Still each of these forms of hardening is determined by the other, and the one can never take place apart from the other. Had Pharaoh not received that testimony from God, of which the narrative before us speaks, he would not have hardened himself; and had not Pharaoh's sinful will resisted the divine decree, God would never have hardened him.

To prevent mistake, however, we must enter in several respects into a fuller explanation of what we have said above. Both the expressions employed and the facts themselves lead to the conclusion, that hardening can only take place, where there is a conflict between human freedom and divine *grace*. It is the ultimate result which is sure to ensue, when the human will continues to maintain a negative attitude towards the will of God, after the latter has positively announced itself, in accordance with the plan of salvation, as having no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live (*Ezek.* xxxiii. 11, *cf.* 2 *Pet.* iii. 9; 1 *Tim.* ii. 4). Hence such a thing can only occur within the sphere of revelation, or where the

tidings of salvation have been received. In the case of a heathen, then, the hardening referred to is impossible, so long as he continues fixed in a purely heathen state. It is only when he comes into contact with a special message from God, in connexion with the history of salvation, as was the case with the king of Egypt, that the hardening of the heart becomes possible for him.

Again, it follows from the notion of hardening, that it can only result from a *conscious* and obstinate resistance to the will of God. It cannot take place where there is either ignorance or error. So long as a man has not been fully convinced that he is resisting the power and will of God, there remains a possibility that as soon as the conviction of this is brought home to his mind, his heart may be changed, and so long as there is still a possibility of his conversion, he cannot be said to be really hardened. The hardening of the heart commences from the moment in which a man becomes clearly conscious that he is resisting God, and it increases in proportion as this consciousness becomes stronger and clearer, and the testimony of God comes home to his mind with greater vividness and power. The course of Pharaoh's history will show how truly this applied to him.

Hardening, then, cannot even commence till some manifestation of *God* has been brought home to a man, with the express declaration and proof that it *is* such a manifestation. As God desires that all men should be saved, the first manifestation of God to a man must necessarily be one of mercy, designed to lead to his salvation. Even in the case of Pharaoh, the demand of God that he should let Israel go, supported as it was by signs and wonders, was an act of mercy; for it afforded him the opportunity and means of coming to a knowledge of the true God, of assisting in the development of the history of salvation, and of participating in its blessings. If, after this, a man rejects the mercy offered, and steels himself against its *saving* influence, this fact, which is the commencement of the hardening of his heart, proves that there was already an ungodly disposition within him, and that this disposition is still maintained in spite of such manifestation of the will of God. There is, it is true, an ungodly disposition in every man, because all are sinners. There was such a disposition in Moses as well as in Pharaoh; and even Moses refused for a time to acquiesce in the will of God. In *his* refusal, too, there was contained the

possibility of his becoming hardened, but this possibility did not become a *reality*, because the refusal was not an absolute one, and because his disposition *to depart from God* was counteracted by a leaning towards God, which eventually became victorious under the assistance of God himself. When Moses exclaimed, "Lord, send whom thou wilt," he had probably approached very nearly to the boundary of absolute refusal, which is the commencement of hardness ; but even these words did not contain an absolute refusal, since there was still a tone of petition heard by the side of the refusal. The divine summons then became a stern command, and the only alternative was either unconditional submission to God, or unconditional rebellion against him. Had Moses chosen the latter then, we fear that such a choice would have proved that his heart was hardened.

With Pharaoh it was altogether different. His ungodly disposition was already determined and unconditional, at the time when the manifestation of God was made to him. His refusal, therefore, was from the very first an absolute one, and had no counterpoise in a leaning towards God, as was the case with Moses. And, therefore, from the very first, his opposition was also a hardening of the heart. Pharaoh hardened himself on the first approach of God. He did not recognise the mercy contained in that approach, as being really mercy. But he could not conceal from himself the fact, that it was God who was approaching him, and that by his refusal he was fighting against God. Not that this is the only way in which the heart can be hardened. *Judas* obeyed the call of the Lord, tasted the delights of fellowship with the Lord, and yet was given up to hardness of heart.

No one would think of describing the refusal of *Moses*, reprehensible as it was, or *Peter's* denial, however grievous the sin, or lastly, the fury of *Saul* against the church of the Lord, bitterly as he afterwards condemned himself for it, as a hardening of the heart, or even as the commencement of hardening. The commencement of hardening is really hardening itself, for it contains the whole process of hardening potentially within itself. This furnishes us with two new criteria of hardening ; (1) before it commences, there is already in existence a certain moral condition, which only needs to be called into activity, to become positive hardness ; and (2) as soon as it has actually entered upon the very first stage, the completion of the hardening may be regarded

as certain. The ossification of the heart may progress, but it can never return to a *status integer*; its course may possibly be checked or retarded for a time by the removal of everything that is likely to promote it, but nothing can prevent it from becoming complete in the end.

In what relation, then, does God stand to the hardening of the heart? Certainly His part is not limited to mere permission. *Hengstenberg* has proved, that this is utterly inadmissible on doctrinal grounds; and an impartial examination of the Scriptural record will show that it is exegetically inadmissible here. No. God *desires* the hardening, and, therefore, self-hardening is always at the same time hardening through God. The moral condition, which we have pointed out as the pre-requisite of hardening, the soil from which it springs, is a man's own fault, the result of the free determination of his own will. But it is not without the co-operation of God, that this moral condition becomes actual hardness. Up to a certain point the will of God operates on a man in the form of mercy drawing to himself, he desires his *salvation*; but henceforth the mercy is changed into judicial wrath, and desires his *condemnation*.

The *will of God* (as the will of *the Creator*), when contrasted with the will of *man* (as the will of *the creature*), is from the outset irresistible and overpowering. But yet the will of man is able to resist the will of God, since God has created him for freedom, self-control, and responsibility; and thus when the human will has taken an ungodly direction and persists in it, the divine will necessarily gives way. Hence, the human will is at the same time dependent on the divine will, and independent of it. The solution of this contradiction is to be found in the fact, that the will of God is not an inflexibly rigid thing, but something living, and that it maintains a different bearing towards a man's obedience, from that which it assumes towards his stubborn resistance. *In itself* it never changes, whatever the circumstances may be; but in relation to a creature, endowed with freedom, the manifestation of this will differs according to the different attitudes assumed by the freedom of the creature. *In itself* it is exactly the same will which blesses the obedient and condemns the impenitent,—there has been no change in its *nature*, but only in its *operations*,—just as the heat of the sun which causes one tree to bloom is precisely

the same as that by which another is withered. As there are two states of the human will, obedience and disobedience; so are there two corresponding states of the divine will, mercy and wrath, and the twofold effects of these are a blessing and a curse. Even when the divine will yields to the human, it maintains its absolute supremacy, for in yielding it merely proceeds to manifest itself in another form, in accordance with the conditions of human freedom. But the human will is free, only because the living action of the divine will endows it with the power of self-determination. And it is also under restraint, since it can never escape from the will of God; for when it withdraws itself from one form of the divine will, by that very act it yields itself captive to another. Whenever a man obstinately refuses to submit to the will of God, who desires his happiness, God yields at length to the will of the man himself, who is seeking for happiness in an ungodly way, and working out his own condemnation. The ultimate result, then, is that described in Ps. cix. 17: "He wished for cursing, and it will come to him; he had no wish for blessing, and it will be far from him." The hardening of the heart, so far as it is permitted by God, is nothing but a recognition of human freedom, even to its utmost abuse; but God does more than permit this hardening, he wills it and even promotes it, when once a man's own sin has gone to such lengths, that all the pre-requisites of hardness are already there, and nothing more is required than an opportunity or inducement for putting it in practice. The occasion is then created by *God*, and it is this which constitutes the co-operation of God in the hardening of a man. Under these circumstances hardness of heart *must necessarily* ensue. Still the necessity for such an issue does not arise from the measures adopted by God, but is contained in the man's own moral condition, a condition brought about entirely by himself. Hence, it is not the will of God, which forces him into hardness, but his own ungodly will. The message from God, which furnishes the occasion for the entrance, continuance, and consummation of the process of hardening, is in itself as much a means of sanctification as of condemnation. The very same divine manifestation, which furnished the occasion for the hardening of the king of Egypt in his peculiar moral condition, would have been the means of leading him to salvation, if his moral condition had

not been what it was. Whenever a message from God is received by a man, it urges him forward, either to salvation or condemnation. And his condition must become better, or worse than it was before. Such a message cannot pass over him without effect, for it is not dead but living.

If the message from God had not been delivered to Pharaoh, his heart would not have been hardened. If God had not brought the matter to a climax by fresh manifestations of a more and more striking character, the hardening would not have been completed. But neither his present nor his future condition would have been improved thereby. For the soil, from which this hardness sprang, would have been just the same, and a period in his history would have been sure to arise, as in that of every other man, when a decision, an actual, absolute decision must necessarily have been formed. Such decisions are a necessary part of the moral, that is the divine, government of the world. As the judgment is the end and aim of the history of the world, and of the life of every individual, it is necessary that such a decision should be formed by every individual as a prerequisite of judgment. It makes no difference to the individual himself, whether the decision is hastened or delayed. Nor are the reasons of such acceleration or delay to be found in the man himself, but in the position which he occupies in the world. The history of the world is woven of innumerable threads, and He who sits at the loom takes every thread just as it suits his purpose, but sooner or later he is sure to take them all. In the present instance it is easy to discover why this was just the moment, when it was requisite that Pharaoh's decision should take place. A new thread was about to be introduced into the plan of salvation and the history of the world, and that decision could not be dispensed with.

(3). The *occurrence in the inn*, which is narrated in chap. iv. 24—26, is in many respects difficult to understand. In ver. 24 it is said that "it came to pass by the way in the inn, that Jehovah met him, and wished to kill him." As the words stand here, they cannot possibly be referred to any one but Moses. But several commentators have assumed that it was not Moses, the father, but the uncircumcised son, who was *threatened with death*. *E. Meier* has lately adopted this explanation (*Wurzelwörterb.* p. 402). The opinion that it was Moses' son, whom

Jehovah wanted to kill, is derived from a reference to ver. 23. Jehovah is supposed to threaten, that he will punish Moses for neglecting to circumcise his son, in the same manner as he had already declared that he would punish Pharaoh for his disobedience. As such an interpretation is impossible with the present reading, *Meier* pronounces the passage mutilated; and supposes a verse to have been omitted between vers. 23 and 24, which contained the information that the first-born of Moses had not been circumcised, and concluded with the threat, "if thou do not circumcise him, I will slay thy son, even thy first-born." The similarity between this conclusion and that of ver. 23 is said to explain the accidental omission of the conjectural verse. But this is merely one of the arbitrary and unfounded assumptions, to which we have become accustomed, from such men as *Meier*. There is no reference at all to the *first-born* son of Moses. As we find from chap. iv. 20 that he had more than one son (according to chap. xviii. 3, he had *two*), and as only *one* of these is said to have been uncircumcised, it is scarcely possible to come to any other conclusion, than that it was the *youngest*. If it had been the *first-born*, this would certainly have been stated in ver. 25. But there is another difficulty, of greater importance than *Meier's* foundling, which induced some of the earlier commentators to refer the threat, contained in ver. 24, to the son rather than the father. In Gen. xvii. 14 it is the neglected son, not the negligent father, who is threatened with being cut off, if circumcision should not be performed. But even in this passage the destruction of the child is intended to be set forth, as primarily and chiefly a punishment for the parents; and what is of more importance still, the threat applied to the period when the covenant was in full force. When the covenant was suspended, or had been almost lost sight of by the parties concerned, as was the case now, after the Israelites had been in Egypt for 400 years without any revelation (*cf.* ii. 24), the threat contained in Gen. xvii. 14 lost its relentless severity. Still it was an act of sinful weakness and perverseness on the part of Moses, to give way in this matter to the self-will of his wife, a weakness which became the more conspicuous, now that he was about to come forward as the hero of God, and a perverseness, which seemed all the greater, as he was on his way to Egypt to renew the covenant, whose provisions he had himself

neglected. The anger of God was therefore directed immediately against Moses himself, and not, first of all, against his son ; that is to say, it threatened his own life and not his son's. This occurrence was, at the same time, a fresh and striking proof of the holy and inviolable manner, in which the covenant was to be henceforth maintained ; but the threat also involved a promise and a pledge, that Jehovah would display as much vigilance and zeal in his defence, as he now displayed on behalf of the covenant. In the place of "Jehovah," the *Septuagint* reads ἄγγελος Κυρίου in ver. 24, a reading which is certainly justified by the sense (*cf.* chap. iii. 2, 4). It is doubtful, however, whether we are to think of a visible appearance, on the part of Jehovah or his angel, or merely of some act performed by Jehovah, which threatened to put an end to his life. The brief and indefinite notice in the Bible appears to favour the latter conclusion. Moses was probably suddenly attacked by some mortal disease, in which he could clearly discover the hand of God.

It is stated plainly enough in the history, that Zipporah was chiefly to blame for *the omission of the circumcision*. Whether her maternal feelings had led her to set herself against his being circumcised at all, or whether, from her contempt for the Israelitish rite (Gen. xvii. 12), and her preference for the custom of the Ishmaelites (Gen. xvii. 25), she wished to delay the circumcision of her sons till their 13th year, cannot possibly be decided. Her accurate acquaintance with the mode of performing the operation, which is presupposed by ver. 25, might perhaps be regarded as favouring the latter conclusion. Her use of a *sharp stone* for that purpose, is in harmony with Josh. v. 2. The agreement between these two passages seems to imply, that in the earlier times stone knives were generally employed in the operation. If this was the case, the explanation of such a custom is not that metal knives were as yet but little used, but that on symbolical grounds stone knives, which are a simple product of nature, were preferred to metal knives, which had been prepared by human art and were in general use every day. Even in heathen countries stone knives were employed in operations of a religious nature, *e.g.* in the preparation of the mummies in Egypt (Herod ii. 16 : λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῶ ὀξεῖ παρασχίσαντες παρὰ

την λαπάρην), and in the emasculation of the priests of Cybele (Catull. xliii. 5 : *devolvit acuto sibi pondera silice*).

Zipporah cut off the foreskin of her son לְרַגְלָיו וְהִנֵּעַ. How are we to understand these words? Do they refer to Moses' feet, or his son's? This depends upon the interpretation to be given to הִנֵּיעַ. If the meaning of this word will admit of its being referred to Moses, there is no grammatical difficulty to prevent our referring the suffix to him also, as he is mentioned in the previous verse. *Meier* renders the passage "she cut off the foreskin of her son, and smeared his feet (with it, or with the blood)," on the ground that the Hiphil of נָגַע is also used in Ex. xii. 22, with reference to the smearing of the lintel and door-posts with the blood of the paschal lamb, and moreover (listen and admire his acuteness!) the smearing of the blood on the lintel and door-posts exactly corresponded to the blood on the feet and the place of the wound (!!!) We do not think it worth the trouble to reply to such nonsense. נָגַע means to *touch*, the Hiphil to *cause to touch*, to bring into contact. This may be done in a slow and quiet way, or in a violent and angry manner. The passionate excitement of the woman, which is apparent enough from the history, justifies us in giving the preference to the latter. The words would then mean : she threw down at his feet. Smearing the feet of the child with the blood of the wound would be thoroughly senseless and without any analogy. And there would have been just as little sense in her throwing the foreskin at the boy's own feet. But the whole scene is intelligible enough, if we refer the words to Moses. It is her husband's fault, she thinks, that she is obliged to perform this bloody operation against her will. In her ill-humour she throws the foreskin at his feet, which was as much as to say : "now you have what you want."

If רַגְלָיו is to be thus referred to Moses, there can be hardly any doubt that Zipporah's exclamation, "a *blood-bridegroom* art thou to me," was addressed to the husband and not to the son. But in this instance also *E. Meier* has displayed most remarkable wisdom. "וְהִנֵּנִי דְקָיִים," he says, is "an expression borrowed from the consummation of marriage, and therefore points out the newly circumcised child as consecrated, entrusted to God. The act of circumcision bears this resemblance to the

consummation of marriage, that in both cases there is an offering of blood to the great Deity of nature, and by this offering, this symbolical sacrifice to the God of life, in either case there is a self-consecration to the Deity of life, by which the right of existence is first obtained." *Spencer* also is of opinion that the meaning of Zipporah's words is: *Ritu illo Deo et ecclesiae nostrae, quasi conjugii foedere copulatus es* (p. 61 ed. Pfaff.). There is no doubt whatever that circumcision may be regarded in the light of a marriage or union with God, and the use of the Arabic word *ختنى* for circumcision shows that it has been so interpreted. But the idea of there being any reference to conjugal intercourse is nothing but a colossal absurdity, and even *Spencer's* explanation is inadmissible, for Zipporah says: "A blood-bridegroom thou art to me." *Aben-Ezra* and *Kimchi* say that the Jews were accustomed to call a newly circumcised child *Chatan* (though this cannot have been a universal custom, for we find no reference to it anywhere else; *Bodenschatz*, for example, does not once refer to it): but if so, this only proves that the later Jews gave this interpretation, or rather misinterpretation, to the passage before us.—On the other hand, the whole is perfectly clear, if we understand the words as referring to Moses. Moses had been as good as taken from her, by the deadly attack which had been made upon him. She purchased his life by the blood of her son; she received him back, as it were, from the dead, and married him anew, he was in fact a bridegroom of blood to her. In ver. 26 we read: "She said 'blood-husband' because of the circumcisions (*למילת*)." The plural in this case must either be regarded as an abstract, according to the well-known custom in Hebrew (referring to circumcision in general as a religious rite, which Moses had wished to observe, but which *she* had hitherto obstinately refused, and not to the particular concrete act), or we may take it as a concrete, and refer it to the circumcision of the two sons.

(4). We learn from Ex. xviii. 2 that Moses *sent back* his wife and children to his father-in-law. This probably occurred now. The event in the inn had convinced him, that Zipporah was by no means in a proper state of mind to encounter all the dangers which threatened him in Egypt, with equanimity and faith. His brother Aaron's advice may also have led him to adopt this resolution.

(5). It was a most important thing both for Moses and the people, that the latter should *believe God* on the first interview with Moses. *M. Baumgarten* has the following apt remarks on this subject: "The text exhibits this declaration of feeling, with which the entire nation responded to the first message from God, as a most important commencement. . . . By faith Israel now proved itself to be the son of Jehovah (ver. 22), for the son believes the father. And the commencement thus made by the seed of Abraham, as a nation, answered to the disposition manifested by their father Abraham himself (Gen. xv. 6). Thus, whatever might be the course henceforth pursued by the nation of Israel, it enjoyed this honour, that its first mental act was *faith*, in which, though still suffering the severest oppression and hardship, it looked upon the redemption of Israel as already secured.

§ 22 (Ex. v., vi.).—A good beginning was made; the *people* believed and worshipped. But when Moses and Aaron appeared before Pharaoh, and in the name of Jehovah, the God of Israel, requested him to allow the Israelites to go a three days' journey into the desert (*cf.* § 22. 4), that they might celebrate a festival in honour of their God, they met with nothing but ridicule and insult (1). "Who is Jehovah," said Pharaoh, "that I should obey his voice? I know nothing of your Jehovah, and will not let Israel go." The king of Egypt, from his heathen point of view, looked upon Jehovah as merely the national god of the Hebrews, who in his estimation was as powerless and contemptible in comparison with the gods of the Egyptians, as the enslaved Israel when compared with the despotic and powerful Egypt. Like people, like god, was his notion; and, to show his contempt of both, he contemptuously increased the oppression under which Israel was groaning. The people, he thought, have too easy a life of it, and hence the wish for liberty is growing up among them; he therefore ordered their task to be doubled, that he might thoroughly eradicate any such desire. Hitherto they had had the material for the work brought to

them ; but henceforth they were to get it for themselves, and yet produce as many bricks as before (2). This was beyond their power. They fell into arrears with their deliveries, and their *shoterim* (or scribes, § 16) were beaten in consequence. They complained to the king of such inhuman proceedings, but their complaints were disregarded. And now the weakness of the people's faith became at once apparent. They heaped reproaches upon Moses and Aaron, for having brought them into deeper misery instead of bringing them relief, and refused to listen to their consolations and promises any more (3). But this only afforded the occasion for a display of the ability of Jehovah both to overcome the incredulity of the people, and break down the opposition of Pharaoh.

(1). The *request*, that Pharaoh would let the people go a three days' journey into the desert to celebrate a festival, does not seem to have struck the Egyptians as anything surprising. This may possibly be explained on the ground that the Egyptians were in the habit of making similar pilgrimages from time to time. *Niebuhr* discovered a mountain, called Surabit-el-Khadim, in the desert between Suez and Sinai, the whole plateau of which was covered with fragments of statuary, and pillars overturned, evidently the ruins of a temple, the pillars being crowned with the head of Isis. All the walls, pillars, and fragments, that were left, were covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics, symbols, and representations of priests offering sacrifice. *Lord Prudhoe* supposes this to have been a sacred spot, to which pilgrimages were made by the ancient Egyptians. The supposition is well founded, though *Robinson* has expressed a different opinion (*Travels*, vol. i. 112—116).

(2). The tributary service referred to here, consisted of the making of *bricks* for the royal buildings (*vid.* § 14. 5). Up to this time the straw that was required had been supplied to the Israelites ; but henceforth they were ordered to go into the fields and gather it for themselves. The bricks, most extensively used by the Egyptians, were not burnt (as *Luther's* translation erroneously implies), but dried in the sun. The clay was mixed

with chopped straw to give it the greater consistency. *Rosellini* brought some bricks from Thebes with the stamp of King Thothmes IV., the fifth king of the 18th dynasty, upon them. On examination, it was found that they were always mixed with straw. *Prokesch* (*Erinnerungen* ii. 31) says: "The bricks (of the pyramids at Dashur) are made of the fine mud of the Nile mixed with stubble. This mixture gave to the bricks an inconceivable durability." *Hengstenberg* (*Egypt and Moses*, p. 79 transl.), has properly laid stress upon this, as a proof that the author of the account before us possessed a most accurate acquaintance with the customs of Egypt.

L. de Laborde (comment. géogr. p. 18), has the following comment upon this passage: "J'ai assisté aux travaux du canal, et les moyens comme le résultat m'ont semblé en tous points répondre aux versets de l'Exode. Cent mille malheureux remuaient la terre, la plupart avec les mains, parceque le gouvernement n'avait fourni en nombre suffisant que des fouets pour les frapper; les pioches, les pelles et les couffes manquaient. Ces paysans, hommes infirmes, vieillards (les jeunes gens avaient été réservés pour l'armée et la culture des terres) femmes et enfants venaient principalement de la haute Egypte, et étaient répartis sur le cours présumé du canal en escouades plus ou moins nombreuses. L'entreprise était dirigée par des Turcs et des Albanois, qui avaient établi parmi les paysans des conducteurs de travaux responsables de la tâche imposée à chaque masse d'hommes. Il faut dire, que ces derniers abusaient plus que les autres de l'autorité, qu'ils avaient reçue. Tout ce monde de travailleurs était censé recevoir une paie et une nourriture, mais l'une manquait, depuis le commencement des travaux jusqu'à la fin, l'autre était si précaire, si incertaine, qu'un cinquième des ouvriers mourut dans cette misère sous les coups de fouet, en criant vainement, comme le peuple d'Israel (v. 15, 16), &c."

(3). By modern critics, who suppose that chap. vi. formed part of the original document, and that the previous chapters (iii.—v.) are supplementary, the two passages are regarded as different accounts of one and the same event, whereas according to their present position they form different parts of a continuous narrative. Undoubtedly nearly all the particular details of the call described in chapter vi. are also found in chaps. iii.—v.; and hence one might be tempted to regard the former as an earlier,

more concise, and summary account of the same event. But it is also conceivable that, after the failure of the first mission to Pharaoh, the same doubts and fears may have arisen again in the mind of Moses, which he had already expressed at Horeb, and hence it may have been necessary that the call should be renewed, with a repetition of the consolations and promises by which they had once before been allayed. But at any rate, even if the two sections must be regarded as different accounts of the same event, there is sufficient progress in the second section to justify the editor in placing the summary account, contained in chap. vi., after the more detailed narrative in chap. iii.—v. This progress consists in the change from the strong faith, evinced by the Israelites at the outset (iv. 31), to the incredulity, manifested by them immediately upon the failure of the first attempt (vi. 9).

(2), On the CAPITAL of the King of Egypt at that time, see § 1. 5, and § 41. 2.

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THE SIGNS AND WONDERS IN EGYPT.

Vid. Lilienthal, gute Sache ix. p. 31 sqq.—*S. Oedmann* vermischte Sammlung aus der Naturkunde zur Erklärung der heiligen Schrift. Aus d. Schwed. v. Gröning, Rost. 1786 sqq.—*Rosenmüller*, altes und neues Morgenland, vol. i. *Hengstenberg*, Egypt and the books of Moses, p. 95—125, Eng. transl.—*L. de Laborde*, comment. géogr. p. 22 sqq.—*J. B. Friedreich*, zur Bibel, Nürnberg 1848, i. 95 sqq.

§ 23 (Ex. vii. 1—7).—Pharaoh had contemptuously rejected the word of God, and therefore God spoke to him in deeds. The instrumentality of Moses was also employed in the *deeds*, as it had formerly been in the *word*. The fruitless negotiations were followed first by a declaration of war, and then by war itself. Moses, the shepherd and leader of Israel, was opposed to Pharaoh, the King of Egypt. But Moses was the messenger and repre-

sentative of Jehovah, whom Pharaoh despised, so strong was his confidence in the superior might of his own deities. Hence the contest, which was now about to commence, was essentially a *war on the part of Jehovah against the gods of Egypt* (1). For that reason, Moses did not conduct the armed hosts of his people against the horses and warriors of Pharaoh; it was not to the secular power of the Egyptian monarch, but to his *gods*, that the gauntlet was thrown down. It was in the domain of miracles that the battle was to be fought—a domain in which Egypt regarded itself as peculiarly strong—for it was in Egypt, the land of conjurors and magicians, of interpreters of dreams and signs, that *magic*, that mysterious life-blood of heathenism, had put forth its marvellous power in its most fully developed forms (2).

(1). The whole of the ancient church was most fully convinced of the *reality of the heathen gods*. Idolatry in its esteem was devil-worship in the strict sense of the term. The fathers of the church had no more doubt than the heathen themselves, who still adhered without the least misgiving to the religion they had inherited from their fathers, that the gods and goddesses of mythology were real beings, and had a personal existence, and that the worship with which they were honoured was not only subjectively directed, in the minds of the worshippers, to certain supernatural beings, but actually reached such beings and was accepted by them. The fathers of the church undoubtedly lived in an age, when the original power of heathenism was broken; but even this shattered heathenism, the *disjecta membra poetarum*, still produced upon their minds the powerful and indelible impression, that there was something more in all this than the empty fancies or foolish speculations of idle brains; that there were actually supernatural powers at work, who possessed a fearfully serious reality. The impression thus produced upon their minds, by their own observation of the tendency of heathen idolatry, was confirmed by their reading of both the Old and New Testaments; and the greater the confidence with which they looked upon the salvation they had experienced in Christ, as something

real and personal, the less doubt did they feel, as to the reality of the powers of evil by which it was opposed in heathenism. In a word, the gods and goddesses of heathenism were in their estimation the destructive powers of darkness, the fallen spirits, the principalities and powers that rule in the air, of whom the Scriptures speak. It is not to be denied, that in this they went farther than the Bible authorised them to go. But it must be maintained, on the other hand, that they had laid hold of the substantial truth contained in the Bible; whilst their error was merely formal, and confined exclusively to their doctrinal exposition of that truth. But modern theology, both believing and sceptical, by denying all objective reality to the heathen deities, and pronouncing them nothing but creations of the imagination, has departed altogether from the truth, and rendered it impossible to understand either heathenism itself, or the conflict which is carried on by the kingdom of God against the powers of heathenism. We find *Hengstenberg* still following this false track (*Beiträge* iii. 247 seq.). In the zeal, with which he has so worthily contended against the rationalist foundling of a national God of the Hebrews, he has persuaded himself that he may safely assert, that the Bible does not once attribute even a sphere of existence to the gods of heathenism, much less a sphere of action. On the other hand, the theologians of the present day are again beginning to discover the true solution of the problem. Among others we may refer to *J. T. Beck* (*Eiuleitung in das System der christl. Lehre* p. 102 seq. and *christl. Lehrwissenschaft* i. 259), *Rodatz* (*luth. Zeitschrift*, 1844), *Delitzsch* (*biblisch-prophetische Theologie* p. 81), *M. Baumgarten* (*Commentar* i. 1. p. 469; i. 2 p. 351, &c.), *Hofmann* (*Weissagung und Erfüllung* i. 120; *Schriftbeweis* i. 302 sqq.), *Nägelsbach* (*Der Gottmensch* Nürnberg. 1853. 1. 244) &c. There were others of earlier date who held the correct view, for example: *G. Menken* (*Homilien über die Geschichte des Elias.*, 2 A. Bremen, 1823, p. 107 sqq.), and still farther back *Chr. A. Crusius* (*Hypomnemata ad theol. proph.* i. 129 sqq.).

Crusius maintains with perfect justice: *Sacrae literae a Mose usque ad Novum Testamentum constanter docent, Daemones esse daemones. Quorum etsi Deitas negatur, non ideo entitas, ut ita dicam, negari censenda est, cum potius contrarium aperte patcat.* What impartial expositor can possibly deny that such passages

as Ex. xii. 12, xv. 11, Num. xxxiii. 4, Deut. x. 17, Ps. lxxxvi. 8, xcvi. 3, xcvi. 4, xcvi. 9, cxxxv. 5, cxxxvi. 2, seq., &c., attribute to heathen deities not merely a "sphere of existence," but a "sphere of action" also? In Ex. xii. 12 Jehovah promises: "I will pass through the land of Egypt this night and against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment, I Jehovah." In his song of praise (Ex. xv. 11) Moses sings: "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?" In Ex. xviii. 11 Jethro confesses: "Now know I that Jehovah is greater than all gods!" Even on the gods whom Israel served in the desert Jehovah executed judgment (Num. xxxiii. 4). In Deut. x. 17 Moses declares to the people: "Jehovah, your God, is the God of gods and the Lord of lords." The Psalmists describe Jehovah as highly exalted above all gods (Ps. xcvi. 9, cxxxv. 5), as a great king above all gods (Ps. xcvi. 3), as to be feared above all gods (Ps. xcvi. 4), whilst there is none like him among the gods (Ps. lxxxvi. 8). In the prophets the judgments of God on heathen powers are spoken of, as a victory on the part of God over the heathen deities, and a judgment inflicted on them. Now who would suppose the theocratic lawgiver, the poets, or the prophets, capable of such absurdity, as to think that the best way of convincing the people of the absolute power and supremacy of Jehovah, was to demonstrate continually that he was stronger than *nothing*, more exalted than a mere fancy, greater than what had no existence at all, victorious over something which had no sphere of operation or of life, ruler over that which was not, and judge of that which had never been? *Cervantes* makes the knight of La Mancha fight against windmills; but the prophets would have done something worse than this, if they had made their Jehovah attack, conquer, and execute judgment upon something, of which they were convinced that it never existed at all.

Let us see what reply *Hengstenberg* has to make to this. He proves the non-existence of the heathen deities, first of all, from what the *Pentateuch* says of Jehovah: "Jehovah is Elohim, the God of Israel is also the deity; *quidquid divini est*, is contained in him." But the gods of the heathen are also Elohim, and are so called. "Jehovah is the God of the spirits of all flesh (Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16); He is the creator of the heavens and the earth; the heaven and the heaven of heavens are His,

the earth also and all that therein is (Deut. x. 14); He feeds and clothes the strangers (Deut. x. 17, 18); from Him proceeds the blessing, which is to flow through the posterity of the patriarchs to all the families of the earth; He is the judge of the whole earth (Gen. xviii.). What is there then that is left for the idols, seeing that all is preoccupied by Jehovah? They can be nothing but *λεγόμενοι θεοί*, 1 Cor. viii. 5.—This is all perfectly correct; they cannot be gods in the same sense as Jehovah, or on an equality with Him, of the same essence, and with equal power. But *Hengstenberg* asserts more than this. He maintains that “they cannot exist at all, since they have neither a *sphere of action* nor a *sphere of existence*.” What a leap in the demonstration! *Hengstenberg* might have said, with *quite* as much propriety, that angels, and men, and animals cannot exist at all, because they have neither a sphere of action, nor a sphere of existence. The sphere of existence belonging to the heathen deities is within the limits of creation, though it is super-terrestrial; and their sphere of action is simply heathenism, viz., that which is estranged from God, and has rebelled against Him, who alone is God.—*Hengstenberg* further demonstrates the non-existence of the heathen deities from the terms employed to designate them in the *Pentateuch*: “They are called *הַבְּלִיַּיִם* *nothings* (Lev. xix. 4), *לֹא אֱלֹהִים* and *הַבְּלִיַּיִם* “not God” and “vanities” (Deut. xxxii. 21), *לֹא אֱלֹהִים* (*ibid.* ver. 17), *הַבְּלִיַּיִם* *stercorei* (Lev. xxvi. 30; Deut. xxix. 17).”—

And from this we are to infer, that they have no existence at all, that they are merely “creatures of fancy!” And this is to overthrow the strong testimony, afforded by the passages cited above, to the objective reality of those powers, which the heathen worshipped as their gods! Does it follow that, because the *λεγόμενοι θεοί* of heathenism are *not-God*, therefore they are *nothing*, have no existence at all? Does it follow that, because they are powerless in relation to Jehovah, they are also powerless in relation to man? Does *הַבְּלִיַּיִם* mean *that which has no existence whatever*; does it not rather mean that which is not what it pretends to be, or is supposed to be? (*cf. Gesenius, s.v., p. 103. 1*) adj. *qui nihili est, vanus, inanis, debilis*). Did *Job* (xiii. 4) mean to say, that the friends who came to comfort

him, had no existence, when he called them רפָּאֵי אֱלֹלִים (no physicians?). Or was it with reference to something that did not exist, that *Zechariah* said, “Woe to the רוֹעֵי הָאֱלִיל (the worthless shepherds) who neglect the flock?” (xi. 17).—The same remarks apply to the passages in which the deities are called הַבְּלִים. Was it the opinion of Eve that her second son had no existence whatever, when she called him הַבֵּל? When Job exclaimed פִּי הַבֵּל יָמִי (vii. 16), did he mean to say his days had never been? Or do the words of the Preacher, כֹּל הַבֵּל (all is breath, vain), deny that anything exists?

Lastly, it is with peculiar emphasis that he says: “If a man should say that Christ conquered the gods of Greece, is there any one in the world who would infer from this, that he believed in the existence of those gods, especially if at other times he had repeatedly and expressly stated, that he looked upon them as merely creatures of the imagination?” Most certainly if the latter were the case, the former could only be regarded as a mode of speech, intended to be poetical. But in no other case; that is to say, we could only interpret the words as poetical, if it had been first of all established that the gods of Greece were vain, non-existent creatures of fancy; and this, as we have seen, cannot be proved on Scriptural grounds.

We adhere, therefore, to the opinion expressed by the excellent *Crusius*: *Quorum etsi deitas negatur, non ideo entitas negari censenda est.* We cannot otherwise explain the fact, that in the same breath the sacred Scriptures maintain the reality, and also the nothingness of the strange gods; e.g., Ps. xcvi. 4, 5; 1 Chr. xvi. 25, 26; compare also 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, and x. 19, 21.

We cannot at present enter upon the enquiry, to what extent the doctrine respecting the *daemonia* had been developed in the age of the *Pentateuch*. So much, however, we may safely affirm, that if there was no daemology before, it must have arisen from the prevalence of the views referred to respecting the heathen deities. If Jehovah is the one and only God, the supreme and absolute Deity, and if, on the other hand, the so-called gods of the heathen are real, super-terrestrial beings and powers (Elohim), which are objects of fear and reverence to

the heathen on account of their power,¹ but from their weakness are אֱלִילִים and הַבְּלִים in the estimation of Jehovah and his people; which were created by Jehovah, but have resisted him, though he has defeated and judged them; we have here the necessary data for determining the daemonology of the Bible. — The ungodly and rebellious nature of these powers, whom the heathen worshipped as *Elohim*, is apparent from the judgment executed upon them by Jehovah; and it was expressed in the name שָׂרִים (from שָׂרָה *violenter egit, vastavit*), i.e., destroyer, devastator, ungodly daemons (Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37).

We may see from the *Septuagint*, that in the opinion of later Jews the heathen deities were representatives of daemoniac powers. The words שָׂרִים in Deut. xxxii. 17, and Ps. cvi. 37, אֱלִילִים, in Ps. xvi. 5, (πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν δαιμόνια), גַּד (god of fortune = Baal), in Is. lxv. 11, and other similar expressions, are all rendered δαιμόνια.

This view is also fully sanctioned by the New Testament. The description of the spirit by which the girl at Philippi was possessed (Acts xvi. 16), as a πνεῦμα Πύθωνος, may be adduced as a proof of this. And Paul says most clearly and indisputably in 1 Cor. x. 20, 21, “the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to *daemons* and not to God. And I would not that ye should *have fellowship with daemons* (κοινωνοὶ τῶν δαιμονίων). Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of *daemons*; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord’s table and the table of *daemons*.” *Ex quo statim apparet*, says *Crusius* (l. c. p. 133), *Apostolum daemonia illa pro naturis existentibus habere, non pro figmentis cerebri humani. Alioqui communionem cum illis interdicere non poterat, quia non entis nulla praedicata sunt.* In this passage the apostle expresses his conviction of the actual personal connexion between daemoniac powers and the worship of the heathen, in a manner so clear and decided that no other explanation is possible. It is true that in another passage (1 Cor. viii. 4, 5), he brings forward the other side of the ques-

¹ I have been convinced by *Delitzsch* (Genesis ed. ii. 1. 31 and ii. 171 sqq.) that the opinion, formerly expressed by me (Vol. i. § 13. 1) that אֱלִילִים is derived from אָרָל, *to be strong*, is untenable, and that it must be traced to the Arabic *Aliha* = *stupuit, pavore correptus est*; transitive: *coluit, adoravit Deum*.

tion in the same manner as the *Pentateuch* does: "as concerning the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice to idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world (*ὅτι οὐδὲν εἶδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ*, *cf.* x. 19, and vii. 19), and that there is none other God but one." But it is evident from what follows, that the apostle does not mean to deny that the idols have any real, objective existence (a statement which would be directly at variance with chap. x. 20, 21). In ver. 5 he says, "for though there are really so-called gods (*καὶ γὰρ εἴπερ λεγόμενοι θεοί*), whether in heaven or on the earth, as there are actually many gods and many lords (*ὥσπερ εἰσὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί*), yet *we* have one God, the Father," &c. The apostle first of all introduces the statement, that the *λεγόμενοι θεοί* really exist, in a *hypothetical* manner, as a mere supposition, an opinion generally entertained; but he afterwards guards against any doubt that might arise, as to his own agreement with that opinion, by introducing the parenthetical clause, *ὥσπερ εἰσὶ θεοὶ πολλοί*, &c., which contains a most distinct assertion, that the popular opinion is perfectly true.

The Scriptures do not anywhere affirm, that the mythological world of heathen deities exactly corresponds to the objective world of daemons, that is to say, that every individual god in the heathen worship is to be personally identified with an individual daemon, or *vice versâ*, that each particular daemon is represented by some heathen deity, so that we can say that Osiris and Isis, or Jupiter, Mars, Venus and others, are all representatives of particular personal daemons, and that the same name always denotes the same daemon. On the contrary, they merely affirm that the worship of the heathen has respect to real objects; that all the homage paid to a heathen deity reaches some existing, personal, supernatural power, and is accepted by that power; and that, as the heathen devotes himself to some such power by the worship which he presents, so does that power come near to him, and enter into living fellowship with him. "The things which the heathen sacrifice," says Paul, "they sacrifice to daemons,"—they think they are offered to a god, but they only reach a daemon, a being opposed to God and not God; and he who sacrifices enters thereby into fellowship with daemons, as the Christian, when he comes to the table of the Lord, enters into fellowship with Christ.

The relation between the mythological world of deities and the world of daemons may be thus explained: The commencement of all heathenism was a departure from the personal, holy, spiritual, and supermundane God, who had become burdensome and troublesome to the desires of the heart. The fulness of life, apparent in all nature, the rich variety of its forms, the energy of its powers, its inexhaustible resources of enjoyment, the charm of its mysteries, and other things, then became objects of veneration. The first object of adoration was the *ἐν καὶ πᾶν*, the force of nature which gives to every thing its life, and shape, and motion;—thus the primary form of heathenism was *pantheism*. But the various methods in which the common force of nature manifests itself, the different functions and instrumentalities employed, and the manifold spheres in which it develops itself, caused the *ἐν καὶ πᾶν* to be grasped not merely in its unity but in its diversity also; and thus pantheism was shaped and developed into *polytheism*. It was from the contemplation of nature, and the play of speculation and fancy, that mythological systems sprang. The names and forms of the various deities, and the peculiar powers and functions attributed to them, were purely creations of the fancy, empty and airy phantoms. There was no living personal object by whom the worship could be received. But this did not continue to be the case. The empty forms, which the fancy had created, were soon filled with something real. For the *ἑθελοθηρησκεία*, which turned away from the one living God, and sought for other objects besides him, afforded to the spirits, described in Eph. vi. 12 as *ἀρχαὶ* and *ἐξουσίαι, κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τούτου* and *πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*, a sphere of action on the earth, such as they had never had before, and supplied them with empty forms, which they were able at once to fill with their substance. Powers of magic and augury were now put forth, on the basis and in the ceremonies of this *ἑθελοθηρησκεία*; and these powers attested the presence of real supernatural agencies, and tended to confirm and enslave the heathen in their errors. Hence it is equally true that the heathen deities are vain creations of the fancy, and that they are real and personal powers, that the *εἶδωλον* is a *nothing*, and yet that it is *something* possessed of power. And it is no more true, that they have in *themselves* any per-

sonal reality, than that they have continued to be merely airy phantoms in the concrete development of heathen life.

(2). "As there is no nation without religion, so there is also none without *magic*, which clings like a shadow to religion in all its forms." (*Georgii* in Pauly's Real-encyclopädie iv. 1377). Magic, according to the notions prevalent among those who placed implicit confidence in it, is a power, acquired or inherited, which enables the possessor, by means of some secret art or science, to employ at will the forces of a supernatural world of spirits or deities, either for the purpose of finding out what is naturally hidden from human knowledge (*augury*), or of performing things, beyond the natural power of the human will (*magic*). Three different methods have been proposed, for explaining those examples of magic which are found recorded in well-authenticated history. The *first* method treats the whole affair as fraud and trickery on the one side, and superstition or excessive credulity on the other. This is the explanation suggested by the modern enlightened schools of Deism and Rationalism, in which *Balthazar Becker*, with his "Enchanted world," first led the way (De betoverde Weereld, 1—4. Amst. 1691—93. 4). But these things are already looked upon as antiquated. The *second* method admits the credibility of those accounts of magic, which have been handed down, and regards the feats described as actually performed by supernatural powers, either good or evil. A distinction was frequently made between black and white magic. White magic was referred to God or his angels and saints, whose assistance was supposed to have been obtained by means of prayers, asceticism, by word or sacrament. Black magic was attributed to Satan and his angels. With this explanation, the magic of heathenism was of course set down as exclusively the work of Satan. From the time of the Rabbis and Fathers till the days of modern "enlightenment," this was *the* explanation adopted in both the synagogue and the church. The *third* method suggested, for explaining the enigmatical data, traces the whole to natural powers, which are either acquired or inherent in the human mind, and which are only secret so far as they have not been thoroughly investigated by science. These powers are said to consist, partly in the control possessed by the human mind over nature itself, and partly in

the connexion between one mind and another. In the ordinary every-day life these powers lie dormant in the depths of the soul, shut up and confined by the bolts and bars of the outward life of sense. But there are occasions and circumstances, sometimes unsought (as for example in certain diseases, or at the approach of death), at other times induced at will by some influence from without, in which these bolts are drawn back, the veil of the Psyche is lifted, and the hidden dormant power of the mind wakes up and moves, free and unfettered, in regions of light and knowledge, of will and action, from which it is entirely excluded when the bodily life, the life of sense, is in its healthy normal condition. This explanation has found many friends and supporters, since mesmerism has thrown some light upon the mysteries of somnambulism, and induced phenomena, corresponding in many respects to those displayed by the magicians of old. Thus not only are the phenomena of magic, of which we have received accounts both from antiquity and from the middle ages, regarded as something more than a mere delusion, a mournful aberration of the human mind; but they are even supposed by some to be a continuous series of profound anticipations of a science, the first letters of whose alphabet have been but recently learned, and not only this, but anticipations of that state of activity, to which the human mind will first fully attain, when it has entered upon the perfect life of the future state, where it will no longer be encumbered by an outward corporeal frame. The work of *Joseph Ennemoser* (*Geschichte der Magie*, being the first volume of his *Geschichte des Magnetismus* ed. 2. 1844) is founded upon this hypothesis.

With regard to the phenomena of *heathen magic*, to which our plan requires that we should confine our attention in the further discussion of this mysterious subject, we feel obliged to maintain at the outset, that neither of the methods described above is equally applicable to all the cases which present themselves. On the contrary, sometimes one will furnish a satisfactory explanation and sometimes another; most frequently it is necessary to combine two of them together; and there are cases, which it is perhaps impossible to explain without uniting all the three. It is very seldom indeed that the mysterious phenomena of magic can be set down as mere trickery, a clever attempt to deceive; and the farther we go back into

antiquity the more rarely do such cases occur. On the other hand, the farther we depart from the period, in which we find heathenism in its most simple state, towards a period of abstraction and reflexion, the further we leave behind us the age, in which it flourished with unbroken power, and approach the times in which its power was shattered and its end was at hand—so that instead of the vigorous breath of life, we become more and more sensible of the odour of dissolution and decay—the less hesitation do we feel in assuming that there is some trickery, even if the whole is not fraud.

In addition to what we have already said, with reference to the nature of the heathen deities and heathen worship, we have still the following remarks to offer, in explanation of the enigmatical phenomena of heathen magic. There are three different sources, from which extraordinary and miraculous knowledge and power may be obtained: life in God and with God, the fellowship of daemons, and a magical power acquired by the mind over both nature and spirit. The third is a middle-sphere, capable of serving as the channel of both divine and daemonic knowledge and power. And in itself it is undoubtedly sufficient, under certain circumstances and within certain bounds, to confer the ability to look beyond the limits of time and space, and to will and perform things which in our ordinary every-day life are absolutely impossible. Yet this never occurs in the present life, when the body and soul are in a healthy and normal condition, but only during some temporary, and more or less violent and unnatural disturbance of their proper relation to each other. When our present life is in a sound and natural state, such faculties as these are suppressed and hidden, and merely exist as dormant potentialities bound up in the inmost recesses of the soul. There can be no more doubt, that, when they were first implanted in man, they were intended to be unfolded and put forth in this present life, than that they will still, by virtue of the counsel of redemption, attain to full development and activity, though this may only take place in the future state. For the present, however, they are *shut up* and *restrained* according to the gracious will of God, because their exercise in connexion with the sinfulness of humanity could only be injurious and ungodly, and therefore unnatural also. Hence every arbitrary and self-willed attempt to burst the fetters by

which they are bound, and so to loosen or snap the intimate connexion which exists between the body and the soul as to open up a chasm from which they may come forth, is from the very first ungodly and unnatural. It matters not whether this be accomplished by means of the stupifying vapour from the cavern at Delphi, or the intoxicating poison of the toadstool; by fixing the eyes upon a tin plate, or looking intently at the navel, the method adopted by the Omphalopsychi; by the magnetic influence of a physician, who goes beyond the laws of medicine in the performance of unwarrantable experiments, or by any other means by which the outward, clear, self-consciousness is forcibly suspended. And where this is accomplished, let no confidence be placed in the revelations which may be made, or in the morality of the power that may be at work; the prophecy is as likely to be false as true, and the power at work is just as likely to be injurious and destructive, as beneficial and saving: for a so-called natural magic is essentially unnatural and ungodly. Such experiments are doubly dangerous, for a man thus lets the sceptre of self-consciousness and spontaneity fall from his hands, and knows not whither the emancipated, will-less (*willenlose*) power of the *psyche* may hurry him, and to what strange, dark, and hostile powers it may thus be laid open and become a helpless prey. In the case of many heathen oracles, and also of many of the revelations made by modern sleep-walking Pythiacs, it is indisputable that some wicked, mischievous, intentionally deceptive intelligence has been at work (*cf. G. H. v. Schubert, Zaubreiseinden* p. 38); and the Angekoks of Greenland acknowledged, after their conversion to Christianity, that "much of their conjuring had been nothing but trickery, but in a great deal of it there had been some spiritual influence, which they now abhorred, but could not describe" (*Crantz, Hist. v. Grönland* i. 273).

There is an essential difference, however, between this natural magic and the exertion of miraculous power, either divine or daemonic; although it may serve as the channel for either. Of the former we have not to speak here. But with regard to *the latter* it was clearly the conviction of the biblical writers, not only that it was within the bounds of possibility, but that it was actually put forth in heathenism (in the period of its power and glory), and will once more be displayed in the final conflict,

which has yet to take place between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of darkness (2 Thess. ii. 9 ; Matt. xxiv. 24 ; Rev. xiii. 13). Even if we leave out of sight the feats performed by the Egyptian magicians, so far as they were successful ; the earnestness and emphatic manner, in which the law prohibits every kind of heathen witchcraft, forces the conviction upon our mind, that the lawgiver did not regard the practice as mere superstition, a foolish fancy, or delusive trickery. And if we turn to a later period ; who can read the history of the contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel, and doubt for a moment that they actually and confidently expected signs and wonders from their god ? And how can this confidence be explained, unless on a former occasion they had received some such proof of his power ?

But if, according to the Scriptures, we must thus attribute to daemonic powers the ability to perform signs and wonders,—except so far as they were prevented by a divine interdict,—we maintain just as firmly, according to the Scriptures, that they were only *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ψεύδους* (2 Thess. ii. 9). They were *lying* signs and wonders, because they proceeded from a lie, and their aim was falsehood. They were lying, because they represented the *λεγόμενοι θεοί* as *ὄντες θεοί* ; whereas in spite of all the signs and wonders the latter were only *אלילים* and *הבילים*, an *οὐδὲν ἐν κόσμῳ*. They were lying, because the powers employed by those who performed them were stolen and abused ; and because they were the means of perpetuating error, falsehood, and destruction ; in a word, they were lying because they gave themselves out for what they were not, and whilst professing to do good were really the cause of evil.

It is still a point in dispute, whether the feats performed by the Egyptian magicians were examples of a natural or daemonic magic, or of both together. But to our mind there can be no doubt, that what they did was not effected without the co-operation of those powers, which they worshipped as gods. The whole scene from first to last is described as a contest between Jehovah and the gods of Egypt. The conjurors, we may be sure, left nothing untried which they thought likely to bring the gods to their help, and the gods of Egypt, that is the daemonic powers, who were here engaged, will assuredly have endeavoured to maintain the appearance of power, as long as they possibly

could. The scriptural record says with regard to the magicians (Ex. vii. 11, 22; viii. 7, 18 [iii. 14]): "they also did in like manner with their enchantments (בְּלִיטֵיהֶם)," but it does not inform us what these enchantments were.

§ 24 (Ex. vii. 8—13).—Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh again a second time at the command of God. Aaron, as the prophet of Moses, carried the rod with which the gods of Egypt were to be defeated (§ 20. 7). When Pharaoh demanded a miraculous proof of the power of their God, Aaron threw down his rod before the king and his servants, and immediately it became a serpent. Thus was the contest commenced in the very territory in which the magic of Egypt was strongest, that of snake-charming. Pharaoh imagined that he was certain of victory here. He therefore sent for his *wise men* and *sorcerers* (1) (*Charthummim*, cf., vol. i., § 88. 1), that they might frustrate Aaron's power by their secret arts. They appeared and threw down their rods. These also became serpents, but were swallowed by Aaron's rod (2). Thus was the first decisive victory gained by the power of Jehovah over that of the gods of Egypt. This was so clear and unmistakable, that even Pharaoh could not deny it. Yet he would not acknowledge it. His sorcerers had produced the same effects by their conjuring as Moses and Aaron; and the unfortunate result might, perhaps, have been merely attributable to accident, or the carelessness of his sorcerers. At all events, instead of yielding to the impression which he ought to have received from this manifestation of divine power, he hardened his heart against it and persisted in his refusal.

(1). The Apostle Paul has, no doubt, followed the Jewish tradition when he calls the sorcerers, who withstood Moses, *Jannes* and *Jambres* (2 Tim. iii. 8). This tradition is also found in the Targums and Talmud. *Jannes* and *Jambres* are represented in the latter as sons of Balaam (Num. xxii. 22), cf. *Buxtorf*, *Lex. Chald. Talmud*, p. 945 sqq. The same names also occur in a fragment of the Pythagorean Numenius (about

150 A.D.) quoted by *Eusebius* *praep. evang.* 9. 8, where they are said to have been the most distinguished magicians of their age, and to have been summoned by the Egyptians on that account, that they might resist Moses, whose prayers to God had been especially powerful; and that they actually succeeded in counteracting and driving away all the plagues, which Moses brought upon Egypt.—The Arabian tradition calls the leaders of the magicians, who contended against Moses, *Sabur* and *Gadur*, and does not relate anything remarkable concerning them. (*Vid. Herbelot orient. Biblioth. s.v. Mussa Halle 1789, iii. 588 sqq.*). The account given by *Pliny* in his *hist. nat.* 30. 1 (2), “*est et alia Magices factio, a MOSE etiamnum et LOTAPEA Judaeis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem tanto recentior est Cypria,*” has no connexion with this subject. (The reading *a Mose et Janne et Jotapa [Jochabele] Judaeis pendens* is corrupt). There is great plausibility in the conjecture offered by *Fr. C. Meier* (*Judaica. Jena 1832, p. 24, n. 16*): “*An designaverit Noster quosdam de circumventibus Judaeis exorcistis, quorum mentio fit in Act. xix. 13, quorum princeps fuerit in Cypro Judaeus, nomine Lotopeas?*” Compare especially *J. A. Fabricii. Cod. pseudepigr. V. T. i. 813 sqq.*; where the ancient accounts and modern opinions are most diligently collected together.

(2). One of the principal branches of Egyptian magic from the earliest times has been SNAKE-CHARMING; and even to the present day there are relics of this secret art, the astounding results of which no European observer, however incredulous, has been able to deny. The earlier accounts of snake-charming, to which reference is made in *Ps. lviii. 6* and *Jer. viii. 17*, have been collected by *Bochart* (*hierozoicon iii. 161 sqq. ed. Rosenmüller*) and *Calmet* (*Biblical Researches*); the later by *Hengstenberg* (*Egypt and the Books of Moses p. 98*).—The modern snake-charmers or *Psylli* form a separate hereditary guild, their principal occupation being to attract from their hiding-places any poisonous snakes, that may have concealed themselves in a house, and thus to clear the house of them. The manner in which they handle the most venomous snakes, without having extracted their poisonous fangs, is almost incredible. In the learned work of the Franco-Egyptian expedition (*vol. xxiv., p. 82 sqq.*), it is stated that “at religious festivals the *Psylli* appear nearly naked, with

snakes coiled round their neck, their arms, and other parts of their body. They allow them to bite and tear their breast and abdomen, defending themselves against them with a kind of frenzy and appearing as though the snakes were about to devour them alive. According to their own account they can *turn* the Haje, the snake generally selected for their experiments, *into a stick*, and compel it to look as if it were dead. When they want to produce this effect, they spit into its throat, force the mouth to, and lay the snake upon the ground. Then, as though giving it their last commands, they lay their hand upon its head, when the snake immediately becomes rigid and immoveable, and falls into a kind of torpor. They wake it up, whenever they wish, by laying hold of its tail and rubbing it quickly between their hands."

To these accounts *Hengstenberg* appends the following remarks, which are certainly correct: "It deserves to be noticed that the present condition of the *Psylli* in Egypt is entirely one of decay. It is torn away from its natural connexion, the soil of natural religion, from which it originally sprang. It exists in a land in which modern illumination has already exerted its influence in various ways, and thus fettered its freedom. Accordingly nothing was more natural, than that very much that is artificial should be associated with the ecstatic condition produced, and that much charlatanry should creep in" (p. 102 Eng. transl.).

We decidedly agree with *Hengstenberg*, that there is a close connexion between the events before us and this relic of the early Egyptian order of the *Psylli*; but we cannot assent to the manner in which he and others (*O. v. Gerlach*, *Hävernick*, &c.) dispose of the matter. *Hengstenberg* says: "Moses was furnished with the power to produce those effects, on which the Egyptians especially prided themselves, and on which they chiefly founded their authority," and *O. v. Gerlach* most naïvely copies from him this *quid pro quo*. But according to the account contained in the *Pentateuch* the problem was not to turn snakes into sticks, and then revive the snakes which had become as rigid as poles; but to turn a dry stick into a living snake, and then change it into the substance and condition of a dry stick again. And these learned men are certainly open to the charge of having missed this problem altogether; whilst their oversight gives a certain colour to the remark of *v. Lengerke* (i. 406), which is

intended for wit: "The serpent of Moses is still a flying one, for it flies away at the appearance of criticism."

That Moses, according to the biblical account, changed a real stick, a piece of wood, into a real living snake, and then turned this again into a piece of wood, is a fact which must be admitted without hesitation or disguise. No twisting and turning, no passing over in silence, will avail anything here. If, then, Moses was empowered by God, as *Hengstenberg* says, to produce those effects on which the Egyptian magicians especially prided themselves, it will be necessary to admit with equal candour that the Charthummim are also said to have turned dry wood into living flesh. But in that case the remarks which he makes (at p. 102 transl.), are calculated to mislead. He there says: "Were the thing so simple as it is generally considered to be, were it either common jugglery or something really miraculous, performed by the permission of God through Satanic influence, then the author of the *Pentateuch* would not, it may be presumed, fail to express an opinion upon it. But, since the ground on which these things rest—a very dark and difficult one—is still but little explored by science even in its most advanced state, it is better to content ourselves with the outward effects produced, without attempting to penetrate into their actual nature."

It cannot, however, have been a matter of so little importance in the estimation of the writer, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, whether the feats performed by the Charthummim were effected by the indifferent laws of nature, or some ungodly daemonic power; for the worth of the victory could only be rightly estimated, when it was known over whom it was gained. If, then, the author has made no express declaration on this subject, the reason must have been, not that he felt any doubt or uncertainty himself; or that he thought it possible to leave his readers in doubt, but that he assumed that his readers would naturally understand how the matter was to be explained. The whole of the legislation of the *Pentateuch*, in which all such magical arts are treated as an abomination to the Lord, as rebellion against Jehovah, is based upon the assumption that daemonic, ungodly powers were actively connected with heathenism (§ 23. 1). And up to the time when the destructive infidelity of Sadduceeism prevailed, we may be sure that no Israelitish reader put any

other interpretation upon the narrative, than that there was an active co-operation on the part of ungodly, that is of daemonic powers. And just as confidently are we prepared to assert, that the Charthummim themselves had no doubt whatever, that they were assisted by such powers—the only difference being that the Charthummim from their point of view regarded the assistance as coming from some *godly* daemonic power, whilst the Israelites believed the power to be that of an *ungodly* daemonic character. It is only when considered in the abstract, that the sphere of magic can be looked upon as a natural and indifferent one; in its concrete form it is filled with ungodliness. In its *earliest stages*, it did not arise from any influence exerted upon nature by daemonic powers; but by the violence done to nature a breach was made in the natural boundaries which God had established, and through this breach daemonic powers rushed in with irresistible force and obtained the supremacy. The Scriptures regard the practice of magic as *already actually* belonging to the spiritual powers of darkness.

Let us look, then, at the problem, without disguise or fear of disagreeable results! It is impossible to determine *a priori* to what extent magic, when its power is greatest, can penetrate into the sphere of miracles, and whether the ability to turn a stick (either really or apparently) into a snake is to be regarded as within the boundaries of that sphere. All depends upon whether the scriptural record says that it is to be so regarded. What we there read is: "The magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner (as Moses had done) with their enchantments; they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents, but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods." Were the rods, then, which the sorcerers brought with them, wooden rods, or snakes which they had rendered as rigid as rods by their incantations? We cannot at once affirm that the latter was not the case. The sorcerers who were not summoned till Moses had already performed his miracle in the presence of Moses and his servants, knew beforehand for what purpose they were summoned. They could therefore make their preparations before they went, and take with them such rods as they would be able to turn into serpents. Moreover, such was the sacredness of the snake in Egypt, and so highly was the magical art of its Charthummim esteemed, that

it is quite conceivable that the latter may have carried such snake sticks as the symbol of their order. The rod was employed from the very earliest times, as one of the *insignia* of office. We cannot, indeed, subscribe to the statement made by *Scholz* (Einleitung in die heil. Schriften. Köln 1845. 1. 399), to the effect that, "in countries, where suitable wood was so scarce that they were obliged to make use of whatever material was at hand, it is possible that they may not infrequently have made a kind of rod from snakes (? !). For the finest, such as shepherds' crooks and rulers' sceptres, they seem to have used the larger *horned-vipers* or *cerastes* (?). The sceptres which the Pharaohs are represented as holding in their hand, in the paintings on early Egyptian monuments, *e.g.* in the temples at Thebes, are always of this shape, with the head and neck bent forwards. It frequently occurs in the hieroglyphics, in very different connexions, as a symbol of supremacy. The wooden staffs carried by the shepherds of Arabia are still made in the same form, the magical power referred to above having long been lost." The form of a snake, which was adopted for ordinary staffs, may certainly point to actual snake-staffs (*i.e.* rigid snakes), from which they were copied, though the latter may have been carried by the adepts of magic alone. Still, we feel some hesitation in giving the preference without reserve to such an explanation. According to the biblical record, the superiority of Moses, and the victory gained by him over the Charthummim, were evidently displayed in the fact, that *his* snake swallowed up *their* snakes. But if the interpretation just given be correct, was there not another point of superiority worthy of being recorded, *viz.* that Moses was able to turn a real staff into a serpent, whilst the staffs of the sorcerers were only staffs in appearance after all? However, we do not regard this difficulty as conclusive. The biblical record merely describes with objective calmness what took place before the eyes of the spectators. It does not concern itself with any arts which the Charthummim may have previously employed, to get possession of staffs which they could turn into serpents. It is enough that the result of the whole gave to the miraculous power of Moses a most brilliant victory over the magical arts of the sorcerers. A brilliant victory it certainly was. The sorcerers were disarmed, the symbols and insignia of

their calling and art were not only taken from them, but completely annihilated, and thus their art itself was shown to be completely defeated and annihilated too.

But, as we have already said, we are not afraid of the result, should any one press the letter of the scriptural narrative (as we think, unwarrantably), and try to force us to confess that the staffs of the Charthummim were also of wood. The Scriptures speak of *σημείους καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους*, which are wrought *κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ*. And should the explanation here given not be received, we do not hesitate to admit, that even in the present instance it is quite possible, that such *lying* signs and wonders may have been performed by jugglery, and by means of daemonic agency.

§ 25. From the fruitlessness of the first sign, it was evident that Pharaoh would not learn wisdom, till he had been made to suffer. The great judgments and strong arm of the Lord therefore began at once to be manifested. Signs gave place to *plagues*; but the plagues still continued to be signs, which demonstrated the weakness of the gods of Egypt, and the complete supremacy of the God of Israel. The peculiarity of these plagues was, that they possessed at the same time a natural and a supernatural character; and therefore the way was left perfectly open for the exercise of either faith or unbelief: the more so as even that which was supernatural, when compared with the similar efforts of the Egyptian sorcerers, might be set down by unbelief as the result of ordinary magic (1). The first two plagues were repeated by the sorcerers; but their weakness was manifested in the fact, that they could only increase the evil, and were unable to remove the plagues, or render them harmless. But at the third plague their magical art was entirely exhausted, and they were unable to continue even their miserable imitations. When the plagues had reached the significant number ten, the victory of Jehovah over the gods of Egypt was at length complete, and the judgments of God on Pharaoh's hardened heart

were brought to an end. The whole of the plagues appear to have been inflicted within the space of two months, commencing at the early part of February, and terminating at the beginning of April (2).

(1). A closer acquaintance with the physical condition of Egypt has shown that the *plagues*, which preceded the deliverance of Israel, were plagues peculiar to the country, and that they frequently occur there; though never in the same force, or to the same extent, or so rapidly one after the other, as on the occasion before us. This fact has been used by both deists and rationalists, for the purpose of bringing the whole series of signs and wonders, down to the level of purely natural and fortuitous occurrences. The natural basis, upon which the events described as miracles rests, places it in their opinion beyond the reach of doubt that all the incidents described in the scriptural account, which cannot be brought within the category of merely natural phenomena, were nothing more than mythical embellishments. The English deists led the way (see *Lilienthal's* reply to them); and after the great French expedition, *Du Bois Aymé* and *Eichhorn* went still farther in the same direction, the former in the *notice sur le séjour des Hébreux en Egypte*, in the 8th volume of the "Description de l'Égypte, ou recueil des observations qui ont été faites pendant l'expédition française," the latter in his article *de Egypti anno mirabili* (in the comment. societ. Gott. rec. IV. hist. p. 35 sq.). *Hengstenberg*, on the other hand, has undertaken to show, that the natural basis, on which the plagues were founded, furnishes a proof of their miraculous character. The principal points in his argument are: "(1) The design of all these occurrences was, according to chap. viii. 22 (18), to prove that Jehovah was the Lord *in the midst of the land*. But this could not be thoroughly demonstrated by a series of altogether unwonted terrors. All that could follow from these would be, that Jehovah had obtained a temporary and external power over Egypt. But if the events, which happened every year, were shown to be dependent upon Jehovah, the best proof would thus be afforded that he was God in the midst of the land, and by the judgment inflicted upon the imaginary (?) deities, which had been put in his place, those deities would be completely banished

from the very territory, which had been hitherto regarded as peculiarly their own. (2). The tendency of later fiction would be, to disturb the connexion between the natural and the supernatural, from a notion that such a connexion impaired the dignity of the latter, and obscured the omnipotence of Jehovah, and his love to Israel. It would aim at representing the plagues inflicted upon Egypt, as a number of terrors of the most extraordinary kind." (Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 97).

The last argument, however, can hardly be considered a conclusive one ; and in our opinion it would have no force at all, unless directed against opponents, who denied that there was any historical basis for the narrative to rest upon, and pronounced the whole account a legendary fiction, or an invention of the author. The first argument, on the contrary, we regard as perfectly conclusive. The plagues were so arranged, as to embrace both the natural and the miraculous : *the natural*, so far as the same or similar phenomena occurred in Egypt in the common course of events,—*the miraculous*, inasmuch as they were unparalleled in their extent, their amount and their force. They probably occurred at an unusual season of the year. They came at the immediate command of Moses, they disappeared again at his bidding or his prayer, and lastly (and this is the most important feature of all) the land of Goshen and the Israelites were entirely free. The miraculous character of these plagues was therefore forcible and evident enough to strike any one, who was willing to see ; but it was not so unmixed and irresistible, as to render it impossible for determined unbelief to overlook it.

In this we see *one* of the reasons, why the miraculous power of God was associated with natural phenomena, which were in themselves by no means unusual. A *second* reason may be discovered in the fact, that the Egyptians looked upon the powers of nature as deities. For these very deities of theirs were compelled by Moses' rod, to bring misery and destruction upon their own worshippers. A large portion of the plagues were plagues of animals, and Egypt was the land of animal-worship. The author of the Book of Wisdom (chap. xi. 15 seq.) has given due prominence to this feature : " for the foolish thoughts of their unrighteous conversation, by which being deceived they worshipped irrational worms and contemptible beasts, thou didst send among them swarms of irrational beasts for vengeance, that they

might learn that *by whatsoever any man sins, by the same shall he be punished.*"

A *third* feature, which explains to us the choice of such plagues, is this: that the contest of Jehovah against Egyptian heathenism was thus transferred to that particular sphere, which the latter regarded as its stronghold, and therefore the victory was complete. The Egyptian sorcerers were able to perform the same feats by the power of their gods, as Moses by the power of Jehovah. It is true that their arts were exhausted at the third plague. But we must not infer from this, that they had only power to conjure up frogs, but could not act upon gnats or flies. They tried their skill in the third plague also, and they did so, no doubt, with the full confidence that they would be quite as successful, as with the first and second. But they failed and confessed, "this is the finger of God!" *vid.* § 28. 2.

(2). *The season of the year at which the Egyptian plagues commenced, and the period of their duration*, can only be approximately determined. The last plague occurred on the 14th of Nisan, that is, about the beginning of April. The first is frequently supposed to have taken place when the water of the Nile was high; on the assumption that the turning of the water into blood was the same thing as the reddening of the water, which very often takes place when the river overflows. This ordinarily happens in the month of July. If such a theory be correct, the divine controversy must have been carried on for a period of nine months. *Hengstenberg* thinks there was a special reason for its lasting so long (p. 106): "it must have had a peculiar significance, if Jehovah went through *an entire revolution, as it were*, with the Egyptians, and for once displayed his miraculous power in connexion with the ordinarily recurring circle of natural phenomena." But apart from the fact, that this identification of the miraculous change of the Nile with the reddening of the river, which is customary at the time of the overflow, is still very problematical, and in my opinion inadmissible (§ 26. 1); apart too from the probability, that the plagues were intentionally arranged, so as to happen at an unseasonable period, in order that their miraculous character might be clearly stamped upon them: there are other data, which render it highly probable that the whole course of this miraculous chastisement occupied a very limited period of time. It is expressly stated in chap. vii. 25,

that only seven days intervened between the first and second plagues. When the seventh plague (that of hail) occurred "the barley was ripe and the flax was bollen" (chap. ix. v. 31 seq.). Now, in Egypt, barley and flax ripen in March (*Hengstenberg*, p. 121); so that there were not more than three weeks, between the seventh plague and the tenth. The interval, therefore, between the last four plagues must have been the same as that between the first and second, namely, one week. If we suppose this to have been the average interval, the whole period must have occupied about nine weeks, which would have to be reckoned from the commencement of February to that of April. Moreover, in spite of the reasons adduced by *Hengstenberg* to the contrary, we believe that a quick succession of plagues must have been incomparably more impressive and effectual, than the same plagues could possibly have been, if spread over the whole of the year.

§ 26. (Ex. vii. 14—25).—As Pharaoh was going one morning to the Nile, probably to offer sacrifice, or perform his religious ablutions, Moses and Aaron met him. At the very moment when the king came to present his homage and his worship to the Father of life, the Father of the gods (as the Egyptians designate the Nile), he was forced to look on while the messenger of Jehovah smote him in the face, till it became bloody. Aaron, that is to say, smote the stream with the rod of God, and all the water in the river, as well as in the canals, the trenches, and the ponds, which were connected with it, and even the water which had been previously taken from the Nile, and was set by to settle in wooden or earthen vessels, was turned into blood. The fishes died in the river; the water became corrupt and stank, so that no one could drink it; and the Egyptians were obliged to dig in the sand, to obtain water of a different kind. The Egyptian sorcerers did the same with their enchantments (2). But Pharaoh hardened his heart again.

(1). The first plague was the *turning of the water of the Nile into blood*. When we enquire into the natural groundwork of this miracle, the first thing that presents itself is the fact, that nearly every year, when the Nile overflows, the water is rendered

more or less turbid and red, by the blood-red marl which is brought down by the stream from the more elevated districts. "Le Nil," says *Laborde*, p. 28, "en se répandant sur les rives et les terrains cultivés, entraîne des amas d'herbes sèches et de saletés qui obligent les habitants à boire son eau dans cet état de malpropreté ou à se contenter de celle dont ils ont fait provision. Plus tard, après ce premier passage, elle enlève une première couche de limon, qui mêlé à quelque terre rougeâtre, qui descend des régions les plus élevées, lui donne une couleur rouge, qui annonce, qu'elle devient potable, et alors les pots et les jarres de terre dans lesquelles on la laisse déposer la rendent bientôt aussi claire qu'en toute autre saison."

This phenomenon, which is so far from causing surprise or annoyance in Egypt, that it is rather anticipated as something desirable, is generally regarded as the groundwork of the miracle; and even *Hengstenberg* advocates this view. But whilst *Eichhorn* and his followers look upon the unusual concomitants, the impurity and stinking of the water, the dying of the fishes, &c., as the unnatural exaggerations of the legend, *Hengstenberg* considers these to have been the result of the miraculous interposition of God.

We feel obliged to reject this association as inadmissible. (1). It is at variance with the time when the plague occurred; for, unless we are entirely mistaken, the plague happened at the beginning of February (§ 25. 2), whereas the Nile does not turn red till July. (2). This phenomenon is only conceivable at the period when the Nile overflows; but there is not the least indication of an overflowing in the whole of the narrative before us; on the contrary, there are several things which lead us to an opposite conclusion: for example, Pharaoh *walks* to the *brink* of the river, and the Egyptians dig *round about the river* for water to drink. (3). The fact that the water became putrid, was an indication of fermentation and decomposition, and this again of stagnation. But overflowing and stagnation exclude each other. (4). The effect of what Aaron did was immediate, it extended at once to all the canals, and trenches, and pools, which were connected with the Nile, and even to the water which had previously been taken from the river and was put by in wooden and earthen vessels to settle. *Hengstenberg*, it is true, endeavours to explain the passage in such a manner as to leave out the latter, which was evidently the most miraculous part of the

whole ; but he is far from being successful. When Aaron was directed (ver. 19) to stretch out his rod over all the streams (the arms of the Nile), the canals, the trenches, &c., that they might become blood, and that there might be blood in the vessels of wood and of earth also ; the latter could only refer to the water, which was in the vessels before the change took place, and not, as *Hengstenberg* explains it, to water which was taken from the Nile, and placed in the vessels after it had been turned into blood. In this we are supported by the well-known manners and customs of Egypt (*cf. Hengstenberg*, p. 107). The water of the Nile is *generally turbid*, and is filtered and clarified before it is brought to table. “Chaque habitant a sa provision d'eau, qu'il puise dans le Nil, s'il habite sur le bord du fleuve, ou dans les canaux dérivés, qui l'amènent dans les villes. Cette eau est toujours trouble quand on la puise ; mais versée dans de grandes jarres de terre, elle dépose son limon avec rapidité” (*Laborde*). Not only was this the most miraculous part of the whole miracle, but it was in reality the point of greatest importance. It was not intended that all the water of Egypt should be affected, but that all the water of *the Nile*, the source of health and of blessing, the chief of the deities, should be turned into blood, wherever it might be found. And when even the water, which had already been taken from the river, was thus changed, there could no longer be any doubt, that it was to the Nile *as such* that the miracle applied. The rest of the water, which was not connected with the Nile, remained unaffected, as verses 22 and 24 most clearly show. Quod olim superstitio voluit, sub ipsum baculi in Nilum protenti ictum omnes Nili ejusque canalium, rivorum et stagnorum aquas ruborem induisse, as *Eichhorn* says, is in our opinion an exegetical necessity, and therefore we adopt it. But for this very reason we cannot admit, that the miracle had any connexion with the redness of the water at the time of the overflow, which could not only be foreseen, but was a very gradual process. (5). The ordinary redness does not render the water unfit for use ; on the contrary, it cannot be used until it turns red (see the passage quoted from *Laborde*), and this phenomenon has no injurious influence upon the fish in the river. There is not a single instance on record, in which the water was unfit for use when it was in this condition. *Hengstenberg* quotes Abdollatiph to the effect

that "in the year 1199 the increase of the Nile was less than had ever been known, and about two months before the first indications of the inundation, the waters of the river assumed a *green* colour, which went on increasing until it had a foul and putrid taste," but the most cursory glance will suffice to show that this phenomenon has no connexion with the case before us. The green colour of the water, at a time when it was stagnant and putrid, was undoubtedly caused by the decomposition of vegetable matter, which in some way or other had accumulated in the river. *Hengstenberg*, it is true, regards the putridity and smell of the water, as well as the death of the fishes, as a proof that the natural elements in the phenomenon were miraculously intensified. But even this is inadmissible. The admixture of the water with marl, though increased to the utmost extent, would never produce such effects; and the state of the water, from which such results ensued, must be regarded not as a heightening of the phenomenon referred to, but as a complete *alteration*, which rendered the water entirely different from what it was before, and brought the whole occurrence within the range of another series of the processes of nature.

We must therefore look elsewhere for the natural groundwork of the miracle. *C. G. Ehrenberg* (in *Poggendorfs Annalen der Physik und Chemie*, 1830, iv. p. 477—515) has written an article on "Fresh discoveries of blood-like appearances in Egypt, Arabia, and Siberia, together with a survey and critical examination of those already known." By microscopical observation he found that a blood-red tinge was given to water by cryptogami (fungi) and infusoria, and that this was the case on the banks of the Nile, on the shores of the Red Sea, and in a Siberian river. If now we accept such a condition as this, as the natural basis of *our* miracle, and imagine it heightened to the utmost possible degree and rendered universal, as the nature and design of the miracle required, we can easily explain the whole of the phenomena described in the text. The conditions which preceded the development of the microscopical algae, fungi or infusoria, may have been previously produced in the water of the Nile by the providence of God in a perfectly natural way, and may therefore have already existed in the water, which had been taken from the Nile and placed in the filters. The decay and chemical decomposition of these may have rendered the water putrid and offensive;

and the sudden appearance of the blood-red colour may be explained on the supposition that the whole process of growth and decomposition was accelerated in an extraordinary (miraculous) way. In this explanation we also retain the *mixed* character of the miracle, which was described in § 25. 1 as essential and significant. As *Ehrenberg* discovered these blood-red phenomena during a brief residence in Egypt, both on the banks of the Nile and elsewhere, they cannot have been unheard of or unknown to the inhabitants of Egypt at that day; but the terrible intensity and universality of the phenomenon must have convinced them, if they had *been willing* to see and believe, that the hand of God was there.

We are not informed *how long this plague lasted*. The *seven days* spoken of in ver. 25 do not refer to the continuance of the plague, but to the period which elapsed previous to the commencement of the second plague. There is no ground for the assumption that the first plague did not extend to the Israelites. Such of them as dwelt among the Egyptians were most certainly affected, but those who lived nearer to the desert would suffer less, as the distance from the Nile was such that there must have been wells and cisterns enough to supply their wants.

The *purport of this plague* is very evident, when we consider the sacredness of the Nile in the religious system of the Egyptians, the importance of the water of the river, as well as of its abundant supply of fish, and the extent to which the Egyptians depended upon these to supply their daily wants. We will mention a few of the data, however, which lead to this conclusion, taking them chiefly from the collection so diligently and carefully made by *Hengstenberg*. *Herodotus* (ii. 90) speaks of priests of the Nile; at Nilopolis there was a temple of the Nile; what the heart is to the body, says an Egyptian, the Nile is to Egypt; it is one with Osiris (*Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 363 D.*), and the supreme God. On the monuments it is called the god Nile, the life-giving father of all that exists, the father of the gods, &c.—The Egyptians were and still are enthusiastic in favour of the Nile water, which is in fact almost the only drinkable water in Egypt. The Turks enjoy the water so much, that they eat salt in order that they may be able to drink all the more of it. It is a common saying with them that if Mohammed had tasted it,

he would have prayed to God for immortality, that he might drink of it for ever. When the Egyptians are absent from their country, they talk of nothing so much as of the pleasure they will enjoy, when they return to drink the Nile water again, &c. On the abundance of the fish in the Nile, see *Diodorus Siculus*, Biblioth. l. i. c. 36: "In the Nile there is an incredible quantity of fish of every description. The inhabitants not only partake largely of them when fresh caught, but keep an inexhaustible supply in pickle." This is fully confirmed by modern travellers.

Hengstenberg supposes the change in the *colour* of the water to have also possessed a symbolical character. "For the Egyptians," he says, "the reddened water was to be blood, to remind them of the innocent blood which they had shed, and warn them of the future shedding of their own blood." There is an analogous passage in 2 Kings iii. 22. Moreover, *red* was regarded by the Egyptians as the colour of Typhon; and therefore was a symbol of corruption and calamity.

(2). The question "whence did the magicians obtain the water on which they tried their arts, if Moses had already turned *all* the water of Egypt into blood," has caused a great deal of unnecessary thought and gratuitous ridicule. *Hengstenberg* (p. 107) is of opinion that the word "*all*" should not be taken literally, "just as we read in chap. ix. 25, that all the trees were smitten by the hail, and yet it is said in chap. x. 5, that the locusts devoured *all* the trees." But the two cases are not exactly parallel. And we have seen from ver. 19, how necessary it is, that the word "*all*" *should* be taken literally in the case before us. *Hävernicks* explanation is equally inadmissible. In his opinion the sorcerers did not make the attempt to imitate Moses, until the plague had passed away (Einleitung i. 2, p. 417 Anm.). The question may be most easily answered, if we bear in mind that it was only the Nile water which was all changed by Moses, not the water in the wells (as ver. 24 also shows).

§ 27 (Ex. viii. 1—15).—The first plague produced no effect. The strong arm of Jehovah had therefore to be brought to bear still further upon the hard heart of Pharaoh. Fresh plagues followed one another in rapid succession, until at length his will, though

not his heart, was broken. It was hardly seven days after the first plague, when the *second* ensued. Aaron stretched forth his rod over the waters of Egypt, and innumerable *frogs* came up from them, and filled all the houses and utensils of the Egyptians (1). The magicians did the same with their enchantments, and brought frogs throughout the land (3). Pharaoh seemed almost inclined to bow before the power of God. He summoned Moses and Aaron, and declared his willingness to give the required permission to go and celebrate a sacrificial festival, provided the plague was removed from him and his people. This apparent change of mind was responded to by the mercy of Jehovah. Moses, who was appointed as Pharaoh's God, became his servant, as the nature of a mediator required. "Exalt thyself over me," he said, "and fix the time when the plague shall cease." But when the next day arrived, and all the frogs in the land died, with the exception of those that were in the water, Pharaoh hardened his heart again, and ceased to trouble himself about his promise (3).

(1). The Nile and the neighbouring marshes in the low grounds of Egypt are, as a rule, extraordinarily full of *frogs*; but snakes and storks generally prevent their becoming a plague. The scriptural account itself implies that they usually abounded in the Nile (ver. 9 and 11). Throughout the whole course of the plagues, there was a constant increase in the annoyance caused, or the injury inflicted, and thus the second was more troublesome than the first. In this instance, the increase in the grievance is not to be seen in the fact, that the plague was either more dangerous, or more injurious, than the previous one, but that it was more disgusting and repulsive. What rendered the plague so intolerable was, that the Egyptians could not move a foot, without treading upon one of these disgusting animals, which filled their sitting-rooms and bed-chambers, and even swarmed into their ovens and other utensils. Early writers (*c.g.* *Pliny* h. n. 8. 43, *Justin* 15. 2; *Aelian* anim. 17. 41) furnish accounts of similar occurrences els.where, and relate that whole tribes

have been compelled to emigrate, from their inability to subdue the plague. There may have been a connexion between this plague and the previous one, as *Hävernicks* and others suppose. It is possible, that the corrupt state of the Nile water may have favoured the extraordinary increase in the number of these animals, and thus the germ of the second plague may have been included in the first; but this would make no difference in the facts of the case, and the plague would still retain its miraculous character, whatever natural elements might be mixed up with it. This plague had also a religious significance for the Egyptians, since it was from the Nile, the source of blessings and father of the gods, that the foul abomination proceeded.

(2). The *sorcerers* demonstrated their skill by increasing the plague, instead of averting it. From the very first, they had given up all thought of counteracting the effects produced by Moses; and hence their only aim was to prove to the king, that their skill was not inferior to that of Moses. They did this in the present case, by calling up fresh swarms of frogs from the Nile by magical expedients. As the *Psylli* are able to allure the snakes from their hiding-places by means of incantations, the magicians may have possessed a similar magical power over other animals as well.

(3). The fact that Pharaoh was at first inclined to yield (and we have no reason to doubt his sincerity for a moment), is a proof that his heart was not yet thoroughly hardened, that he still possessed a certain amount of susceptibility, for impressions from the testimony of God. But his relapse, after the plague had been removed, is also a proof that the process of hardening had previously commenced, and that it was already determined and incurable. The effect produced upon that part of his inner nature, which was not yet hardened, was not sufficient to cause a reaction of adequate strength, to counteract the hardening that had already begun. On the contrary, the reaction of the latter was victorious over the former, as soon as the direct impression was weakened by the cessation of the plague (*cf.* § 21. 2).

§ 28 (Ex. viii. 16—19).—The *third plague* filled the air with immense swarms of *gnats* (1). The manner in which this

plague was produced, is particularly worthy of notice. Aaron smote the dust of the ground with his rod. The second plague had issued from the fertilizing Nile; the third proceeded from the fruit-bearing soil of Egypt. The Nile represented the male or fructifying principle of the deified powers of nature; the fruitful soil of the country the female or receptive principle. Instead of the fructifying blessing, there came forth from the Nile only that which was loathsome and an abomination; and instead of a life-sustaining blessing, the soil produced only misery and suffering for man and beast. The magicians again attempted to do the same with their enchantments; but this time without success. They were therefore obliged to confess: "this is the finger of God."

(1). No one has any doubt now that the קָנָיִם of the third plague were GNATS or mosquitoes (*σκιῶφες*), as the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* render the word, and not *lice*, the rendering given by the Rabbins, *Luther*, *Bochart* (and the English version—*Tr.*). Travellers are unanimous in pronouncing the Egyptian mosquitoes a terrible plague to both man and beast. *Laborde* says (p. 32): l'animal le plus inaperçu et cependant le plus terrible de la création. Combien de fois une seule de ces petites mouches ne m'a-t-elle pas conté une nuit entière. Un seul cousin d'Egypte suffit pour mettre au suplice. *Herodotus* (ii. 95) knew it to be a plague of the country, and describes the precautions which were taken by the Egyptians to defend themselves from its painful sting. It is also quite in accordance with natural history, that the biblical narrative speaks of them as coming from the dust, where the last generation had deposited its eggs.

(2). When the magicians acknowledge: "this is the finger of *Elohim*," a confession forced from them by the failure of their incantations, they are generally supposed to have meant by *Elohim* the God of Israel, and therefore to have admitted the supremacy of Jehovah. But neither the words themselves, nor the subsequent history, will harmonize with this interpretation (*cf.* chap. ix. 11). Had this been their meaning, they would have

said *Jehovah* instead of Elohim, for it was by this name that Moses had always spoken to Pharaoh of the God of Israel. And if they had intended to describe their present obvious incapacity, as the consequence of an interposition and hindrance on the part of the God of Israel, we should certainly expect to find the expression, the *arm* of God, rather than the *finger* of God. The arm would denote victorious power; the finger merely means admonitory warning and instruction. For these reasons we are rather inclined to the conclusion that the Charthummim, when using this expression, did not go beyond the limits of the religious system of the Egyptians, and that by Elohim they meant, not the God of Israel, but their own deities combined in one. The refusal of their deities to assist them at the third plague, they did not regard as a proof of the weakness of those deities; but rather as a sign that the gods of Egypt themselves acknowledged the justice of Israel's demands, and for that reason alone refused to continue the contest with the God of Moses. The position of the Charthummim was so painful and humiliating, that they would have been glad to put an end to the whole affair as quickly as possible, and eagerly embraced the opportunity of representing their deities as no longer willing that they should proceed any further. The expression employed by them, undoubtedly implied a wish and suggestion on their part, that Pharaoh should accede to the request of the people; but it by no means involved a confession of the God of Israel, or of their own conversion to him. The Charthummim still retained the office and dignity which they possessed before (chap. ix. 11). But as Pharaoh did not attend to what they had announced to him as the will of the gods, he had no longer any right to call them in, to exercise their magical arts in the subsequent plagues.

§ 29 (Ex. viii. 20—32).—The *fourth plague* brought *flies* and other insects throughout the land, and into the houses of the Egyptians (1); whilst the whole of Goshen, and all the houses of the Israelites, continued perfectly free (2). This time, Pharaoh offered to allow the people to sacrifice in the land itself, but not to leave the country. But when Moses refused to accede to this, and insisted upon his original demand, Pharaoh promised all,

provided he would intercede for him and remove the plague. But the king only broke his word again.

(1). The *fourth plague* is described as a plague of עֲרָב. This word is rendered by the *Septuagint*, *κονόμνια* or DOG-FLIES (*tabanus caecutiens L.*); by *Aquila*, *παμμύια*; and similarly by the *Vulgate*, *omne genus muscarum*; by *Luther*, "all kinds of insects." *Gesenius* (in his thesaurus) supports the *Septuagint* rendering, and traces the word to the verb עָרַב, with the meaning *dulcis, suavis fuit* ("a dulcedinis notione fortasse ductus est *sugendi* significatus). We prefer to derive it from the same verb, with another of its meanings, viz., *miscuit*, and therefore would render it MEDLEY = flying insects of different kinds (*Geschmeiss*). At the same time we willingly admit, that the *Septuagint* so far displays an acquaintance with the language and the circumstances, that the dog-fly is the most important of the insects of Egypt, and causes the most annoyance to both man and beast. We may learn from a passage, which *Hengstenberg* has copied from *Sonnin's* travels (iii. 226), how troublesome the flies are in Egypt at ordinary times: "The most numerous and troublesome insects in Egypt are the flies (*muscae domesticae L.*). Men and beasts are cruelly tormented by them. You can form no conception of their fury, when they want to settle upon any part of your body. You may drive them away, but they settle again immediately, and their obstinacy wearies out the most patient man. They are particularly fond of fixing on the corners of the eyes, or the edges of the eyelids, sensitive parts to which they are attracted by a little moisture." *Philo* (de vita Mos. T. ii. p. 101, ed. Mang.) speaks quite as strongly of the boldness of the dog-fly and the pain which it causes. For other explanations see *Bochart*, hieroz. T. iii. p. 30, ed. *Rosenmüller*. *Jonathan*, for example, gives *mixta turba ferarum*; *Saadias*, *mistura ferarum*; *Jarchi*, *omnes species malarum bestiarum et serpentum et scorpionum inter se permixtas*; *Oedmann* suggests the *Blatta orientalis*; *Laborde*, a species of worm, of which there are at times a fearful number in Egypt, whilst the havoc caused by them is indescribable. In confirmation of this he appeals to a passage of *Makrizi*, which is also cited by *Hengstenberg*.

(2). Although the second and third plagues were of such a

nature, that we can imagine it quite as easy that the land of Goshen should be free from them as from the fourth; yet the narrative admits of no other conclusion, than that it was not till the fourth, that the distinction was made. The solemn manner in which it is announced in ver. 22 as something peculiar, and the stress laid upon it in the words "to the end thou mayest know, that I am Jehovah in the midst of the land;—and I will put a division between my people and thy people; to-morrow shall this sign be," preclude the supposition that this had been the case before.

(3). The ground assigned by Moses, for refusing to accede to Pharaoh's proposal that they should sacrifice in the land, was this: "we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians, and they will stone us, when they see it." *Hengstenberg* (p. 114) justly opposes the current notion, that the reason why opposition was anticipated from the Egyptians, was that the Israelites would probably sacrifice animals, which the Egyptians considered sacred. The term "abomination" was not applicable to the sacred animals; and the animals which the Israelites offered in sacrifice were the same as those which the Egyptians themselves employed. In *Hengstenberg's* opinion the ground of offence was that the Israelites omitted to make a strict examination of the animals sacrificed, whilst the Egyptians attended to this with the most scrupulous care. But we agree with *Baumgarten*, in thinking such an explanation too restricted. For it must not be overlooked, that the words of Moses in ver. 27, "We will sacrifice to Jehovah our God, as he shall command us," show that he himself, with his consciousness of the regenerating and initiatory importance of this sacrifice (§ 20. 4), did not rightly know what its exact nature would be; many things therefore might be done, which would excite the abhorrence of the Egyptians and exasperate their minds. The fears, which Moses entertained, that if the Israelites should offer their sacrifices in the land (Goshen) itself, they might be surprised in the midst of their festival, were justified by the fact, that after the expulsion of the Hyksos (§ 43 sqq.) the eastern frontier of Egypt was strongly defended by a military force (§ 14. 6. ? 4).

§ 30. (Ex. ix. 1—12).—The *fifth plague* was a *murrain*, which destroyed all the cattle that were in the fields at the time. Israel

was entirely exempt from this plague also.—As Pharaoh was equally unaffected by this plague, the *sixth plague* followed. Moses and Aaron took *ashes* in their hand from a hearth, and, casting them into the air, produced grievous *boils* and *blisters* (2) on men and beasts throughout all the land of Egypt (3). Even the magicians, whom we may suppose to have been always present at the interviews between Pharaoh and Moses, were so fearfully affected with this disease that they were unable to stand before Moses on account of the boils.

(1). There can be no doubt that the ceremony, with which the sixth plague was introduced, was selected for a particular purpose, and therefore had a symbolical meaning. To ascertain what this symbolical meaning was, it is necessary that we should first of all determine the signification of the words פִּיחַ and כְּבִשָּׁן. The lexicographers, since *Michaelis* (suppl. p. 1212), are unanimously of opinion that the latter denotes a furnace, used for burning lime or melting metals, in distinction from תַּנּוּר, the ordinary oven or stove. But the etymology is so uncertain, that this meaning is by no means to be accepted as indisputable on the mere authority of a *Kimchi*. It seems to us far more suitable to trace the word to the Arabic تَبَسَّ (meaning *candere, urere, incensum esse*), than to כְּבַשׁ = *pedibus calcavit, subegit, oppressit* (sc. *a metallis et mineribus domandis*), which is the derivation preferred by *Gesenius*. But in that case the etymology shows no essential difference between כְּבִשָּׁן and תַּנּוּר. Nor is any such difference admitted by the *Septuagint* and the *Vulgate* (κάμινος, *caminus*). Κάμινος is applied to the oven and stove, quite as much as to the smelting furnace; to the forge, as well as to the domestic hearth. פִּיחַ, (LXX: αἰθάλη, *Vulg. Cinis*), is generally rendered *soot*. Etymologically it means that which can be blown away, cinder-dust, *favilla*. But the ordinary usage has not retained the original distinction, between the ashes which have been burned to powder, and the larger cinders (*cinis*, אֲפֵרָה).—Starting from the meanings *soot* and *furnace*, *M. Baumgarten* (p. 448), has given an explanation of the ceremony, which is certainly very ingenious, and with such premises possibly plau-

sible: "As the water of the Nile in the first and second plagues, and the dust of the earth in the third, were not elements accidentally fixed upon, the soot of the furnace must have had some connexion with the plague to which it gave rise. In the furnaces in which metal was prepared, there was concentrated a great part of the energy, put forth in connexion with those great buildings, on which the Egyptians rested their fame. In the soot of these furnaces there was seen the baser, dirtier side of this boasted splendour; and when by the hand of Moses the soot brought out blisters on the skin of the Egyptians, this was the judgment of God upon their pride, as well as upon their magnificent buildings at which the Israelites had been compelled to labour." In addition, however, to the uncertainty of the etymological basis on which this explanation rests, it may still farther be objected that the buildings and monuments of the Egyptians were not of metal, but of stone; and though metal was used in connexion with them, it does not appear to have been sufficiently important, for such special reference to be made to it in the ceremony before us.—*Hävernich*, (p. 182), on the other hand, points to the custom, which, according to *Plutarch* (de Is. et Osir, p. 318 ed. Hutt.), prevailed among the Egyptians in the very earliest times, of scattering the ashes of the sacrifices, especially the human sacrifices, as a ceremony of purification. It is true, *Herodotus* (2. 45) denies that human sacrifices ever occurred among the Egyptians; but this only proves that they were not offered in his day. We give the preference to *Hävernich's* explanation, but would give it a less limited application. We take **כבשן** in its most general signification of *fire-place*. If now we might further imagine, that the fire-place referred to here was one set apart for burning the sacrificial animals, for the purpose of obtaining their purifying ashes, and that Moses could or durst take the ashes from such a fire-place, the great significance of the ceremony would be placed before us in the clearest light. The ashes, which were intended to purify, produced uncleanness; and thus it was symbolically declared that the religious purification, promised by the sacrificial worship of the Egyptians, was nothing but defilement. But even supposing that there is no foundation for any of these conjectures, the fact will still remain, that ashes in general (on account of their being used in lie), were a means of purification (*cf.* Num. xix.), and therefore that

the means of purification here became the cause of defilement.

(2). Amidst the great variety of inflammatory eruptions on the skin, we do not possess the necessary data for a more particular diagnosis of the disease produced by the *sixth plague*. So much, however, is certain, that the climate of Egypt predisposes to such diseases in a most extraordinary manner.

(3). Though it is not expressly stated, that Israel was exempt from this plague, the narrative evidently implies it. And in general, there is no reason to doubt that from the fourth plague, when the distinction was not only first made between the Israelites and the Egyptians, but was so emphatically pointed out as most significant, this distinction formed an element in all the miracles, which were afterwards performed.

§ 31. (Ex. ix. 13—x. 29).—The *seventh plague—thunder, lightning, and hail*—was announced with increased solemnity (1). If any of the Egyptians had been sufficiently impressed by what had already occurred, to pay attention to the word of Jehovah and fear it; sufficient time was given them, after the announcement of the plague, to gather their servants and cattle into their houses before it commenced, and thus save them from destruction. But whatever men or cattle remained in the field, were smitten by the fearful storm of hail. Moreover the spring crop, which was nearly ripe, was entirely destroyed. In the land of Goshen alone there was no hail.—Pharaoh again promised every thing; but, as soon as the plague ceased at the intercession of Moses, he refused to perform any thing. The *eighth plague* had therefore to be announced, the devastation of the country by *locusts* (2). The people of Egypt, who were suffering severely, began now to cry to their king, to let Israel go; lest Egypt should be entirely destroyed through his obstinacy. And Pharaoh himself was sufficiently alarmed, to know that the words of Moses were not empty threats. He seemed even likely to anticipate the threatened plague by submission. But he had no sooner given the permission required, from his fear of further judgments from God,

than his hardened heart was again steeled against it, and he refused to allow any but the men to depart, whilst he retained their wives and children and all their cattle, as a guarantee for their return. The messengers of Jehovah could not consent to this; and the plague immediately commenced. A continuous east wind brought such a dense swarm of locusts into the land, that the sun was obscured; and when they settled, the whole country was covered. The devastation, which they caused, was so great, that not a leaf remained upon the trees, nor a blade of grass in the fields. The pride of Pharaoh seemed broken now; he confessed that he had sinned against Jehovah, and sued for mercy. But the west wind, which carried off the locusts, took away his hypocritical repentance also. The locusts perished in the Red Sea; they were the precursors of Pharaoh with his horses and riders. Every one of the plagues had hitherto been announced to the king beforehand. This rendered it impossible, on the one hand, that he should regard them as anything but divine judgments; and on the other hand it gave him the opportunity of escaping the evil, by changing his mind. But henceforth this double precaution ceased. Without any announcement, however, the king knew whence the plague had come; and his hardness had increased to such an extent, that the rest could only be regarded as judgments from which he could not escape. Thus the *ninth plague* broke upon him without preparation, viz. such dense *darkness* (3) for three days, both out of doors and in the houses, that they could not see one another. But in the houses of the Israelites, it remained perfectly light and clear. Pharaoh capitulated again. He said he would allow the men to go with their wives and children, but the cattle and sheep must be left behind. Moses rejected these conditions, and the two parted from each other in great excitement and anger.

(1). A *thunderstorm* accompanied by *hail* is by no means a

rare occurrence in Egypt, at least in the Delta ; though in the usual way it is almost unknown in the more elevated districts. *Cf. Laborde* p. 42. It is important to observe the emphatic and elaborate manner, in which this plague was announced. There must certainly have been some other reason for this, than the fact that the present plague fell much more heavily, than any that had preceded it. To our mind, a stronger reason is to be found in the increasing hardness of Pharaoh's heart. It is in connexion with the previous plague (chap. ix. 12), that this hardening is first spoken of as an effect produced in Pharaoh by God himself (except in the objective announcement which was made to Moses at the first). This evidently implies, that a turning-point had been reached ; and it also explains the reason, that the king was now for the first time made aware of the manner, in which his hardness and hostility to the will of God were to be made to subserve the glory of His name. Although Jehovah might have displayed his supremacy over the gods of Egypt, by the plagues that had already been inflicted ; Pharaoh could still proudly boast, that with all his power and with all his efforts, Jehovah had not conquered him. Hitherto it had not been the will of Pharaoh, but that of Jehovah, which eventually succumbed. This miserable pride and defiance on his part were now put before him in their proper light ; and he was made to learn, that with all his proud self-will, he was only serving the purpose and plans of God : " for this have I raised thee up, to show in thee my power, and that my name be declared in all the earth " (ver. 16) ; *cf.* chap. xi. 9, " Pharaoh shall not hearken to you, that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt."

The warning advice (ver. 19), to collect the men and cattle out of the fields, and shelter them in their houses from the threatened hail, was intended for the benefit of as many of Pharaoh's servants and subjects, as had learned to fear the word of Jehovah ; and they profited by it (ver. 20). But it was also intended for Pharaoh, to whom it was first addressed. And, though it is not expressly stated, we may gather with certainty from the general tenor of the narrative, that he paid no attention to the warning,—another proof that the most marked provisions of mercy only increase the hardness of the hardened man. From his past experience, the king could not possibly doubt that the threatened punishment would be inflicted ; but his proud and defiant

spirit would not let him reap the benefit, which the warning put within his reach.

(2). There has been an incalculable amount of writing on the natural history of the *locusts* in general, and the scriptural references to them in particular. *Laborde* mentions the titles of a hundred and seventy-five different works, which he says that he consulted and used, in his complete and careful investigation of the subject (p. 44 sqq.); and yet the catalogue is far from being complete. The fact that the direction taken by a swarm of locusts is dependent upon the wind, has been confirmed by the observations of travellers a thousand times. And the thorough devastation which they are here said to have caused, as well as their eventual destruction in the sea, have been frequently witnessed. According to the biblical narrative, they were brought by the east wind, רִיחַ קָדִים. Even the *Septuagint* stumbled at this, and rendered the words *ἀνεμος νότος* (*Vulg.* ventus urens). This rendering has been adopted by *Bochart*, who is of opinion that קָדִים must here mean the *south wind*, as the east wind could only have brought the locusts from Arabia, whereas the south wind would bring them from Ethiopia, where they are much more numerous. *Hasselquist* endeavours to prove that the locusts always take the same direction, viz. from south to north. *Eichhorn* (p. 26) thinks that, as the locusts are invariably driven by a blind impulse from south to north, and never turn towards the east or west, the swarms must always have come to Egypt from Ethiopia, and never from Arabia. And *Bohlen* (*Gen.* p. 56) makes use of this, as a proof that our author was not acquainted with the natural history of Egypt. But *Credner* (*Joel* p. 286) has brought many witnesses to prove that locusts follow every wind, and (p. 288) has also shown that they not only cross over narrow straits, such as those of Gibraltar, &c., but that when their flight is favoured by the wind, they will pass over seas as broad as the Mediterranean itself. But when the wind does not favour their flight—when, for example, it rises to a tempest, or suddenly drops—the whole swarm will fall immediately into the sea. *Niebuhr* (*Beschreib.* p. 169) also attests the fact that the wind sometimes carries swarms of locusts across the Arabian Gulf, even at its broadest part. Cf. *Hengstenberg*, *Egypt* and *Moses*, p. 11 sqq., and *Laborde*, p. 50 sqq.

קָדִים is never used in the Scriptures to denote the *south wind*,

but always means the *east wind*. It is the more important that we should maintain this firmly, since it is probable that in the present instance, there was some significance in the direction in which they came. They came from the same quarter as the Israelites, and they appeared as their champions and allies. But if this explanation should be given up as too far-fetched, we think that *Baumgarten* (p. 454) is certainly right in laying stress upon the fact, that they were not produced in Egypt itself, but came from a distant, foreign land, as a proof that "the power of Jehovah reached beyond the bounds of Egypt, *i.e.*, was everywhere present."

(3). The THREE DAYS' DARKNESS is now generally traced to the Egyptian *Sirocco* or *Chamsin* (*cf. Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and others*). The horrors of this phenomenon are described by nearly every traveller. *Du Bois Aymé* (p. 110) says: "When the Chamsin blows, the sun is of a pale yellow colour; its light is obscured, and the darkness sometimes increases to such an extent that one might fancy it was the depth of night." According to other accounts, the inhabitants of the towns and villages shut themselves up in their houses, sometimes in the lowest rooms, or even in the cellars, whilst dwellers in the desert take refuge in their tents, or in holes which they have dug in the ground. *Robinson* (i. 288) was in the desert during one Chamsin of short duration: "The wind," he says, "changed suddenly to the south, and came upon us with violence and intense heat, until it blew a perfect tempest. The atmosphere was filled with fine particles of sand, forming a bluish haze; the sun was scarcely visible, his disk exhibiting only a dim and sickly hue, and the glow of the wind came upon our faces as from a burning oven. Often we could not see ten rods around us, and our eyes, ears, mouths, and clothes were filled with sand." *Rosenmüller*, in his commentary, cites accounts from the middle ages, according to which the Chamsin covered Egypt with such dense darkness, that every one thought the last day was at hand. *Laborde*, however, will not admit that there is any resemblance between the Chamsin and the darkness referred to here: "Ce serait comparer la détonation d'un fusil au fracas du tonnerre que d'assimiler deux extrêmes de ce genre."—In the scriptural account of this plague, there is certainly no intimation of its being in any way connected with a scorching wind of this description. Still the phenomena,

which accompany the Chamsin, though very different in degree, are so similar in kind, that we are inclined to agree with those who regard the Chamsin as its natural basis. It must, however, at the same time be acknowledged, that none of the earlier plagues were raised so decidedly or to such an extent above their natural basis, through the peculiar character imparted by the miracle; and that none were so completely dissevered in some respects from that basis, as was the case here. In the present instance not only was the plague extended and intensified to a degree unheard of before, but in many respects it was entirely removed from the natural foundation, and passed over into the sphere of the pure miracle, in which no known power of nature is in any way employed. This is particularly seen in the fact, that it continued perfectly light in the houses of the Israelites, some of which immediately adjoined those of the Egyptians, whilst the Egyptians were unable to escape in any way from the darkness, by which they were surrounded. For when it is said in the biblical account, that the darkness was so great that they could not see one another, and therefore that no one could rise up from the place in which he was: the meaning undoubtedly is, that even in their houses the ordinary means of procuring artificial light were entirely useless. It may also be inferred from the express statement, to the effect that no one moved from his place during the three days' darkness, and from the nature of the interview which Pharaoh had with Moses, that the latter was not sent for till the plague was over. On the meaning of this plague *Hengstenberg* correctly observes, that the darkness which covered the Egyptians, and the light which the Israelites enjoyed, represented the wrath and the mercy of God.

THE PASSOVER.

§ 32. (Ex. xi. 1—10).—All possibility of further negotiation was now, apparently, for ever gone. For Pharaoh had threatened Moses with death, if he should dare to let him see him again, and Moses had replied with equal wrath, "so let it be, I will

never come into thy presence again" (x. 28, 29, xi. 8). And yet the promise of Jehovah immediately followed: "I will bring one plague more upon Pharaoh, and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence, and not merely let you go, but will himself entreat and force you to depart." Of the previous plagues some (viz., the first and second) had come, at a signal from Moses, from the beneficent river of Egypt, others (the third and fourth) from the fertile soil of the country, and others from the pure air, which pervaded the land; all the elements, which were at work in Egypt, had been one after another turned into a curse. And when that which was peculiarly Egyptian had been all exhausted, the countries round about sent their plagues into Egypt also; locusts came from the desert of Arabia, and the Sirocco with its impenetrable darkness from the Sahara. Yet all was apparently in vain. But this had been merely introductory and preparatory to the last decisive stroke. The *tenth plague* did not rest upon any natural basis, as all the rest had done. It was not called forth by either the rod or hand of Moses, nor did it proceed from the water, the earth, or the air; but the hand of Jehovah himself was stretched forth: "at midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt, and smite *all the first-born* in Egypt, both of man and beast (1), and *I will execute judgment against all the gods of the Egyptians* (2), I Jehovah (xii. 12)—but against the children of Israel not a dog shall move his tongue, that ye may learn *how that Jehovah doth put a difference between Egypt and Israel.*" In the *tenth plague* the idea and intention of all the plagues were embodied and fulfilled. It was thought of first (chap. iv. 22, 23), but it was necessarily the last to appear. If it had also been the first to appear, the fact would not have been so completely and universally displayed, that Jehovah was *the Lord in the midst of the land* (chap. viii. 22), the Lord over the water, the earth, and the air, over gods and men, cattle and plants, and *that there was*

none like him in all the earth (ix. 14). For this purpose it was necessary, that there should be *many miracles* wrought in the land of Egypt (xi. 9); and it was also requisite, that they should have both sharply defined natural features and an unmistakably miraculous character, in order that freedom of choice might be left for faith or unbelief. But the tenth plague bore upon the face of it a purely supernatural character, and because it was the tenth, *i.e.* the one which gave a finish and completeness to the whole, it exhibited in a clear and unequivocal manner, the design of all the plagues from the very commencement; for the last furnished the key to the entire series. And inasmuch as Pharaoh's resistance was overcome by the tenth plague, although the hardness of his heart was complete; this fact alone was sufficient to prove, that the obstinacy of his refusal had only served to glorify the name of Jehovah, and that the words of Jehovah were fulfilled: "*For this cause have I raised thee up, to show in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.*" (ix. 16).

(1). On the importance of the *first-born*, *Hofmann* says (*Weisagung und Erfüllung* i. 122): "The first-born opens the mother's womb, and thus renders all succeeding births possible; and hence the power, which deprived all the first-born of life, was also a proof of ability to control the future history of the existing generation, and the perpetuation of its life by means of posterity. The same power, which punished the existing generation, could also have annihilated all its prospects for the future." We cannot possibly comprehend, how this acute writer can have hit upon so mistaken an explanation. The notion, with which he starts, that the first birth renders all succeeding births *possible*, is completely wrong. No doubt the predicate, "that which openeth the womb," implies a precedence on the part of the first-born over the rest. But assuredly no Israelite ever explained this as meaning, that the first-begotten alone as such possessed the power "to open the womb," and that the possibility of any subsequent births depended entirely upon him. But the rest of *Hofmann's*

remarks are at variance with this fundamental thought. The first-born, on whom the plague fell, were already born, they had already opened the way for further births. How then could their death appear to threaten the prospect of other births? The real importance of the first-born may be thus explained: the first-born naturally enjoyed both precedence and pre-eminence over the rest, he was the firstling of his father's strength (Gen. xlix. 3), the first-fruit of his mother. As the first-born, he stood at the head of the others, and was destined to be the chief of whatever family might be formed by the succeeding births. As he stood at the head of the whole, he represented the entire nation of the Egyptians. Hence the power, which slew all the first-born in Egypt, was exhibited as a power, which could slay all, that were born then, and, in the slaughter of the whole of the first-born, the entire body of the people were ideally slain.

(2). The question arises in connexion with chap. xii. 12: how could the death of all the first-born, of both man and beast, be regarded as a *judgment upon all the gods of Egypt*? One might be inclined to think, that the previous signs and wonders could have been much more correctly described as a victory over *all* the gods of Egypt, and a judgment upon them, than the tenth plague, which was not nearly so closely connected with the objects which the Egyptians worshipped as gods. But the fact, that this plague was intended as a judgment upon the gods of Egypt in a more eminent degree than any of the rest, is evident from the repetition of this same view in Num. xxxiii. 4: "the Egyptians buried all their first-born, for upon their gods also Jehovah executed judgment." And here we may clearly see, in what relation the death of all the first-born stood to the gods of Egypt. The gods of Egypt, as the passage before us clearly shows, were among those who were smitten by this plague. And we agree with *J. D. Michaelis* (Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte iii. 35) in the opinion, that reference is made to the *animal-worship* of Egypt (*cf. J. C. Prichard*, Egyptian mythology). A large number of animals were regarded by the Egyptians as sacred, probably because they looked upon them as incarnations of the deity. If any of these animals were found dead, there was lamentation and mourning on every hand. It was a capital offence to slay or injure them. A few specimens of them were kept in the temples, and were objects of public

worship. Such was the importance generally attached to primogeniture in the whole of the ancient world, that it is very probable that the first-born were most frequently, if not invariably, chosen for that purpose. Fancy, then, what an effect must have been produced, what alarm it must have caused, what unbounded lamentation there must have been, if all the sacred animals in the temples, and thousands of them outside the temples, were struck dead *in one night*. Such an occurrence would be truly a judgment on the gods of Egypt; and for Egyptians at least, a judgment of a more fearful character, and one more calculated to produce despair, could not possibly have occurred. But the expression contained in chap. xii. 12 must not be restricted to this. The strong emphasis laid upon the fact, that judgment was to be executed upon *all* the gods of Egypt, when taken in connexion with the announcement so constantly made, that this plague would fall upon all the first-born of *men* and cattle, leads to the conclusion that *men* were also reckoned among the gods, who were to be slain. Our thoughts are naturally directed first of all to Pharaoh; not, however, in the sense in which the princes of the earth are described as gods, but rather in that sense in which, as the vain-glorious inscriptions on the monuments prove, the Egyptian kings prided themselves upon being sons of the gods, or incarnations of the deities. This explanation derives all the more weight from the fact, that during the whole of the negotiations with Moses, Pharaoh takes an *independent* stand in opposition to Jehovah. Moreover, the circumstance, that it was not merely the first-born of the god-king Pharaoh and of the sacred animals, that were slain, but all the first-born of man and beast, from the son of Pharaoh, who sat upon his throne, to the son of the slave-woman, that stood behind the mill, from the Apis, that was kept in the temple, and worshipped as a god, to the most common and unclean of the beasts, was the most humiliating part of the whole to the gods of Egypt, for it was a practical declaration of the absolute equality of both of them. In contrast with the great significance of the announcement, when thus explained, we notice the interpretation given by the Jewish expositors, who institute a comparison between this plague and the miracle wrought on the image of Dagon in the temple at Ashdod (1 Sam. v.): an interpretation which must be rejected as without foundation, and thoroughly

indefensible. Thus, for example, *Jonathan* paraphrases the passage as follows: "In omnia idola Aegyptiorum edam quatuor judicia: idola fusa colliquescent, lapidea concidentur, testacea confringentur, lignea in cinerem redigentur, ut cognoscant Aegyptii me esse Dominum."

§ 33. But certain important preparations were required, before this last decisive blow could be struck. As one of the leading features of this plague it is stated in chap. xi. 7: "*Ye shall learn how that Jehovah doth put a difference between Egypt and Israel.*" The separation of Israel was the fundamental idea of the ancient covenant, the basis of its history. What, then, were the conditions and pre-requisites of this separation? They are to be found in the first stages of the history of Israel: on the one hand the call of Abraham, the creation of his seed from an unfruitful body, and the appointment of this seed to bring salvation to the world; and on the other hand, the self-surrender and self-dedication of Israel to the purposes of Jehovah in faith and obedience to his will and guidance. But nearly four hundred years had passed since then, and during that time the natural side of Israel's character, that in which every other nation perfectly resembled it, had been almost exclusively developed and in active operation. In consequence of this, the other side of its character, by which it was distinguished from other nations, had retreated so far into the background, and in the process of development had been so completely left behind, that it was necessary to renew both the election and the covenant. Moreover, Israel in the meantime had entered upon a new stage; it had passed from the family to the nation, and the covenant made with the family had to be transferred to the nation into which it had grown. The covenant with the fathers was, no doubt, in existence still; for Jehovah still continued to be the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob (ii. 24), and Israel still bore the sign of this covenant in his flesh (xii. 48):

but the covenant itself had been in abeyance for four hundred years ; it had not made the least advance during all that period ; and in the sphere of life and motion, stagnation is equivalent to retrogression. The covenant, therefore, required to be resuscitated, enlivened, and set forth, and also to be confirmed and transferred to the nation, which now occupied the place of the family.—Moses had already been informed that this was to take place on Horeb, the Mount of God, (iii. 12) ; and for this very purpose Pharaoh was to be compelled to let the people go into the desert, that they might celebrate a festival to Jehovah. Hence, it was in Horeb, first of all, that the renewed and perfect seal of separation from the nations, the stamp, which henceforth distinguished it from all others, was impressed upon Israel. But the obduracy of Pharaoh, the hostility of his people to the nation, which Jehovah had begotten from the seed of Abraham to be his first-born son (chap. iv. 22), and the consequent necessity for executing judgment upon Pharaoh and his nation, had already shown the nature of that distinction which God was about to make between Egypt and Israel (chap. xi. 7). There had been a marked difference ever since the fourth plague (chap. viii. 22) ; but now at the tenth and concluding plague, it was to be practically demonstrated in a manner unparalleled before. The earlier plagues were chiefly intended to alarm and call to repentance ; the tenth, on the other hand, was a pure act of judgment (chap. xii. 12). The fact that Israel was Abraham's seed, was sufficient protection from the former ; but this no longer sufficed to defend them from the latter. Jehovah was now preparing to pass in judicial majesty through the land of Egypt. But judgment requires stern and impartial justice, fettered by no considerations, and admitting of no exceptions ; and it is right that judgment should begin at God's own house (1 Pet. iv. 17). If, then, there was something ungodly in Israel itself ; if the seal of its election and separation

was obliterated ; if its sanctification was imperfect and faulty ; if its natural character was stronger than that imparted by grace : the judicial majesty of God could not pass over Israel, although it was Abraham's seed, but his judgment would surely fall upon the Israelites as well as the Egyptians. Nevertheless Israel was to be saved. It was necessary, however, that before the judicial wrath of Jehovah burst forth, the Israelites should be prepared by grace, or they would be unable to escape the judgment ; their sins must be expiated, all ground for the wrath of God must be removed, and their fellowship with God must be renewed and fortified. This was accomplished by the institution of the *Passover*. The feast of the passover was a precursor of *that* festival, which the nation was about to celebrate in the desert in honour of its God ; the paschal sacrifice was an anticipation of the sacrifice about to be offered on the Mount of God in Horeb, a preliminary demonstration of its power and its effects, a guarantee for the future.

§ 34 (Ex. xii. 1—28).—The period fixed for the last plague that was to fall upon the Egyptians, and for the celebration of the *passover* (1) by the Israelites, was the *fourteenth day of the month of green ears* ; but as early as the *tenth*, the father of every household was to select a lamb without blemish, and to keep it till the fourteenth day of the month (2), when it was to be slain *between the evenings* (3). The *lintel* of the door and the two posts were then to be marked with its blood ; in order that, when Jehovah passed through the land of Egypt, to slay all the first-born, he might pass over the houses of the Israelites, and not suffer the destroyer to enter them (4). The lamb was then to be *roasted without breaking a bone*, and to be eaten *with bitter herbs*. Whatever might *remain* was to be burned. The bread eaten at this meal was to be *unleavened*. Moreover they were to eat it, like persons *in a hurry to depart*, with a *staff* in their

hand, with their *loins girded*, and with their *shoes on their feet* (5). To commemorate the important design and grand results of this festival, their descendants were ordered to repeat it every year, and to keep it as a seven days' feast, neither eating leavened bread nor suffering any to be found in their houses, for seven days after they had partaken of the Pâschal lamb. Foreigners, and servants who were not of Israelitish descent, were prohibited from taking part in the Paschal meal, unless they had been previously incorporated in the community by circumcision. The heads of families were required to instruct their children at an early age, as to the meaning of this solemn ceremony. Moreover this month was to be henceforth regarded as the first month of the year, because it was the period of Israel's redemption, and formed a fresh commencement to Israel's history. When Moses made this announcement to the people, they bowed and worshipped, and did as Jehovah had commanded.

N.B.— It does not form part of our plan, to enter at present into a full examination of all the directions contained in the law for the observance of the passover, or of every typical and symbolical meaning which can be discovered in that institution. As we propose discussing the Mosaic legislation (including the rites and ceremonies of worship), not according to its gradual promulgation, extension, and completion, but in its systematic form as an organized whole, the only features to which we shall now refer, are those which are necessary for the elucidation of this portion of the history of Israel. See the elaborate treatise of *Bochart de agno Paschali* (*Hieroz.* i. 628—703, *Rosenmüller's* edition.)

(1). The solemn festival which immediately preceded the Exodus, is described as *פֶּסַח לַיהוָה* (xii. 11), *זֶבַח-פֶּסַח לַיהוָה* (xii. 27), and *זֶבַח הַגְּדֵי הַפֶּסַח* (xxxiv. 25). In chap. xii. 27 the derivation of the word *פֶּסַח* (Aramæan *פֶּסְחָא*; LXX. *πάσχα*;

Vulg. *Phase, transitus*) is thus explained, Jehovah “passed over (פָּסַח) the houses of the children of Israel, when he smote the Egyptians.” פָּסַח means *to step or leap over anything*. This leads to the notion of *sparing, exempting*; for he who steps over a thing, instead of treading upon it and crushing it, spares and exempts it. Hence, *Onkelos* has not hesitated to substitute הָיָם (misericordia) for פָּסַח.

The phrase זֶבַח-פֶּסַח לַיהוָה necessarily leads us, to regard the slaying of the Paschal lamb as a *sacrificial act*, and the eating of it as a *sacrificial meal*. And the fact, that the Paschal meal was considered (on scriptural authority, 1 Cor. v. 7) to be a type of the Lord’s supper, led the theologians of the Catholic Church to seize with avidity upon the sacrificial dignity of the Paschal lamb, as a confirmation of their unscriptural theory of the repetition of the sacrifice of Christ whenever the Lord’s Supper is celebrated, since it was not merely the first meal, but the first sacrifice, which was repeated at every subsequent celebration of the passover. Now, instead of contenting themselves with the reply, that the necessity for a repetition of the Paschal sacrifice, whenever the passover was celebrated, arose from the typical character, *i.e.*, from the insufficiency of the Old Testament sacrifices, and that a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ is inadmissible on account of its absolute and perpetual validity (Heb. vii. 27, ix. 28), the earlier Protestant theologians (*Chemnitz, Gerhard, Calovius, Dorschmus, Varenius, Quenstedt, Carpov*, and others), in order that they might take away every possible foundation from the catholic theory, denied *in toto* the sacrificial worth of the passover, and would only allow that it was a *sacramentum* not a *sacrificium*. There were, however, several of the earlier theologians (*e.g.*, *Hacspan, Dannhauer, Bochart, Vitringa*, and others), who were impartial enough to admit the opposite. Among the more modern Protestant theologians, *Hofmann* is the only one, so far as we are aware, who has reproduced the denial of its sacrificial character (*Weissagung und Erfüllung* i. 123, and *Schriftbeweis* ii. 1, p. 177 seq.). Even *M. Baumgarten* differs from him in this respect (i. 1, p. 467).

So much must undoubtedly be admitted, that the name זֶבַח is not sufficient of itself to prove that the passover possessed a

sacrificial character; but this is incontrovertibly proved by the apposition לִירוּחַ: a *slaying for Jehovah* cannot possibly be anything but a *sacrifice*. This is quite as convincingly demonstrated, by what is related of the blood of the slaughtered lamb. For, if the door-posts of the Israelites had to be sprinkled with this blood, in order that the judicial wrath of God might not smite them with the Egyptians; and if Jehovah spared their houses solely because they were marked with the blood: the only inference that can be drawn is that the blood was regarded as possessing an expiatory virtue, by which their sins were covered and atoned for, though otherwise they would have exposed them to the wrath of God. It cannot be disputed, however, that the blood of a *sacrifice* alone possessed this expiatory virtue. Nor can it be denied that, on subsequent occasions, when the passover was celebrated as a commemorative festival and a renewal of the deliverance of Israel, it possessed a sacrificial character. In Num. ix. 7 the Paschal lamb is expressly called a *sacrifice* (קָרְבָן); it was slain in a holy place (Deut. xvi. 5 sqq.); its blood was sprinkled on the altar; and the fat was burnt upon the altar (2 Chr. xxx. 16, 17, xxxv. 11, 12). It is always referred to as a sacrifice in Jewish tradition; *Philo* and *Josephus* call it *θύμα* and *θυσία*, and the apostle Paul uses the verb *θύειν* with reference to it (1 Cor. v. 7).

The advocates of the opposite view appeal, with some show of reason, to the fact that all the usual characteristics of a sacrifice, particularly the imposition of hands, the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar, and the burning of certain portions of flesh at the altar, were omitted from the first passover, whilst several directions were given, to which there is not the slightest analogy in any of the true sacrifices. But the *latter* circumstance merely proves, that the paschal sacrifice was not subordinate to the other kinds of sacrifice, but co-ordinate with them, and formed an independent and peculiar class. The paschal sacrifice was just as much a distinct kind of *Shelamim*, as the sacrifice offered on the great day of atonement was a distinct kind of sin-offering. The *former*, again, might be sufficiently explained from the fact that the Mosaic law of sacrifice, on which the argument is founded, was not yet promulgated; but it must also be remembered that the condition of the Israelites in Egypt did not allow of the full and practical

development of the sacrificial character of the passover (*vid. e.g.* chap. viii. 26). As soon, however, as the impediments were removed, and the law of sacrifice was issued, the sacrifice of the passover was assimilated to the general character common to the rest of the sacrifices, so far, that is, as its distinctive and peculiar character would allow. Thus, for example, Moses commanded that the Paschal lamb should be slain at the sanctuary (Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6, *cf.* Ex. xxiii. 17). Again, we discover from 2 Chr. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11, that the blood of the Paschal lamb was sprinkled upon the altar, and from 2 Chr. xxxv. 12, that certain portions of the paschal sacrifice were placed (as עֹלָה) upon the altar and burned. In this it resembled other sacrifices (especially the *Shelamim*, to which it was most nearly allied).¹ Since, then, we find that in these two respects the passover was assimilated to the general idea of sacrifice, we may safely assume that the third essential characteristic of that idea, *viz.* the imposition of hands, was also included. The imposition of hands is treated in the law of sacrifice as something so essential that it durst not be omitted in the case of any sacrifice; but for that very reason it was so much a matter of course, that it was necessarily presupposed even where it was not expressly prescribed. Thus, for example, in the case of the not less peculiar sacrifice on the great day of atonement, no mention is made of the imposition of the hand, although it undoubtedly took place (*vid.* my *Mos. Opfer.*, Mitau 1842, p. 296).

(2). The Paschal lamb (in cases of necessity a goat might be taken, ver. 5) was to be killed on the fourteenth of the month *Abib*, the earing month, which was afterwards called *Nisan*, but it was to be selected on the TENTH of the month. We look in vain to the greater number of commentators for any explanation of this singular appointment. *O. v. Gerlach* says that this

¹ We are compelled by the context to interpret the word עֹלָה in 2 Chr. xxxv. 12, not as denoting a burnt-offering, in the strict sense of the term, but as a comprehensive word, referring to those portions of the paschal lambs which were set apart to be burned; for, in the whole section, there is not, and cannot be, any reference (vers. 10—19) to actual burnt-offerings (which were never slain and offered at the same time as the Paschal lambs). *Cf.* *Chr. B. Michaelis*, Annot. in *hagiogr.* iii. 990: "Ver. 12, וַיִּסְרוּ הָעוֹלָה: *Deinde amoverunt holocaustum, i.e.* hoc loco: eas partes paschalium victimarum, quæ adolebantur et igno comburebantur, ut erant adeps, eademque prosciaæ, quæ sacrorum salutarium erant. Lev. iii. 9, 10, 11."

precept had reference to Egypt alone (??), where the coming judgments and the hurry of their departure left no time for a later choice (!!). As if this selection was so tedious an affair, and occupied so much time, that it would have been impossible to find an opportunity during four whole days! *M. Baumgarten* contents himself with rejecting *Hofmann's* interpretation as inadmissible, without attempting to suggest a better. *Hofmann* (*Weissagung und Erfüllung* i. 123) says, that the lamb had to be selected as many days before it was slain, as there had been דורות (generations) since Israel was brought to Egypt to grow into a nation. For four days the people were to be reminded of the approaching deliverance, by the sight of the lamb which had been selected. *Baumgarten* is of opinion, that this explanation is overthrown by the fact that, according to the Hebrew mode of reckoning, from the 10th to the 14th, would not be four days but five. But this objection is founded upon a misapprehension. It is certainly true that, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, Christ is said to have lain in the grave for three days, but this was an inaccurate expression, borrowed from the current phraseology; it would have been more exact to say that he lay in the grave *upon three days*, or that he rose *on the third day*. If the selection took place on the tenth of Nisan, at about the same time of the day as that on which it was slain, on the 14th, the interval would be according to *every* mode of reckoning not *five* days, but *four*. But if the time at which it was slain ("between evenings") is to be regarded as denoting the beginning of the 15th, it might undoubtedly be said that it was killed on the fifth day after the selection was made. But even the latter would square with *Hofmann's* explanation; in fact, on any other supposition, the harmony between the symbol and the thing signified would not be complete, for at the time of the Exodus Israel had actually entered upon the fifth דור (century) of its sojourn in Egypt. We feel no hesitation, therefore, in adopting *Hofmann's* interpretation; at the same time we cannot omit to mention that *Hofmann* himself is not consistent, as this explanation of Ex. xii. 3 is clearly at variance with that which he has given of Gen. xv. 9 (i. 98). I must also retract the opinion which I have previously expressed (at vol. i. § 56. 5) with reference to Gen. xv. 9, and adopt *Baumgarten's* exposition which I have quoted there.

(3). The expression בֵּין הָעֶרְבַיִם, *i.e.* *between the two evenings*, has been explained in various ways. The *Curaites* and *Samaritans* suppose it to refer to the period between the disappearance of the sun below the horizon and the time when it is quite dark, *i.e.* from six o'clock till about half-past seven. Thus the *first evening* begins with the disappearance of the sun, the *second* with the cessation of day-light. *Aben-Ezra* gives the same explanation. The *Pharisees* in the days of *Josephus* (*bell. jud.* 6. 9. § 3) and the *Talmudists* supposed the first evening to be the afternoon from the time when the sun began to go down, the second commencing when it actually set; *Ben-haarbayim* (between the evenings) would therefore be from three o'clock till six. *Jarchi* and *Kimchi* interpret the expression as referring to the hour immediately before sunset and that immediately after, that is from five till seven. *Hitzig* (*Ostern und Pfingsten*, p. 16 seq.) arrives at the same conclusion. He regards the expression as denoting the indifferent boundary line between the 14th and 15th Nisan; and as the slaying and preparation of the lamb cannot have been the work of a moment, he supposes the boundary line to have been moved backwards or forwards, as occasion required. Thus, in contradiction to his own theory, he changes a *point* of time into a *space* of time. Of these different explanations the *first* is the only admissible one, as the following passages sufficiently prove: (1) *Ex.* xvi. 12, 13, where "between the two evenings" and "in the evening" are used as *synonymous* terms. (2) *Deut.* xvi. 4, where the lamb is said to have been killed *in the evening*; for the *evening* cannot possibly begin before sunset, ("evening" is the general term; "between the evenings" the more particular definition); (3) *Deut.* xvi. 6, where the passover is ordered to be slain "in the evening as soon as the sun goes down;" (4) *Ex.* xii. 6, 8, 10, from which we learn that the lamb, which had been slain between the evenings, was eaten *the same night*, and that none of it was left till the morning, for here the time called *ben-haarbayim* is evidently reckoned as a part of the night in the more general sense of the word; and (5) the occurrence of a similar phrase in Arabic (*cf. Gesenius thes.* p. 1065).—The custom of the *Pharisees* is apparently at variance with *Ex.* xii. 6 (compared with *Lev.* xxiii. 5, "on the fourteenth day of the first month at even is the Lord's passover"), for if the lamb was not slain till *after* sunset,

strictly speaking it was killed on the 15th of Nisan, and not on the 14th. But all that we learn from a comparison of this verse with Ex. xii. is that, agreeably to its natural character, the first evening (*i.e.*, the time of evening twilight), could be regarded as either the termination of one day, or the commencement of another. All that we have to determine, then, is simply the point of view from which the historian was looking. If he started from the 14th of Nisan, up to which day the lamb was to be kept apart and preserved, and on which the immediate preparations for slaying it were to be made, *ben-haarbayim* would pass for the termination of the 14th ; but if he took his stand at the 15th of Nisan, the first day of the feast, the time of slaying the lamb would then appear to him to be the commencement of the 15th. Thus there is no irreconcilable discrepancy in the fact, that in Ex. xii. 18 we find a command, that unleavened bread should be eaten for seven days, from the fourteenth day of the month at even until the one and twentieth day of the month at even ; whereas in Lev. xxiii. 6, we read “ from the fifteenth ye are to eat unleavened bread for seven days.”—See the thorough examination of this question in *J. v. Gumpach's alttestl. Studien*, Heidelberg 1852 p. 224—237.

(4). The law of sacrifice had not yet been made known ; the common sanctuary was not yet erected ; and the sacrifices of Israel were an abomination to the Egyptians (chap. viii. 26). Hence we cannot expect to find the Israelites observing any of the general laws of sacrifice, which were promulgated afterwards. It was necessary that the sacrificial act should be performed in private houses ; the dwelling of each family served as “ the tabernacle of the congregation,” and the *door-posts* as the altar on which the blood was sprinkled. Jacob's *one* family had grown into a number of families ; and these families were still living side by side, without being organised into the unity of a nation. No single sacrifice could be offered for the community, because Israel had no existence as a community yet ; nor could the Israelites assemble to offer sacrifice at a common sanctuary, for no such sanctuary had yet been provided. If Israel was to be reconciled as a whole, that it might escape the coming judgment ; it was necessary that each of the separate family-groups, into which it was divided, should offer for itself the atoning sacrifice, and protect itself from the wrath of the judge with the

atoning blood of the victim. When this atoning blood had been smeared upon the lintel and door-posts, the whole house was protected and everything in it ; for the entrance represented the entire house. There is something insipid in the remark that "the houses of the Israelites had to be marked with the blood, in order that the destroying angel might be able to distinguish them from the houses of the Egyptians." At the same time it is a perversion of the whole meaning, to say with *Bochart* and *Bähr* (ii. 634) : *Itaque hoc signum Deo non datur sed Hebraeis, ut eo confirmati de liberatione certi sint.* *Baumgarten*, on the other hand, correctly observes : "the sign is properly for him, who sees it and judges accordingly ; now the blood was seen by Jehovah, as he himself said, and not by the Israelites who were sitting in the houses. And it was just because the blood availed as a sign for Jehovah, that it furnished Israel with a firm ground of confidence." Israel stood in need of reconciliation, because it could not continue in its sin when judgment had begun. But God was about to spare and deliver Israel, for the sake of its faith and its future destiny, and therefore he imparted an expiatory virtue to the blood of the sacrifice which was slain by the Israelites. They were to make this their own by faith, and, as a proof that they had done so, to mark their houses with the atoning blood. To disregard this precept would have been to despise and reject the mercy of God.

Baumgarten and *v. Gerlach* assign a most remarkable reason for the fact that it was the *lintel* and not the *threshold* of the door, which was to be marked with the blood, viz., that the destroying angel came from above and not from beneath. The true reason most probably was, that a threshold is not a part of the door, but is merely the basis on which it rests. A threshold is not absolutely required in a representation of a house-door, but the two posts and the lintel are indispensable. *Bähr* is much nearer the mark, when he refers (ii. 633) to Deut. vi. 9, where the lintel of the door is mentioned as being just that part of the house, which is most certain to attract the notice of any one entering or passing by, and which was therefore the most suitable place for inscriptions.—*Gerlach* is of opinion that the Jewish notion, that the marking of the door-post was only intended to apply to the first passover in Egypt, is evidently at variance with the words of the institution at vers. 24, 25. We cannot sub-

scribe to this opinion. We cannot separate vers. 24 and 25 from their context in vers. 26, 27. The latter show that the command contained in vers. 24, 25 (to observe it as an ordinance for ever, and even to perpetuate the observance in the promise-land) referred generally to the whole feast of the passover, and was not restricted to the marking of the door-posts, as it would appear to have been if we merely connect it with ver. 23. Again, from the hurried nature of the first passover it necessarily followed, that certain important modifications were required on the subsequent organization of the community and its worship. But Moses had not yet received any commission to inform the people that such modifications would be necessary, nor was there any reason why he should do so; much less was it requisite that they should be fully described. In part they were left over for further legislation; in part they followed as a matter of course. There were *two* reasons for marking the door-posts on this occasion. (1) It was necessary that the blood, which was intended as an expiation, should be applied; in order that its expiatory virtue might take effect. Now there was no altar at command for the purpose; but on the other hand the house door (and with it the house) was regarded in the light of an altar. This reason ceased after the giving of the law, and the outer court of the tabernacle was appointed as the place where the passover should be slain and offered (Ex. xxiii. 17; Deut. xvi. 2, 5, seq. cf. 2 Chr. xxx. 16, 17; xxxv. 11, 12). (2) The door posts had to be marked, because the destroyer was about to pass through the land to slay. But this reason had no force on any subsequent occasion. Nor can it be replied to this, that the festival was afterwards observed as a feast of *commemoration*, and that the door had still to be marked with the blood of the Paschal lamb, to *remind* them of the way in which their houses had formerly been passed over by the destroyer. For the passover was not merely a feast of commemoration, it was also designed to represent and renew that redemption and sanctification, whose historical foundation it served to recal. Now, the ceremony in question had no meaning after the first festival; for it was only then, that the destroying angel was about to pass through the land. The door was marked with the atoning blood, *in order that* the destroyer might pass over. It would therefore have been a desecration of the sacred blood, if it had been

applied in the same manner, *because* the destroyer had *once* passed by; this would have been to change a most significant *means* of deliverance into a very insignificant *sign* of deliverance.

(5). The *Paschal meal* had the same design as every other sacrificial meal, viz. to represent the fellowship with God, which was to be established, as the result of the atoning sacrifice (*vid. my Mosaisches Opfer*, p. 102 sqq.) “For the death of the lamb not only averted death, but originated a new life, and this new life was in the eating of the flesh” (*Baumgarten*). *Hofmann*, who denies that there was anything sacrificial in the passover, cannot of course admit that the *Paschal meal* was sacrificial. The only end which, in his opinion, it was designed to answer, was to give (physical) strength for the coming journey (p. 122, 123). But is it possible that these arrangements, the *symbolical* character of which is emphatically shown in so many important details, meant nothing more than: “eat as much as you can to-night, that you may be able to sustain the fatigue of your journey to-morrow morning”? Can we imagine the law-giver looking upon a meal, which was only intended to impart physical strength, as of such great importance, that he made its annual celebration the first and most solemn of all the national festivals? It is true that *Hofmann* does not use the word “physical;” but we do not think that we have misrepresented him, by giving such an interpretation to his words. In fact, this necessarily follows from his denial of the sacrificial meaning of the passover. For if the physical strength imparted by this meal was the symbol and source of a corresponding *spiritual* strength, we do not see how it could become possessed of this character, except as the result of the sacrificial idea attached to the lamb, which was eaten at the meal.

A number of peculiar instructions were given with reference to the preparation and enjoyment of the meal, the symbolical character of which it is impossible to deny. (1). The lamb was to be *roasted* over the fire, and not boiled (ver. 9). The usual explanation of this arrangement is, that such a mode of preparing the food was most in accordance with the *hurried nature* of the whole affair. *Hofmann* (i. 123) and *Bähr* (ii. 636) both adopt this explanation. The former also adds: “the objection offered by *Spencer* (ed. Pfaff. p. 307), that it would not have taken

longer to boil the meat than to roast it, if the vessels had been all made ready beforehand, contains its own refutation in the inappropriate condition and supposition." But why so inappropriate? Had not the Israelites four whole days for making these outward and unimportant preparations? Undoubtedly the Paschal meal had a compulsory and hurried character. But it was only the meal, and not the preparations; for the latter were spread over four days. If it was not inappropriate, that the lamb itself should be selected and placed in readiness four days before it was used, why should it be so inappropriate that the vessels for boiling it (if boiling had been admissible on other grounds), should be made ready a few hours or rather *minutes* before (for this is all that would have been required)? But must not the preparations for roasting on a spit, which was an unusual process, have really occupied more time, than would have been required to prepare the boiling apparatus which was in constant use? In whatever light we regard this explanation, it appears to us to be thoroughly inadmissible.

A *second* injunction was that *not a bone of the lamb should be broken* (ver. 46). Of course this did not mean, that it was not to be cut up for the purpose of eating, but for the purpose of roasting. The lamb was to be put upon the table whole. The unity, of which the undivided lamb was a representation, was communicated in a certain sense to those who ate of it. Whilst eating of the one perfect lamb, as of a provision made by God, eaten at the table of God, by intimate associates of God, they were thereby linked together as one body, being all part-takers of equal fellowship with God (consult especially 1 Cor. x. 17). For this reason, as far as possible, the *head*, the *thighs*, and the *entrails* (ver. 9), were all to be eaten. It was also strictly commanded, that whatever was left should be *burned* the next morning, and not laid by for another meal. For if any portion had been eaten at another meal, this would have destroyed the idea of unity and completeness quite as much, as if only half the lamb had been cooked. "It would then have fallen into the series of ordinary meals, and this would have detracted from the holiness of that which was eaten" (*Baumgarten*). It was evidently on the same ground, that the further direction was given, that no part of it should be carried across the street from one house to another (ver. 46). It was an act

of expediency, that whatever was left should be *burned*, but this did not destroy the idea of unity. By being committed to the fire, it was safely preserved from any profane or common use, and was given back, as it were, to God in the fire.

The *third* injunction had reference to the other accompaniments, viz., *bitter herbs* and *unleavened bread* (ver. 8). The *bitters* (מֵרִירִים), with which the lamb was to be eaten (LXX.: ἐπιπικριδων, *Vulgate*, cum lactucis agrestibus; *Luther*, mit bittern Salsen), were undoubtedly *bitter herbs*. They referred to the bitterness of the Egyptian oppression, of which it is said in chap. i. 14, that "they (the Egyptians) made their lives *bitter*" (יִמְרִירֵם). There are other passages also, in which bitter food and drink are figuratively employed to represent suffering and distress, Ps. lxxix. 21; Jer. viii. 14 (*Bähr*). But firmly as we adhere to this explanation, we cannot overlook the fact, that bitter accompaniments might also be regarded as a spice, by which a stronger and more agreeable flavour was communicated to the food. The sweet flesh of the roasted lamb was to be made more savoury by the bitter vegetables, for their bitterness would be lost in the sweetness of the meat, and supply to the latter its appropriate condiment. And what the bitter spice was to the sweet meat, the recollection of their oppression in Egypt was to be to their deliverance from bondage. But the recollection of their oppression was not all that was contemplated. As the sweet and the bitter relieved each other, the one supplying what the other wanted, so were the sufferings in Egypt and the deliverance from bondage intimately and essentially connected together; for the latter could never have taken place without the former, and it was the consciousness of this which gave to the memorial its sacred worth. The words of the apostle are applicable here, "No chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous, nevertheless, afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness to them which are exercised thereby" (Heb. xii. 11).

A similar meaning has also been attributed to the direction, to eat only *unleavened bread* at the meal. In support of this explanation, reference is made to Deut. xvi. 3, where the passover bread is called bread of affliction (לֶחֶם עֲנִי), and *Winer* (in the second edition of his *Real-lexicon* ii. 231), is of opinion that "the

Israelite of a later ago could not be more effectually reminded of the oppression endured in Egypt, than by eating for a whole week such plain and tasteless food." To this *Bähr* justly replies (ii. 630), "that if this had been the case, the whole seven days' festival would have been a period of fasting and mortification, whereas it was really a *joyous* festival, and not one of mourning and repentance. Moreover the showbread and cakes, which, according to their symbolical meaning, were intended as food for Jehovah, were ordered to be unleavened. Was Jehovah, then, to have nothing but wretched, tasteless bread offered to him?" At the same time I am of *Hofmann's* opinion (i. 124 seq.), that *Bähr's* own explanation is inadmissible. He says that "it was called bread of affliction, because it was bread, which called to mind their sojourn in Egypt, and the suffering which they there endured; though it did so, merely because it had been eaten on the occasion of their deliverance from that suffering." But this reminds one too much of the derivation "*lucus a non lucendo.*" I agree with *Hofmann*, in thinking, that the explanation of the expression in Deuteronomy is to be found in the clause which immediately follows, "for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste (בְּהִפּוּזִין) *i.e.*, ye fled from it in a hurried and anxious manner)." The departure from Egypt assumed the form of a hurried flight (הִפּוּזִין), and therefore was always remembered as an עָנִי (a tribulation, or oppression). As the Egyptians compelled the Israelites to rush out of Egypt in the greatest confusion, and allowed them no time for withdrawing quietly, or making the necessary preparations for their journey; they still applied force to the Israelites, and Israel ate its last meal in Egypt בְּעָנִי, *i.e.*, under the oppression and affliction of Egypt. (In confirmation of this view, *Hofmann* very appropriately refers to Is. lii. 12 בְּהִפּוּזִין תֵּצֵאוּ). Moreover we learn from Ex. xii. 39 (34), that the reckless and irresistible impetuosity of the Egyptians, and the consequent nature of their forced flight, compelled them, altogether irrespectively of the divine command (ver. 15), and any symbolical meaning in the ordinance, to continue for several days the eating of unleavened bread; for every particle of leaven had been removed from their houses on account of the feast of the passover, and they were obliged to fly before any fresh leaven could be prepared.

The account, which is given in Ex. xii. 39 (34), has been sometimes adduced as an evidence of discrepancy in the scriptural record; for, according to vers. 8 and 15 sqq., the use of leaven had been altogether prohibited, not merely on the day of the passover, but for seven days afterwards. But it was not the writer's intention in ver. 39 to assign a reason for their eating unleavened bread, either at the original festival, or on the subsequent commemoration of it. The true explanation is this. The first feast of the passover was confined to *one* day; and on this day no leavened bread was to be eaten, for *symbolical* reasons. The following days were not feast days; but, as they were spent in travelling, they were days of hardship and toil. The commemorative festival, which lasted seven days, was not intended to celebrate the day of departure, *and* the first seven days of their journey, but the day of their departure alone. The reason why *seven days* were spent in commemorating the historical events of *one* day, is to be found in the solemn character of the festival, which was observed in honour of this one day. *Seven days*, neither more nor less, were required for a full realization of the character of the festival, a perfect exhibition of the idea which it embodied. But as the eating of the Paschal lamb was the one, indivisible basis of the whole festival, and did not admit of repetition, whilst the festival itself was to last for seven days; this could only be accomplished by continuing for seven days the other essential element of the Paschal meal, viz., the eating of unleavened bread. This was the sole reason, why unleavened bread was eaten for seven days, at the subsequent commemoration of the festival. At the first festival leavened bread might have been eaten on the second, third, and following days (for then the festival was confined to *one single day*); but the Israelites were compelled by external circumstances to continue eating unleavened bread for some days afterwards. And this is all that ver. 39 refers to. Had the writer intended to say that it was this fact, which gave rise to the future custom of eating unleavened bread for seven days, he would assuredly have referred to it in a more pointed manner, instead of omitting to make any reference to its lasting *seven days*. But in reality he is only speaking of the *first day after the departure*, and says that, on that day, they ate unleavened bread, because the dough which they had taken with them was *not yet* leavened. By the second,

third, or fourth day it must have been leavened ; and we may confidently assume that the Israelites ate without hesitation what they had in their possession, viz., bread made of the leavened dough.

What, then, was the *symbolical importance of the unleavened loaves* ? They are called מצות (Sept. ἄζυμα, Vulg. azymi panes). Hofmann has shown, in his *Weissagung* (i. 124), that this neither means *pure*, nor yet *sweet*, but *dry* loaves. The roots מצה and מצץ convey the idea of the exclusion of moisture, hence of drying, parching. In unleavened bread the moisture of the dough is driven out by the heat. It is not really baked, but parched ; for the peculiar characteristic of baking is, that the leaven or yeast produces fermentation in the dough, which is thereby expanded and lightened, and at the same time the moisture, which is retained, re-acts against the parching and compressing force of the external heat. If, then, we would deduce any symbolical meaning from the name of the *Mazzoth* ; it must be found in the fact that the *Mazzoth* were loaves, in which there was nothing but the pure meal, without any change in its nature or flavour, without the admixture of any foreign substance (the water, for example, which is driven out by the fire), and without the impartation of any foreign taste, or the least alteration by means of fermentation. There is all the more reason for adopting this interpretation, since it fully harmonizes with the course adopted in the preparation of the lamb, where (by roasting instead of boiling) every foreign substance was excluded, any change in its nature entirely prevented, and the preparation entirely effected by the pure and simple element of fire.

In the case of the *Mazzoth* everything depended upon *the absence of leaven*, and in this there was a symbolical meaning. Whether the taste of the bread was thereby improved or injured, is not taken into consideration. Leaven is dough in the course of fermentation. But fermentation is corruption, the destruction of the natural condition, the breaking up of the natural connection between the component elements. Hence from a symbolical point of view all fermentation, being an alteration of the form given to the material by the creative hand of God, is a representation of that which is ungodly in the sphere of morals, that is of moral corruption and depravity. As the lamb, which served to impart both physical and spiritual strength, and to

restore communion with God, was pure; the bread, which was eaten with it, was not allowed to contain anything impure.

With reference to the command to eat the meal in *travelling costume* (ver. 11), *Baumgarten* observes that, after the Israelites had been redeemed from the death of Egypt by the *blood* of the lamb, they derived new energy from eating the lamb that had been slain, solely in order that they might immediately take their departure from the land of destruction to the Mount of God. The number of persons who formed one company at the Paschal meal is not stated. It was most natural that each household should form a separate party. But as it was desirable, as far as possible, to take care that none of the lamb should be left; it was ordered that, where a family was small, it should unite with another (ver. 4). At a later period the Jews looked upon ten as the normal number of a single company. The supplementary command (ver. 44 sqq.), that no foreign servant, or associate, or hireling, should take part in the meal, and that no foreigner, who might be dwelling among the Israelites, should keep the passover with his family, unless they had been incorporated into the community of Israel by circumcision, had its external ground in the fact, that a large number of the common people of Egypt left their country with the Israelites (ver. 38, see § 35. 7). But it is a very instructive fact, that just at this time, when everything tended to show how Jehovah distinguished between Israel and Egypt (chap. xi. 7), it was made a fundamental law that non-Israelites might enter without the least difficulty into religious and national fellowship with the Israelites, and thus participate in all the blessings of the house of Israel. We have here a proof that, even when the distinction was most marked between the heathen and the chosen people, the fundamental idea of the Old Testament history was never lost sight of, that in Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed.

THE EXODUS FROM EGYPT.

§ 35 (Ex. xii. 29—xiii. 16).—While the children of Israel were eating the passover in travelling costume, the *tenth plague* (1) fell upon the Egyptians. At midnight the *destroying angel* (2)

slew all the first-born of Egypt, both of men and cattle ; and there was not a house to be found, in which there was not one dead. The terror of God came upon all the Egyptians. The same night, Pharaoh sent for Moses and Aaron, gave them permission to *depart* (3), and intreated their intercession on his behalf. The people of Egypt also urged the Israelites to depart as quickly as possible, for they said "we are *all dead men.*" The Israelites then did what Jehovah had previously commanded them to do : they asked the Egyptians for *articles of gold and silver* (trinkets and jewels) and for *clothes* (festal clothing). And Jehovah caused his people to find favour in the eyes of the Egyptians, so that they gave without hesitation whatever was desired (4). The instructions to repeat the Paschal meal every year were coupled with a command, to *sanctify all the first-born* of men and cattle to the Lord (5). Thus they departed in festal costume, as an army of Jehovah (6) ; for the Egyptians themselves had clothed them with festal apparel and costly ornaments. The bones of Joseph were also taken by Moses, according to the promise which had been made to him on oath by the fathers of the people (§ 4), and for the fulfilment of which the people as a body were responsible. A large number of the Egyptians of the lower classes of society, who had endured the same oppression as the Israelites, from the proud spirit of caste which prevailed in Egypt, attached themselves to the latter, and served henceforth as hewers of wood and drawers of water (7). Four hundred and thirty years had been spent in Egypt by the descendants of Jacob (§ 14. 1). There were now among them 600,000 men capable of bearing arms (§ 14. 3). Raemeses was the place from which the procession started ; Succoth their first resting-place (§ 37).

(1). *Hengstenberg* (Egypt and the Books of Moses p. 125) pronounces the *tenth plague*, viz., *the death of all the first-born both of men and cattle*, to have been the result of a *pestilence*, a

thing of frequent occurrence in Egypt. But in this instance, where the natural side of the event completely disappeared, he goes so far, in his anxiety to introduce a natural element into the miracle, that we must decidedly decline accompanying him. With greater moderation *Hävernich* says (p. 182) : “ The last plague is the one, which brings us most decidedly into the sphere of the purely miraculous.” The word pestilence, however, is so indefinite and general a term, that it conveys but little information after all. If by pestilence we are to understand any disease which carries men off in a sudden and unsparing way, we can offer no objection to the application of the word to the tenth plague ; for if the hand of Jehovah smote a large number of the Egyptians in one night with sudden death, the stroke itself must undoubtedly have resembled a mortal disease. But if the word be used in a more restricted sense, as denoting a disease that causes sudden death and overspreads whole districts by *contagion*, we protest with all our might against the designation. It was not by contagion, striking here and there like the electric fluid without previous warning, that so many victims were struck down by this plague, nor was it by any physical predisposition to a disease produced by some mysterious pestilential vapour, that those who fell were predestinated to die ; but the hand of Jehovah, or of the destroyer whom he sent, was the immediate cause, and not only the number of the victims, but the particular individuals, were determined beforehand by a *rule*, which had not the slightest connexion with the laws of contagion. We cannot but be surprised, that *Hengstenberg* should ever have gone so far, as to assert that “ the expression ‘ all the first-born ’ is not to be taken literally, any more than the other statement that ‘ there was *no house* in which there was not one dead,’ which could not be strictly correct, since there were not first-born in every house.” In his opinion we cannot infer from this that there were none of the first-born left alive, or that none but first-born were killed. Again, with regard to the *exemption* of the Israelites, he says that natural analogies may be adduced, for at the present day the Bedouins have very little predisposition to pestilence, and seldom suffer in the same way from its devastations. Even if we admit that the expression “ all the cattle ” in chap. ix. 6 (like chap. ix. 25) is not to be taken too literally, it is very different with chap. xii. 29. In the former case the reference is to the destruction

of cattle by a general murrain, without any particular description of the individuals smitten, and therefore the historian might naturally express himself in general terms. But here, where he is speaking of particular, well-defined individuals, such a mode of expression would have been altogether out of place. The scriptural account says, "Jehovah smote *all* the first-born," and proceeds to give the greater emphasis to the word "all" by adding: "From the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on the throne, to the first-born of the maid-servant that was behind the mill, and unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon" (xi. 5, xii. 29). This was the last, decisive plague. Whereas all the previous plagues had been so arranged, that it was still possible for unbelief to resort to the subterfuge, that they had been the result of nature and chance alone; this last was of such a kind, that even hardness and unbelief could not refuse to admit the interposition of the personal, living, supreme, and Almighty God. But the design of Jehovah would have been entirely frustrated by such exceptions as *Hengstenberg* refers to. There is no force in his assertion, that there cannot have been first-born in *every* house. For if, here and there, a couple may possibly have been found, where the husband was not himself *a first-born, without children*, and living in a house *by themselves*, the cases must have been extremely rare, in which these three circumstances were all combined, and therefore the writer cannot be blamed for saying "*every* house." It was not the design of the plague, that corpses should be found in every house without exception; but it was intended that *all the first-born* without exception should be slain, and if anything be pressed it must be *this*. Moreover the reference is to the male first-born on the mother's side (as chap. xiii. 2 clearly shows, *cf.* No. 5 below), so that there would sometimes be several first-born in the same family.

Again *Hengstenberg* is equally wrong, when he speaks of the supposed pestilence as being connected with the Chamsin (*i.e.*, the three days' darkness). He brings forward the evidence of travellers to the effect that, "when the Chamsin *lasts*, pestilence prevails to a fearful extent, and those who are affected die very quickly," and states immediately afterwards that "for this reason the Arabs, as soon as the Chamsin ceases, congratulate each other on having survived." But according to the

biblical account, the *pestilence* did not go before the "*Chamsin*," or even accompany it; on the contrary, it did not occur for several days, perhaps some weeks afterwards, and therefore long after the Egyptians had congratulated each other on having survived the dangerous period.

(2). The infliction of the tenth plague is sometimes ascribed to Jehovah himself; at other times to a *destroyer* *הַמְשַׁחֵת* sent by Him and distinct from Him (chap. xii. 23). There are some, it is true, who regard *משחית* as an abstract term, meaning destruction; but ver. 13, which is adduced in support of this, does not say: "the plague will not be among you for destruction," but "there shall be no plague among you for the destroyer" (*i.e.*, no plague to inflict, no occasion for bringing a plague). So far as we have hitherto traced the operations of God in Israel and on behalf of Israel, there is everything to lead to the conclusion, that the destroyer, who was sent by Jehovah, and in whom and through whom Jehovah personally appeared and worked, was no other than *the* angel, whom we have already met with in the patriarchal history as the representative of Jehovah (vol. i. § 50. 2); before whom Moses drew off his shoes and covered his face, when he appeared to him in the burning bush (chap. iii. 2, 5, 6); and who manifested himself to Moses in the inn, when Jehovah appeared to slay him (chap. iv. 24). So far as the judgment was one of wrath and brought destruction upon the sinner, the judge was also a destroyer. But as we read in Ps. lxxviii. 49, of *an army* of angels of evil (*מַשְׁלַחַת* *מִלְאָכֵי רָעִים*), who were actively engaged in the Egyptian plagues (for *רעים*, like *חַיִּים*, *life*, is an abstract noun meaning *evil*, *wickedness*; and angels, that work evil, are not therefore *wicked* angels), the question may be asked whether *משחית* does not indicate a plurality of angels engaged in the plagues. *משחית*, as *Hofmann* correctly observes (*Schriftbeweis* i. 310), denotes an instrument of destruction, of which there may be either one or many; and even in the latter case the many may be conceived of and described as one, on account of the unity of the principle which sets them in motion. Thus, for example, in 1 Sam. xiii. 7, an entire division of the army, which set out to devastate the land, is called *הַמְשַׁחֵת*, and, on the other hand, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, the angel of the Lord, which smote Jerusa-

lem with pestilence during the reign of David, is called **הַמַּלְאָכִים הַמְשֻׁחָדִים**. But when we observe, that in the passage quoted from the Psalms, the work of the "angels of evil" is not restricted to the slaying of the first-born, but applies to the whole of the Egyptian plagues, and also that in the book of Exodus such emphasis is laid upon the destroyer's *passing over* (*i.e.*, from one door to another); it must be acknowledged, that the passage in the Psalms *does not compel us* to suppose that there was a plurality of destroying angels employed in connexion with the *tenth* plague, and that it is *much more natural* to understand the description, contained in the twelfth chapter of Exodus, as relating to a single destroyer.

(3). Different answers have been given to the question, whether Pharaoh gave the Israelites a *conditional* or an *unconditional permission* to depart, that is, whether they left with or without any obligation to return. It appears to me that the permission *must* be regarded as unconditional. It is true that at first Moses merely requested, that they might be allowed to go for a three days' journey into the desert, and thus the prospect of return was still left open (§ 20. 4); and even at the fourth plague he still presented his request in this limited form, but he never did so afterwards. It is in the nature of a war, however, that the conqueror raises the conditions of peace with every victory that he gains, whilst the vanquished are obliged to give up all their claims. The latter is just what Pharaoh did, as the scriptural record expressly declares. And we may justly assume that the former was the case with Moses, especially as a regard to Pharaoh led him to commence with a request of so limited a character, that it could not possibly have sufficed even if it had been granted, and therefore in the event of Pharaoh's compliance he would have *been obliged* to extend it. How much easier, then, was it to do this, when Pharaoh was obstinate and repeatedly broke his word! All the promises, that Moses had previously made, were annulled by Pharaoh's continued breach of faith; and when at length, after the ninth plague, the king turned the messenger of Jehovah out of doors, threatening him with death if he should ever venture to appear in his presence again, and Moses departed "with burning anger" saying: "As thou hast said, I will see thy face again no more"

(x. 29; xi. 8), all negotiations upon the former basis were for ever broken off. Henceforth *Moses* would never again request *permission* to go into the desert, but Pharaoh and his people would beg and entreat of Israel to depart from Egypt, as an act of *kindness* and *mercy*. If, then, the departure of the Israelites was regarded *at the time* as an act of kindness to Egypt, we may be sure that the Egyptians not only did not demand, but did not even desire that the Israelites should return; for they would surely fear, or rather foresee with certainty that, if they did, the former evils would sooner or later be endured again. Pharaoh's subsequent change of mind, which led him to pursue the Israelites with an army, for the purpose of bringing them back by force, is no proof to the contrary; for it was the result of his own obduracy and the hardening of his heart by God, and merely led to the full execution of judgment upon himself. The fact that Pharaoh had not the remotest idea that the Israelites would return, but on the contrary regarded it as certain that they would not, is clearly proved by his astonishment when he heard that they had not gone straight into Asia, but were still within the borders of Egypt on this side of the Red Sea (§ 22. 5). "They have missed their way," he said, "the (Egyptian) desert hath shut them in." The whole affair is so described, that we cannot possibly infer from Pharaoh's pursuit, that he had merely given the Israelites permission to take a three days' journey, and did not intend them to depart altogether. For his reason for pursuing them was not that they had passed the Egyptian frontier (in opposition to the supposed permission), but *that they were still within the limits of the Egyptian territory*. They had not acted, therefore, in violation of Pharaoh's permission, but merely contrary to his expectation. If the Israelites had taken the direct road to Canaan, or even if they had gone by the regular route to Sinai round the head of the gulf, the opposite view might possibly have been sustained. But as they had not left the soil of Egypt, and therefore cannot in any case have gone beyond the permission, which they are *supposed* to have received, we cannot see why Pharaoh should have hurried to enforce their return. On the contrary, as this was the actual state of the case, it would have been more natural for Pharaoh to conclude that the Israelites seriously intended to return after they had offered their sacrifices; and if so, why

should he make use of force? Pharaoh's proceedings are incomprehensible, on any other hypothesis than that the departure of the Israelites was generally regarded as a formal, and actual exodus. And is not this *expressly* stated in Pharaoh's words: "why have we done this, that we have let Israel go from serving us?" He says *himself* that he has *let Israel go*, that they should serve him no longer. Have we not here, then, a proof of *unconditional* permission from Pharaoh's own mouth? What need we any further witness? The king fancied that the infatuated resolution of Israel, which was to him so incomprehensible, was a proof that the people had been forsaken by their God and deprived of their reason;—therefore he altered his mind and determined to pursue them.

In reply to this, however, we are referred to Pharaoh's words in Ex. xii. 31, where Moses and Aaron repeat their demand for the last time, and he answers: "Rise up and get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve Jehovah, *as ye have said*, also take your flocks and your herds, *as ye have said*, and begone and bless me also." Pharaoh is supposed to have expressly stated on this occasion, that he merely based his permission to depart upon their prior demand, and therefore restricted it to the limits of that demand. But so long as the maxim holds good, that the doubtful must be explained from the certain, and the obscure from that which is clear, we must interpret Ex. xii. 31 from Ex. xiv. 5, 6, and not the latter from the former. For no one will venture to assert, that Pharaoh's words in Ex. xii. 31 can only have been intended as a conditional permission to depart. He does not say a single word about making their return a necessary condition, as Ex. viii. 28 and x. 10 would lead us to expect him to do. Moreover, on the supposition that his permission was entirely unconditional, the words "serve Jehovah, *as ye have said*," are perfectly intelligible, and by no means unimportant: for if we take them in connexion with Ex. viii. 25, 26, and x. 24—26, we have good ground to suppose that Pharaoh's meaning was, that he would place no obstacle whatever in the way of their offering the intended sacrifice. Moreover his reason for mentioning this sacrifice particularly may be gathered from the expression which follows: "begone, and *bless me also!*" That is to say, he requested that the sacrifice might be made available for his own welfare and that of his

people, that Israel would show its gratitude by interceding for him and entreating the mercy of Jehovah on his behalf. And it must be admitted that the words in which the permission was couched, "get you forth from among my people," look much more like an unconditional than a conditional release.

(4). On the supposed "*borrowing*" and "*purloining*" of the gold and silver vessels consult especially *Hengstenberg's* Genuineness of the Pentateuch (vol. ii. p. 417—432, English transl.). The passages in which it is referred to are Ex. iii. 20—22; xi. 1—3; xii. 35, 36. In the first passage, the spoiling of the Egyptians is mentioned as a divine promise; in the second, as a divine command; and in the third, as an act performed by the Israelites. All three passages have this in common, that the Israelites *asked* (*Qu.* borrowed? לָשׁוּבָה) of the Egyptians vessels (and clothes), and that God gave the people of Israel *favour* in the eyes of the Egyptians. In the third the *gift* of the Egyptians is described as a לְהַשׁוּבָה (*Qu.* lending or presenting?); in the first and third the *taking* of the goods on the part of the Israelites is spoken of as a *spoiling* (*Qu.* purloining? לְשׁוּבָה); and, lastly, in the first passage the design of the request is said to be "that ye may not go out empty."

Most commentators explain the word לְשׁוּבָה as meaning to *lend*. But if this be the meaning, as the Israelites were not going to return to Egypt, and knew that they were not, their borrowing must be regarded as an act of fraud, a theft in fact; and, what is still worse, God himself appears as the instigator of the robbery. Various attempts have been made to get rid of this difficulty.

In the first place, it has been said that God, the Creator of all things, is the actual owner of all created objects, and has an unconditional right to dispose of them as he will, and that, accordingly, he may justly transfer them from one steward to another. This explanation is given by *Abenezra, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Pfeiffer, Calov, Buddeus, &c.* *Augustine* finds a more particular motive, however, for the divine decision in the fact, that the Egyptians had perverted to ungodly purposes the gold which had been entrusted to them by God, having applied it to idolatrous worship, whereas the Israelites would use it for building the tabernacle; and in this *K. v. Raumer* agrees with him. There is undoubtedly a certain amount of truth at the

foundation of this explanation, and truth which is applicable to the circumstances before us ; but there is by no means a sufficient amount of truth to remove the difficulty in question. If God in the administration of his government of the world, by any movement whatever, makes one man the possessor of what has previously been in the hands of another, there is nothing in this to perplex or surprise ; and in such a case, the absolute right of God to the possession and disposal of the property would be most justly maintained. But it is to us most offensive and repulsive, for any one to attempt to persuade us, that an act of fraudulent borrowing was the means of transfer approved and commanded by God. We must, therefore, pronounce this attempted defence unsatisfactory, except where it is accompanied, as it sometimes is, by one of the arguments to be adduced presently as a solution of the difficulty ; and even then everything depends upon whether the right selection is made.

Secondly, The purloining of the jewels has been represented in the light of a reprisal, by which the Israelites, according to the will and command of God, repaid themselves for the long continued tributary service, which they had been unjustly compelled to render. This explanation is adopted by *Philo, Clemens of Alexandria, Tertullian, Irenaeus, Theodoret, Grotius, &c.* As we shall presently show, we admit that this solution also contains a certain amount of truth ; but it is quite as far, as the former one, from being sufficient to remove the difficulty. *Hengstenberg*, indeed, argues that there was nothing of the nature of a reprisal in the matter, since the Israelites did not stand in the same relation to the Egyptians as one independent power to another, but in the relation of subjects to the king of Egypt, and also because it was private property which they took away, and not that of the Egyptian state. With regard to the first, however, I cannot admit that there was anything like the pure relation of a subject to a monarch in the present instance. The Israelites had come to Egypt as a free and independent people, and had merely placed themselves under the protection of the king, without submitting to become his subjects. As the king, however, bestowed certain lands upon them, they certainly became his vassals, and on that relation certain rights of supremacy were probably founded. But those rights had respect to the lands, not to the individuals, and as

soon as the Israelites restored the former to Pharaoh, he ceased to have any claim upon them as his subjects, and had no right to keep them in the land by force and against their will. And when he attempted this, the Israelites, who had ceased to be vassals by declaring their intention to depart, were fully justified in meeting force by force, in defence of their right to withdraw. With regard to the other objection, that the Israelites had not rendered service to the Egyptians generally, but to the king and the state, and therefore should only have indemnified themselves from the property of the state, not from private property; the difficulty is removed when we consider that the crime of oppressing Israel belonged to Egypt as a whole, and therefore the duty of rendering compensation belonged to it also as a whole. But the idea of a reprisal is entirely out of the question here; for the Israelites asked for the treasures of the Egyptians, and did not take them by force, whilst the Egyptians gave them without any compulsion from without. And if their giving were merely a lending, there would be still less room for speaking of reprisals.

Thirdly, a very peculiar escape from the difficulty has been suggested by *Justi* (über die den Aegyptern abgenommenen Geräthe, Frankfurt 1771), and in all that is essential he is followed by *Augusti* (theol. Blätt. i. 516 seq.). They are both of them of opinion, that the Israelites left their immovable possessions in exchange, or as security for what they borrowed; and hence the failure to restore the latter cannot possibly be regarded in the light of a theft. But we read nothing about security; moreover this explanation is shown to be incorrect, by the words "they purloined (stole) it from the Egyptians."

The following mode of defence touches more closely the actual difficulty, which arises from the words *lend* and *purloin*.

It has been maintained,¹ *fourthly*, that the conduct of the Israelites was undoubtedly opposed to the universal law of nature, but that God, as the supreme lawgiver, has the right in particular cases to suspend the law of nature, or dispense with it altogether. We think it superfluous to enter into any further discussion of the inadmissibility of this assertion.

Fifthly, it has been further supposed that the Israelites borrowed

According to *Hase* (Hutterus redivivus, ed. 2 p. 58), by *Eschenmayer*, in his Religionsphilosophie; but I cannot find the passage.

the vessels with the intention of restoring them ; but as God, the supreme possessor, afterwards directed them to retain them as their own, they were justified in keeping them. *Pfeiffer*, for example, says: "posito mutuo potuit id ex post-facto, intercedente assignatione juris, transire in proprietatem possidentis." Here, too, we consider a refutation uncalled for.

Sixthly, It has been said that the Egyptians lent the things, with the expectation of receiving them back again, and the Israelites borrowed with the intention of restoring ; but the Egyptian king, by his breach of faith and his malicious attack, set the Israelites free from every obligation to return, and rendered it impossible that they should restore what they had borrowed. This is the opinion expressed by *J. D. Michaelis*, *H. Ewald*, *Hofmann*, &c. But it is a sufficient reply to this, that the Israelites foresaw, with all the assurance of faith in the promises of God, that they would *not* return to Egypt (Ex. iii. 16 seq.). Nor is the flaw mended by *Hofmann's* remark, that Moses undoubtedly knew that the Lord had promised to bring the people to Canaan, and therefore took Joseph's bones away, but that he did not know how this would be accomplished. That is to say, Moses knew very well that the people would not return, and yet took away the vessels, on the express or tacit condition that he should bring them back ! Was not this fraud ?

Seventhly, *H. Ewald* (*Geschichte* ii. 52) regards the explanation just referred to, as evidently in accordance with the meaning of the narrative. But in his opinion the scriptural narrative does not give the *Saga* in its original form, but in a manner so distorted and changed, that nothing less than *Ewald's* keen and prophetic glance could possibly have discovered and restored it to its original shape, which was as follows: "Israel took away from the Egyptians the true religion (? !), took away from them the proper sacrificial utensils, and therewith the true sanctuary, and even the sacrifices themselves ? This *must evidently* (? !) be the meaning of the *Saga*. In every such period, when the fate and religion of two nations are about to be decided, the first question is, which of the two contending nations will take from the other what is really good (? !), and which will give it up (? !) ; for in the course of the conflict something higher and better will be sure to be evolved, and one of the two contending parties will eventually suffer it to be taken by the other (? !).

In this instance Israel, as the conqueror, *justly prided itself* (? !!) upon having taken *the true sacrifice* away from the Egyptians. We find an analogy in the narrative of the robbery of Laban's household gods by Rachel, and the Grecian legend of the golden fleece." We certainly do not think that *Ewald's* true explanation will share the fate of the true religion and the true sacrifices of Egypt.

Not much more successful is (*eighthly*) a perfectly new explanation given by *Schröring* (in the luth. Zeitschrift, 1850, p. 284 sqq.), who supposes that, according to the original historical form of the Saga, the Israelites were victorious in a conflict with the Egyptians, and carried off the *palladia* of the kingdom.

Ninthly and lastly, we come to the view adopted by *Hengstenberg*. It had been previously held by *Havenberg*, *Lilienthal*, *Rosenmüller*, *Tholuck*, *Winer* (Lex. Hebr.) and others, but none of them have defended it so vigorously, or carried it out so thoroughly as he. According to his explanation, the rendering of the words in question by "lend" and "purloin" can be shown to be false; and incontrovertible evidence, founded upon the circumstances of the case and supported by philological considerations, can be adduced to prove that the former actually denotes a *gift*, forced from the Egyptians by moral power, through the influence of God upon their hearts, and that the latter was an act of *spoliation* or *plunder*, the explanation of which is contained in the former. As we believe that this is the only correct explanation, we shall endeavour to sustain and, in some respects, carry out more fully the arguments of *Hengstenberg*.

The first question is, how are the words *שאל* and *השאל* in Ex. xii. 35, 36 to be understood? Do they mean *postulavit* and *dedit* (to *ask* and to *give*), as *Hengstenberg* supposes, or *mutuum petiit* and *mutuum dedit* (to *borrow* and to *lend*), as nearly every other commentator renders them? In any case the two words stand in such a relation to each other, that *השאל* expresses the granting of the request contained in *שאל*. If the *Septuagint* translation could always be depended upon, there would be no difficulty at all. The words are there rendered: ἤτησαν παρὰ τῶν Ἀγυπτίων . . . καὶ ἔχρησαν αὐτοῖς. In the *Vulgate* we find *petierunt* . . . *commodaverunt*, and in *Luther's* translation, "they *asked* . . . they *lent*."

Hengstenberg, however, not merely disputes the correctness

of the rendering "to lend" in this connexion, but denies that it ever has that meaning; at least he argues as if it was *a priori* wrong to introduce such a notion here, because it is inappropriate on philological grounds. But in this we differ from him. For how did such a rendering find its way into the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* if that be true? Undoubtedly **שאל** (except in one passage) always means simply to *ask, request, entreat*, without the additional idea associated with *mutuum petiit*. Moreover there is only one other passage, in which the Hiphil of **שאל** occurs, viz. 1 Sam. i. 28; and there it cannot possibly mean to *lend*, but to give unconditionally, to *present*: for Hannah does not give the son whom she had asked of the Lord, merely as a loan to the Lord. She brings him as a gift to Him, who had presented him to her; for she gives him up to the tabernacle, with an express renunciation of all her rights and claims upon him, by setting him apart as a Nazarite for life. But there is, on the other hand, *one* passage in existence, viz. 2 Kings vi. 5, where **שאל** has undoubtedly the meaning to borrow. When the pupil of the prophets, who drops his axe into the water, mourns the more bitterly over the loss, because the axe was **שאל**; this can only mean that it belonged to another, and was therefore *borrowed*. But if **שאל**; may mean to borrow, even when standing alone, there can be no doubt that **השאיל** may also be used in the sense of "lending."

The real state of the case is as follows: **שאל** means primarily and originally to beg, ask, desire; and **השאיל** to grant the request, to give what is asked. But there is nothing in the words themselves, to show what is the nature of the request and the gift, whether conditional or unconditional; whether what is asked for, is required and given for a permanent possession, or merely for temporary use. The context and the circumstances of the case must determine, in every instance, whether the words have any such subordinate idea at all, and if so, which of the two it may be. If we ask, which is the more probable and usual, and which therefore is to be tried first in our exposition, we must certainly decide in favour of the former. For it will be granted, we imagine, by every one, that the idea of requesting and giving conditionally is farther removed from the radical signification of the words, than that of giving and asking without conditions. And this supposition is confirmed by the usage of the language. **שאל**

only occurs once in the sense of borrowing ; and **השאל**, which we only meet with in one other passage, has there the indisputable meaning, "to give, or present." Our proper course is therefore plain, first of all to try whether this meaning will suit the connexion ; and if we find it inappropriate, *i.e.*, if the context and the circumstances of the case compel us to give the preference to the meaning "*to lend*," then and then only are we bound, or even at liberty, to make use of the latter signification.

It appears to us, however, that both the circumstances and the context are decidedly in favour of the first meaning. The most important point to be decided in connexion with the enquiry is evidently this: did the Egyptians expect the Israelites to return, or were they led to expect it by any promise on their part either tacit or expressed? If this question were answered in the affirmative, we should not *even then be compelled* to conclude that the things were lent and not given ; for the Egyptians might expect the return of the Israelites, and yet *present* to them valuable articles of plate and clothes. But if the state of the case was such that the Egyptians did not, and could not expect them to return ; it follows as a matter of course that the *only* idea, entertained on either side, must have been that the things were given, and not that they were lent. That this was the actual state of the case, we have shown above in the third note to this section.

Moreover, the statement which is repeated in all the three passages, that the readiness of the Egyptians to give was the result of the operation of God upon their hearts ("God gave the people favour in the eyes of the Egyptians"), suggests the idea of *giving*, much more than of *lending*. And when it is said in Ex. iii., "ask of the Egyptians and I will give you favour in their sight, that *you may not go out empty*;" it is very evident, in the first place (especially if we compare the promise in Gen. xv. 14; which is reiterated here), that what they asked for was to become their own property ; secondly, that they were to obtain possession of it, not through the impossibility of returning, but through the influence of God upon the hearts of the Egyptians ; and thirdly, that the asking was not meant in the sense of *purling*.

But there is still one difficulty left, and in the opinion of our opponents, it is the most important of all, *viz.*, the words **וְהָיָה**

אֶת-מִצְרַיִם (*Angl.*, "and they spoiled the Egyptians:" *Tr.*), in chap. xii. 36. But it is just from this expression, that our explanation derives the greatest support; and to *Hengstenberg* belongs the credit, of having been the first to point this out in an emphatic manner. In the *Septuagint* the words are correctly rendered *καὶ ἐσκόλευσαν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους*, and so also in the *Vulgate* "et spoliaverunt Aegyptios;" but *Luther's* rendering is decidedly false, "sie entwendeten es den Aegyptern" (they purloined it from the Egyptians). נָצַל never means to *purloin*, to *steal*; it never denotes the removal or appropriation of any thing craftily and secretly, by fraud and treachery, but always means to *plunder*, *spoil*, or take away by force. Now this does not harmonize at all with the idea of *borrowing*; for borrowing, with the intention of not returning, is an act of treachery, not of force. If we enquire how *Luther* came to lose sight of the true meaning; the most probable conjecture is, that he was misled by the erroneous idea, that השָׂאִיל meant to lend. He felt, no doubt, that *spoiling* did not harmonize with *borrowing* and *lending*, in fact that one excluded the other; and instead of making use of the proper explanation of נָצַל, to correct his false rendering of השָׂאִיל, he allowed himself to be misled by his regard for the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, and therefore altered the true rendering of the former, to suit the false or at least doubtful interpretation of the latter.

But if the things were given, was it suitable to speak of this as robbery and spoliation? At first sight it does appear somewhat strange, that we should answer in the affirmative. But on closer investigation it will not be thought so. The author intends to lay stress upon the fact, that constraint was put upon the Egyptians; that they were plundered of their possessions in consequence of the contest; and that Israel had marched away, "laden, as it were, with the booty of their powerful foes, as a sign of the victory, which they in their weakness had gained through the omnipotence of God." It was the fulfilment of the promises contained in Gen. xv. 14, and Ex. iii. 19 sqq.: "Afterward shall they come out *with great substance*," and "I know that the king of Egypt will not let you go except by a strong hand, and I will stretch out my hand and smite Egypt with all my wonders, and I will give this people favour in the sight of

the Egyptians, and it shall come to pass that when ye go, *ye shall not go away empty.*" "The author," says *Hengstenberg*, "represents the gifts of the Egyptians as spoil which God had awarded to his army (xii. 41), and thus calls attention to the fact, that the bestowment of these gifts, which outwardly appeared to be the effect of the liberality of the Egyptians, proceeded from another giver; that the act of the Egyptians, which was performed without external compulsion, was the result of a divine constraining influence within, which they were utterly unable to withstand." Without this divine constraint, the Egyptians would rather have done all the injury they could to the despised and hated shepherds, from whom they had received such harm. "At the same time the expression is chosen with reference to the conduct of the Egyptians, for which they had now to make some compensation to God and his people. They had plundered Israel (by the tributary service which they had unjustly compelled it to render); and now Israel carried away the plunder of Egypt." That which happened to Egypt here, however, was a type of every similar conflict between Israel and heathenism, for Egypt was the first-fruit and representative of the whole heathen world in its relation to the kingdom of God. Hence it is said in *Zech. xiv. 14*, with evident reference to this event, that "the wealth of all the heathen round about shall be gathered together, *gold* and *silver*, and *apparel*, in great abundance." In the present instance, therefore, on the occasion of the first and fundamental conflict with heathenism and victory over it, it would have been at variance with the divine rule of propriety, if Jehovah had allowed his people to depart without compensation for the privations and injuries, to which they had been unjustly exposed in Egypt. It would have been but a partial victory, and, therefore, (according to the primary intention of this portion of history), no victory at all, if Israel had not thus obtained complete satisfaction.

Thus, and thus only, can the passages quoted from the book of Exodus be freed from every difficulty; thus only can the terms of the announcement, and the demands of all the circumstances, be fully satisfied; thus only can the transaction itself be brought into harmony with the whole of the miracles and events which occurred in Egypt; and only thus can we explain the fact, that the author regarded it as so important

and significant, that he describes it three times with all the details, and in every form in which it could possibly be presented (as a promise, a precept, and a fulfilment); and not only so, but that it was also included in the promise made to Abraham 650 years before (Gen. xv. 14). With this explanation, it appears to us as the climax of all the signs and wonders, or rather of all the events associated with the deliverance of Israel from the yoke of the Egyptians. Every explanation, in which the notion of a loan is retained, comes into conflict with the idea of the holiness of God; whilst all the elements of truth, which lie at the root of the unsuccessful attempts referred to above, are not only retained, but receive ample justice in this explanation of ours.

Before leaving this subject, there is one more question to which we must direct our attention. It has generally been overlooked altogether, and where this has not been the case, it has been incorrectly answered. I refer to the question, what kind of gifts the Israelites asked for, what determined their choice, and to what purpose they intended to apply them?

Ewald is of opinion, that the *vessels and clothes*, for which they asked, were indisputably intended for the sacrificial festival, which the Israelites were about to celebrate, and for which Moses had requested Pharaoh to let the people go. They must, therefore, have been *sacrificial utensils* and *priestly clothes*, which had already been set apart by the Egyptians for the same religious object. But how does this square with the injunction contained in Ex. iii. 22, that "every woman shall request of her neighbour (*fem.*), and of *her* that sojourneth in her house," these clothes and other articles? Does *Ewald* suppose, that all the Egyptian *women*, or at any rate *all* those, who lived with or among the Israelites, were in possession of sacrificial articles and priestly clothes? Any one who is versed in Egyptian antiquities, must know very well that the system of caste was too strictly maintained in ancient Egypt, for such a thing to be credible. *Justin*, it is true, says of Moses, "*sacra Aegyptiorum furto abstulit*" (hist. 36. 2. 13;) but he certainly does not represent the Israelites as stealing the *Sacra Aegyptiorum* from the wives of the Egyptian Fellahs. His notion undoubtedly was, that Moses broke into the Egyptian temples at the head of an Israelitish army and plundered them. And if any one imagines that *Justin's* account is more correct than that

of the book of Exodus, we will not deprive him of his pleasure by any untimely discussion, or refutation of his views.

Hofmann also supposes, that the articles of gold and silver were sought (borrowed) by the Israelites, for the approaching festival in the desert. But he imagines them to have been, not bowls and other sacrificial vessels in use among the Egyptians, as *Ewald* fancies, but articles of furniture and table utensils. It can be easily proved, however, that this explanation is erroneous and inadmissible. For, like the other, it is opposed to the command in Ex. iii. 22, that *every* woman should request of her neighbour, and of her that sojourned in her house, the articles referred to. Can it for a moment be supposed that cooking utensils, furniture, and table services of gold and silver were possessed by *all* the Egyptians, even of the poorer and lower orders (for it is these and not the rich and noble that we must chiefly think of as dwelling in the midst of the Israelites and lodging in their houses)? But apart from this, the Egyptians and Israelites were both of them too scrupulous and particular, with regard to the cleanness and uncleanness of their vessels, for the latter to use either sacred or profane vessels belonging to the unholy Egyptians at their most holy festival; or, *vice versa*, for the former to *lend* them to the Israelites for their abominations (Ex. viii. 26). Moreover, the supporters of this explanation are at a loss to know how to dispose of the *clothes*, which are referred to in just the same terms as the rest of the things. However the issue proves that it is incorrect. No doubt the Israelites were altogether ignorant, at the time when they asked for the golden vessels and the clothes, of the *manner* in which the festival was to be celebrated and the sacrifices to be offered in the desert (Ex. x. 26); and hence it is not *impossible* that they may have thought, that every Israelitish woman (Ex. iii.) and every Israelitish man (Ex. xi.) would require one or more of these vessels of gold or silver. But this is certainly not very probable. Besides, even if neither Moses nor the Israelites knew, what kind of festival was to be celebrated and what would be required (Ex. x. 26), *God* certainly knew all this, and it was *He* who commanded the Israelites to ask for the articles of gold and silver. Now, if we look at the result, viz. at the manner in which the sacrificial festival was actually celebrated in the desert (Ex. xxiv.), we find not the least hint of their

having used the articles, which they had borrowed from the Egyptians ; in fact it is evident, that only one sacrificial basin was employed (xxiv. 6). We must therefore conclude, that at all events it could not have been the intention of God, that the articles should be employed in their sacrificial worship. If, however, this was not the purpose for which God commanded the Israelites to ask for the vessels of gold and silver, He must have had some other object in view. And in our opinion, the scriptural narrative states clearly enough what His purpose was. But we must postpone the discussion of it to a later period.

First of all, we must endeavour to ascertain clearly, what we are to understand by the **כְּלֵי כֶסֶף וְכֶלֵי זָהָב וְשִׁמְלֹת** in this passage. There is no difficulty with regard to the particular words. **כְּלֵי** plur. **כְּלָיִם**, derived from **כָּלָה**, means, according to *Gesenius* (thesaurus) : quidquid factum, confectum, paratum. It is a "vocabulum late patens" to which it would be difficult to find a parallel ; for it is used in the Old Testament with reference to articles of every possible kind. House-furniture, tools, sacrificial utensils, vessels of all kinds and for all purposes, armour, clothes, ornaments, jewels, and other things, are all called by this name. But when the **כְּלָיִם** are said to have been of gold and silver ; of course the range, which is covered by the word, is considerably limited. It must then be understood as referring to such articles only, as were generally or frequently made of the precious metals. Now as a rule the articles of gold and silver would be merely ornaments (rings, bracelets, chains, &c.), things used in the temple (sacrificial vessels, &c.), and certain articles of furniture or table-service to be found in the houses of the rich and noble. As the precious metals were most frequently employed in the manufacture of the articles first-named, it is most natural to suppose that **כְּלֵי כֶסֶף וְכֶלֵי זָהָב** were jewels and ornaments ; there being nothing in the context or the words themselves, on which to found a more minute description. Hence, starting from this abstract standpoint, we have good reason to suppose that the primary reference is not to articles of furniture or table-service, but to ornaments, trinkets, and jewels. In this sense the expression occurs in Gen. xxiv. 53 without further details : "And Eliezer produced **כְּלֵי כֶסֶף וְכֶלֵי זָהָב וְבִגְדֵי**, and gave them to Rebekah." But although we

have no particular description, can we reasonably suppose the presents to have consisted of anything but *trinkets* and *ornamental articles of female attire*? כְּלִי זָהָב is used in the same sense in Ex. xxxv. 22, clasps and ear-(nose)-rings, finger-(signet)-rings, and necklaces being mentioned by way of example; and also in Num. xxxi. 50, where, in addition to the ornaments just named, foot-chains and bracelets are specified.

These passages show very clearly, that in common parlance the phrase "articles of gold and silver" was generally understood as referring to ornaments. And if we look more closely at the verses before us, we shall soon arrive at the conviction, that nothing else can be intended there. The very fact, that the articles of gold and silver are mentioned in connexion with *clothes*, leads to the conclusion that the two are to be placed in the same category; that is to say, that they were both of them ornamental, since the *clothes* were evidently *festal* dresses. This conclusion is still more decidedly forced upon us, when we consider that in Ex. iii. none but *women* are mentioned either as *givers* or *receivers*. For it is evident that only such things are referred to, as are generally to be found in the possession of *women*, and such as *women* care most about. We have not to think, then, of either furniture or table service, but of ornaments alone. And thus the difficulty, to which *Hofmann's* explanation was exposed, is entirely removed. We certainly cannot imagine that every Egyptian family was in possession of gold and silver plate, much less of sacrificial basins, dishes, &c., of gold and silver; but without wandering beyond the range of probability, we may assume, that an Egyptian woman, though otherwise poor, might possess a ring, bracelet, clasp, or some other ornament of gold or silver.

We find, indeed, in Ex. xi., *men* as well as *women* mentioned as *givers* and *receivers*; but no one, we trust, will think that this is at variance with our explanation. For *clothes* are spoken of, as well as gold and silver כְּלִים; and they were certainly required by men, as much as by women. Moreover the men sometimes wore either gold or silver ornaments. Judah, for example, had a signet ring (Gen. xxxviii. 18), and Joseph a ring and gold chain (Gen. xli. 42).

A further proof that this is the only correct explanation, is to be found in the words וְשָׂמְתֶם עַל בְּנֵיכֶם וְעַל בְּנֹתֵיכֶם (Ex. iii. 22).

Luther follows the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, and renders these words, "ye shall lay them upon your sons and daughters," *i.e.*, that they may carry them. This is a mistake, which necessarily arose from the false interpretation of כְּלִים (*Gefässe, σκέυη, vasa*), and which a correct interpretation at once removes. Even on the supposition that the כְּלִים were vessels (basins, kettles, dishes, &c.), there would be something startling in such a rendering. Had the Israelites, we might ask, whose chief pursuit was the rearing of cattle, no asses and other beasts to carry their baggage? Was it necessary that their sons and daughters should supply the place of beasts and burden? If we refer to Ex. xii. 38, we shall find that the Israelites went out with a very large quantity of cattle of every kind. Moreover the verb שָׂם with the preposition עַל can only mean to *put on*, when used of *clothing, armour, jewellery, &c.* (*cf.* Gen. xxxvii. 34, xli. 42; Lev. viii. 8, seq.; Ruth iii. 2; Ezek. xvi. 14, and many other passages), and this must be the meaning here.

But we have still one more way open, of fully satisfying ourselves as to the meaning of the words "articles of gold and articles of silver," in the passage under review. As every woman was to ask, and receive from her female neighbour, and every man from his neighbour also; there must have been a great abundance of the articles referred to, in the possession of the Israelites. Let us see now, whether we do not find some further reference to them in the course of the history. First of all we meet with them in Ex. xxxii., where the men and women, sons and daughters of Israel, take their golden ear-rings out of their ears, that Aaron may make them into *Elohim* to go before them.

Again, although the quantity of golden ornaments, required to make the golden calf, must have been far from inconsiderable, and this calf was subsequently destroyed (Ex. xxxii. 20); we read shortly afterwards (Ex. xxxv. 21, seq.), that the whole community, both men and women, brought "clasps and ear-rings (nose-rings?), signet rings, necklaces, and all sorts of trinkets of gold," as a free-will offering towards the erection and furnishing of the tabernacle. Let any one think for a moment what a mass of gold must have been used in connexion with the tabernacle, when the beams were all plated with gold, and the articles of furniture were either made of solid gold or at least covered with it, and he will be obliged to admit not only that

the quantity of gold in the possession of the Israelites was extraordinary, but that if we were not acquainted with the circumstance narrated in Ex. xii. 35, 36, it would be incredible and inconceivable.

We shall, perhaps, be reminded, however, that according to Num. iv., there were gold and silver dishes, bowls, cups, cans, lamps, snuffers, extinguishers, and oil vessels in the tabernacle, and told that these were probably the "articles" which the Israelites had received from the Egyptians (*cf. v. Raumer, Der Zug der Israel. p. 3. 4. Anm.*). But this was evidently not the case, for we learn from Ex. xxv. 29, 38, that these dishes, bowls, cans, cups, snuffers, and extinguishers were made in the desert; and in ver. 3 sqq. we read, that they were made from the free-will offerings of ornaments and jewellery, that were brought to Moses by both men and women. We may, perhaps, be also referred to Num. vii., where it is said that every one of the *twelve* princes of Israel brought as his offering, at the dedication of the altar, a silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty shekels, a silver bowl of seventy shekels, and a golden spoon of ten shekels, in which his meat offering was placed; and these again will probably be pointed out as Egyptian vessels. But let it be observed that every woman, and every man, requested and received the articles of gold and silver; whilst here it was only the twelve princes of Israel, who brought such offerings as these. Moreover, they were not brought till the tabernacle was finished; and therefore the twelve dishes, and bowls, and spoons, had most probably been made in the desert for that purpose, as well as the things already named in Ex. xxv. 29, 38, and Num. iv. 7, 9. The gifts of the Egyptians may possibly have been employed; but if any objection be felt to this, it must be borne in mind, that the offerings were made by the *princes* of Israel, and as they were the richest and most eminent among the people, they may very well have possessed both gold and silver, and, for aught I know, silver dishes and bowls, as well as golden spoons, among their private property. Still, as the dishes, bowls, and spoons, offered by the twelve princes, were all of exactly the same weight, we are forced to the conclusion, that they had been prepared expressly for the purpose.

The character and drift of the whole narrative are brought out more clearly by this explanation; and on the other hand it

serves to confirm the opinion, that the articles were not obtained by borrowing and purloining, but were spoils which came to the Israelites in the shape of presents, though they were forced from the Egyptians by moral constraint.

After the severe oppression, under which Israel had groaned so long, the resources of a large portion of the nation must necessarily have been considerably reduced, through the loss of the property which they once possessed. Under such circumstances, unless some provision had been made, the departure of the Israelites would have been upon the whole but a very miserable one; and the last impression left by the people of God, on their exodus from Egypt, could only have been that of a wretched and contemptible horde of beggars and of slaves. This would undoubtedly have been opposed to the divine rule of propriety; for the reproach of the people was the reproach of Jehovah, just as in other cases the glory of the people was Jehovah's glory. It was not to be with great difficulty, and with hardly a sound skin, that the Israelites were to depart; but as a victorious and triumphant people, laden with the treasures of Egypt, in *festal attire*, and adorned with jewels and costly ornaments, and with necklaces and bracelets of gold. They were going to the celebration of a festival, the greatest and most glorious that ever occurred in their history; such a festival demanded festal attire, and this was to be furnished by their bitter and obdurate foes, without (and this was the climax of their triumph) the least external compulsion, and yet without resistance or refusal, on the simple request of the Israelites alone. To such an extent had the pride and intolerance of the Egyptians been broken; so completely were the tables turned, that Egypt now entreated as a favour the very departure, which it had hitherto so obstinately opposed, and it was no longer the Egyptians but the Israelites who prescribed the conditions of their departure, whilst the former assented at once to every condition, however humiliating it might be.

(5). The Old Testament divides the *First-born* into two classes, the first-born of the father, and the first-born of the mother. The former alone possessed the civil rights of primogeniture, namely, the headship in the family, and the double inheritance, which secured to them the title of *primogeniti haereditatis* (*cf.* Deut. xxi. 15—17). The latter, who were called, in distinction

from the others, "every first-born that openeth every womb," had no civil pre-eminence; unless they were also the first-born of the father. In the case before us, the first-born of the mothers are intended; and as they were to be sanctified to Jehovah, they were designated as *primogeniti sanctitudinis*. (*cf. Selden, de success. in bona defuncti. c. 7. p. 26 sqq. and Iken diss. ii. p. 37.*)—The question arises here, what are we to understand by the *sanctification of the first-born*? That they were not to be set apart to the priesthood is proved most conclusively by Ex. xiii. 2, 13, where the first-born of men are ordered to be sanctified, in exactly the same sense as the first-born of beasts. It was not as *sacerdotes*, but as *sacrificia* to the Lord, that the first-born were to be set apart. "Sanctify unto me all the first-born both of man and of beast, for they are *mine*," are the terms of the command in ver. 2 (*cf. Vitringa, observv. ss. ii. 2, p. 272 sqq.*). When Jehovah passed through the land and smote all the first-born of the Egyptians, he had passed over all the houses of the Israelites that were marked with the atoning blood of the Paschal lamb, and spared the first-born in them; but notwithstanding this, he had the same claim to the first-born of the Israelites, as to those of the Egyptians. This claim of Jehovah to the possession of all the first-born was founded upon the fact, that He was the Lord and Creator of all things, and that as every created object owed its life to Him, to Him should its life be entirely devoted. The earliest birth is here regarded as the representative of all the births; so that the dedication of the whole family was involved in that of the first-born. The difference between the first-born of Israel and the first-born of Egypt was this: the Egyptians refused to render to Jehovah that which was due, and continued most obstinately to resist his will; Israel, on the other hand, did *not* draw back from the dedication required, and covered their previous omissions by the atoning blood of the sacrificial lamb. Now the law of the kingdom of God is, that every thing which will not *voluntarily* consecrate, itself to the Lord, for the purpose of receiving life and blessedness through this self-dedication, is *compulsorily* dedicated in such a manner as to receive judgment and condemnation. The slaughter of the first-born of the Egyptians is therefore to be regarded as of the nature of a *ban* (חֶרֶם), an involuntary, compulsory, dedication. But Israel's self-dedication to Jehovah

had hitherto been insufficient, and hence the necessity for the expiatory sacrifice to cover the defects. The necessary complement of reconciliation is sanctification. By virtue of the atoning Paschal blood the first-born of Israel had been spared; but if they were to continue to be thus spared, the sanctification of the first-born must follow. And as the first-born of Egypt represented the entire nation, and in their fate the whole people were subjected to a compulsory dedication; so was the voluntary dedication of the *whole* nation of Israel set forth in the sanctification of the Israelitish first-born. It is true that the sparing of the first-born, like the redemption from Egypt, did not occur more than once in history; but future generations reaped the benefit of both events; and therefore in the particular generation which was spared and delivered, every succeeding generation was spared and redeemed at the same time (and it was for the purpose of keeping this in mind that the annual commemoration of the passover was enjoined). Hence it was not sufficient that the first-born of that first generation should be consecrated to the Lord, in order that the protection and deliverance afforded should be subjectively completed; but it was required that the first-born of every succeeding generation should be also sanctified to the Lord, as having been also spared and redeemed. Therefore the command was issued, that this first sanctification of the first-born should be repeated in the case of all the first-born in every age.

The words "*for they are mine,*" (chap. xiii. 2) show, in the most general terms, in what the consecration of the first-born consisted. The first-born was the Lord's; it was not *sui juris*, but the property of Jehovah, Jehovah's *mancipium*. Knowing then, as we do, from the next stages in the development of their history, that Jehovah had determined to fix his abode in the midst of the Israelites, and that his dwelling-place was to be the sanctuary of Israel, the tabernacle of assembly, where they were to meet with their God and serve him; we naturally expect that the consecration of the first-born, that is, their dedication to Jehovah, should take place either in or at this sanctuary, and this expectation was fully realized in the subsequent course of their history (*vid.* Vol. iii. § 20. 3). But the sanctuary was not yet erected; therefore, the sanctification required here cannot have been anything more than a provisional *separation* for that

purpose, not the actual realization of it. But Israel was already to be made to understand, that after that solemn night of protection and deliverance, the first-born of its families and the first-born of its cattle were no longer *its own*, but belonged to *God*. It was no longer at liberty to dispose of them according to its own pleasure; but must wait submissively, till God in his own time should determine what they were to do. So much, however, was already made known (chap. xiii. 13), that only clean animals, *i.e.*, such as were fit for sacrifice, were to be actually and irredeemably set apart as sacrifices to the Lord; whilst all the rest of the cattle were either to be slain, or redeemed by a clean beast, and the first-born children were also to be redeemed. But it was not declared till a later period, how this was to be done (Num. iii. 8; viii. 17; xviii. 14—18). At the same time, they were already made perfectly conscious of the meaning of the whole transaction (vers. 14, 15): “When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, what is this? thou shalt say unto him: By strength of hand Jehovah brought us out of Egypt, from the house of bondage, and it came to pass, when Pharaoh would hardly let us go, that the Lord slew all the first-born of Egypt, therefore I sacrifice to Jehovah all that openeth the matrix, being males; but all the first-born of my children I redeem.”

An expression occurs in Ex. xiii. 16, with reference to the sanctification of the first-born, which is similar to that which has already been used in ver. 9 respecting the yearly celebration of the passover: “It shall be for a token upon thine hand, and for a memorial-band (חֲזָקָה בְּרֶגְלֶךָ; ver. 16, for a frontlet, חֲזָקָה בְּעֵינֶיךָ) between thine eyes. The pharisaic custom of later times was founded upon these passages; just as the practice of wearing תְּפִלִּין or *φυλακτήρια* (Matt. xxiii. 5), *i.e.*, strips of parchment with passages of Scripture written upon them, which were tied to the forehead and the hand at the time of prayer, was based upon Deut. vi. 8 and xi. 18; whilst others interpret the passages as symbolical only. That the latter is the only admissible explanation of the two passages in the Book of Exodus, must be apparent to every one; but whether the same may be said of the passages in Deuteronomy, is a question that we must reserve for a later occasion.

(6). According to Ex. xiii. 18 the children of Israel departed

from Egypt חַמְשִׁים. The *Septuagint* rendering is πέμπτη δὲ γενεά ἀνέβησαν. *Clericus* explains it in the same manner, with special reference to Gen. xv. 16, and Ex. vi. 16 sqq. (Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses). *Fuller* adheres firmly to the derivation of the word from חַמֵּשׁ *five* (Miscell. ss. 5. 2). He renders it by πεμπτάδες, and supposes it to mean that they were drawn up in five columns. But neither of these renderings corresponds to the sense, in which the word is used in other places (Josh. i. 14; vi. 12; Judg. vii. 11). In Num. xxii. 30, 32, and Deut. iii. 18, the men who are called חַמְשִׁים in Josh. i. 14, and vi. 12, are described as חֲלוּצִים (= *accincti, expediti ad iter s. ad proelium*). The *Vulgate* translates it *armati*; *Aquila*, ἐνωπλισμένοι; *Symmachus*, καθοπλισμένοι. A more suitable rendering of the passages cited would be "equipped for battle, in battle array," which certainly includes the notion of being armed. The etymology is doubtful. *Gesenius* refers to the cognate roots חַמֵּץ = *acer fuit*, חָמַס = *violenter egit, oppressit*, and to the Arabic حَمَسَ = *acer, strenuus fuit in proelio*. It has been objected to our explanation, that the Israelites went away unarmed. But this is nowhere stated; and the panic, which seized them afterwards (chap. xiv. 10 sqq.), does not prove that they were not armed. On the other hand, we read shortly afterwards of their fighting a regular battle at Rephidim with the Amalekites (xvii. 10 sqq.). There could have been no reason whatever for dividing the people into five companies. The *Septuagint* rendering has still less to commend it; were it only because there is no ground for the assumption, that Moses was the fifth in order of descent from Jacob (vol. i. § 6. 1). But the rendering "equipped for battle" or "in battle array" furnishes a good, appropriate, and very significant meaning. This was a necessary part of the triumphant and jubilant attitude, in which Israel was to depart from Egypt.

(7). The Egyptians, who attached themselves to the Israelites on their departure, are called עֲרָב (from עָרַב to *mix*) in chap. xii. 38, and in Num. xi. 4 אֲסַפְּתָם (from אָסַף to *collect*). *Luther* renders both words *Pöbelvolk* (a mob); the *Septuagint*, ἐπίμικτος; the *Vulgate*, *vulgus promiscuum*. The Hebrew expressions describe them as a people that had flocked together

(the formation and meaning of the words correspond to the German *Mischmasch*), and lead to the conclusion that they formed the lowest stratum of Egyptian society, like the Pariahs in India, and did not belong to any of the recognised castes (*cf.* § 45. 4). Even among the Israelites they occupied a very subordinate position; for there can be no doubt that they were the hewers of wood and drawers of water mentioned in Deut. xxix. 10, 11. At the same time we perceive from this passage, that in spite of their subordinate position, and their performance of the lowest kinds of service, they were regarded as an integral part of the Israelitish community.

PASSAGE THROUGH THE RED SEA, AND DESTRUCTION OF PHARAOH.

§ 36. (Ex. xiii. 17—xv. 21 ; Num. xxxiii. 3—8).—The nearest route to Canaan, the ultimate destination of the children of Israel (chap. iii. 17), would have been in a north-easterly direction, along the coast of the Mediterranean; and by this route their pilgrimage would not have lasted more than a very few days. But Jehovah had his own good reasons (1) for not leading them straight to Canaan, but causing them to take a circuitous route across the desert of Sinai (2). The regular road from Egypt to Sinai goes round the northern point of the Heroopolitan Gulf (the Red Sea), and then follows a south-easterly direction along its eastern shore. In this direction the Israelitish procession started, under the guidance of Moses. The point from which they set out was *Raemeses*, the chief city of the land of Goshen. The main body, which started from this city, was no doubt joined on the road by detachments from the more distant provinces. Their first place of encampment was *Succoth*, the second *Etham*, “at the end of the desert.” But instead of going completely round the northern extremity of the Red Sea, so as to get as quickly as possible beyond the borders of the Egyptian territory, and out of the reach of Egyptian weapons; as soon as they reached this point, they received orders from Jehovah to

turn round and continue their march upon the western side of the sea. Thus they still remained on Egyptian soil, and took a route, which apparently exposed them to inevitable destruction, if Pharaoh should make up his mind to pursue them. For they were completely shut in by the sea on the one hand, and by high mountains and narrow defiles on the other, without any method of escape which human sagacity could possibly discover. In such a position no prudence, or skill, or power, that any human leader, even though he were a Moses, might possess, could be of the least avail. But it was the will of God; and God never demands more than he gives. When He required that Israel should take this route, He had also provided the means of escape. In his own person he undertook the direction of their march, and that in an outward and visible form, and by a phenomenon of so magnificent a character, that every individual in the immense procession could see it, and that all might be convinced that they were under the guidance of God. Jehovah went before them, by day in a *pillar of cloud*, that he might lead them by the right way, and by night in a *pillar of fire*, to enlighten the darkness of the night. This pillar of cloud never left the people during the day, nor the pillar of fire during the night (3). Tidings were quickly brought to Pharaoh from Etham of the unexpected, and, as it seemed, inconceivably infatuated change which the Israelites had made in their course. And Pharaoh said, "they have lost their way in the land; the desert has shut them in." The old pride of Egypt, which the last plague had broken down, lifted up its head once more. "Why have we done this, they said, to let Israel go from serving us?" Pharaoh collected an army with the greatest possible speed, and pursued the Israelites, overtaking them when they were encamped within sight of the sea, between Pihahiroth, Migdol, and Baalzephon. Shut in between mountains, the sea, and Pharaoh's cavalry, and neither prepared nor able to fight; enveloped, moreover, in the

darkness of night, and without the least human prospect of victory, deliverance, or flight; the people now began to despair. "Were there no graves in Egypt," they cried out to Moses, "that thou shouldest lead us away to die in the wilderness?" Nor did Moses see any human way of escape. But he expected deliverance from Jehovah, and from Jehovah it came. "Fear not," said he to the desponding people, "stand firm, and see the salvation which Jehovah will effect for you to-day. Jehovah will fight for you, and ye shall be still." It was now to be clearly shown, that the ways of God, though they may appear to be foolish by the side of the wisdom of men, ensure the result in the safest, quickest, and most glorious way. "Forward!" sounded the command of the leader of Israel, "straight through the midst of the deep sea," through which the omnipotence of Jehovah was about to open a pathway on dry ground. The angel of God, who went before the army of Israel in the pillar of cloud and fire, passed over their heads and placed himself as a rampart between the Egyptians and the Israelites. To the former he appeared as a dark cloud, deepening still further the darkness of the night; to the latter as a brilliant light, illuminating the nocturnal gloom. Moses did as Jehovah commanded him; he raised his staff and stretched his hand over the sea. Jehovah then caused an *east wind* to blow, which continued the whole night, until it had laid bare the bottom of the sea, and divided the waters asunder. The children of Israel passed through the midst of the sea on dry ground, and the waters were *as walls* unto them on the right hand and on the left. The foe, bewildered, driven forward by the vehement determination to prevent a second escape of those whom they had regarded as so sure a prey, and unable, from the darkness that surrounded them, to discover the extent of the danger to which their attempt exposed them, rushed on with thoughtless haste in pursuit of the fugitives. As soon as the morning began

to dawn, Israel had reached the opposite shore, and the Egyptians found themselves in the midst of the sea. Then Jehovah looked out from the pillar of cloud and fire, upon the army of the Egyptians; terror came upon them; wild confusion and thoughtless uproar impeded their march, and they shouted to turn back and fly. But Moses had already stretched out his hand over the sea again; and the waters, which had hitherto been standing like walls on either side, began to give way at the western end. The Egyptians rushed back and met the torrent; and Pharaoh, with all his horses, his chariots, and horsemen (5), was swallowed up by the sea. When morning came, the bodies of the Egyptians were washed up by the current upon the shore. Then Israel saw that it was the hand of Jehovah, which had been lifted up and had saved them; and they feared the Lord, and believed on him and on his servant Moses. The strong emotions of gratitude which filled the heart of Moses, burst forth in a lofty song of praise to their exalted deliverer. The anthem was sung by Moses and the chorus of men, whilst Miriam, the prophetess, Aaron's sister, at the head of a chorus of women, accompanied the choral-anthem of the men with timbrels, dances, and songs (6). This was the farewell to the first passover, which ended as it had begun, with deliverance and salvation.

(1). With regard to *the circuitous route by Sinai*, it is said in chap. xiii. 17: "God led them not by the road through the land of the Philistines (along the shore of the Mediterranean), which was the nearest way; for God said lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and return to Egypt." It is necessary, first of all, to do away with a misapprehension, which has crept in here, to the effect that reference is already made in this passage to the forty years' sojourn in the desert, and that it was necessary that a new generation should grow up, before the conquest of Canaan could be thought of. The removal of the difficulty spoken of here could have been effected

in much less than 40 years. The sojourn at Sinai, which lasted for an entire year, and the wonderful works of God with which they became acquainted by that time, must have been amply sufficient for this. It was not by the natural facilities afforded by their new unfettered life in the desert, so much as by *faith*, that the cowardice of Israel was to be overcome, and courage infused into their minds; and the events of the first year surely supplied all that was needed to strengthen faith. The sentence of rejection, which condemned the Israelites to wander in the desert for forty years, was simply a punishment for the want of that faith, which could and should have been matured by the works of God. The despair of the Israelites, when Pharaoh pursued them with his chariots and horsemen (xiv. 10 sqq.), soon showed how necessary such a precaution had been. The Philistines were a thoroughly warlike and powerful nation. Moreover, they were not destined to be exterminated, as the true Canaanites were; nor was their land, for the present at least, to be taken possession of by Israel.

Many readers may, perhaps, have been surprised to find only the negative and subordinate reason for their circuitous route mentioned here, viz. the impossibility of avoiding a collision with the Philistines; whilst no reference is made to the more important and positive motive, namely, the necessity for the conclusion of the covenant and giving of the law, previous to their entrance into the promised land. But we find a solution of this difficulty in the fact, that the immediate circumstances brought the negative reason more prominently before the author's mind;—the conflict with Pharaoh, which he was just about to describe, keeping his attention rivetted for the time to this particular point of view.

(2). We must not confound the reason for their *turning round*, and remaining within the Egyptian territory (chap. xiv. 3), with the reason for their circuitous route across the desert of Sinai. For the former the following causes may be assigned: (1) it was no circuitous route, to turn round the mountains as they did towards the Red Sea; for the road to the sea was the *straight* road from Egypt to Sinai. Such a leader as Jehovah, who knew how to make for his army a dry pathway through the depths of the sea, did not need to keep the circuitous caravan-road which goes round the sea. That which Pharaoh and every one else

regarded as the wrong road (xiv. 3), was under the leading of God (and so it is called in Ps. cvii. 7) a "right way."—(2). Whilst the road *through* the sea was the most direct, and therefore outwardly the most expedient; there were other internal grounds, which concurred to render it the most desirable. The first of these had reference to Pharaoh. We find it expressed in chap. xiv. 4: "I will harden his heart, that he shall follow after them; and I will be honoured upon Pharaoh and upon all his host, that the Egyptians may know that I am the Lord." And there was also a reference to the *nations round about*, with whom the history of Israel was immediately to come in contact. The importance of the event, considered in this light, is hinted at, and foretold in Moses' song of praise (chap. xv. 14 sqq.):

"The people hear it, they are afraid,
Terror seizes the inhabitants of *Philistia*.
Amazed are the princes of *Edom*,
And trembling takes hold of the mighty in *Moab*,
All the inhabitants of *Canaan* despair.
Dread and fear fall upon them,
By the might of thine arm they are stiff as a stone,
Till thy people are through, O Jehovah,
Till the people, which thou hast purchased, are through."

And, lastly, there was a reference to the *Israelites*. Their faith was greatly strengthened thereby; it led them to place greater confidence in Jehovah, and to trust more in Moses, the servant of Jehovah (xiv. 31); and they also learned, and proclaimed in their song of praise, that Jehovah was "the true man of war" (xv. 3), "a king to all eternity" (xv. 18).

(2). On the *pillar of cloud* and *pillar of fire*, which went before the children of Israel when they departed from Etham, and accompanied them during the whole period of their journeying through the desert, consult *Camp. Vitringa*, Observ. ss. v. c. 14—17. Even this miracle has not been left, without some attempts to explain it as a natural phenomenon. In the opinion of *Herm. v. d. Hardt* (Ephemerid. philol. discours. 6, p. 86, and 210 sqq., and also Ephemerid. illustr. p. 93 sqq.) the pillar of cloud and fire was the sacred fire of the Israelites, which had been preserved by the patriarchs both before and after the flood, from the time of the first sacrifice, which was consumed by fire from heaven. This fire, he says, was brought by Jacob into

Egypt; and when the Israelites departed from Egypt, it was carried by Aaron in front of the army, as a symbol of the presence of God. A similar custom is said by *Curtius* to have been observed by the Persian armies (iii. 3—9): "*Ordo agminis fuit talis. Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur.*" *Toland's* opinion (in his *Tetradynami* Disc. 1) has met with more approval than *Hardt's*. He believed it to have been nothing but the regular caravan-fire, which was carried before the people at the top of a long pole, by the guide who was appointed for that purpose, as a signal of the route they were to take. That this custom was adopted in ancient times, not merely by the large trading caravans, but also by the armies of the East, especially when they were travelling along unknown and difficult routes, has been sufficiently attested by witnesses of earlier times. *Curtius* says with reference to the march of Alexander the Great (v. 2—7): "Tuba, cum castro movere vellet, signum dabat: cujus sonitus plerumque, tumultuantium fremitu exoriente, haud satis exaudiebatur. Ergo perticam, quae undique conspici posset, supra praetorium statuit, ex qua signum eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum. Observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu." To the present day the same custom is adopted by trading caravans, according to the testimony of *Harmar* (*Beobachtungen* i. 438 seq.), the author of the *Description de l'Égypte* (viii. 128), and others. Even in the cities of the East, when there are any evening processions, iron fire-baskets, with pine-wood burning in them, are carried in front, on the top of a long pole (*Russegger* Reis. ii. 1, p. 38).—*Toland* still takes the trouble, to endeavour to bring everything contained in the scriptural narrative respecting the pillar of cloud and fire, into harmony with this custom. But the modern supporters of the same view (e.g. *Winer* ii. 696, *Ewald* ii. 164 sqq., and many others) for the most part admit without hesitation, that the author intended to relate a miracle, and treat his account as a mythical embellishment of the simple custom we have just described. *Köster* is the only one who admits the historical character of the biblical narrative, regards the whole transaction as suited to the circumstances and worthy of God, and yet adheres to this natural explanation. He says: "We have undoubtedly to understand by this pillar of cloud and fire the ordinary caravan-fire, used upon their march by the armies of the

east. . . . The cloud was a symbol of the presence of God, and in it Israel saw Jehovah face to face (Num. xiv. 14). It derived its worth entirely from the belief of the Israelites, that Jehovah was visibly among them in the cloud and in the fire ; and therefore what we have here is not a mythical embellishment of a simple fact, but the simple fact itself, exalted by faith and a religious idea. Hence we are told with the greatest candour, that the guidance of Jehovah did not render careful reflection on the part of Moses himself, or the good advice of others, at all superfluous (Num. x. 31)." We should not make the slightest objection to this explanation of *Köster*, if there were any possibility of showing that it was in harmony with the text. But it must be apparent to every one that this is not the case. The only course open to us, in fact, is either to admit the historical character of the miracle, however incomprehensible it may be, with all the startling phenomena and effects attributed to it in the scriptural narrative, or else to pronounce everything that is supernatural in the account a mythical embellishment of later times. From the standpoint which we have adopted, in relation to the sacred history and its original records, it follows as a matter of course, that we adhere to the first of these.

Still we cannot but acknowledge, that in the pillar of cloud and of fire, in which Jehovah himself accompanied and conducted his people, there was some reference to the ordinary caravan-fire, which served as a guide as well as a signal of encampment and departure to the caravans and armies of the East. For, in the design and form of the two phenomena, we can trace exactly the same features ; the difference being, that the one was a merely natural arrangement, which answered its purpose but very imperfectly, and was exceedingly insignificant in its character, whilst the other was a supernatural phenomenon, beyond all comparison more splendid and magnificent in its form, which not only served as a signal of encampment and departure, and led the way in an incomparably superior manner, but was also made to answer far greater and more glorious ends.

The following is our idea of the connexion to which we have alluded : As the armies and caravans of other nations required that a caravan-fire should be carried before them, whose ascending smoke by day and brilliant light by night could be seen by the whole procession ; so did Israel stand in need of some such

visible signal in its journey through the desert. But, whilst a caravan-fire carried at the head might suffice for a trading caravan of some hundreds or even thousands of persons, and for an army of some thousands or even tens of thousands of soldiers ; no contrivance upon so small a scale could possibly have sufficed for two millions of men, with wives and children, besides a large quantity of cattle and a considerable amount of baggage. Even on their journey, a mere fire carried at the head of the procession would have been almost invisible to those behind, and it would have been entirely useless on the breaking up of the camp after a period of rest. For, whenever they rested for any considerable time, the different parties were obliged to scatter themselves far and wide for the purpose of seeking suitable spots on which to pitch their tents, and fertile oases in which to feed their flocks. Now, if Israel had had no other means of accomplishing all this, than such as are possessed by nomad tribes in general, it would have had to contend with just as many difficulties, hindrances, and dangers, as they are inevitably exposed to. But Israel was not to migrate like any other tribe. Jehovah had delivered them from Egyptian bondage, and led them out by His powerful arm ; Jehovah had determined what their destination should be, and He himself would lead them thither. As He had already removed every obstacle in Egypt by signs and wonders ; so would He remove them in the desert also. And as He afterwards caused water to flow from the rock to satisfy the thirsty people, and gave them quails and manna in rich abundance when they hungered ; so, *instead* of the miserable caravan-fire, which would have been of very little use to such a procession, He gave them a more glorious and totally different signal to guide them through the desert, namely, a *pillar of cloud and fire*, which did not ascend from the earth, but came down from heaven. In this pillar He himself dwelt ; it rose and fell according to circumstances ; it sometimes spread itself out, and at other times was closely condensed ; at one time it went before the procession ; at another it hung suspended over it, and again it settled behind it, spreading impenetrable darkness on the one side, and lighting up the darkness of the night on the other. The ordinary caravan-fire bore the same relation to the pillar of cloud and fire, as the miserable tricks of the Egyptian Charthummim to the magnificent, all-embracing miracles, which Moses wrought.

in Egypt ; or rather the difference is even greater and more apparent in the case of the pillar, than in that of the miracles in Egypt.

That we may form at the outset as clear a conception as possible of this wonderful phenomenon, we will collect together all the most important particulars in our possession, respecting its appearance and effects ; but the fuller discussion of each of these we shall reserve, till we reach the period of its historical manifestation.

When we read in Ex. xiii. 21 that Jehovah went before Israel, by day in a pillar of cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire ; we might be led to suppose, that there were two different pillars, the one appearing by day and the other taking its place in the night. But it is soon apparent that this was not the case. For in Ex. xiv. 19 and Num. ix. 21 only *one* pillar is mentioned, and in Ex. xiv. 24 it is called a pillar of cloud and fire (עַמּוּד אֵשׁ וְעָנָן). The cloud was undoubtedly the vehicle of the fire, and entirely lighted up by the fire, which caused it to shine with brilliant splendour on the dark background of the night ; whilst it looked like a mere light cloud, in contrast with the brightness of the sunshine. We have no reason to depart from the literal meaning of אֵשׁ and עָנָן, and therefore regard the latter as an actual cloud, formed of the same material as every other cloud, and the former as actual fire, produced, it may be, so far as the natural cause is concerned, from electricity. The ordinary form, which it assumed, was that of a *pillar*, which moved forward at the head of the Israelites, and showed the way to the hindmost ranks of the whole procession (Ex. xiii. 21 ; Deut. i. 33). Still we must not imagine that this form was fixed and unchangeable. When the cloud descended between the army of the Egyptians and that of the Israelites, showing a bright light to the latter and making the darkness more intense to the former, "so that the one came not near the other the whole night," its form was no doubt that of a wall rather than a pillar. When the people were to encamp for the purpose of resting, the cloud descended ; and when they were to set out again, it was taken up (Ex. xl. 35, sqq., Num. ix. 16, sqq.). So long as they rested, it remained suspended above the camp, at a later period above the tabernacle (Num. ix. 16). According to Ps. cv. 39,

Jehovah spread the cloud over Israel as a *protecting* (over-shadowing) covering (*cf.* Wisdom x. 17, xviii. 3, xix. 7; 1 Cor. x. 1, 2; Is. iv. 5, 6),—a poetical description, which may, however, be literally in harmony with Num. x. 34, (“the cloud of Jehovah was *over* them by day, when they went out of the camp.”)

The fire in the pillar was a symbol of the holiness of God, which moved before the sanctified people, both as a covering and a defence. It was the same fire which Moses had seen in the bramble (chap. iii. 2), and the same which afterwards came down upon Sinai, with thunder and lightning, and enveloped in a thick cloud (chap. xix. 16). Moses had covered his face before it, being afraid to look on God (chap. iii. 6). And so would Israel now have been obliged to cover its face, if the fire, which represented the presence of God, had appeared without a screen. But in that case it could not have fulfilled its purpose, of going before the Israelites to light their way. God, therefore, condescended to the weakness of his people; and from the very first He caused the fire to shine upon them through an appropriate medium. Hence, as the fire was a symbol of the *holiness* of God, the cloud in which it was enveloped was a symbol of his *mercy*. Nor was it merely a symbol, unattended by the thing which it signified. In and with the symbol was Jehovah himself, with his holiness and mercy (xiii. 21, xiv. 24), or the angel (xiv. 19) who represented him in the Old Testament, and foreshadowed his future incarnation (*cf.* Vol. i. § 50, 2). Thus in the pillar of cloud and fire there dwelt the *holiness of the Lord* (כבוד יהוה) *cf.* Ex. xvi. 10, xl. 34; Num. xvi. 42). This relation between the symbol and that which it represented, was afterwards designated in Jewish theology the *Shechinah*. From it proceeded all the commands of Jehovah; from it he terrified the enemies of Israel (xiv. 24); from it he threatened the murmuring people (Ex. xvi. 10; Num. xvi. 42); and from it went forth the devouring flame, which slew the disobedient and rebellious (Lev. x. 2, Num. xvi. 35).

In the paragraph above, we have already expressed our opinion that the pillar of cloud and fire first appeared as the leader of the procession, when its course was altered at Etham. If we read attentively chap. xiii. 17—22, it is scarcely possible to come to any other conclusion. For if the pillar accompanied the

procession when it set out from Raemsès; we should naturally expect to find a statement to that effect, in the same passage in which an account is given of their setting out "*equipped*," and taking Joseph's bones along with them, (viz. in vers. 18, 19). But there is no such statement; on the contrary they are said to have journeyed from Raemsès to Succoth, and from Succoth to Etham; and then, for the first time, it is recorded that (henceforth) the pillar went before them. The internal grounds, on which we may explain the fact, that this miraculous guidance was neither granted nor required before, have been pointed out in the paragraph.

Stickel (Studien und Kritiken 1850, p. 390) is of our opinion, that the pillar of cloud and fire made its first appearance at Etham. But he sees in it nothing but an ordinary caravan-fire. In order that we may do justice to this rationalistic opinion, we will quote the subtle arguments adduced by the critic. "A signal of smoke, which this caravan-fire was evidently intended to be, would have failed of its object, so long as the procession was moving along the fertile and well known road, *when columns of smoke were rising on every side*. But in Etham, at the end of the desert, where it entered upon the open southern steppe, such a precaution was not only judicious but necessary." On chap. xiv. 19, 20, he says: "The arrangement of Moses with reference to the position of the pillar of cloud (namely, that the caravan-fire should no longer be carried *before*, but *behind* the procession) fills us with great admiration of his inventive mind, by which all the necessities of the moment were fully grasped. When the passage through the sea was about to commence, he had the signal fire, which had hitherto been carried at the head, transferred to the rear, and placed at the north or north-west of the camp, between the Egyptians and the Israelites. The result of this arrangement was, that the east wind, which was blowing, necessarily caused a *dense cloud of smoke* to pass between the two, whereas the same cloud would have blown in the faces of the Israelites, if the fire had been carried before them through the sea. By this means, and because the pillar ceased to move forward, the departure of the Israelites was concealed from the Egyptians; whilst at the same time the light of the fire, which shone towards the east upon the surface of the sea, enabled those who were passing through, to distinguish

between the water and the dry land. But when at length the pillar of fire left the spot, the Egyptians saw in the vacant ground the proof that their desigus were frustrated ; and their rage and cagerness to plunge forward into the dangerous road through the sea were truly human, and can easily be understood."

Stickel's treatise, from which we have taken these passages, has filled us with sincere admiration of the diligence and learning, the grasp and acuteness of mind displayed by the author ; for it is truly a perfect master-piece of searching and thorough investigation, in a difficult and untrodden domain. But all the greater is our astonishment, that, in spite of the powers of mind which he has displayed in connexion with this subject, he should so strikingly have failed in his attempt to reduce the pretended mythical elements in the account before us to their historical foundation ; and that he could first of all bring *himself*, and then require *others*, to look upon such an expedient, as he here imputes to Moses, as something extremely clever, adapted to its end, and worthy of the highest admiration. Truly it requires such a faith as "is not given to every man," a faith in comparison with which it is a very small matter to believe in the miracle which was wrought by God, if we are to believe in all that *Stickel* tells us, with regard to the wondrous effects produced by a caravan-fire. Just imagine a procession, composed of two million human beings, with an immense quantity of cattle, and behind them an insignificant caravan-fire, so insignificant that the smoke which ascended from it could not possibly have been distinguished from that which rises from the first good chimney you may meet with,—could any one but a critic, who takes fright at a miracle, possibly believe that the light from such a fire shone over the heads of two millions of men, and (at a low estimate) two million head of cattle, and then "lighted up the surface of the sea, so that those who were passing through were able to distinguish the water from the dry ground?" Who, again, can possibly believe that a caravan-fire produced "a dark cloud of smoke," of such a volume that it stood like a wall between Pharaoh's chariots and the army of Israel ; a pillar of smoke, we repeat, which cannot have been larger than that which ordinarily rises from a single chimney ?

Criticism like this can only expect *its own disciples*, to have faith enough to believe such things as these.

(4). According to the biblical account, the dividing of the sea was entirely effected by "*a strong east wind.*" Nothing is said about its being favoured by the *ebbing of the tide*. Still it is not improbable, that both these powers of nature may have been associated, in the accomplishment of this stupendous miracle. At all events the narrative makes no mention of the ebb, which may have contributed to some extent. This was but a subordinate auxiliary and every day occurrence, and therefore it lays the whole stress upon the *east wind*, as the instrument and messenger of the miraculous power of Jehovah. It was not the ebb, but the east wind, which rendered the opening of a dry pathway through the sea an extraordinary, unheard of, and miraculous event. It may also have been the case, that at the spot at which the passage took place, the bottom of the sea was raised by sand-banks, and was therefore higher at this point than in any other; but if the scriptural account is to be relied upon as true, this can only be regarded as a thoroughly subordinate and auxiliary feature, which it did not come within the province of the author to mention, seeing that the miracle was a miracle still. Moreover, if the returning waters entombed the whole of Pharaoh's army, without the least possibility of escape, the place cannot have been what is ordinarily termed a ford. And lastly, the passage may certainly have taken place at one of the narrowest parts of the gulf. But if Pharaoh's 600 war-chariots, with a proportionate number of horsemen, were in the midst of the sea when the waves returned, and though they turned back in the greatest haste, were unable to reach the Egyptian shore, the breadth cannot have been so very inconsiderable.

There is a diversity of opinion as to the direction of the *wind*, by which the miracle was effected. In the *Septuagint* we have again the rendering *vóros* (*cf.* § 31. 2). Modern commentators maintain that the expression רֹחַ קָדִים was currently employed to denote any "*strong*" wind, so that a west wind or a north wind would have been called by the same name. Hence it has for the most part been assumed, that in the present instance it was a north wind, this being regarded as the most suitable wind

to dry up a ford at the northern end of the gulf. But there is no foundation for such an opinion. The words, as they stand, can only refer to a wind from the east. But as the author did not select his terms with mathematical precision, according to the points of the compass; there does not appear to be any objection to the supposition, that the wind blew from the north-east or south-east. The latter is the more probable of the two. For *רוח קדים* literally means a wind which blew from *קדם*, and in biblical phraseology *קדם* is generally suggestive of Arabia.

Such a wind would drive the water away from the point in question, towards the northern end of the gulf, which to all appearance formerly extended much farther northwards than it does now (*cf.* § 39. 1). But under any circumstances so much at least must be firmly maintained, that it was not an ordinary wind, but one which was made to blow with unwonted violence by the omnipotence of God, and which therefore sufficed to produce phenomena, such as no other wind, however strong, could possibly effect. But inasmuch as the writer himself gives prominence to the fact that it was a *strong* wind, and that it blew *the whole night*, an expositor is justified in laying stress upon the power of nature, which served as the medium, as well as upon the peculiarly miraculous power. And in doing this it is important to remember that a very small force, if it be regular, uninterrupted, and long-continued, can produce stupendous and almost incredible results. A suspension bridge, for example, which scarcely moves beneath the tread of persons walking irregularly, is thrown into the most dangerous oscillations by a regiment of soldiers keeping step.

When it is stated that the water stood firm, like *walls on the right hand and on the left*, the figurative character of the expression must not be so far overlooked, as that we should think ourselves obliged to assume that the water really formed a *perpendicular* wall on both sides. But we must also not refuse to admit, that the meaning is, that the water was *forced back on both sides*, and kept back by the uninterrupted blowing of the wind; and yet was as surely prevented from flowing together again, as if there had been walls erected between.

In conclusion, we may mention the passage, which *Eusebius* (*praep. ev.* 9, 27) quotes from *Artapanus*, according to which

the inhabitants of Memphis maintained that Moses, who knew the ground most thoroughly, took advantage of the ebb, to lead the people through the bed of the sea while it was dry, after they had borrowed many costly vessels and clothes from the Egyptians. This can hardly be supposed to be an ancient Egyptian tradition, but must be one of modern date, originating in the Grecian period, and is nothing more than the biblical account interpreted to suit the interests of Egypt, by those who were acquainted with the *Septuagint* translation. We can hardly attribute any greater importance to the statement made by *Diodorus Siculus* (iii. 39), to the effect that among the Ichthyophagi, the inhabitants of the district in question, there was a legend current, that the bottom of the gulf had once been entirely exposed by an extraordinary ebb (*μεταπεσούσης τῆς θαλάττης εἰς τὰναντία μέρη*) ; but that as soon as the bottom of the deep was visible, the flood suddenly set in, and the sea returned to its former condition.

(5). The strength of Pharaoh's army consisted chiefly in his *war-chariots*. *Hengstenberg* (*Egypt and Moses*, p. 126 sqq.) has shown, how strongly this account is supported by information derived from the monuments, respecting the customs of ancient Egypt. The chariots on the Egyptian monuments are drawn by two horses, and generally hold *one* driver and *one* warrior. Frequently, however, three men may be seen in one chariot (this is the rule on the Assyrian monuments), and in that case the third is an armour-bearer. This custom may serve to explain the use of the Hebrew word *שָׁלִישִׁים* to denote an armour-bearer (Ex. xiv. 7, cf. *Gesenii thesaurus* p. 1429). We may be surprised to find that the number of chariots, with which Pharaoh pursued the Israelites, was so small, viz., six hundred *picked* chariots (ver. 7), when *Diodorus* states that Sesostris possessed 27,000 war chariots. But we must not overlook the accompanying clause *וְכֹל רֶכֶב מִצְרַיִם*, which *Luther* has very correctly rendered: *and whatever other chariots there were in Egypt*. Pharaoh hastily gathered together all the available chariots that could be procured, and did not wait till the entire force could be brought from the most distant military stations. The six hundred "picked" chariots probably belonged to his body guard. In addition to the charioteers, he was also attended by

a proportionate number of horsemen (פָּרָשִׁים *cf.* xiv. 9, 23 ; xv. 1). It is true that *Hengstenberg* takes a great deal of trouble to prove that there is no reference to horsemen in the text, by forcing upon פָּרָשִׁים the meaning: chariot-soldiers. He agrees with *Champollion* in doubting whether the military force of the ancient Egyptians included any cavalry at all, seeing that there is no representation of any on the monuments. But *Wilkinson* has shown, that the command of cavalry is spoken of in the hieroglyphics as a very distinguished post, and that *Diodorus* describes the army of Sesostris as consisting of 600,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry, and 27,000 war-chariots. It is true that, afterwards (*viz.* in chap. xiv. 9, 23, and xv. 1), only horses, chariots, and riders are named ; but the riders were actually riders (פָּרָשִׁים), not chariot soldiers (שְׁלִישִׁים). The latter, as a matter of course, are included in the term "chariots," especially when the word is accompanied with the express statement contained in ver. 7, that *all* the chariots were manned with chariot-soldiers (שְׁלִישִׁים). *Hengstenberg's* anxiety lest "an objection, by no means inconsiderable, should be raised against the credibility of the narrative," in consequence of our regarding the riders as *horsemen* and nothing else, is in our opinion entirely uncalled for. Nothing is said concerning any infantry, and there is sufficient reason for this in the fact, that the object of the king was to pursue and overtake the Israelites as quickly as possible. *Josephus*, indeed, on his own authority, adds 50,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry to the six hundred chariots mentioned in the Bible (*Ant.* ii. 15, 3), and the Jewish tragedian, *Ezekiel* (in *Eusebius*, *praep. evang.* 9. 29) makes Pharaoh set out with an army of a million men.

(6). The *anthem*, which Moses here composed in the name of the whole nation, was, as it were, the *nuptial song* of Israel (*cf.* Jer. ii. 2). Jehovah had rescued his chosen bride from the hands of her oppressors, and was about to lead her to the marriage altar at Sinai. With her deliverance from bondage still fresh in her memory, and looking forward with a longing heart to her approaching marriage (ver. 17), she uttered her feelings of joy in a song of praise. There is not much weight in the objections, which have been made by certain critics, to the authenticity of this song. The weakest of all, and utterly unworthy of refutation, is *De Wette's* remark (*Krit. d. Isr. Gesch.* p. 216) that the anthem is too long for an *impromptu*. Others have found

evident marks of a later age in vers. 14—17. But though we have there a description of the fear and amazement into which the Philistines, the Moabites, the Edomites, and the Canaanites, have been thrown by the tidings of this miracle, it is not even necessary to appeal to the prophetic character of Moses in order to account for this. Without the gift of prophecy, it was possible to foresee with certainty that these nations would be alarmed, when they heard the report of the mighty acts of the God of Israel; for it was but natural that they should be anxious, lest Israel's approaching march might disturb them in the possession of their land, and that they should also feel that they could not hope to do much to resist the power of such a God, who had broken the pride of the haughty Egypt; and therefore Israel could assume it as a fact. There is more weight in the argument founded upon ver. 17:

“Bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance,
In the place, which thou hast made to dwell in, O Jehovah,
In the sanctuary, O Adonai, which thy hands have established.”

But that Israel's hopes should stretch beyond the desert, after so glorious a deliverance from Egypt; that they should look forward with certainty to the possession of the land, which had been promised them (Gen. xv. 16; Ex. iii. 17); that they should feel that a sanctuary would be there required, and that a settled spot must already have been selected for it by Jehovah—all this was so natural, that no reasonable critic can possibly take offence at it. Nor is there anything to object to in the fact that the song assumed it as indisputably certain, that Jehovah had already chosen a high and stately mountain in the promised land, as the place where his sanctuary should be erected. For a mountain was the most natural and appropriate spot for the offering of sacrifice and prayer. Abraham had to take a three days' journey, that he might offer the most important sacrifice of his life upon a *mountain* (Gen. xxii.); Moses had been told that the sacrifice connected with the conclusion of the covenant was to be offered upon a *mountain* (Ex. iii. 12); what else, then, could Moses and Israel expect, than that in the promised land the place of worship would still be a *mountain*?

Miriam, who appears as the leader of the daughters of Israel

on this occasion, is described as the sister of Aaron and a prophetess. There is nothing accidental or unmeaning in either of these notices. At the very outset the position is indicated, which she afterwards occupied in the community of Israel. She is called the sister of Aaron, and not the sister of Moses, because her position was co-ordinate with that of Aaron, but subordinate to that of Moses. Although Aaron was the brother of Moses, yet in his official position he was only the mouth, the prophet of Moses, and Moses was Aaron's God (§ 20. 8). And in the same way, although Miriam had been the saviour and protector of Moses in his youth (Ex. ii. 4 sqq.), she was placed in a position of subordination to the brother she had saved; for Jehovah had chosen him to be the mediator of his covenant, and placed him at the head of Israel. Hence, she entirely mistook her position, when at a later period (Num. xii.), she took upon herself to command and rebuke him.

(7). According to Jewish tradition, the passage through the sea and the song of Moses belong to the seventh day after the celebration of the passover in Egypt. We have no decisive evidence to the contrary; at the same time it cannot be positively established from the original narrative. In chap. xii. 39, however, it is clearly intimated that the first days of the journey fell within the limits of the feast of the passover. This feast was a feast of deliverance from Egypt, and the deliverance was not complete till they had passed through the Red Sea. There is nothing improbable in the supposition, that the appointment of seven days, for the subsequent commemoration of this deliverance (xii. 19), had a historical foundation in addition to the sacred character of the number seven. This will be apparent at once, if we consider how frequently the ideal element contained in prophecy and revelation corresponds in a most striking manner to the accidental, historical element, observable in the particular events connected with the development of the sacred history. At the same time no peculiar importance is attached to the latter; and therefore they are only important, as they produce in the thoughtful observer of the movements of God in history, a salutary consciousness of the perfect symmetry and harmony, which exist even in the most trivial and casual occurrences.

This Jewish tradition would necessarily fall to the ground at once, if the opinion held by most commentators were correct,

that only *three days* intervened between the departure of the Israelites on the night of the passover, and their encampment by the sea at Baal-Zephon, since only three places of encampment are named (Succoth, Etham, and Baal-Zephon). But it has already been repeatedly shown (*Raumer* Beitr. p. 2 sqq., *Lengerke*, Kenaan i. 432), that the word **מִסְעָה** did not denote a day's journey, but a station or place of encampment, where the tents were set up and every preparation was made for a longer period of rest than usual. The day's journeys are called **יָמִים**.

We may see from Num. xxxiii. 8, how great the difference was between a day's journey and a station. According to this passage, the Israelites, after passing through the Red Sea, went three days' journeys (**יָמִים**) through the desert of Etham, and then encamped in Marah. Here, then, there was evidently a journey of *three* days between two stations. So also do we read in Num. x. 33: "And they departed from the Mount of the Lord three days' journey, and the ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them in the three days' journey, to show them a resting-place" (**מִנוּחָה** not **מִסְעָה** a place of encampment). And even supposing (though we do not grant it), that the place of encampment and place of rest were identical, it is in itself a very improbable thing, that the Israelites only spent three days in their journey from Raemeses to their place of encampment at Baal-Zephon by the Red Sea. Even if they only *travelled* three days, it would certainly be necessary to assume, as *Tischendorf* does (*de Israel. transitu*, p. 23), that there were periods of rest of longer duration, *i.e.*, actual days of rest between the three marching days. Just fancy two million men, with large herds of cattle, and all the baggage of emigrants, with their wives, children, and old men, obliged to start in the most hurried way (chap. xii. 33)! What confusion, what difficulties would inevitably impede them during the first days of their journey! An ordinary caravan may travel fifteen or twenty miles a day; but such a procession would hardly be able to do the half of this. Let it be remembered, too, that fresh parties were constantly joining them, and that this must have caused some disturbance and delay. (We cannot imagine it possible that two millions of Israelites, whose residences were scattered over the whole of the land of Goshen, should all have met together

in Raemeses, many of them merely to retrace their steps : moreover, if we consider that they were ordered to eat the passover at the early part of the night in *their own* houses, and not to leave their houses till the morning (chap. xii. 22), we shall see that it must have been actually impossible for them all to meet in Raemeses on the next morning, many of them from the most distant parts of Goshen. Raemeses was the capital of the province. There, no doubt, Moses and Aaron were residing. The procession started thence ; and after the main body had set out, smaller parties came from all directions as speedily as possible, and joined it at the point of the road nearest to their own dwellings). The following considerations also serve to show, that the Israelites must necessarily have spent more than three days, on their march from Raemeses to their encampment by the sea. It is true that the site of Raemeses is not precisely known. But it is certain that it must have stood somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood of the king's palace ; sufficiently near, at all events, for a communication to pass from one city to the other in a very few hours. Now, whether we suppose the palace to have been in Heliopolis, Bubastis, or Zoan (and we have certainly only these three points to choose from, *cf.* § 41. 2), the shortest route from Raemeses to the sea, taking into account the circuitous way by which the Israelites went (chap. xiv. 2), would be so long that it would be necessary to travel seventeen or twenty miles a day in order to accomplish the whole in three days. Others may believe it if they please ; but I cannot believe that such a procession as we have described, could keep up a journey of seventeen or twenty miles a day for three days running. Again, we find from chap. xiv. 5, that information was brought to the king that the Israelites had turned round at Etham, and entered the Egyptian desert on the west of the Red Sea. This message must have been sent to the king from Etham itself, and of course it was not sent till after the Israelites had changed their course in the manner described. Now the Israelites had already occupied *two* days at least in going in a straight course from Raemeses to Etham ; and the king's palace was certainly farther from Etham than Raemeses was. Hence the messenger, who was sent from Etham, may be safely supposed to have taken *one* day in reaching the king ; and Pharaoh's chariots and army (even if, to please our opponents,

we assume the possibility of that which is certainly impossible) must also have required at least *one* day (!) to travel by a forced march from Heliopolis, Bubastis, or Zoan, to the neighbourhood of Baal-Zephon on the sea-coast. Thus, even granting the correctness of our opponents' premises, at least four days must have intervened between the departure from Raemeses and the passage through the sea. This will show how little foundation there is for the assertion, that "the longest space of time allowed by the biblical narrative for these events is three days."

4

GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE EXODUS.

LITERATURE: *J. Clericus*, Diss. de Maris Idumaei trajectione, ad calcem comment. in Exod.—*S. Deyling*, Observv. ss. P. iii. p. 45 sqq. and P. v. p. 31 sqq.—*A. Calmet*, Biblical researches, with notes by *Mosheim*, ii. 56 sqq.—*Du Bois Aymé*, Description de l'Égypte, T. viii. sur le séjour des Hébreux en Égypte.—*K. v. Raumer*, der Zug der Israeliten aus Aegypten nach Kanaan. Leipzig, 1837; Beiträge zur bibl. Geogr. Lpz. 1843, p. 1—5; and Palästina Ed. 3 Lpz. 1850, p. 437—442.—*J. V. Kutscheit*, H. Prof. Dr Lepsius u. d. Sinai. Berlin, 1846.—*Const. Tischendorf*, de Israelitarum per mare rubrum transitu Lps. 1847; and Reise in d. Orient, i. 174 sqq.—*J. G. Stickele*, der Israeliten Auszug aus Aeg. bis zum rothen Meere, in the Studien und Kritiken 1850, ii. p. 328—398.—*Robinson*, Palestine i. 74 sqq.—*Hengstenberg*, Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 55—60 transl.—*L. de Laborde*, commentaire géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres. Paris and Leipzig 1841, p. 75 sqq.—*C. v. Lengerke*, Kanaan i. 430 sqq.—*Ewald*, Geschichte ii. 52 sqq.

§ 37. The district, which forms the subject of our present remarks, is bounded on the *south* by the so-called Valley of Error; on the *west* and *north-west* by the Nile and its Tanitic or Bubastic arm; on the *north* by Lake Menzaleh; and on the *east* by a line drawn from the southern point of Lake Menzaleh, and

through the Birket-Temseh (the so-called Crocodile Lake), the Bitter Lakes and the Heroopolitan gulf. We will commence with a minute description of the *southern boundary*. The *Valley of Error* (Wady et-Tih) runs due east from the village of *Besatin* on the Nile to the Red Sea, and terminates in the broad plain of Baideah on the coast. The name Wady et-Tih is frequently restricted to the western end of the valley; further east it is then called the *Wady er-Ramljeh* and still nearer to the sea the *Wady et-Tawárik*. The whole valley, from the Nile to the sea, is shut in on both sides, viz., on the north and south, by high mountain-ranges. Of these the northern range deserves a closer investigation. It rises from the valley of the Nile, not far from Cairo, stretches in a straight line towards the east, and terminates at the Isthmus of Suez in the promontory of (Ras-) Atákah. But near the centre the range is entirely broken. About twenty-three miles from Besatin, not far from the *fountain of Gandelhi* (the only drinkable water in the whole Wady), another valley branches off from the Wady et-Tih. This valley runs in a north-easterly direction through the northern range of mountains to the north of the gulf. The western half of the range is called *Jebel Mokattem*, the eastern *Jebel Atákah*. At the present day caravans sometimes travel from Cairo to Suez through the Wady et-Tih, but they naturally turn into the north-eastern valley at the fountain of Gandelhi. This road is now called the *Derb el-Besatin*. In ancient times it was, no doubt, the regular road from Memphis to Klysmá (or Suez) and thence into Asia.

Let us now turn to the *western boundary*, and follow it from the village of Besatin along the Nile and its two eastern arms to the Lake Menzaleh, into which the latter empty themselves. On the Nile itself we first of all arrive at the ancient *Latopolis* or Babylon (ancient Cairo); a little farther north is *Cairo*, and somewhat to the east of this, at a distance from the Nile, the old

city of *On* or *Heliopolis*. Within the limits of this district the Pelusiatic arm branches off from the main stream, and about thirty miles further north the *Bubastic arm*. The latter flows into Lake Menzaleh on the western side, and not far off, on the southern side, the *Tanitic arm*. Near the mouth of the latter stood ancient *Zoan* or *Tanis*, and further to the south on the Bubastic arm, near the point at which it leaves the main stream, *Bubastis* (now Pi Beset). The *Pelusiatic* arm flows into the bay at the south of Lake Menzaleh. On the fertile strip of land which fringes this arm on the eastern side stand, or stood, the important cities of *Belbeis* (Raemeses?) and *Abasieh* (Pithom or Tum), both towards the south. The *northern boundary* is formed by the southern side of Lake Menzaleh.

§ 38. The *eastern boundary* causes the greatest difficulty, when we attempt to form a precise conjecture as to its condition in the time of Moses. For the moveable sand has been driven about by violent winds, and has evidently made considerable changes in the face of the country during the four thousand years, which have intervened between our days and the age of Moses, and the ground has not yet been surveyed with sufficient care, to enable us to determine with certainty of what nature these changes have been. At present the principle features are the following: The breadth of the *isthmus*, measured in a straight line from the southern point of Lake Menzaleh to the northern extremity of the Gulf of Suez is about eleven geographical miles. From the isthmus to *Ras Atâkah* (§ 37. 1) there is a road, about eighteen miles long, on the western coast of the *gulf*. To the south of this promontory the *Wady et-Tawarik* opens into the plain of *Baideah*, and to the north there is a narrow pass, which widens at Suez into a large, barren plain. At this point, too, a tongue of land runs into the gulf to such a distance, that, according to *Niebuhr*, it is not more than 3450 feet or

two-thirds of a mile across. To the south of Suez the coast describes a sharp curve, and runs so far to the west, that at a very short distance off the sea is three or four miles broad; this breadth is maintained as far as Ras Atákah, to the south of which it becomes considerably greater. And even to the north of Suez the sea is broader. At this point stood ancient *Klyasma*, a harbour in former times. At present it is buried in the sand, but the site is still undoubtedly marked by the ruins at *Tel el-Kolzum*. To the north of el-Kolzum the gulf contracts again, and still runs northwards for a considerable distance, terminating in a narrow strip of water from 1000 to 1500 paces broad. At Suez, where the gulf is narrowest, there are sandbanks, which stretch from the eastern to the western shore, and when the ebb is strong these are to some extent exposed, whilst the water which covers the rest is so shallow, that it can easily be waded through. On the other hand, when the flood is strong, the water is as much as seven feet deep.¹ At Suez and round the northern part of the gulf there are "evident traces of a gradual filling up of this part of the Red Sea," (*Robinson* i. 71). Around the head of the inlet, there are also obvious indications, that the water once extended much farther north, and probably spread itself out over a wide tract towards the north-east. The ground bears every mark of being still occasionally overflowed, (*Robinson* i. 71).

§ 39. From the head of the gulf, running towards the north, traces are still visible of the *old canal* which was cut for the purpose of connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, and was very frequently renewed. It ran due east from the Nile through the Wady Tumilat, crossed the dam of Arbek to reach the

¹ In the year 1799, when Napoleon was returning from Ayin Mousa on the eastern shore, he attempted to cross the ford. "It was already late and grew dark; the tide rose and flowed with greater rapidity than had been expected; so that the General and his suite were exposed to the greatest danger, although they had guides well acquainted with the ground." (*Robinson* i. 85).

Side out from the center until one reaches the sea.

Bitter Lakes, and finally passed through the dam of Ajrud. The *Bitter Lakes* are formed by a depression of the soil, to a depth of forty or fifty feet below the level of the Red Sea. They were once eight or ten miles broad, but at the present day are nearly dry, there being only a few shallow pools of salt water, and occasionally patches of marshy ground. Their length, reckoning from the north east, has been variously stated. According to *Seetzen*, the distance from Arbek, at the north western end of the Bitter Lakes, to Suez, is only about twenty miles; whereas *Du Bois Aymé* states that the large basin of the Bitter Lakes terminates at a point about forty miles to the north of Suez. *Stickel* (*Studien und Kritiken* 1850, p. 367 seq.) reconciles this discrepancy between two trustworthy travellers, by assuming that on the eastern side there was a narrow tongue, running up from the basin which is ten miles broad, and reaching much farther north than Arbek. Such a supposition is not at all at variance with the fact, "that on the western side, along which *Seetzen* travelled, the lake terminated at a point much farther south. In this case the northern border of the Bitter Lakes must have described a curve, from the south-west to the north-east." On the side towards the gulf a broad, sandy strip of land, which is only about three feet higher than the surface of the gulf, prevents the confluence of the waters. On the south-eastern slope of this strip of land stands the present *fortress of Ajrud*. The basin of the Bitter Lakes is separated from the district washed by the Nile, and from the Crocodile Lake, by a similar but much greater elevation of the soil, on the western slope of which *Arbek* is situated (*cf. Stickel* p. 366). There are many facts, which afford the strongest evidence, that the gulf of Suez once stretched as far as this dam, and therefore that the basin of the Bitter Lakes formed the most northerly part of the gulf (1). The isthmus between the Crocodile Lake and Lake Menzaleh is about fifteen miles broad.

(1). *Du Bois Aymé* enters into a thorough investigation of the *ancient limits of the Red Sea*, in his *Description de l'Égypte* T. xi. 371, sqq.; cf. *Rosenmüller's Altherthumskunde* iii. 263, and *Stickel* p. 369 sqq. Travellers are all agreed that the strip of desert, which fringes the northern end of the gulf, bears the most unmistakeable marks of having once formed the bottom of the sea. The neighbourhood of the Bitter Lakes has very seldom been visited by travellers. But *Du Bois Aymé*, who went through the basin several times, says (according to *Rosenmüller's Altherthumskunde* iii. 263): "This basin has the appearance of having once been covered by the sea. Strata of sea-salt are still found there, and sometimes they assume the form of caverns. In such places the earth resounded under our feet. There were also small fissures, and at a depth of four or five *metres* we found water, which tasted like sea-water. The ground is generally marshy, with pools of salt-water. In the sandy spots, after digging down twelve or fifteen *decimetres* at the most, salt-water is found beneath a stratum of clay and loam. The ground is covered with shells, and is much lower than the surface of the Red Sea, from which it is divided by a sand-bank, the height of which is seldom more than a *metre* above the water of the Arabian Gulf. Lastly, along the hills surrounding this basin we can trace a line formed by the remains of marine vegetation, exactly resembling the line, which the flood-tide leaves upon the shore; and what is very remarkable, this line is exactly of the same height as the high-water mark of the gulf."

We might, indeed, be led to suppose that the basin of the Bitter Lakes was first of all filled by the water of the Red Sea, in consequence of the dam at Ajrud having been cut through for the purpose of forming a canal from the Sea to the Nile. But *Stickel* has adduced historical testimony to disprove this opinion (p. 372 sqq.). First of all, *Strabo* states (xvii. 1, 25, 26) that in consequence of the cutting of a canal from Egypt to the Bitter Lakes, the water of the lakes, *which had previously been bitter*, was changed through the admixture of the water from the Nile. Now, this canal was cut before the one from the Bitter Lakes to the Arabian Gulf, and therefore the lakes must have been connected with the Red Sea, before they were joined by a canal. And as *Stickel* observes (p. 373), the proximity of the northern

boundary of the Red Sea to the Nile (the waters of which, during the inundations, flow through the Wady Tumilat to the Arbek dam) affords the only explanation of the fact, that Sesostris undertook to connect the two by means of a canal. But in the course of centuries the sea retired, in consequence of the accumulation of sand, and hence the same operation was repeated at different periods by Necho, Darius, and Ptolemy II., the excavation being always made from the north towards the south, so that the last piece was the most southerly of all. And in our opinion this piece was nothing more than the piercing of a sand-bank, which had gradually accumulated between the basin of the Bitter Lakes and the present extremity of the gulf. While this bank, now the *Isthmus of Ajrud*, was gradually accumulating, it must have rendered it difficult for ships to pass into the deeper water towards the north, and hence the necessity for building Klysmā. Moreover, when this bank at length reached the surface, it must have formed *a ford across the sea*, which was dry at the ebb-tide, but covered with water at the flood. There was thus a dry road from Africa into Arabia between two basins filled with water, similar to that which may still be seen to the south at Suez. The same views have been expressed by *Du Bois Aymé* (sur le séjour des Hébreux, in his *Description* viii. 114 sqq. cf. *Rosenmüller* iii. 264 sqq.).

If we assume that the Bitter Lakes formed part of the gulf of Suez in the time of the Ptolemies, this will throw light upon many passages in the works of ancient writers with reference to distances, sites, &c., which would be otherwise inexplicable, such, for example, as the statement of Ptolemy that the city of *Klysmā* was six miles to the south of the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf, and that *Heroopolis* (which is identical with Abu-Keishid in the Wady Tumilat, cf. § 40. 1) was only two geographical miles from the same point. The same may be said of *Strabo's* statement, that the road from Heroopolis to the extreme point of the gulf formed an angle with the gulf (xvi. 4, 2, 5). Moreover, unless this city was formerly much nearer to the gulf than it is now, it is impossible to explain the origin of the name Heroopolitan gulf.

§ 40. If we turn now to the interior of this tract of land, the boundaries of which we have just described, we find it divided

into two halves, a northern and a southern half, by the *Wady Tumilat*. This Wady commences at Abasieh (the ancient Pithom), in the lowlands of the Nile, and stretches eastwards in a straight line as far as the downs, which divide the Bitter Lakes from the Crocodile Lake, and from the Nile when it overflows (§ 39). To the south of this Wady, which is broad, well watered, and therefore fertile and well adapted for cultivation, lies the *Egyptian desert*, which is bounded on the other sides, by the lowlands of the Nile on the west, the Valley of Error on the south, and the Red Sea and Bitter Lakes on the east. The fertile district to the west and north of this desert, reaches as far as the Bubastic arm of the Nile and Lake Menzaleh, and forms at the present time the province of *es-Sharkiyeh*. In the days of Moses, it was called the *land of Goshen*. On the western slope of the desert stands the town of Belbeis; at the north-western corner (by the entrance to the Wady Tumilat) *Abasieh*, and near the eastern end of the Wady are the ruins of *Abu Keishid*. Modern researches have shown that *Abu Keishid* is probably identical with the ancient city of *Heroopolis*, and *Abasieh* with *Pithom* (1). There is more uncertainty about the question, whether Belbeis is to be identified with any known city of antiquity, and if so, with which? (*cf.* § 41).

(1). The identity of *Heroopolis* with Abu-Keischid, and of *Abasieh* with *Pithom*, was first proved by the French expedition to Egypt (*cf. Hengstenberg*, Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 42 sqq.). *Lepsius* has taken the lead in objecting to this conclusion (Chronol. i. 345 sqq.). He endeavours to prove that *Heroopolis* is rather to be associated with the ruins of el-Mukfâr, which lie farther west. The question is one of no moment to us, and therefore we need not enter upon the discussion here.

§ 41. In order that we may trace the road, by which the Israelites travelled, it is necessary first of all to search for the point from which they started. This is everywhere said to have

been *Raemeses*. As the land of Goshen is also frequently called the *land of Raemeses* (*cf.* § 1. 5), the name *Raemeses* is sometimes supposed to have been used, not merely as the name of the capital, but as that of the province also. And this has led *K. v. Raumer*, *L. de Laborde*, and others, to conclude, that the *Raemeses* from which the Israelites set out was the province, and not the capital. But this explanation may easily be shown to be inadmissible. If *Raemeses* is spoken of in other places as a city (and this has never been disputed yet), then the term רַעַמְסֵס (Gen. xlvii. 11) can only be regarded as meaning the land of *Raemeses*, *i.e.*, the land of which *Raemeses* was the capital. Moreover, if the first places of encampment, Succoth and Etham (Ex. xii. 37), were towns, there can be no doubt that *Raemeses*, the place from which they set out, was also a city, and not a province. But it is not so easy to decide where *Raemeses* was situated. *Hengstenberg*, *Robinson*, and others, identify it with *Heroopolis* in the Wady Tumilat (§ 40). But the difficulties in the way of this assumption are so numerous, and of so serious a character, that we must decidedly reject it as erroneous (1). *Stickel*, on the other hand, endeavours to prove that modern *Belbeis* stands on the site of the ancient *Raemeses* (2). And the arguments, which he has adduced in support of this opinion, are sufficiently weighty to convince us, that no other place, with which we are acquainted, has such strong claims to be regarded as the representative of that ancient city.

(1). *Hengstenberg* (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 49 sqq. transl.) adduces the following argument in support of the *identity* of *HEROOPOLIS* and *RÆEMSES*. In Gen. xlvii. 28, where the messengers whom Joseph sent to meet his father in "the land of Goshen" are spoken of, the *Septuagint* paraphrases the passage thus: καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Παμεσσῆ, and in the same way the clause in the next verse, where Joseph himself is described as going "to Goshen" to meet his father, is rendered καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν. Now *Hengstenberg* is undoubtedly correct in

maintaining, that the clause in the *Septuagint* cannot be regarded as a mere arbitrary conceit. And if his opinion could be substantiated,—that the *Seventy* substituted the name Heroopolis, which was current in their day, for the name Raemeses, which had then become antiquated,—we could certainly give them credit for sufficient acquaintance with the antiquities of their own country, to take their word for the fact, that Heroopolis and Raemeses were the same. But this is not the actual state of the case. There is no ground for speaking of any such *substitution*, simply because the name Raemeses does not occur in the Hebrew text. The clause, καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν, is an explanatory *addition* and nothing more. The statement in the text, that Joseph sent to meet his father in *the land of Goshen* (in Gen xlvii. 11, both the *Septuagint* and the Hebrew text have “the land of Raemeses”), and that he afterwards came thither himself, appeared to them to be too indefinite. They therefore thought it desirable to introduce a more precise account of the exact spot, from their own knowledge of the country. The information which we have gained since the French expedition, with reference to the site of ancient Heroopolis, fully establishes the correctness of their account. For if Joseph set out from the heart of Egypt to meet his father, who was coming from Palestine, he could hardly take any other route than that through the Wady Tumilat; nor was Jacob, who came from Canaan and crossed the isthmus between Lake Menzaleh and the Arabian gulf, likely to choose any other road than the beaten caravan-track through the Wady Tumilat. And if we attempt to fix upon any particular locality, as the precise spot at which the meeting occurred; Heroopolis, the most easterly city of Egypt by this route, has certainly the strongest claims. But when *Hengstenberg* cites Gen. xli. 45, where the *Septuagint* substitutes *Heliopolis* for the *On* of the text, as a perfectly analogous case, he forgets again that in the passage before us Heroopolis is not introduced in the place of Raemeses, but as a more precise definition of what the original means by Goshen. Moreover, so far as there is any analogy between the two passages, it is decidedly *against Hengstenberg's* opinion. For if Raemeses had been the antiquated, and Heroopolis the current name, the place where the *Septuagint* should have substituted the latter for the former is Ex. xii. 37, and nowhere else. *Hengstenberg* has a further argument, derived

from the meaning of Heroopolis, *hero-city*, which is said to be the Greek rendering of the ancient name *Raemeses* (the city being evidently so called in honour of the hero-kings who bore that name); but this argument, it appears to me, is purely visionary and without the least force.

On the other hand, positive proof can be brought that Raemeses and Heroopolis are not the same. A city which stood *so close to the eastern frontier of Egypt*, as Heroopolis did, cannot possibly have been the point from which the procession set out, however probable it may be that it passed through the city or in its immediate vicinity. The point of departure, as Ex. xii. —xiv. clearly shows, must have been quite close to the palace of the king. And whether we suppose the palace to have been situated in On, Bubastis, or Zoan (see below, note 2), in either case the identity of Heroopolis and Raemeses appears to us an impossibility.

The same argument may be adduced against the assumption of *Lepsius* (Chronol. i. 348 seq.), who disputes the identity of Raemeses and Heroopolis (= Mukfâr), but brings forward a new, and, as he thinks, a decisive argument to prove that Raemeses and Abu-Keishid are the same. On the ruins of Abu-Keishid a group was discovered, at the time of the Franco-Egyptian expedition, consisting of three figures, hewn from a block of granite, representing the two gods Ra and Tum, with the King Ramses II. between them. But this is, to our minds, by no means a conclusive argument. For the discovery of a statue bearing the name of the great King Ramses, is by no means a proof that the city in which it was found was built by Ramses, or that it must have been called by his name. Ramses the great, who led such magnificent expeditions into Asia, may very well have caused such a memorial to be set up in Abu-Keishid, as being the first important city of Egypt into which he entered on his triumphant return, whatever the name of the city may have been.

(2). The arguments adduced by *Stickel* (p. 377 sqq.), in support of *the identity* of BELBEIS, and RAEMSES, are sufficient at least to show that such an assumption is highly probable. First of all, it is sustained by the authority of the geographer *Makrizi*, who was well informed in all matters relating to his native country, Egypt. He states that Belbeis was an ancient city,

which was in existence before the land was conquered by the Moslems, and was the capital of the province, which is called in the *Pentateuch* the land of Goshen. The situation answers extremely well to all that we can gather from the *Pentateuch* with reference to it. For, standing as it does at one of the most westerly points of Goshen, its position coincides exactly to the statement, that it formed the starting-point of the Israelitish procession. As far back as the earliest period to which the reports of ancient authorities reach, the city and neighbourhood of Belbeis appear to have formed the actual starting-point of the expeditions to the East, as well as of all the traffic that was carried on between Egypt and the Arabian gulf. It stood upon one of the principal canals from the Nile, by which it was brought into connexion with the southern provinces of Egypt.

Moreover, the account contained in Ex. i. 11, that the Israelites were compelled to build for Pharaoh the store-cities of *Pithom* and *Raensses*, answers very well to the situation given above, whether we suppose the cities to have been newly built, or merely enlarged and fortified. These cities were not intended, as *Ewald* supposes (i. 479), for royal commercial cities, but for military stores and provisions, in other words they were arsenals on a large scale, erected for the purpose of providing the troops, which were stationed in the desert at the eastern extremity of the land, with provisions and munitions of war. Hence they were not actual fortresses, in which case they would have been placed further to the east, but store-houses from which the fortresses were supplied. It was therefore necessary that they should be so situated, that the road to the fortresses, and also the approach to the Nile, should be both easy and convenient. *Pithom* (*Πίτουμος*), which was identical with Abasieh, stood at the entrance to the Wady Tumilat, the high road to the east, and met these requirements in every way. The manner in which *Pithom* and *Raensses* are linked together, justifies us in supposing that the two cities, which were intended for the same purpose, were both erected in the district which lies between the valley of the Nile and the eastern frontier of the country. *Abasieh* stood on the road from *Bubastis* to the frontier; and *Belbeis* was also in the way from *Memphis* to the same boundary.

A more difficult matter, to which we must now direct our attention, is the determination of the site of the ROYAL PALACE

at that time. For it necessarily follows from the history of the night, in which Israel was to prepare to depart, that it cannot have been far from Raemens. If, then, the opinion which we have ourselves expressed at § 1. 5 be correct, viz. that the palace was in *Zoan or Tanis*, which stood near to the point at which the Bubastic arm of the Nile enters Lake Menzaleh; the result of the foregoing investigation, viz. that Raemens was the same as Belbeis, or at any rate stood in the neighbourhood of Belbeis, must necessarily fall to the ground. The former assumption rests upon passages of Scripture. One of these, Num. xiii. 23, states that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt;" but this merely proves that, in the time of Moses, Zoan was already a comparatively old and important city in Egypt. It says nothing whatever with regard to the residence of the Egyptian kings. Nor is there a reference to this point in any other part of the *Pentateuch*. The second passage is apparently more important. In Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43, the wonders in the land of Egypt are said to have been wrought *in the field of Zoan* (שֵׂרֵד־צִעֵן). But even these words cannot be said to be conclusive. The "field of Zoan" may denote the whole Delta; and it is the more probable that it does so, because the Egyptian plagues were not restricted to the immediate vicinity of Zoan, and it is expressly and repeatedly said that they extended over the *whole* of the land of Egypt. If, however, the Psalmist gives the name of Zoan to the Delta, this certainly proves that Zoan was *at that time* the most important city, and possibly the royal residence; more than this it does not prove. But if we consider, that the history before us relates to a period, when the yoke of the foreign Hyksos-dynasty had just been thrown off, and there was constant fear lest they should again attack the eastern frontier of the land, across which they had been driven (Ex. i. 10), it seems hardly credible that the Egyptian kings can have fixed their residence in the most northerly district of the country. The national dynasty, which was now in power, had come down from Upper Egypt. The source of its strength, and its chief supporters, were still to be found there, and it can hardly, therefore, have fixed its abode at so great a distance to the north; for Tanis is very far to the north of the line by which an attack from the east would be made. Any such attack would be sure to be directed against the heart of the land, which was much

farther to the south, and for this the Wady Tumilat afforded a convenient and well beaten road. Hence if the king's forces had been stationed so much to the north, they could very easily have been cut off from upper Egypt. One of the cities to the south would therefore be much more suitable, either *Heliopolis*, as the Arabian geographer *Kaswini* (in *Stickel*, p. 383) supposes, or what would answer much better to the probable site of Raemeses (= Belbeis), the ancient and celebrated *Bubastis*. All the other references contained in the *Pentateuch* apply equally well, or even better, to one of these two cities, than they do to Zoan.

§ 42. Assuming then, for the reasons just assigned, that Belbeis was most probably the starting-point of the procession, we have now to determine the direction which it took. It was to proceed to Sinai. To accomplish this it was necessary that it should go round the northern extremity of the Arabian gulf. Now, if the northern boundary of the gulf was exactly the same in the time of Moses as at the present day, the procession will probably have gone by the caravan-road direct from Belbeis to Suez (Derb el-Bân); and in this case we must look for *Succoth* about the centre of the road, and *Etham* to the north of Suez. But, as we have shown in § 39. 1 that it is almost certain, that at that time the northern end of the gulf reached much farther to the north than it does now, viz., to the downs of Arbek, which are almost in a straight line with Belbeis, we are brought to the conclusion that instead of taking a south-easterly direction, the procession travelled due east through the well watered and cultivated district of the Wady Tumilat. The site of the first station, *Succoth* (which means tents), is then easily determined. The second place of encampment is called *Etham*, and is further described as being "at the end of the desert." For this we shall have to seek upon the downs of Arbek (§ 39), between the Bitter Lakes and the Crocodile Lake (1). At this point Moses received the command to turn round, and cause the people to encamp with Pihachiroth on the north, Migdol on the west, the sea on

the east, and Baal-Zephon to the south. From the words of the command so much at least may be inferred with certainty, that the procession, which had already arrived at the boundary between Egypt and Arabia, did not go round the northern extremity of the gulf, as Moses at first intended, but remained within the territory of Egypt, going southwards along the western shore of the gulf, and at length arriving at a point, where it was completely shut in, by the sea and mountains in front and on the two sides, and by Pharaoh's chariots in the rear. If we look for a spot on the western shore of the gulf, which answers to this description, we find it in the *plain of Suez*. This plain is large enough to hold two millions of men; it is bounded on the west and south-west by the mountains of Atakah (§ 37), and these mountains approach so nearly to the sea, which is here considerably widened in consequence of a rapid curve to the west, that very few men could pass side by side along the shore.—If the procession came from the north or north-east, the *third place of encampment* cannot have been any other than the plain of Suez, and this, too, is the only point at which we can justly suppose *that the passage through the sea* occurred (2).

(1). The name ETHAM is explained by *Jablonsky* from the Egyptian, as meaning *sea boundary*. If it were of Semitic origin, it would necessarily be connected with אֵתָן, *perennitas*. It would in this case denote a place watered by perennial streams, in contradistinction to the brooks of the desert, which are so quickly dried up. The question, whether the "end of the desert," where Etham was situated, is to be understood as referring to the Egyptian desert (as in chap. xiv. 3. 11), or the Arabian, both of which touched each other at Etham, may perhaps be decided in favour of the latter, when we consider that the whole strip of desert land on the eastern coast of the gulf bore the name of *desert of Etham* (Num. xxxiii. 8, cf. § 47. 5).

(2). The *plain of Suez* "is not far from ten miles square; extending with a gentle slope from Ajrud to the sea west of Suez, and from the hills at the base of Atâkah to the arm of the

sea north of Suez" (*Robinson* i. 65). In the boundaries of the plain which are given here, we think we can discover with comparative certainty the places mentioned in Ex. xiv. 2. The words which we find there are, "speak to the children of Israel that they turn round and encamp before Pihachiroth, between Migdol and the sea, and, before Baal-Zephon, opposite to it shall ye encamp by the sea." *Pihachiroth*, we find, even by name, in *Ajruul*; for *Pi* is merely the Egyptian article, and hence the place is also called *Hachiroth* in other passages (*Num.* xxxiii. 8), and there are many instances of analogous changes (*cf. Stichel*, p. 391). *Migdol*, in any case, must be looked for in the direction exactly opposite to the sea (according to Ex. xiv. 2), and therefore near Mount *Atâkah*, whether *Migdol* (which means a tower) was a fortress upon or by the side of the mountain, or, as *Tischendorf* supposes, the summit of the *Atâkah* itself. In the *Septuagint* it is rendered *Μαγδάλον*, and *Hengstenberg* (p. 59) thinks himself justified in connecting it with the fortress of *Magdolum*, which stood at a latter period twelve Roman miles to the south of Pelusium. But the supposition that, whereas the other three places mentioned as the boundaries of the encampment were all in the neighbourhood of Suez, the fourth was fifteen geographical miles to the north, is perfectly incredible, and is not rendered a whit more probable by the remark that a frontier-garrison was stationed there. Moreover, apart altogether from the distance, the Israelites would not then have been between *Migdol* and the sea, but the sea between *Migdol* and the Israelites. *Baal-Zephon* (the place of *Typhon*) cannot be more particularly described; but according to the description contained in Ex. xiv. 2, it must be looked for at the south of the plain of Suez.

The point at which the sea was crossed was, therefore, in all probability, *near to Suez*. But there are strong reasons for doubting whether the ford of Suez was in existence then, and also whether the sea was then only 3450 feet broad at this spot, as it is now. For if that had been the case, the return of the waters which had been divided by the east wind, would hardly have been sufficient to drown Pharaoh's entire army. It is necessary, however, that the peculiar configuration of the sea at Suez should be kept in mind. If the pathway through the sea went in a south-easterly direction, and *not* due east (a supposition by

no means improbable, seeing that the direction depended upon the wind which opened the way), then even at present the breadth and the depth would be quite sufficient to hold and to drown an entire army.

The only point in which *Du Bois Aymé* and *Stickel* differ from the views we have expressed, is with reference to the last place of encampment, and the spot at which the sea was crossed. They both of them fix upon the supposed ford at Ajrud (§ 39. 1), instead of Suez, as the place where the passage occurred. But there are many objections to this. First of all, the ground about Ajrud does not answer in the least to the description of the last place of encampment, which is given in the text. There is no plain sufficiently large to hold two millions of men, nor is there the steep impassable mountain wall which reached the sea, and caused the Israelites to be hemmed in on three sides. It is true that *Du Bois Aymé* says (*vid. Rosenmüller* iii. 265): "The biblical account is in perfect harmony with the position which I have assigned to the Israelitish army; for the chain of mountains, which is visible towards the south, *appears to stretch as far as the shore.*" But in reading these words, we cannot escape the feeling that, in spite of the confidence with which the author speaks, he was conscious of a certain incongruity between the locality referred to, and the description contained in the Bible. Again, the order in which the boundary-points are named in Ex. xiv. 2 does not square with this view, for, according to Ex. xiv. 2, Ajrud must have been situated to the north of the place of encampment, whereas, if *Du Bois Aymé's* opinion were correct, it would have been to the south-east. He also adds (*Rosenmüller* iii. 268): "Moreover, there is so little difference between the two opinions (that which fixes upon Ajrud, and that which selects Suez, as the spot at which the Israelites crossed), that it does not matter much which of the two we choose. My opinion rests upon the situation of the castle of Ajrud, before which the Israelites encamped, and the *great probability that the sea at Suez was much deeper then, than it is now.*" This we can fully comprehend, for in the opinion of the learned Frenchman, the sea must have been crossed in a perfectly natural way, without any miraculous intervention on the part of God. But the greater depth of the sea at Suez is, to our mind, one of the very reasons why we should prefer that

spot, not from any love of miracles, but because we are anxious to do justice to the text. *Stickel* gives the preference to *Ajrud* for another reason. This keen-sighted scholar would no doubt have fixed upon *Suez*,—as the description contained in the text, when compared with the shape of the ground, unconditionally requires,—were it not that his foregone conclusion, that only three days can have elapsed between the departure of the Israelites from *Raemeses* and their arrival at the opposite shore of the sea (§ 36. 7), compelled him to relinquish such an opinion. For the distance from *Etham* to the plain at *Suez* is certainly too great, for any one to bring himself easily to believe, that the Israelitish procession could traverse it in a single day. But we have already pointed out, that the journey from *Etham* to the point at which the sea was crossed, must have occupied a longer time, seeing that the message was sent from *Etham* to the palace, and the royal army marched from the palace to the sea, whilst the Israelites were travelling from *Etham* to the same spot. This must have required *at least* two days (§ 36. 7).

(3). We shall conclude by giving a short sketch, and, where necessary, our own criticism of the *different views which have been entertained, with regard to the crossing of the sea*. Among the earliest is one which has lately been defended with great firmness and confidence by *K. v. Raumer*, and of which *v. Lengerke* has most remarkably expressed his approval (*Kanaan* i. 432 sqq.). In all that is essential *J. V. Kutscheit* also adopts it. It originated with *Sicard* (*cf. Paulus Samml.* v. 211 sqq.), who had travelled by the road in question. *Sicard*, however, places the city of *Raemeses*, the starting-point of the procession, in the neighbourhood of the village of *Besatin* (§ 37), whereas *Raumer* does not regard *Raemeses* as the name of a city, but of the land of *Goshen*, and supposes the procession to have been first formed in the vicinity of *Heliopolis* or *On*, from which point it went southwards to *Latopolis* or *Babylon*, and then turned towards the east into the *Valley of Error*, in the first instance with the intention of following the ordinary caravan road, which leads through this valley to *Suez*, and then going round the northern extremity of the gulf. *Succoth* would in this case be in the neighbourhood of the village of *Besatin*; and *Etham*, near the fountain of *Gandelhi*, at which point the caravan road turns

towards the north-east, between the two northern ranges of mountains (§ 37). But, instead of carrying out the first intention, the procession turned away from the ordinary caravan road at the express command of God, and had to take the road through the Wady er-Ramliyah and the Wady et-Tawarik to the plain of Baideah by the sea-shore. It was here that they were overtaken by Pharaoh and his army. With the deep sea, which is here about fifteen miles broad, before them ; with Mount Atâkah on the north, and, opposite to this, Mount Kuaibe on the south ; and with Pharaoh's chariots behind, they were to all human appearance utterly lost. But God caused an east wind to blow during the night, and thus opened a way through the heart of the sea. They followed this road ; and the next morning, they found themselves safe on the other side, at a place which is still called by the Arabs the wells of Moses (Ayun Musa).—At first sight there is something very plausible in this view. But on closer investigation we find it beset with insuperable difficulties. Its main features are not derived from scriptural data, but from the statements of *Josephus* (Ant. ii. 15, 1), who says that the Israelites started from Raemeses above the place where Babylon was afterwards built (Latopolis, Old Cairo). But no particular evidence is required to prove, that the authority of *Josephus* is of little value in questions of this kind. Moreover, his account is founded upon the *tradition*, which has given to the valley the name of Wady et-Tih (Valley of Error), and which fixed upon Ayun Musa as the spot near to which the passage took place. But with regard to the first, the name Wady et-Tih originated with *Sicard*, and for the second we must bear in mind the warning given by *Niebuhr* (Beschreib. v. Arabien p. 404), who says that the Arabs always declare the spot, at which the question is proposed to them, to be the very spot where the children of Israel went through the Sea. As decisive objections, however, the following are of especial importance : (1), *Raemeses* is always the name of a city, never of a province (*cf.* § 41). (2), Justice is not done to the word שׁוּב, which always means to turn. (3), The same remark applies to the expression "*Etham, at the end of the desert*," for, according to *Raumer's* hypothesis, Etham was not at the end, but in the middle of the desert. (4), Without the least ground for so doing, it gives us *two* Ethams, one in the Egyptian desert and the other in the desert of Arabia Petraea.

(5), It places the passage through the sea at a point where the sea is too broad, not indeed for it to be *miraculously* divided, but for the *natural* part of the event, namely their crossing over in the time stated. The breadth of the gulf at this point is fifteen miles. Now a few hours of the night had certainly gone, before the sea was sufficiently dried up by the east wind, to allow the passage to commence; and yet at the morning watch (two o'clock), they were on the opposite shore.

A second class of commentators fix upon *Suez* as the point at which the passage took place. This class includes *Niebuhr*, *Robinson*, *Hengstenberg*, *Laborde*, *Ewald*, *Tischendorf*, and many others. But whilst they agree upon this point, they differ in many respects as to the road by which *Suez* was reached. *Hengstenberg's* opinion is that the Israelites started from *Raemeses*, which he supposes to have been the same as *Heroopolis*; that *Etham* was at the point, which now forms the northern extremity of the gulf; and that when the procession had reached that point it turned round, that is went back into the Egyptian territory, and proceeded along the western shore of the gulf, till it reached *Suez*, where it passed through the sea upon dry ground. *Robinson* gives upon the whole the same route, but leaves it an open question, whether *Heroopolis* was identical with *Raemeses*; though he has not the least doubt that *Raemeses* was situated in the *Wady Tumilat*, not far from the northern extremity of the *Bitter Lakes*. From our previous enquiry, however, it necessarily follows that this opinion is erroneous. *Ewald's* view is closely related to that of *Hengstenberg*, only much more confused (*cf. Sticke's* critique, p. 358 sqq.). *Laborde* looks upon *Raemeses* as a name applied to the whole of the land of *Goshen*, and supposes the Israelites to have assembled at *Succoth*, whence they proceeded in a straight line to *Etham*, which was somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Ajrud*. There they received a command from God, not to travel any farther in a easterly direction, and went towards the south-east to *Suez*. From this point they crossed the gulf, still in a south-easterly direction, and emerged at *Ayuu Musa*. After what we have already said, we regard it as unnecessary to criticize, that is, to refute this opinion. *Tischendorf* supposes the procession to have started from *Heliopolis*, whence it proceeded to a spot somewhere near the northern end of the *Bitter Lakes* (which in his opinion was at that time

the northern boundary of the gulf). At this point it turned towards the south-east and proceeded to Suez. In several essential points his view agrees with our own.

Lastly we may mention *Thierbach's* romantic conjecture (Erfurter Osterprogramm, 1830); though we do so, merely to make the list complete. According to his view, the Israelites set out from Heliopolis (*i.e.*, Raemses). They then journeyed to Pithom, (or Etham) on the Mediterranean (the sea of reeds). From this point they proceeded through Lake Menzaleh. Here the phosphorescence of the water supplied them with light; and at the same time a cloud, which hung suspended like a pillar over the surface of the water and was strongly charged with electricity, was driven behind them by a change in the wind, and discharged its electric fluid upon the foe. Thus death and destruction fell upon the Egyptians, whilst light and safety were afforded to the Israelites. Compare *Stickel* p. 331, 332.

THE HYKSOS AND THE ISRAELITES.

SOURCES: *vid. Bunsen's Urkundenbuch*, an appendix to the third part of his work on Egypt; *C. Meier*, *Judaica*, Jena 1832; and *Stroth*, *Aegyptiaca*, Gotha 1782.

LITERATURE: *Jac. Perizonii Aegyptiarum originum investigatio*. 1711. c. 19 p. 327 ss.—*Fr. Buddei*, *Historia ecclesiastica* V. T. I. iii. § 24, Ed. iv. p. 560 ss.—*Thorlacius* de Hycosorum Abari. Copenh. 1794.—*J. Chr. C. Hofmann*, unter welcher Dynastie haben die Israeliten Aegypten verlassen? (in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1839. ii. p. 393 sqq.), and also, *Aegyptische und israelitische Zeitrechnung*, ein Sendschreiben an Dr Böckh. Nördl. 1847.—*E. Hengstenberg*, Manetho and the Hyksos, in his *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 227 sqq. transl.—*E. Bertheau*, zur *Gesch. d. Israel*. p. 227 sqq.—*H. Ewald*, *Gesch. d. Israel*. i. 445 sqq.—*C. v. Lengerke*, *Kanaan* i. 360 sqq.—*A. Böckh*, *Manetho und die Hundsternperiode*, Berl. 1845.—*Chr. C. J. Bunsen*, *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, 3 vols. Hamburg 1843.

—*R. Lepsius*, die Chronologie der Aegypter, i. Berlin 1849, and Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie d. prot. Theol. i. 144 sqq.—*J. L. Saalschütz*, Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der hebr. ägypt. Archäologie, Königsb. 1851, iii. Die manethonischen Hyksos, p. 41 sqq.—Consult also: *J. G. Müller*, Krit. Untersuchung der Taciteischen Berichte über den Ursprung der Juden, in the Studien und Kritiken, 1843, iv. p. 893 sqq.—*Fr. Werner*, chronologische Bemerkungen über einige Gegenstände der alttestamentlichen Gegenstände (in the lutherische Zeitschrift, 1845, i. p. 29 sqq.)—*K. B. Stark*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der Alterthumskunde des hellenischen Oriens: Gaza, oder die philistäische Küste, Jcna 1852, p. 82 sqq.—*Fr. Delitzsch*, Commentar zur Genesis, 2. Aufl. 1853, ii. 71 sqq.; and Nachtrag p. 221 sqq.—*A. Knobel*, Die Völkertafel der Genesis, Giessen 1850, p. 208 sqq.; and Genesis p. 271 sqq.—*Raoul-Rochette*, in the Journal des Savants, 1846 and 1848, (review of *Bunsen's* work), particularly 1848, p. 354 sqq.

§ 43. The *Pentateuch* does not inform us what dynasty was in power, or what king was reigning, either when the Israelites went down to Egypt, when the oppression commenced, or at the time of their departure. We must therefore turn to the Egyptian and other profane history before we can solve these questions; and what we have now to do, is to determine from these sources, to what periods of time the events described in the *Pentateuch* respectively belong. The simplest means of obtaining the information we need, would be to compare the two chronologies; but unfortunately, both in the biblical and Egyptian histories, there is so much uncertainty, obscurity, and even confusion, in the matter of dates, that comparative chronology is a most uncertain, and therefore impracticable, method of ascertaining the points of coincidence between the two. Our knowledge of the facts, connected with the early history of Egypt,

is for the most part confined to bare catalogues of dynastics, which do not of themselves afford any information, that can be brought to bear upon the history of Israel. But *Josephus* has preserved two considerable fragments from the old historical work of *Manetho*, the contents of which coincide in many respects with the history of the *Pentateuch*. The *first extract from Manetho* treats of the *Hyksos dynasty*, and contains unmistakable traces of the relation which existed between this dynasty and the Israelites (1); the *second* identifies the Israelites with a number of lepers, whom the king, Amenophis, is said to have banished from Egypt (2). The same tradition, in a somewhat modified form, is found in *Chaeremon* and *Lysimachus*, and on the authority of the latter it has been repeated by *Apion*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Tacitus*, and *Justin* (3).

(1). The *first extract from Manetho* (on the reign of the Hyksos) is found in *Josephus* against *Apion*, i. 14. *Josephus* there says: "Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian; yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident: for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian history, writes concerning us in the following manner (I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into court for a witness): 'There was a king of ours whose name was *Timaus*. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burned down our cities and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew, and led their wives and children into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose

name was *Salatis*; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in the places that were most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom and invade them; and, as he found in the *Saitic Nomos* a city very proper for this purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but in a certain ancient theological account was called *Avaris*, this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men, whom he put into it to keep it. Thither *Salatis* came in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages (*σιτομετρῶν καὶ μισθοφορίαν παρεχόμενος*), and partly to exercise his troops and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned nineteen years he died; after him reigned another, whose name was *Beon*, for forty-four years; after him reigned another, called *Apachnas*, thirty-six years and seven months; after him *Apophis* reigned sixty-one years; and then *Janias* fifty years and one month; after all these reigned *Assis* forty-two years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled *Hyksos*, i.e., shepherd-kings (*βασιλεῖς ποιμένες*); for the first syllable *Hyc*, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a *king*; *Sos*, according to the ordinary dialect, is a shepherd; and *Hyksos* is compounded of these. But some say that these people were Arabians.' In another manuscript (*ἐν δ' ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ*), however, I have found that *Hyk* does not denote *kings*, but on the contrary *captive shepherds*; for *Hyc*, with the aspirate (*δασυνόμενον*) means in the Egyptian tongue *prisoners*; and this seems to me the more probable opinion and more in accordance with sacred history. But *Manetho* goes on: 'These people whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years. After this, however, the kings of Thebais and the others parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and a terrible and long war was waged between them. And under a king named *Alisphragmuthosis*, the shepherds were subdued by him, and were driven out of

other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres of land; this place was Avaris. The shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength. But *Thummosis*, the son of *Alis-Phragmuthosis*, made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie round about them, but upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt and go, without any harm being done to them, whithersoever they would. After this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two hundred and fifty thousand, and took their journey from Egypt, *through the wilderness to Syria*. But as they feared the Assyrian power, which had then the dominion over Asia, they settled in the country which is now called *Judea*, and there they built a city, large enough to contain so many thousand men, and called it *Hierosolyma*. In another book of the *Aegyptiaca*, *Manetho* says, that the shepherds are described as captives in the sacred books. And this account of his is the truth, for feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient times, and therefore they were called *shepherds*; nor was it without reason that they were called *captives* by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, called himself a captive before the king of Egypt" (*Josephus contra Ap. i. 14, Whiston's transl.*).

(2). The *second extract from Manetho* (on the expulsion of the lepers) is found in the same book of *Josephus*, (c. Apion i. 26 seq.), who says: "*Manetho* promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of the sacred writings, and first of all relates, that our forefathers came in many myriads into Egypt and subdued its inhabitants. But in the next age they were expelled, took Judea and there built Jerusalem and the temple. So far he follows the ancient records. But after this he takes the liberty of introducing incredible fables and legends (*μυθεύμενα καὶ λεγόμενα, λόγους ἀπιθάνους*;—according to Bk. i. c. 16: *οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Ἀιγυπτίους γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὠμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν*), concerning the Jews, confounding our forefathers with a number of leprous Egyptians, who were driven out of Egypt on account of their

leprosy and other diseases. For this purpose he brings in a king *Amenophis*, whose name is a fictitious one, on which account he does not venture to give the length of his reign, which he always on other occasions most scrupulously does. With this king he associates the fables referred to, and forgets that, according to his own statements, 518 years must have passed since the shepherds were expelled. For they left Egypt in the reign of *Thutmosis* (*Thummosis*). Now from him to *Sethos* there were 393 years; *Sethos* reigned fifty-nine years, and his son *Rampses* sixty-six. It is not till this point that he introduces the fabulous *Amenophis*, of whom he gives the following account: 'Amenophis desired to see the gods, as King *Horus* had formerly done. He made known this wish to a wise man, who was also named Amenophis, and was told by him that he must first of all cleanse the land entirely from lepers and unclean persons. The king then had all the unclean persons gathered together out of the whole of the land of Egypt, 80,000 in number, and sent them to work in the quarries to the east of the Nile. Among these lepers there were some learned priests. In the meantime Amenophis repented that he had advised the king to expel the lepers, fearing that the wrath of the gods might be excited thereby, and, as a revelation was made to him a short time afterwards, that the lepers would rule for thirteen years over Egypt, supported by foreigners, and he durst not make this known to the king, he killed himself, and left a written document behind him, which greatly troubled the king. After the lepers had continued for a long time to do hard work in the quarries, the king listened to their request, and gave them the city of *Avaris*, which had formerly been occupied by the shepherds, but at that time was desolate. In the ancient theological documents this city is called the city of Typhon (*Τυφώνιος*). Now, when the lepers had settled there, they chose a priest of Heliopolis, named *Osarsiph*, to be their leader, and swore that they would yield obedience to him in everything. He first of all commanded them to worship no gods, to cease to abstain from the animals which were regarded as sacred in Egypt, to slay and eat without distinction, and to hold fellowship with no man, who did not belong to them. He also gave them many other laws, which were directly opposed to the customs of Egypt. After this he had the city fortified with walls, and prepared to make war upon Amenophis. He sent messengers to the shep-

herds at Jerusalem, who had been expelled by Thutmosis, and urged them to join in a common attack upon Egypt. The shepherds gladly listened to his appeal, and came to Avaris with 200,000 men. King Amenophis remembered the prophecy, and lost all his spirit. He gathered together the sacred animals, hid the images of the gods, brought his son *Sethos*, who was five years old, and had been named *Ramesses* after his father Rampses, placed him under the protection of a friend, and then advanced with 300,000 men to meet the foe. From fear of the gods, however, he did not venture to attack them, but withdrew into Ethiopia, taking with him the sacred animals, and there he remained in voluntary exile for thirteen years; the king of Ethiopia being bound to him by ties of gratitude. The Solymites, in conjunction with the lepers, inflicted the greatest cruelties upon the Egyptians, who were left behind. They set fire to the cities and villages, destroyed the temples, and used the wood of the images of the gods to cook the flesh of the sacred animals. The priests were compelled to slaughter the sacred animals with their own hand, and were then driven naked from the spot. The founder of this state had formerly been a priest of Heliopolis. He was named *Osarsiph* after the god Osiris, who was worshipped there; but afterwards he was called *Moses*. After an exile of thirteen years, Amenophis and his son Rampses returned from Ethiopia to Egypt, each at the head of a powerful army. The shepherds and lepers were speedily subdued, and driven as far as the frontier of Syria."—*Josephus* then proceeds to demonstrate the absurdity of this fictitious account.

(3). The account, which *Manetho* gives of the lepers, is found in the works of other authors, but with various alterations. *CHAEREMON* (in *Josephus* c. Apion i. 32) relates that the goddess *Isis* appeared in a dream to King *Amenophis*, and complained that her temple had been destroyed in war. By the advice of the priest, *Phritiphas*, who informs him that he will not be disturbed by the goddess any more, if he cleanses Egypt from all its lepers, he has 25,000 of them banished. Their leaders, the scribes *Moses* and *Josepos* (whose Egyptian names were *Tisithes* and *Peteseph*) conducted them to Pelusium. There they united with 380,000 men, whom Amenophis had placed there with orders not to enter Egypt, and with these they invaded that land. Amenophis was unable to resist their attack, and fled

to Ethiopia. His wife, whose time of delivery was drawing near, could not accompany him in his flight, and hid herself in a cave. There she gave birth to a son, who, when he had grown up, drove out the Jews, at that time numbering 200,000 men, chased them to Syria, and recalled his father from Ethiopia.

The same legend is given by *LYSIMACHUS* (*Josephus* c. Apion i. 34) in a still more romantic form: During the reign of King *Bokchoris*, the people of the Jews, having been attacked with leprosy, the itch, and other diseases, took refuge in the temple, and got their living by begging. In consequence of this, the land was visited by famine and pestilence. The oracle of Ammon ordered the temple to be purified from the unclean and wicked men, who were all to be sent into the desert, with the exception of those afflicted with leprosy and the itch. The latter were to be rolled up in lead and thrown into the sea. This was done. The others, who had been transported to the desert, then took counsel what they might do. They lighted torches and lamps as soon as the night came on, set watches, and fasted, for the purpose of propitiating the gods. The next morning a certain *Moses* advised them to go forward in a regular procession, till they came to some inhabited country. He also commanded that in future they should do good to no one, and should destroy every temple and altar that they might happen to meet with. After many obstructions, they reached Judea, where they plundered and burned all the temples, and built a city, which they called *Hierosyla* in commemoration of their deeds. But as this name was afterwards regarded as a term of reproach, they altered it to *Hierosolyma*.

APION, in the third book of his history of Egypt (*Josephus* c. Apion ii. 2), adopts the account given by *Lysimachus*, but he also embellishes it with a "trustworthy" explanation of the manner in which the Sabbath originated. The Jews, he says, arrived at Judea after a six days' march through the desert. On the seventh day they were attacked with internal ulcers, which compelled them to rest on that day, and as this disease was known in Egypt by the name of *Sabbatosis*, they called that day the Sabbath.

TACITUS (*Hist.* 5. 2—5), in his description of the destruction of Jerusalem, refers to the origin of the Jewish people. He cites different reports, with which he was acquainted; but does

not decide in favour of either of them. According to some, he says, the Jews originally came from Crete, at the time when Jupiter dethroned his father Saturn, and settled first of all on the frontier of Lybia;—this opinion rests upon the supposed derivation of the word *Judæi* from *Idæi*, the inhabitants of Mount *Ida* in Crete. Others trace the origin of the Jews to Egypt. They say that when *Isis* sat upon the throne, the number of men in Egypt was too great, and therefore a portion of them emigrated under the guidance of *Hierosolymus* and *Juda* and settled in a neighbouring country. Others again suppose the Jews to be descendants of the *Ethiopian*s, who were led to emigrate by their fear and hatred of the Ethiopian king *Kepheus*. According to a fourth opinion they were *Assyrians*, who first of all took possession of part of Egypt, and then settled in the neighbouring Hebrew and Syrian lands. Others imagined that they were the *Solymi* mentioned by *Homer*. But the most general opinion of all was, that the Jews were originally *leprous Egyptians*. The account given by *Lysimachus* is then served up again, and enlarged in the following way. On their march through the desert, they were all threatened with destruction from want of water. Suddenly there appeared a number of wild asses, which, after grazing, went back up a rock that was covered by a dense wood. Moses thought that where there was wood there must also be water, and following the asses actually discovered some copious springs. After a further march of six days' duration they arrived at the Jewish land, expelled the inhabitants, and founded a city and temple. Moses then introduced a variety of customs, which were opposed to those of other nations; and among other things had an image of the animal, which had saved them from perishing with thirst in the desert, set up in the holiest place as an object of worship.—Consult the article, already noticed, by *J. G. Müller* in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1843.

JUSTIN (Hist. 36. 2) traces the origin of the Jews to *Damascus*. The first king of that city, from whom it derived its name, was *Damaskus*. He was followed by *Azelus*, *Adores*, *Abraham*, and *Israel*. *Israel* had ten sons, and divided his kingdom among them. Shortly after the division, *Judah*, one of his sons, died. His share was distributed among the rest, and henceforth the whole people were called *Judeans*. The youngest of the brothers

was sold by the rest to some foreign merchants, who took him to Egypt. There he learned the arts of magic, interpreted omens and dreams, predicted a famine some years before it occurred, and thus saved Egypt from perishing with hunger. He had a son named *Moses*, who not only inherited his father's learning, but was distinguished for his extraordinary beauty. When the Egyptians with the itch were banished from the land, according to the sentence of an oracle, he offered himself as their leader, and stole the sacred relics from the Egyptians. The latter pursued him, for the purpose of recovering their sacred things by force of arms; but violent tempests arose, which compelled them to return. Moses then led his followers to his native place, *Damaskus*, and took possession of *Mount Syna*. As he arrived there with his people, worn out after a seven days' fast, he set apart the seventh day, the Sabbath, as a regular fast-day. They avoided all intercourse with the inhabitants of the district in which they settled, from a desire to transfer to the latter the hostility which had previously existed between themselves and their fellow-countrymen in Egypt. This separation gradually became a religious law. *Aruas*, the son of Moses, combined the royal with the priestly dignity, and from his time the Jews continued to be governed by priestly kings.

§ 44. The earliest attempt, with which we are acquainted, to reconcile these accounts with the *Pentateuch* history, is that made by *Josephus*, who identifies the lepers with the Hyksos, and both with the Israelites. He pronounces the first account of *Manetho*, which was taken from early Egyptian documents, in all its essential features, historically trustworthy; and makes use of it, to establish the great antiquity and historical importance of his nation, in opposition to the insults and slanders of *Apion*. In the second account of *Manetho*, on the other hand, which is evidently at variance with the first, and according to *Manetho's* own confession, was not derived from any *written* historical source, but merely taken from a vague, unfounded, popular legend, *Josephus* will not allow that there is anything trustworthy. At the same time there is reason enough for entertain-

ing very strong doubts, as to the sincerity of his belief in the historical character of the first account, or at least in the correctness of the explanation which he gives of that account (1). The nearest approach to the views of *Josephus*, as expressed and defended in the book against *Apion*, is to be seen in the opinion entertained by *Delitzsch*, who is inclined to regard it as a historical fact, that Egypt was subjugated and governed by the Israelites for several hundred years (2). *Perizonius*, *Buddeus*, *Thorlacius*, *Hofmann*, and *Hengstenberg* look upon the two accounts as different forms of the very same legend; at the same time they maintain that in both of them the actual facts, which are to be found in a credible form in the *Pentateuch* alone, have been distorted to favour the national interests of Egypt, and that in such a manner that all the cruelty, violence, and oppression, in a word, all the evil done by the Egyptians to the Israelites, is transferred to the latter, a transfer suggested to a certain extent by the measures of state adopted by Joseph (Gen. xlvii. 13—26) (3). *Hengstenberg* also paves the way for his line of argument with reference to the Hyksos, by describing the pretended *Manetho* as a “miserable subject,” and a “wind-maker by profession,” of the time of the Roman emperors, who perpetrated this distortion of the *Pentateuch* history purely out of his own head (4). A closer investigation of the arguments which have been adduced, from the time of *Josephus* till that of *Hofmann*, *Hengstenberg*, and *Delitzsch*, in support of the identity of the Hyksos and the Israelites, will show that such an opinion cannot possibly be sustained (5).

(1). The object of *JOSEPHUS* was to rebut the insults, heaped by *Apion* upon the Jewish people, and to bring forward witnesses to the respect and esteem, which the history of that people had secured. *Biblical* writers would have had but little weight with the heathen *Apion*, as being witnesses in their own cause, but of so much greater worth would be the testimony of *heathen*

writers, who could not possibly be charged with partiality. Again, the unfavourable manner in which heathen writers, as a whole, spoke of the Jews, must have heightened the pleasure, with which he appealed to so distinguished a historian as *Manetho*. If *Manetho's* account of the Hyksos could be applied to the Jews, it was drawn up in such a way, that *Josephus* could hardly have desired anything better suited to his purpose. For nothing was so likely to affect a man of *Apion's* cast of mind, as the proof that the Jews, whom he so despised, had ruled for half a millennium over the most powerful and magnificent, the wisest, richest, and most distinguished nation of ancient history. Now, we are fully convinced that *Josephus* himself did not believe in the identity of the Hyksos and the Jews. The proof of this opinion we find partly in the fact that, in his *Antiquities*, which was just the place for it, he does not seem for a moment to have thought of inserting the account of the Hyksos given by *Manetho*, in fact does not even refer to it; and partly in the care, with which (even in the book against *Apion*), he avoids going more thoroughly into the difficulties, that arise from a combination of the Hyksos legend and the *Pentateuch*-history. To any one, who is in the least acquainted with the latter, a number of questions, doubts, and difficulties, inevitably suggest themselves, both as to the admissibility of such an identification of the Jews and the Hyksos, and also as to the historical character of many of the statements contained in *Manetho's* account; and any writer, who is sincerely convinced of both of these, must be prepared to remove all such difficulties, and not pass them over in silence or explain them away. But of this we cannot find the least trace, in the whole of the elaborate argument of *Josephus*. He speaks and argues in all respects just as if the identity of the Hyksos and the Jews were a fact so fully established, that no reasonable man ever had doubted or ever could doubt its reality. The book of *Josephus* against *Apion* is not intended to subserve the interests of historical research; its object is exclusively polemical. Hence he lays hold of every argument, whether good or bad, and however sophistical, and does not hesitate to throw dust in his opponent's eyes, on all fitting occasions. Assurance and confident assertions are expected to cover the weakness of his own convictions. With an opponent, better acquainted with the *Pentateuch* than *Apion* was, he would have been unable to make

such random and unsupported statements with impunity, and would hardly have dared to do so. But with an ignorant and conceited man like *Apion*, who to all appearance had obtained his knowledge of the Israelitish history exclusively from hearsay, something might be ventured, especially as the occurrence of the march through the desert, the settlement in Judea, and the building of Jerusalem, in the account given by *Manetho*, were quite sufficient to convince an ignorant man that the identity was indisputable, especially as he knew nothing of the incongruities and contradictions which preponderate to such an extent.

(2). DELITZSCH (p. 75) says: "What if the three Hyksos dynasties consisted of three different tribes of Israel? Is it not possible that after Joseph's almost royal supremacy (according to Artapanus in *Eusebius* præp. ev. 9. 23, in the end *fully* royal supremacy) over the Egyptians, the native princes were brought into a condition of dependence, in which they were treated with warlike cruelty by the Israelitish tribes, and that the oppression of Israel did not begin, till Amosis had recovered both the *Egypt*s after a tedious war? The four centuries, about which the *Pentateuch* is silent, because they presented no points of interest, so far as sacred history was concerned, may have been of all the greater importance in connexion with the history of the world. When we read in Ex. i. 7: "The Israelites were fruitful and increased abundantly, and multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them,"—it follows that they had extended beyond the boundaries of the province originally assigned them. And when we find it stated immediately afterwards, that a new king arose over Egypt who was hostile to the Israelites, and endeavoured to keep them down by forcing them to work as slaves, because they had become "more and mightier" than the Egyptians, it is evident that the king, here referred to, was the first king of the native dynasty, which had been overpowered and confined to Thebais, but had now recovered its supremacy. That the prophecy contained in Gen. xv. 13 ("they shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years") was not irreconcilable, from an Old Testament point of view, with a gradual increase of the power of Israel in Egypt, is evident from such passages as Deut. xxvi. 5 and Ps. cv., where, with reference to Ex. i. 7, it is said that Jehovah made the Israelites in Egypt stronger than their enemies. Moreover, we

know, that during the period of their sojourning in Egypt, war-like expeditions were undertaken by them. Thus in 1 Chr. vii. 21, the Ephraimites make a predatory incursion into Philistia, and in 1 Chr. iv. 22 we read of the descendants of Judah having dominion in Moab. Again, the fact that an Israelite, named Mered, married a daughter of Pharaoh, and that her name in the Semitic dialect was *Bitjah* (1 Chr. iv. 18, *cf.* chap. vii. 18, where a sister of Gilead the Manassite is called *הַמֹּלֶכֶת* Ham-molecheth) favours the assumption of an Israelitish government. The term 'ancient histories' is applied by the writer of the Chronicles to chap. iv. 22."

These are the views of *Delitzsch*. We have copied the whole argument without abbreviation, because we think it deserving of very careful examination. There is, in fact, much that is plausible in it. It might be even extended and strengthened by a reference to Gen. xxxiv. 25 sqq. ; inasmuch as the crime, committed by the sons of Jacob against the Schemites, proves that before the Israelites went down to Egypt, and even in the case of the patriarchs themselves, the disposition to indulge in the cruelties of war, and commit aggressive acts of violence, was so deeply rooted in their nature, that we might naturally expect it, when fully developed, to lead to some such result as the conquest and subjugation of Egypt. Still we must reject the hypothesis as inadmissible.

In the first place, we do not think that *Delitzsch* is successful, in his attempt to account for the fact, that we find no reference whatever in the *Pentateuch*, to an event so stupendous and unexampled a character, as the subjugation of Egypt would have been. With regard to the assertion that "the four centuries about which the *Pentateuch* is silent,—because they presented no points of interest so far as *sacred history* was concerned,—may have been of all the greater importance in connection with the *history of the world*:" we regard such an assertion as not only erroneous and calculated to mislead, but as altogether at variance with the general analogy of the sacred history. We are prepared to maintain that every thing connected with the history of Israel, which had any important bearing upon the history of the world, was *eo ipso* of importance in relation to the sacred history, either as promoting or else as impeding and disturbing its course. An event of world-wide importance, occurring within the limits of the history of Israel, could not possibly be a matter

of indifference, so far as the development of the sacred history was concerned ; for the peculiar characteristic of the history of Israel was just this, that from its position in relation to the history of the world, the history of salvation received its development in such a manner, that the political history of Israel became a history of salvation at the same time. If the rule laid down by *Delitzsch* be correct, there is a great deal in the historical books of the Old Testament which must be regarded as irrelevant. If the author of the *Pentateuch* thought it necessary to relate the injury done by the sons of Jacob to the Schemites, he would certainly have felt a still greater inducement, or rather have felt compelled to record the supposed subjugation of Egypt ; for if this actually occurred, it must have been of infinitely greater importance in connexion with the development of the history of salvation, and must have exerted a much deeper influence upon that history, or at least upon its passing phases, and the obstructions which impeded its course. How thoroughly would the corrupt, ungodly, and unsubdued natural disposition of Israel, which the sacred history so constantly and emphatically refers to, have been set before us in the clearest light by such an event ? How would the divine Nemesis, which the sacred history no less emphatically describes on every fitting occasion, have found a distinct expression in the Egyptian bondage and all the misery which Israel had then to endure ! How would this fact have furnished the future generations of Israel with a sermon, and lesson of warning and reproof, which would have sounded through all their subsequent history ! And is it possible that the sacred record can have regarded as utterly unimportant, an event of such magnitude as this, and one that spoke so eloquently to Israelites of future ages ? Or can we suppose that the spirit of God, the spirit of prophecy, which directed even the writing of Israel's history from a foresight of its future necessities, and which knew that the subsequent history of Israel would continue to go more and more astray into the foreign domain of purely political action and reaction, and thus eventually cause its own destruction, passed over this splendid opportunity of engraving on the very portal of Israel's history a fact so full of warning and instruction for future ages, and left it entirely unimproved ? In what a different light, too, would this place the redemption of Israel from Egypt by the strong arm of the Lord ! What an

opportunity would this have afforded, for setting forth what the whole of the Old Testament history so constantly displays, the mercy and fidelity of the caller, in spite of all the guilt, corruption, and disobedience of the called ! How striking and comforting would have been the proof thus afforded at the outset of the history, that however frequently the chosen people might forsake the ways of God to tread their own ungodly ways, they were never forsaken by Jehovah, but were always chastised with the scourge of the Nemesis, that they might be brought back with the cords of mercy.

From what we have said above, we feel that we are forced to the conclusion, that if any such subjection of Egypt had taken place, it would assuredly have been mentioned in the biblical record ; and as there is no reference to it there, that it can never have occurred. But not only does the record contain no notice of any such occurrence ; it evidently precludes it. For if the author had been aware of the fact, and had passed it over in silence, he would have been guilty of dishonesty and partiality, inasmuch as so deceptive an omission would have indicated a desire on his part, to transfer to the innocent Egyptians the charge of guilt, which really belonged to his own people. If *Delitzsch's* view be correct, the Egyptians were fully justified in subjugating and oppressing the Israelites. They were only practising the right of retaliation. The scriptural record, however, not merely takes no notice of any such right ; but, on the contrary, charges the Egyptians with ingratitude and faithlessness (Ex. i. 8 ; cf. Deut. xxvi. 6 ; Ps. cv. 25, &c.). According to *Delitzsch*, the Egyptian oppression was a reaction against the previous ascendancy of the Israelites ; but according to the representations of the biblical record, it was the rapid increase of the Israelites, which first led the Egyptians to fear that they might obtain the ascendancy, and induced them to anticipate any such event, and endeavour to render it impossible by bringing Israel into bondage.

The biblical data adduced by *Delitzsch* in support of his hypothesis are of little weight. When it is stated in Ex. i. 7 that the Israelites had increased to such an extent that the land had become full of them, this does not mean that "the people had overspread the limits of their original dwelling place," for by the land, which was full of them, we are certainly to understand the *land of Goshen*, which had been assigned them. When

Jacob's family (consisting of seventy souls) settled in the land of Goshen with a few thousand servants, they cannot possibly have filled so large a province; but after a short time, they increased so rapidly as to fill the whole of that land. And when again the king says in chap. i. 9, "behold the people are more and mightier than we," the purport of his words is such, that a little exaggeration seems quite in character. But even if we regard them as literally true, there is nothing in them to astonish us. According to chap. i. 8, the period had just arrived when a new dynasty arose, *i.e.* when the national dynasty threw off the yoke of the Hyksos and recovered the supremacy. It is true, the warlike dynasty had been driven over the frontier and compelled to leave the country. But many of the Hyksos settlers had undoubtedly been left behind; as we may gather from the *Pentateuch* itself, *viz.* from Ex. xii. 38 and Num. xiv. 4. And under these circumstances we may easily conceive, that the number of the Israelites was greater than that of the national Egyptians, who were then in power. When we read in 1 Chr. iv. 18 that an Israelite named *Mered* married a daughter of Pharaoh, named *Bitjah* (*cf.* § 15. 3), this does not favour *Delitzsch's* hypothesis, but tends rather to disapprove it; for it shows that the family of the Pharaohs and that of Jacob were not the same. And on the other hand, so long as the Hyksos dynasty, which was so friendly to the Israelites, held possession of the throne, there is nothing inconceivable in the supposition, that a distinguished Israelite may have married one of Pharaoh's daughters. Again the word *הַמְלִיכָה* in 1 Chr. vii. 18 is a proper name, and therefore proves nothing. The military adventures, referred to in 1 Chr. iv. 22 and vii. 21 (*cf.* § 18), do not affect the hypothesis of *Delitzsch*, except so far as they actually seem to prove, that it was possible for strong warlike expeditions to be undertaken during the 430 years' sojourn in Egypt, without any reference being made to them in the *Pentateuch*. But, in the first place, neither of these events was of so much importance in the history of the *world*, as even *Delitzsch* ascribes to the supposed conquest of Egypt by the Israelites; and *secondly*, the author of the *Pentateuch* had no particular inducement to mention the former incidents, whereas there are a hundred places in the history of the Exodus in which the latter must have been called to mind. And we must also add, if the

writer of the Chronicles had both an occasion and an inducement, to notice and describe at length those comparatively unimportant attacks upon Philistia and Moab; he must certainly have felt a still stronger inducement to mention the much more magnificent and eventful subjugation of Egypt, with which he must have been quite as fully, if not more fully acquainted. In conclusion, we have one more objection to offer to this hypothesis: namely, that whilst at one time it raises the account of the Hyksos given by *Manetho*, into the position of a historical and trustworthy record, at another it is obliged to declare, that in its most essential points it is at variance with history. For according to the account contained in the *Pentateuch*, the Israelites remained more than a hundred years in Egypt after the rise of the new dynasty, and were so far from being driven away, that every exertion was made to retain them. And this discrepancy cannot be explained, on the supposition of the distortion of the actual fate of the Hyksos government for the purpose of pandering to the national vanity of the Egyptians. For if the national dynasty no sooner recovered the supremacy, than the Hyksos were humbled, enslaved, ill-treated, forced to render tributary service, and prevented from leaving the country as they desired, which the *Pentateuch* informs us that the Israelites were; there was undoubtedly much more to nourish and flatter the pride and national vanity of the Egyptians, in such an event as this, than in the supposed distortion of the facts of the case, which we find in the account of *Manetho*. No doubt the representation contained in the *Pentateuch*, in the history of the eventual deliverance of Israel, has in it an element that is greatly humiliating to the pride of the Egyptians. But the second extract from *Manetho*, concerning the expulsion of the rebellious lepers, shows that the national tradition of Egypt knew how to distort in its own way the liberation of Israel, which was the cause of its ruin, and yet at the same time to hand down the account of Israel's slavery, which was flattering to Egyptian pride.

(3). In order to overturn the *credibility of Manetho*, *Hengstenberg* in his "Egypt and the Books of Moses" (p. 236 sqq.), opposes the general opinion, that *Manetho* was the president of the priesthood at Heliopolis, and that he wrote his Egyptian history about the year 260 B.C., at the direction of the king, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and employed the archives in the temple. On the

other hand, he endeavours to prove that the supposed *Manetho* was a "miserable subject, an intentional impostor, a confirmed liar, and a professional wind-bag belonging to the period of the Roman emperors." This unparalleled assertion, which stands in the most glaring contrast to the honour and esteem, in which the author of the *Aegyptiaca* has been generally held, by the ancients as well as by critics and students of a later period, is supported by arguments of so little value, that it is difficult to find words to express our amazement. *Hengstenberg* has studied the destructive critics of the *Pentateuch* to some purpose; he has learned from them how to treat an ancient author, whose good name is to be sacrificed at any cost in favour of certain preconceived opinions; in fact, so far as *Manetho* is concerned, he has really surpassed the critics referred to. Listen, however, to the chief arguments themselves: (1). "The supposed priest of Heliopolis betrays a striking ignorance of Egyptian mythology, and mixes up the names of Grecian and Egyptian gods in a singular manner." The latter is no doubt correct; but it ceases to be striking and singular, as soon as we understand the author's method and design. *Manetho* wrote in *Greek*, and therefore wrote for Greeks. In accordance with the syncretism prevalent in his day, he combined and identified, so far as it was possible, the names of the gods of Egypt and Greece; and just because he was writing for Greeks, and wished to make his work intelligible to them, he even substituted the latter for the former. He may certainly have been very unfortunate in these combinations and substitutions; but no one can call him either ignorant or an impostor on that account.—(2). "Just as striking is his ignorance of the geography of his own land, when, for example, he places the *Saitic nomos* to the east of the Bubastic arm of the Nile (c. Apion i. 14)." But may not the passage be corrupt? The ἀντίγραφα of the work of *Manetho*, which *Josephus* employed, was already so corrupt or full of interpolations, that in one the word *Hyksos* is interpreted shepherd-kings, whilst in the other it is said to mean captive shepherds. The conjecture that the text is corrupt, is rendered the more probable by the fact, that the reading in the Armenian translation is the *Methraitic nomos* instead of the *Saitic*, though even the former reading is probably spurious. *Bernardus* has made the proper alteration in the passage in question, and reads "the *Sethroitic nomos*."

The corruption was probably first occasioned by the circumstance, that the first king of the Hyksos, whom *Josephus* calls *Salatis*, was called *Saites* in other manuscripts. *Julius Africanus* appends to the name the following remark: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαίτης νομὸς ἐκλήθη. If we regard *Saites* as the original reading, which it probably is (see note 4), an ignorant copyist might easily be led to suppose that the city, which was built by *Saites*, must also have been situated in the *nomos*, that was called by his name. (3). "Pseudo-Manetho betrays entire ignorance of the Egyptian tongue, when he traces the first syllable of the word Hyksos to the sacred dialect, and the second to the vulgar. For there is nowhere else the slightest trace of the co-existence of a sacred and common dialect in Egypt. The author, in his thorough ignorance of Egyptian affairs, confounds the distinction between the sacred and common *dialect* with that between the sacred and common *writing*. Moreover, some suspicion is excited as to the author's acquaintance with the Egyptian language by the fact that *Hyk*, which, according to one account means a *king*, and is said in the other to mean a *prisoner* (an important difference), does not really occur in either of these senses." To this we reply, that with our present limited knowledge of the Egyptian language, the latter fact proves nothing. It is very unjust, however, that *Hengstenberg* should set down this difference in the explanations of the word Hyksos to *Manetho's* account, since *Josephus* expressly says, that there were various readings in the codices which he possessed, and these must of course be traced to the copyists, and not to *Manetho* himself. *Lepsius*, moreover, has, in my opinion, fully proved that, at the time of *Josephus*, the genuine and complete work of *Manetho* had ceased to exist (probably it perished with the destruction of the library at Alexandria), and that nothing was left but the lists of the dynasties, and fragments of the history, contained in the other books. Again, to our mind, there is something truly astonishing in the statement that in Egypt there never was any distinction between the sacred and common dialect. For whilst the language of the monuments continued essentially the same; in the course of time, particularly during the Grecian rule, there grew up a marked distinction between the old Egyptian and the new Egyptian or Coptic (*i.e.* between the sacred and common speech) similar to that which we find in

other languages. "Every sacred language," says *Bunsen* i. 310, "is in reality nothing but the popular dialect of an earlier date, which has been handed down in sacred books; e.g., the Hebrew, in contrast with the so-called Chaldee; the ancient Greek in the Greek church, by the side of modern Greek; Latin, in contrast with the Roman dialects; and the early Slavonic, in relation to the modern Slavonic languages." The only question is, whether in *Manetho's* time the popular dialect (viz., the Coptic) was so distinct from the sacred language, or the language of the ancient documents and monuments, that they could be regarded as two different dialects. Now this was decidedly the case. By means of demotic MSS., we can trace the popular dialect to as early a period as the Psammetichs (*Bunsen* ii. 14). There is no objection, therefore, to the supposition, that the word Sôs was still in existence in the popular dialect, though the word Hyk had already disappeared, and *Manetho* had merely to seek his explanation in the various monuments and the documents in the temple. Nor is there anything very "serious" in the different explanations; for an obsolete word might easily be proved to have different significations. In any case, the very fact that it is so difficult to explain the word Hyksos, is an argument in favour of the age and historical character of the name, and therefore also of the persons represented by it. If that "miserable subject," that "professional windbag" (as *Hengstenberg* styles the author of the *Aegyptiaca*), had invented the name himself, he would certainly have based it upon some etymology that was intelligible at the time, or at any rate, to save himself from the appearance of ignorance, he would have given it an explanation that could be safely established.—(4). "In the work of *Manetho* concerning the period of the dog-star (Sothis), of which *Georgios Syncellus* has preserved some fragments, the author mentions the source from which his statements were taken, namely the accounts engraved by *Thoth*, the first Hermes, upon certain columns in the Seriadic land; they were written first in the sacred dialect, and with sacred characters, but after the flood their substance was translated into Greek and written in hieroglyphics by *Agathodaemon*, the son of the second Hermes, and the father of *Tat*, and placed among the sacred treasures of the temple; as if it could be necessary to make translations into Greek for the sake of the priests even in the most remote antiquity." But *Hengsten-*

berg, who declares that both of the works are equally the bungling performances of an impostor whose very name is assumed, is not warranted in drawing from the dishonesty of the one, conclusions prejudicial to the character of the other; for who can assure him that two different authors may not have made use of the venerable name of *Manetho*, for the purpose of helping their wretched productions to pass? Each of the two must be tested by itself. And the actual state of the case is this, that, whilst the *Aegyptiaca* is regarded by all competent critics as authentic, they are unanimous in pronouncing the book on the dog-star a forgery (*cf. Bunsen* i. 256 sqq., *Böckh* p. 15 sqq., *Lepsius* i. 413 sqq., &c.).—But, even assuming the genuineness of the *Sothis*, the case is far from being so bad as *Hengstenberg* supposes. *Zoëga* makes the highly probable suggestion, that the original reading in the *Sothis* may have been *εἰς τὴν κοινὴν* (instead of *Ἑλληνίδα*) *φωνήν*. Some copyist, or perhaps the Syncellus himself, may, either from a misapprehension or from hurry, have substituted the Greek *κοινή* for the common dialect (*κοινή*) of Egypt. (*cf. Böckh*, p. 16, and *Lepsius* i. 413 Anm. 2).—(5). “The hatred and hostility to the Jews, which gave rise to the second account of *Manetho*, had no existence before the age of the Roman emperors.” But why must it have been this particular hostility which gave rise to the account? The disgrace and injury, which are said by the *Pentateuch* to have been inflicted by the Israelites upon the whole of Egypt, were surely enough to excite such bitter feelings in the minds of the ancient Egyptians, that we can very well imagine them to have lasted so long as to give rise to those *ἀδεσπότης μυθολογούμενα*, which were preserved till *Manetho's* days.—(6). “The statements made by *Manetho* do not receive anything like that confirmation from the monuments, which we should expect them to receive if *Manetho* were a trustworthy and honest enquirer.” This argument leads to the very opposite conclusion, for, however great may be the differences, which we find on comparing the data obtained from the monuments and other ancient documents, with those given by *Manetho*, so far as names and numbers are concerned; the instances of agreement are so numerous, so strong, and so essential, that we are forced to the conclusion that *Manetho's* work must have been the result of the most careful research. The differences and discrepancies may certainly

show, that his research sometimes led to misapprehensions and erroneous conclusions; though even these may be satisfactorily explained, either from the early loss of *Manetho's* book, and the faulty copies that were made of it, or from the arbitrary manner in which it was used and revised by the chronographers. The most *unfavourable* opinion, which a moderate, and, at the same time, keen criticism can express with regard to *Manetho*, is that of *Saalschütz*, who regards him as an honest, but somewhat uncritical, compiler.

(4). HENGSTENBERG (p. 247) thinks that he has proved " THAT THE HYKSOS WAS NO OTHER THAN THE ISRAELITES; that the account of *Manetho* is not founded upon any earlier native sources; but, on the contrary, has merely sprung from a transformation of the historical material preserved by the Jews, which is so altered as to favour the national vanity of the Egyptians." With this *Hofmann* for the most part agrees; but he regards the transformation of the historical material, for the purpose of favouring the national vanity of the Egyptians, as having taken place at an early period in the history of Egypt, and therefore does not think it necessary to indulge in such unmeasured abuse of *Manetho*, as *Hengstenberg*. "The account of the Hyksos given by *Manetho*," says the latter, "presents such a striking resemblance to the history of the Israelites contained in the *Pentateuch*, and on the other hand, wherever it differs, is so evidently altered to favour the Egyptians, that we can have no doubt as to the identity of the Israelites and the Hyksos." This assertion is made with so much confidence, that we cannot abstain from a thorough and searching examination of the arguments by which it is supported. (1). "The Hyksos, like the Israelites, come from the East, and particular stress is laid upon the fact that, like the Israelites, the Hyksos were shepherds." Were the Israelites, then, the only shepherd-race in Asia? According to a tradition, quoted by *Manetho*, the Hyksos were *Arabs*. From an intimation, given by *Herodotus* (ii. 128), we might conjecture that they were *Philistians*. A Moslemite tradition (*cf.* *Abulfedae hist. anteislam. ed. Fleischer p. 178*) might lead us to suppose that they were *Amalekites*. And how many other known and unknown shepherd tribes were there in Asia at that time, who were strong enough to attack the favoured land of Egypt with the hope of conquering it? What is there to force us to think only of the

Israelites, who certainly came to Egypt without any such intention? The fact that Joseph's brethren state to Pharaoh that they are מְקַנְהוֹת (Gen. xlv. 34), and that Pharaoh wishes to appoint the best of them as שְׂרֵי מְקַנְהוֹת, *i.e.*, as keepers of his own flocks (Gen. xlvii. 6), cannot certainly be regarded as a *proof* of the identity of the Hyksos and the Israelites; although *Delitzsch* writes, as if these Hebrew expressions coincided with the name Ἰκσιώσ or ποιμένες βασιλεῖς. We should be much more inclined to discover an important resemblance in the words ποιμένες ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ φοίνικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς, with which *Eusebius*, (in the *Chronicon*), and the *Syncellus* introduce the seventeenth dynasty. *Delitzsch* says: "Is not this a most striking description of the brotherly tribe of Jacob, which immigrated from Canaan?" But who can answer for it, that these are *Manetho's* own words? And they are worth nothing if they are not. On the contrary, when we consider that in his leading work *Manetho* expresses no decided opinion with regard to the origin of the Hyksos, as we may see from the extracts made by *Josephus*, it is very improbable that in the connected catalogue of dynasties he should have described them with perfect confidence as Phœnicians. *Delitzsch* also calls attention to the Semitic name of the Hyksos city "Αβαρις, or city of the Hebrews, the north-easterly situation of which corresponds with that of the land of Goshen. (*Cham-pollion* identifies this city with Heroopolis, *Lepsius* with Pelusium, *i.e.* Pelishtim, or city of the Philistines). But neither the situation nor the name proves anything in favour of the identity of the Hyksos and the Israelites. The name עֲבָרִים was a very general one, descriptive of all the tribes whose original home was on the other side of the Euphrates (*cf.* Vol. i. § 46. 4). And this may have been the case with the Hyksos, without their being identical with the Israelites.

The *second* argument is this: "The first king of the Hyksos, who was elevated to this dignity from the midst of the people, was named *Salatis*. This unmistakeably Semitic name evidently sprang from Gen. xlii. 6, where we read that Joseph was the regent (רֹשֶׁלִיַּת) over the land." *Hofmann* (*Zeitrechnung* p. 22) denies that there is any such connexion, since the name, which we find in *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, is not *Salatis*, but

Saïtes. *Delitzsch*, however, is of opinion, that it cannot be disputed (*Genesis* p. 358, ed. 1). *Hofmann* was quite right, as we think, in giving up this argument; for the reading *Salatis* is all the more suspicious, on account of its being so serviceable to the purpose of *Josephus*. But even if this be the correct reading, instead of supporting *Hengstenberg's* hypothesis, it completely upsets it. For the name *Salatis* is either ancient and historical, or it is modern. If the former, then the Hyksos are also historical; but if it be the latter, and therefore, like the whole Hyksos fable, an invention of that "miserable subject," who assumed the name of *Manetho*, I would ask how this Hebrew name found its way into the Egyptian legendary lore, or how did Pseudo-*Manetho* get hold of it? Hebrew he certainly did not understand, nor is he likely to have read the *Pentateuch* in the original; and in the *Septuagint*, from which alone any acquaintance with Israelitish antiquities must have been obtained, the word *שַׁלִּיט* is not retained, but rendered *ὁ ἄρχων τῆς γῆς*.

Hengstenberg attaches still greater importance (3) to the statement contained in *Manetho's* account that *Salatis* went every year to *Avaris* at the time of harvest, *τὰ μὲν σιτομετρῶν καὶ μισθοφορίαν παρεχόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξοπλισταῖς πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιμελῶς γυμνάζων*. Any one who reads the passage in its connexion would render it: He came to *Avaris* every year at the time of harvest, partly for the purpose of provisioning the place (as a border-fortress) and paying the garrison, and partly to strike terror into the minds of foreigners by exercising his troops. But *Hengstenberg* makes it mean, "*Salatis* occupied himself chiefly when there with measuring corn," and then calls this a characteristic trait, in which it is impossible to mistake the reference to *Joseph*. Any Greek lexicon would tell him that *σιτομετεῖν* means to provision; and in the present instance, this rendering is imperatively required by the context.

Hengstenberg also says (4), "the account of the oppression and harsh treatment, which the Egyptians suffered from *Salatis* and his successors, has its historical foundation in *Gen. xlvii. 20*, "and *Joseph* bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh," &c. The distortions, to which this fact has been subjected, may be easily explained (!!) from the endeavour to reverse the actual relation of the Egyptians and the Israelites, and thus to transfer the disgrace from the former to the latter. It was necessary

that the charge of unjust oppression and cruel treatment, which the history attaches to the Egyptians, should be removed from them to the Israelites." With reference to any such distortion of the historical facts, to favour the national vanity of the Egyptians, all we can say is, that their national vanity must have been of a *very peculiar kind*, if this supposition be correct. That would surely be a rare and unparalleled description of national vanity, which would lead any one to represent his own people as oppressed, enslaved, down-trodden, and ill-used by a horde of men so despised as the Jews, when the very reverse had been actually the case, and on the other hand, to describe the Jews as a brave and victorious tribe, who were the rulers and oppressors of Egypt for several hundred years, whereas they were really timid, despondent, subjugated, and enslaved! A national vanity of this kind would be all the more rare and inconceivable, since it is well known that the views which prevailed in ancient times, with reference to the rights of slaves and helots, were not founded upon any very rigorous code of ethics. We have here, however, an actual specimen, and a very lucid one too, of the manner in which the national vanity of the Egyptians perverted the relation of the Israelites to the Egyptians. This specimen we find in the second extract from *Manetho*, which undoubtedly refers to the Israelites. The people, for whom the miracles wrought by their God had forcibly obtained permission to depart, are there represented as lepers and persons affected with the itch, as beggars and monsters, who were banished and hunted away, every kind of indignity being heaped upon them.

The most important argument in any case is (5) the one founded upon the statement, that after the Hyksos were banished from Egypt they went *through the desert to Syria*, and there built a city, which they called *Jerusalem*,—"a feature," says *Hengstenberg*, which ought in itself to be sufficient to convince our opponents of the error of their way." *Hofmann* (*Studien und Kritiken*, p. 409) also thought "the name Jerusalem of greater importance than all the rest." But first of all we would request attention to the fact that the Hyksos, who came from the countries *πρὸς ἀνατόλην*, would naturally return to the East when they were compelled to depart, and would also naturally go through the desert, probably towards Syria. Hence, neither of these elements

is of any great importance. On the other hand, we must admit, that the account of the founding of Jerusalem still remains a most important point. Yet even this by no means proves the identity of the Hyksos and the Israelites ; it simply proves (and this is still more clearly shown by the second extract from *Manetho*) that in the course of time the two legends, viz., that of the expulsion of the Hyksos, and that of the lepers, had been partially mixed up together. Whether there was any historical ground for this partial admixture, and if so, to what extent, are questions that we shall discuss in the next section (§ 45. 4).

Such, then, are the arguments, with which the attempt has been made to sustain the identity of the Hyksos and the Israelites ; and we have seen how weak they are. Let us look now at the positive proofs, which may be offered, that such an assumption is inadmissible. And, *first of all*, we will examine the question from the *standpoint of the Pentateuch*, the statements of which we regard as indisputably historical. If now we compare the history of the Israelites, contained in the *Pentateuch*, with the account of the Hyksos given by *Mantheo*, it will soon appear that they are entirely different the one from the other. The discrepancies so thoroughly pervade the whole, that they appear in nearly every single feature, and in almost every word. If the Hyksos-legend was invented, for the sake of giving such an account of Israel in Egypt as would suit Egyptian tastes ; the author has not introduced into his legion a single fibre of the historical truth, as we have it given in the *Pentateuch*. If, however, there is concealed in it a single element of historical truth, however small, it is impossible to think of an identification of the Israelites and the Hyksos. For in great things as well as small, in general statements as well as special details, we find on both sides nothing but mutually exclusive differences and contradictions. The Hyksos came in great numbers into Egypt ; they came suddenly and unexpectedly ; they came as enemies and conquerors ; they murdered, plundered, devastated, and governed for five hundred and eleven years ; and then they were overcome and compelled to depart. When the Israelites came, there were only seventy of them, with two or three thousand servants at the most ; they first received permission to come ; they came as suitors seeking protection ; they lived peacefully among the Egyptians, but after a short time the latter oppressed, ill-treated, and enslaved them ;

they then begged and entreated for permission to depart, but all in vain, &c.

Hofmann (*Studien und Kritiken*, p. 408) tries to persuade us, that we only need to forget a very little of the account of *Manetho*, in order to convince ourselves that all the rest harmonises very well with the history of the Israelites, as given in the *Pentateuch*. "If," he says, "for a moment we overlook the fact, that the Israelites did *not* enter Egypt by force of arms, and did not conquer the land" (and, *we* may add, a few other trifles, *e.g.*, the capture of the princes of the land, some of whom they slew, making slaves of the rest with their wives and children; the choice of a king from among themselves; his residing at Memphis; the fortification of the city of Avaris; the annual military exercises; the names of the successors of Salatis; the eventual appearance of a family belonging to the national dynasty; the tedious war of liberty; the siege of Avaris; and other things besides—if all this could be forgotten for a moment) "then the rest *applies to the Israelites very well.*" And what is the rest? To the Egyptians they certainly were *ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος Ἰσημοί*; they had come to Egypt without a conflict; Avaris was situated to the east of the Bubastic arm of the Nile, and that was also the situation of Goshen; and the fortification of the eastern frontier we might find in the building of the two arsenals Pitom and Raemeses, though they were built by *forced labour* (this, of course, it would also be necessary to forget).

We will now, *secondly*, take as our starting-point, *the statements of Manetho* himself; that we may see whether we can thus arrive at the conclusion, that the Hyksos and the Israelites were the same. In addition to the account of the Hyksos, *Manetho* gives a description of the banishment of some leprous Egyptians, whose leader and lawgiver is called Moyses (§ 43. 2). As it cannot be questioned that this second account refers to the Israelites, who are described as banished Egyptian lepers, the two accounts are regarded by all who identify the Hyksos with the Israelites, as different versions of the same legend. But a comparison of the two will show that they are radically different; so different that it is impossible to discover any common ground, from which we may deduce the one primary legend that gave rise to the others. One thing which renders it impossible to establish any such connexion between the two accounts, is the

fact that the second presupposes the first, and evinces a perfect consciousness of the difference between the Hyksos and the lepers, since the former are called to the assistance of the latter and unite with them. According to *Josephus*, *Manetho* places the expulsion of the lepers 518 years later than that of the Hyksos, and therefore must have been very far from supposing that they were identical. It is true that, for his own part, he has no great confidence in the credibility of the second account, but he has introduced it in its chronological order into his historical work. He must, therefore, have detected some historical germ, which rendered it possible for him to assign it a proper chronological position in his history; and his doubts as to the credibility of the narrative can only have had respect to its fanciful and fabulous dress. And the more his candid expressions of doubt, as to the perfect credibility of the second account, prove him to be a modest and sincere enquirer; the greater confidence shall we be able to place, not merely in the historical character of the first account, the trustworthiness of which he does not at all suspect, but also in the results of his enquiry, namely, that the two accounts refer to different persons, different events, and different times.

In judging of the statements of *Manetho*, we must carefully distinguish between the *Israelites of the Pentateuch* and the *Jews* of his age. It is only the former that are to be identified with *Manetho's* lepers. The Jews of later times he supposes to have originated in a combination of the Hyksos and the lepers. And we shall see presently that this view is not so thoroughly unfounded and unhistorical as we might at the first glance be led to suppose; but that, on the contrary, it receives a certain measure of support from a passing remark in the *Pentateuch* itself (*cf.* § 45. 4).

§ 45. There is a threefold difference, in the opinions entertained by those who agree that the Hyksos and Israelites were not the same, with regard to the relation in which they stood to each other. Some refuse to admit that they were connected in any way whatever, and assign the expulsion of the Hyksos to a period anterior to the days of Abraham and Joseph. This is

the conclusion at which *Lepsius* has arrived, chiefly as the result of chronological calculations (1). According to another view, of which *Saalschütz* is the representative, the new king, who is said in Ex. i. 8 to have begun to oppress the Israelites, was the first king of the Hyksos dynasty (2). The third hypothesis, and the one which has met with the most general adoption in modern times, assumes that the Hyksos dynasty was in power when the Israelites went into Egypt, that it was by this dynasty that so much favour was shown, and that as soon as a national dynasty recovered the supremacy (Ex. i. 8), the Israelites were hated and oppressed as the friends and protégés of those who had been expelled (3). As an impartial examination of Egyptological researches, with their arbitrary methods of procedure and contradictory results, necessarily leads us to the conclusion, that no reliable means have yet been discovered of threading the labyrinth of Egyptian *chronology*, and that it is scarcely likely that any will be found; our safest plan will be to compare and combine the *actual* data in our possession. These are to be found, on the one hand, in the Pentateuch history, and on the other in the accounts given by *Manetho*. We are both warranted and constrained to make such a combination, by the general testimony of the earliest traditions and investigations up to the time of *Manetho*, to the effect that the Hyksos and Israelites were contemporaneous, and that there was some connexion between their histories. And when we compare the two, we find so much to support the third view referred to above, that we feel no hesitation in adopting it as our own (4).

(1.) The general features of the view entertained by *LEPSIUS* are the following: About the year 2100 B.C., during the period of the twelfth (the second Theban) dynasty, the Hyksos, a warlike pastoral tribe of Semitic origin, entered Egypt from the east, conquered the land without resistance, took possession of Memphis, adopted it as their own capital, and imposed tribute

upon the upper and lower parts of the land. About 430 years afterwards, (in the year 1661), the native kings, who had maintained their independence partly in Upper Egypt and partly in Ethiopia, advanced from the south, and after a long (eighty years') war succeeded in expelling the Hyksos from their last stronghold, Avaris (the Pelusium of later times), and drove them back upon Syria, after they had been in Egypt 511 years. They now numbered some hundreds of thousands, and had probably received as much benefit from the culture they met with in this highly cultivated land of art and science, as the latter had received of obstruction and injury from them. Being expelled from Egypt, they were obliged to seek a new home in *Palestine*. This led to fresh expulsions and emigrations, and probably issued in the division of the Hyksos and their dispersion in different directions. The expulsion of the Hyksos took place under king Thummosis, *i.e.*, Thuthmosis III. Almost two hundred years elapsed after this, before the Israelites went down into Egypt; and both their immigration and their departure, after a sojourn of hardly a hundred years, occurred under the nineteenth dynasty. *Sethos I.* (1445—1394; called *Sesostris* by the Greeks), was the Pharaoh who was on the throne when Joseph was brought into Egypt; his son *Ramses II.*, Miamun the Great (1394—1328), was the king at whose court Moses was educated; and *his* son *Menephtes* (1328—1309), the Amenophis of Josephus, was the Pharaoh of the exodus. The exodus itself took place in the year 1314.—The second account of *Manetho* refers to the Israelites. The statement that they were lepers was not an Egyptian calumny, but a fact; leprosy being at that time a prevalent disease among the Israelites in Egypt. This is proved by the Mosaic laws with reference to leprosy, and by the history of Miriam (Num. xii. 14)!!

For the present, we will allow that the author is correct in his assertion, that the three great Pharaohs reigned at the periods assigned them. But he will never persuade us, to say nothing of convincing us, that their reigns coincided with those periods in the history of Israel to which he refers. So long as any confidence is placed in the credibility of the Pentateuch and the Old Testament history in general, the combinations which *Lepsius* has made will be rejected as baseless and visionary; but they will excite no less astonishment at the arbitrary nature of his

criticism, and the recklessness with which the sacred records are handled, than at the extraordinary amount of learning and ingenuity displayed in the treatment of the subject. In support of his view *Lepsius* says (*Realencyclopädie* i. 145): "The strongest confirmation is to be found in the fact, that there is one circumstance mentioned in the Mosaic narrative itself, which points in the most conclusive manner to the period to which we have assigned it. We refer to the building of the cities *Pithom* and *Raemeses* by the Jews, under the predecessor of the Pharaoh of the exodus, and therefore under *Raemeses* II. We know from other authorities, that this most powerful Pharaoh had many canals cut and new cities built, and particularly that he projected the canal connecting the Red Sea with the Nile, at the western end of which was *Pithom* and at the eastern *Raemeses* (= *Abu-Keishid*). Among the ruins of this city there is still to be seen a group, consisting of two gods, with the deified *Ramses* II. on a throne between them." With regard to the last two circumstances, we refer the reader to § 41. 1, where we have pointed out the impossibility of the identity of *Abu-Keishid* and the ancient *Raemeses*. We here make the additional remark, that as early as the time of *Joseph* there probably existed a city named *Raemeses* (§ 1. 5 and § 41. 2); and, though the city is said to have been built either by or under a king *Raemeses*, it is impossible to see why this may not have taken place just as well under an earlier king of that name.

Again, *Lepsius* lays great stress upon the fact, that in *Manetho's* second account *Amenophis* is mentioned as the king who expelled the lepers (*i.e.*, the Israelites). As this *Amenophis* (*Africanus* reads *Amenophthis*) is described as the son of a *Ramses* and the father of a *Sethos*, he cannot have been any other than the *Menephtes* of the nineteenth dynasty, whose father was *Ramses* II. and his son *Sethos* II. At first sight there is certainly something surprising in this coincidence. But when we consider, that *Manetho* himself describes the whole legend concerning the expulsion of the lepers as *ἰδεσπότως μυθολογούμενα*, and reckons 518 years from the expulsion of the Hyksos to the reign of this king *Amenophis*, it is very natural to suppose that he has made a mistake, in the position assigned to this uncertain legend in the history that he took from the sacred writings, and has placed it some centuries too late. In the

eighteenth dynasty the name Amenophis (Amenophthis in *Africanus*) repeatedly occurs. We might be more easily led to think of one of these kings, say of Amenophis III., or the Great, whom the Greeks called Memnon, since he lived about fifteen hundred years before Christ, and therefore at the period assigned to the exodus in the biblical chronology (480 years before the erection of Solomon's temple). *Manetho*, who was not acquainted with the biblical data, from which he might have obtained a safe criterion for fixing the true position of the exodus, could very easily be led into such a mistake.

On these grounds, then, though professedly from the greatest respect to the biblical records, the scriptural chronology and history are cut down and mutilated in the most miserable and arbitrary manner, to form a Procrustes' bed for the chronology of these three kings. The author proposes the question "whether the Old Testament accounts contradict the Egyptian (*i.e.*, as *he* has explained the latter), in such a manner that the Egyptian must necessarily be declared erroneous;" and to this he replies, "on the contrary, the Egyptian history, which is of so definite a character, apparently receives the most decided confirmation from the Hebrew records, provided we assume that there is an error in the reckoning of the interval between the exodus and the building of the temple, which reckoning, at all events (?), was not introduced till a later age. According to 1 Kings vi. 1 this interval was 480 years, a period which neither tallies with the different numbers given in the Book of Judges, nor with the *Septuagint* reading, nor with the reckoning of the author of the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xiii. 20), and which was not even regarded by *Josephus* himself as correct (Ant. viii. 3. 1; c. Apion ii. 2). In most of these cases the number of years is said to have been *still greater*; but an unprejudiced (?) examination and comparison of the genealogical tables, of which the Levitical deserves the greatest confidence, and a computation of the intervening numbers, lead to the conclusion that the interval was considerably shorter, and the number obtained is just such as we should expect, provided the Egyptian tradition with regard to the epoch of the exodus be correct."—The Levitical genealogies only mention three generations, from the time of the entrance into Egypt to that of the exodus (Levi, Kohath, Amram), and only ten or twelve from that period to Zadok (the high priest

under Solomon). Now as *Lepsius*, quite arbitrarily and erroneously, gives only thirty years as the length of a generation; the Israelites, according to his opinion, can only have been ninety years in Egypt instead of 430, and the building of the temple must have taken place 300 years afterwards instead of 486 (*cf.* Chronologie i. 367 sqq.). And in the same way, since the period which elapsed between the entrance of Abraham into Canaan, and Jacob's going down to Egypt, only embraced three generations, this cannot have been longer than ninety years. To this we reply (1), that when the Old Testament speaks of a generation, it means something very different from modern statistics, the *Pentateuch*, according to Gen. xv. 13—16 (*cf.* Ex. i. 6), regarding it as embracing at least 100 years, instead of thirty, during the patriarchal and Mosaic period (*cf.* § 14. 1); —(2), that *four* generations, and not *three*, are mentioned as included in the period of the Israelitish sojourn in Egypt (Levi, Kohath, Amram, and Aaron), for Aaron was eighty-three years old at the time of the exodus;—(3), that during the same period *six* generations are named in Joseph's family, *seven* in Judah's, and as many as *ten* in Ephraim's (*cf.* § 14. 1). But *Lepsius* cannot make use of such facts as these, and therefore he declares that "they are evidently in a state of confusion, and lead to no result," *i.e.*, they do not square with our critic's premises, and lead to a result which he does not like. In our opinion, however, these different accounts prove with indisputable certainty, what we repeatedly find on other occasions in the biblical genealogies, that in some instances individual members are omitted, and in others several are linked together. The reason for such combinations we have already explained at § 14. 1.

Again, *Lepsius* points to the fact that "the correct view" (that is, his own), has been *retained* (?!) by the Rabbins. For example, according to the Rabbinical chronology, which was first invented by *Hillel ha Nassi* in the year 344 of the Christian era, and gradually met with general adoption, the exodus occurred in the year 2448, from the creation of the world, that is in the year 1314 B.C., according to the Christian mode of reckoning. The fact that this Jewish era was not heard of till the fourth century, and moreover, that nearly all the data, on which it is founded, are false, that is, at variance with the

calculations of *Lepsius*, does not affect the question—the year 1314 B.C. suits his purpose, and therefore the Rabbins have *retained* the correct view! Now according to all the previous calculations with reference to the biblical chronology, viz., that of the *Septuagint* translators, of *Josephus*, of the chronological tradition (which was followed by *Stephen*), and of the Christian chronographers and others, 480 years was *far too short* a period for the events which occurred between the exodus and the building of the temple; and yet *Lepsius* finds *in the same fact* a support for his opinion, that this period of 480 years was *much too long* to be regarded as correct!!!

Hence, without further discussion, we must reject this reduction of the chronological data of the Bible from 430 and 480 years to 90 and 300; for the simple reason, that the history of the period referred to does not admit of any such reduction. We shall defer, to a later period, the proof that the same remark also applies to the interval between the exodus and the building of the temple. But with regard to the earlier period, it is so very conspicuous, that we can only wonder at the facility, with which it could be ignored or set aside. We will pass over the fact, that if there is any chronological datum of the Old Testament, which has all the probabilities in favour of its correctness, this is certainly the case with the history of the 430 years' sojourn in Egypt. Suffice it to say, that it would be difficult to persuade any one, that a family of seventy souls, with not more than 2000 servants, increased to two millions in ninety years. *Lepsius* will probably meet this objection with the favourite explanation of *Ewald* and others, that Jacob, Joseph, and his brethren are not to be regarded as the heads of single families, but as the representatives of whole tribes. If so, let him candidly affirm that the *Pentateuch* does not contain a *history*, but an *unhistorical myth*, and then we shall no longer have occasion to argue with him. Besides, it is not *merely* the *single* number 430, which has to be set aside. There are many other numerical statements in the books of Genesis and Exodus, which are most closely intertwined with the historical narrative, and must also be explained away; and of these *Herr Lepsius* will not be able to affirm that "they were at all events introduced at a later period." For example, according to Ex. vii. 7, Moses was eighty years old when he first entered upon the con-

troversy with Pharaoh respecting the exodus. Hence he must have been born ten years after the Israelites went down to Egypt. How does this square with the other data contained in Genesis and Exodus? Joseph was seventeen years old, when he was taken to Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 2), and he died there at the age of 110 years (Gen. l. 22, 26), after he had seen the sons of Ephraim of the *third* generation (Gen. l. 23). Moreover, Joseph was thirty years old when he was promoted by Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 46). Nine years afterwards his brethren came down to Egypt (Gen. xlv. 6). Hence Joseph lived seventy-one years after their entrance into the land. Now we read in Ex. i. 6 seq. : "And Joseph died, and all his brethren, even all that generation. And the children of Israel were fruitful and multiplied, and became very mighty, and the land was full of them." And it was not till after this, that the oppression and tributary service first began. But as these precautions did not suffice to restrain the extraordinary increase of the people (and certainly some decennia must have passed before this fact could be ascertained), the command was issued to murder all the new born boys, and *then* Moses was born. Who can read this and come to any other conclusion than that the period which elapsed between the entrance into Egypt and the birth of Moses, must have embraced at least a couple of hundred years? But according to the chronology of *Lepsius* there are only ten years left for the whole!—And how are we to understand the statement in Ex. i. 8 : "And there arose a *new* king, who did not know Joseph?" We have already seen at § 14. 4, that there is every reason, both historical and philological, for regarding these words as the announcement of the rise of a new dynasty. Still we shall not insist upon this, as the arguments advanced there are certainly not absolutely conclusive. But with all the greater emphasis we enquire: how is it conceivable, that if *Joseph* filled a post of such extraordinary importance under the Pharaoh *Sethos I.*, as even *Lepsius* admits that he did, his son and successor, *Ramses II.*, should have known nothing whatever about him?

What we have already said will surely suffice to convince any one, who has the slightest confidence in the credibility of the *Pentateuch*, that the boasted discovery of the *Lepsius*-criticism is an untenable and baseless illusion, to which we can only exclaim, *transeat cum ceteris!* Still there is one more utterance of the

critic, which is of so striking a nature, that it well deserves to be mentioned. In the *Real-lexicon*, p. 146, we read: "Thus it was under this king, the greatest of the nineteenth dynasty (Ramses the Great), that Moses, the great man of God, was born; and under his successor, whom *Herodotus* (2. 111) mentions by the name of Pherôs (Pharaoh), and describes as a haughty and wicked king who was punished with blindness on that account, Moses led his people away and founded the first Jewish theocracy by the law which was given at Sinai; just as we find that thirteen hundred years afterwards, when the revolution of the world's history was complete, Christ was born under Augustus, the greatest emperor of the Graeco-Roman world, and the second, or Christian theocracy, was established by his death, under Tiberius, the Roman Pherôs."—Does it not appear as though the author was desirous of conciliating and quieting the Christian readers of the *Real-encyklopädie*, whose sacred relic, the credibility of the *Pentateuch*, he had completely destroyed, and therefore offered them this historiosophical trinket, which he fancied would suit their taste?—For our own part, though by no means prejudiced against historiosophy, we must certainly beg to be excused from bartering so important a portion of the Bible and of history, for any historiosophical idea, however great its attractions may be.

STARK (ut sup.) differs from *Lepsius* in this respect, that he supposes the Hyksos to have been tribes of lower Egypt and therefore of genuine Hamitic descent, who had been once before in power as a Herakleopolitan dynasty, and who, after their expulsion, took possession of the coast immediately adjoining Egypt under the name of Philistines. Consult, on the other hand, *Lepsius* (in the theol. Real-encycl. i. 149).

(2). SAALSCHÜTZ, in the work referred to above, has set up the clever and carefully developed hypothesis, that the new king, with whom, according to Ex. i. 8, the oppressions of the Israelites commenced, was the first king of the Hyksos-dynasty, that the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea coincided with the overthrow of that dynasty, and lastly, that the next (national) king Sesosis (Sethos, Sesostris), who is described by *Josephus* as Σεθῶν τὸν καὶ Ραμεσσήν, was the same Ramesses, who is celebrated in the obelisk-inscription of Hermapion (cited by *Am-mianus Marcellinus*) as: ὃς ἐφύλαξεν Αἴγυπτου τοὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς

νικήσας and πληρώσας τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Φοίνικος ἀγαθῶν. The armed supremacy of the Hyksos over a portion of Egypt lasted about eighty-one years, for it probably commenced shortly after the birth of Aaron, which took place before the command to kill the children had been issued. The second of *Manetho's* accounts is supposed by *Saalschütz* to be identical with the first (as everything is done by the Hyksos in both cases), but both of them are set down as equally confused and incredible.—According to *Saalschütz* (p. 95), the Hyksos were Philistines, or Gathites. In support of this he refers to 1 Chr. vii. 21, which passage he explains in a totally different manner from his former exposition (*vid.* § 18. 1). According to his present interpretation the Gathites, who were born in the land (*i.e.*, on Egyptian territory), had come down to Egypt to steal cattle, and it was on that occasion that they were massacred by the Ephraimites (p. 96).—We cannot subscribe to this view, for it neither appears to us to do justice to *Manetho's* first account, which we regard as essentially trustworthy, nor to be reconcilable with the statements of Scripture.

(3). Among the scholars of modern times, who suppose that the Israelites entered Egypt during the Hyksos-period, the first that we shall name is BUNSEN. Whilst *Eusebius* and *Georgius Syncellus* recognise only *one* Hyksos dynasty, which they call the seventeenth, *Julius Africanus* speaks of *three* Hyksos-dynasties, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, the first of which continued 284 years, the second 518, and the third 151. *Bunsen* adopts most fully the statement of *Africanus*, and maintains that *Josephus* has arbitrarily selected the second number, 518 (511), and given that out as the sum total of all the Hyksos reigns, in order that he may be able to establish the identity of the Israelites (with their 430 years) and the Hyksos (with their not very different number of 511 years). After certain other critical operations he arrives eventually at the result, that the Hyksos supremacy lasted in all 929 years. Into farther discussions respecting the origin and history of the Hyksos, or their relation to the Israelites, he does not at present enter; but he so far anticipates the result of future investigations as to pronounce the Hyksos “Canaanitish tribes probably associated with *Bedouins* of northern Arabia.” We must therefore wait for the rest, before we can enter into a thorough examination of his views.

EWALD (Gesch. i. 450 sqq.) describes the Hyksos as Hebrew tribes, related to the Israelites, who had forced an entrance into Egypt long before the Israelites wandered thither. Whilst he succeeds, on such an assumption, in making it very intelligible, why the Israelites met with so good a reception in Egypt, he resorts to fanciful conjurings in order to get rid of the difficulty, that, at the time of Joseph's promotion, everything about the court seems to have been of a thoroughly national, Egyptian character, and that the protégés of the Hyksos, the Israelites, were *not* banished along with their protectors by the returning national dynasty. For example, Joseph came to Egypt as the hero and leader of a smaller Hebrew tribe, some centuries after the more powerful tribe of the Hyksos, and at first under the protection of the latter. But, after a time, some disagreement probably arose between the tribe represented by Joseph and the more powerful ruling tribe of the Hyksos, which caused the former much distress. The only reference which is made to this in the book of Genesis is found in the account of the scene with Potiphar's wife, and the consequent imprisonment of Joseph. This led the smaller tribe of Joseph to attach itself to a native Egyptian ruler, to whom it rendered assistance, when the Theban and other kings of Egypt rose against the Hyksos; and, in particular, it made itself serviceable to Egypt by summoning the other and more powerful portion of Israel, to assist in defending the eastern boundary against any fresh invasion on the part of the Hyksos. But as this danger gradually diminished, the presence of so warlike and well-armed a people, as Israel was, began to be regarded by the Egyptians as in itself an evil. Hence the friendly relation, which had previously existed, was disturbed; collisions took place; the old hatred towards the Hyksos, who had been banished some centuries before, was now directed towards the Israelites who were their relations; and Egyptian kings at length commenced that oppression, of which we have a description in the book of Exodus, and which eventually stirred up the people to successful rebellion under the guidance of Moses and Aaron. Moreover, notwithstanding the great alterations which ages had made, the original bond of friendship between the Israelites and the rest of the Hyksos was renewed, and hence we find Moses entering into alliance with the princes of the tribe of Midian, which formed a part of the numerous collection

of tribes included in the term Hyksos, which also embraced the Amalakites. *Sic!*

Far more simple and natural is the view, formerly taken by *Heeren*, and more recently advocated by *Bertheau*, *Lengerke*, *Knobel*, and others. They also regard the Hyksos as Hebrews in a wider sense (*Knobel* in his *Schrift über die Völkertafel* calls them Amalekites, *Bertheau* names them Terachites). The national, Egyptian physiognomy, which was characteristic of the court in Joseph's days, is accounted for on the supposition that the victorious Hyksos had by that time adopted the culture, the language, the customs, and the religion of the subjugated national Egyptians. The oppression of the Israelites they suppose to have commenced with the restoration of the national dynasty, after the expulsion of the Hyksos.

(4). *Our own view* is essentially the same as that of *Bertheau*, *Lengerke*, and *Knobel*. We should merely be inclined to substitute a different conjecture with regard to the *origin of the Hyksos*. We cannot believe them to have been a Terahite people, since according to the book of Genesis the formation and organisation of the Terahite tribes (Vol. i. § 46. 6), belonged to the time of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whereas the Hyksos must have established their power in Egypt at a much earlier period. We should be more disposed to fix upon the Amalekites; provided, that is, they are not to be traced to Amalek, the Edomite mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 16, but to be regarded, as *Ewald*, *Knobel*, and others suggest, as a much older Semitic race (*cf.* Vol. iii. § 4. 2).

However, the positive arguments, which could be adduced in support of this opinion, are not of much weight. *Delitzsch* has lately pointed out with perfect justice, that we cannot attach much value to the Moslemite testimony quoted by *Abulfeda* (hist. anteisl. ed. Fleisch. p. 178), according to which the Pharaohs of the time of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, belonged to the tribe of Amalika (see *Delitzsch* Genesis ii. 221); and the etymological attempt, to show that the meaning of the name Amalek coincides with that of the name Hyksos (חֲכָסִים or חֲכָסִים = חֲכָסִים, small cattle, and מֶלֶךְ, king, from which by the hardening of the כ into ק we get the name עֲמֻלִּים, kings of flocks, or shepherd-kings) is not considered of much importance even by its originator, *Saalschütz* (p. 95). On the other hand there is great pro-

bability, that the Hyksos were either a Semitic tribe, or a tribe with a Semitic language, partly because they came from the districts, in which the formation of the Semitic tribes originally took place, and partly because the name of the city of *Avaris* or *Abaris* has undoubtedly a Semitic sound. (The name of the first Hyksos-king, *Salatis*, also called *Silites*, has less bearing upon this question, since its primary form was probably *Saites*, cf. § 44. 3, 4).

In opposition to the notion, "that the Hyksos were a *Semitic* tribe, though they were not Israelites," *Delitzsch* (Gen. ii. 75) urges the objection, from a scriptural point of view, that the people of Egypt, who oppressed the Israelites, appear throughout the whole of the Old Testament as a foreign nation, in no way related to Israel; that the very reason why the house of Israel was led into Egypt was that whilst growing into a nation, they might be far removed from the danger of intermarrying; and therefore that the idea of relationship is completely excluded. However, we cannot see that there is any great force in either of these objections. For to the *first* it is sufficient to reply, that the Egyptians, who oppressed Israel, were not the Hyksos, but the national rulers who had once more recovered the supremacy. And the *second* disappears quite as quickly, when we consider that the relationship may have been nothing more than a common Semitic origin, and that, on the other hand, the Hyksos had already adopted the speech, and manners, and religion of Egypt, at the time when the Israelites found a welcome reception there.

It is stated in *Manetho's* account, as given by *Josephus*, that there were some who regarded the Hyksos as *Arabs*, but the opinion is not cited as of much worth. According to *Eusebius* and *Georgius Syncellus*, *Manetho* himself appears to have thought them *Phœnicians*. And there are many who think, that there is some indication of this in the account given by *Herodotus* of the shepherd *Philitis*, who had led his sheep as far as to Memphis; inasmuch as the Phœnicians and Philistines were both included in the one common term *Palestinians*. But all these statements are so fluctuating and uncertain, that we cannot build much upon them. Yet when we add the fact, that after the expulsion of the Hyksos, they withdrew to Judea (= Palestine), probably to the country from which they had originally

come, the opinion referred to becomes somewhat more plausible. And if we enquire further, whether there were other known migrations of any importance, in the pre-Abrahamic times, which might have occasioned their departure from Palestine; we are led at once to think of the forcible expulsion of the (Semitic) aborigines of Palestine by the Canaanitish tribes. But as there are other reasons, which render it probable that the immigration of the Canaanites into Palestine was of a friendly character (Vol. i. § 45. 1), and, therefore, could hardly have occasioned the departure of the original inhabitants, there is very little to sustain such an opinion.

On the other hand, we may be allowed to call attention to another feature of the case, which has hitherto received but little notice. *Manetho*, as quoted by *Josephus*, says that the Hyksos had strongly fortified the eastern boundary of Egypt, for the purpose of securing themselves against any attack from the *Assyrians*, who were at that time very powerful. This statement, to which commentators have not attached sufficient importance, appears to me to be of very great value, in assisting us to reply to the question now before us. If the Hyksos had such particular reason for fearing an invasion on the part of the Assyrians, they must already have stood in a hostile relation to each other, and on some previous occasion have been engaged in actual conflict. It is probable, therefore, that the Hyksos may have been dislodged from their possessions by the Assyrians; and if this were the case, it would naturally lead them to fear, that on the first favourable opportunity the latter would follow them to their new settlements, for the purpose of completing their subjugation. Let it not be said in objection to this, that it is improbable that the Hyksos, who had fled from the Assyrians, should be strong enough to conquer Egypt, which was then in its prime;—for *Manetho's* account informs us that Egypt was slumbering in peace and security, and submitted to the foreigners without the slightest resistance. Still this hypothesis can only be firmly established by testimony from other quarters, to the fact that such warlike expeditions were actually undertaken by the Assyrians, before the time of Abraham. And the book of *Genesis* appears to offer the testimony we want. There is nothing at variance with *Manetho's* account in the supposition, that at that time the Assyrians were the possessors

of the cultivated lands on the Euphrates and Tigris. And the remarkable account contained in Gen. xiv., which all critics acknowledge to be trustworthy, indisputably proves, that before the time of Abraham expeditions had issued thence for the purpose of conquest, and had proceeded westwards as far as to Palestine. The rule of Chedorlaomer over the Pentapolis of the vale of Siddim was probably all that remained of more extensive conquests. If we duly consider these memorable circumstances, in connexion with the statements made by *Manetho*; the conjecture that the Hyksos were Canaanites,—either the Semitic aborigines of Canaan, or immigrants into Canaan who had adopted Semitic customs (Vol. i. § 45. 1, inaccurately termed Phœnicians or Philistines, *i.e.*, inhabitants of Palestine), but who subsequently yielded to the invasion of the Assyrians and sought out new settlements for themselves in Egypt,—may, perhaps, at least, deserve a place *by the side of* so many other conjectures, which certainly rest on no surer foundation. And there is the greater probability in this, since, as will presently appear, the journey of Abraham into Egypt (Gen. xii. 10) most likely took place but a very short time after the Hyksos had established themselves in the land.

But, whether we are correct in this conjecture or not, we must in any case adhere most firmly to the conclusion, that the immigration of the Israelites occurred during the period of the Hyksos supremacy, and that the restoration of the national dynasty was followed by their oppression. The objections to this conclusion (in *Hengstenberg* p. 160; *Lepsius*, *Realencyclopädie* i. 146; *Saalschütz* p. 56, and others), so far as they have any force, may be reduced to two: *viz.*, (1), that at the time of Jacob and Joseph everything connected with the Egyptian court, language, customs, culture, and religion, was of a thoroughly national, Egyptian character; and (2) that the Israelites were not banished along with the Hyksos when the national dynasty was restored, as we should expect them to have been if they were their protégés and friends. Our first remark, in reply to this, is that the two arguments cancel each other. For if the first be correct, and in general it must be admitted that it is so, the second necessarily loses its force. If, when the Israelites entered the land, the Hyksos had so thoroughly adopted the language and religion, the culture and the customs of Egypt, as the history

of Joseph shows that they had; this would suffice at the very outset to establish such a wall of separation between the two, as to prevent any closer amalgamation. Moreover, the second argument has all the less weight, seeing that the banishment of the Hyksos was probably by no means universal, as we shall presently show.

Undoubtedly there appears to be an irreconcilable difference between the Hyksos rulers, as they are described in the extract from *Manetho* preserved by *Josephus*, and the court life of Egypt at the time of Jacob and Joseph, as it is represented in the book of Genesis. The Hyksos attack the national Egyptians with the fiercest cruelty, destroy the national temples and sacred relics, and maltreat the priests. On the other hand, in Joseph's time, the language and customs of Egypt prevailed at court; the king took the title of Pharaoh like the national rulers; and his courtiers had genuine Egyptian names (*e. g.* Potiphar); Joseph himself received an Egyptian name; the peculiar worship of Egypt was in full bloom; the Egyptian priests were highly esteemed, their privileges were recognised and increased, and the national dislike of the shepherd-life was undiminished. But, however glaring these differences may appear at first sight, they are by no means irreconcilable, if we take into account the difference in the periods referred to. All that *Manetho* says with reference to the cruelty, the harshness, and the spirit of destruction manifested by the Hyksos, applies merely to the time of the first invasion, and at most to the first six kings, whose names he gives. Besides, we are warranted in assuming that *Manetho*, as an Egyptian, or more probably still, the priestly sources to which he went for information, indulged their hatred of the foreign rule, by painting in the most glaring colours the injury inflicted upon their native land. But even granting that the whole is literally correct, it must still be admitted that the Hyksos cannot possibly have succeeded in completely exterminating the religion and culture, the language and customs of Egypt; for any people, and most of all, a people of such firmness and marked peculiarity as the Egyptians, would keep fast hold of these possessions under the pressure of the severest bondage. And even *Manetho* himself attests that such was not the case, since he states that the Hyksos subjugated the national rulers and made them tributary. This presupposes, as *Bunsen* (iii. 1 p. 33) correctly observes, that they not

only left them alive, but allowed them to live in conformity with their previous habits. And if the customs of Egypt stood this first shock, no other result was possible, than that its manners and customs, which were most intimately related to its language and religion, should slowly and gradually, yet certainly and inevitably, exert their silent influence upon the rude and uncultivated conquerors. What has so often been repeated since then, in the history of the world, would be sure to occur in this instance; namely, that the barbarous conquerors of a cultivated people would very soon be conquered; themselves, by the overwhelming mental power possessed by the nation they had vanquished. Thus did the barbarous conquerors of China adopt its religion, its speech, and its customs; and thus also did the Germanic tribes adopt those of the conquered provinces of Rome. If, then, we reflect that at the time when the Israelites entered Egypt, the Hyksos must have been some centuries in the land; there is nothing to astonish us in the fact that the language and customs of Egypt prevailed in the court of the Hyksos, especially as there are evident signs that these adopted manners were by no means assimilated, but rather resembled a coating of varnish that had been merely laid upon the surface.

When *Abraham* took refuge in Egypt on account of a famine (Gen. xii. 10 sqq.), the supremacy of the Hyksos had existed for some time, as certain facts and chronological calculations most clearly show. But at that time there was no trace of the hatred of shepherds, so conspicuous in *Joseph's* days. The Pharaoh of that day, as well as his court, did not hesitate to associate with them even in public. The king himself, who was desirous of doing honour to the Nomad Emir (as his future brother-in-law), sent him liberal presents of sheep, oxen, and asses, man-servants and maid-servants, she-asses and camels. Did that look like a national ruler? was it not much more appropriate for a shepherd-king? Two hundred years afterwards, when *Joseph* was in Egypt, the physiognomy of the court was completely changed. The language, customs, and religion of Egypt were then predominant at court; and a pastoral life was so far an offence, that it was unseemly for a courtier, as well as for the national Egyptians, to eat with shepherds (Gen. xliii. 32). But these were merely matters of expediency, to which the king and the court had seen fit to conform. Circumstances were repeatedly occur-

ring, which proved that this was nothing more than an external adoption of the customs and notions of the country. That the ruling Pharaoh could venture to naturalise Joseph, the foreigner, the slave, and the shepherd's son, to place him in one of the highest posts of honour, and to give him a wife from the most distinguished priestly family, was a thing so thoroughly opposed to the national habits of the Egyptians, that we cannot conceive it to have been possible in the case of a native king, and are almost forced to assume the existence of a foreign and despotic government. Moreover, this Pharaoh was still the owner of large herds of cattle, for which he selected herdsmen from the immigrant Israelites. But such was the utter abhorrence in which a shepherd life was held by the Egyptians, that the wealth of a *national* ruler would have been much more likely to consist of landed property than of herds of cattle. The Hyksos rulers, however, most probably despised agriculture at first, just as much as the Egyptians despised a pastoral life; and hence it is very likely, that when they conquered Egypt they neglected to reserve a sufficient quantity of arable land. But the more thoroughly they entered into the habits of the Egyptians, the more sensible must they have become of the disadvantage under which they laboured, and Joseph very properly thought of providing a remedy (Gen. xlvii.). Just as irreconcilable with the idea of a *native* government, is the unhesitating readiness with which a pastoral tribe, like that of the Israelites, was welcomed into the land; especially if the Hyksos period was already past, as *Lepsius* believes. For in this case the recollection of the sufferings of that period would have been most vivid, the hatred of shepherds would have been at its height, and the danger of an offensive alliance between the immigrants and the banished Hyksos or other pastoral tribes of the East would immediately suggest itself. And yet these are the circumstances under which the Israelites are supposed to have been welcome (!), the best provinces being allotted to them, and even the gates and keys of the whole country being placed in their hands! Joseph advised his brethren to tell Pharaoh, without hesitation, that they were nomads: a poor recommendation, one would think, in the estimation of a national ruler. The aged patriarch, Jacob, took upon himself to bless the Egyptian king;—would a native ruler, with his national pride and his detestation of shepherds,

have allowed such a thing to be offered to him by a despised shepherd-chieftain? And when Jacob died, the whole of the court and the elders of the land of Egypt formed a funeral procession, with chariots and horsemen, in honour of the unclean shepherd-chief, who was notwithstanding an abomination in their eyes! According to 1 Chr. iv. 18, one of Pharaoh's daughters, named Bitjah, was married to Merod, an Israelite. How is this conceivable, if the reigning house at that time had ceased to have any sympathy with shepherds?

Some centuries had elapsed since *Joseph's* time, when a new king arose, who knew nothing of Joseph (Ex. i. 8, cf. § 14. 4). The Hyksos had been banished, a native ruler (of the eighteenth dynasty) had recovered the throne, which had for centuries been occupied by usurpers. How intelligible and natural, that such a ruler should know nothing of Joseph, or rather should not wish to know anything of him! If the previous dynasty owed the maintenance of its supremacy to the wise measures devised by Joseph, and if the immigration of the Israelites, a people connected with them by their similar mode of life, and possibly also by descent, was a welcome event to them, the very opposite must have been the case with the new and native dynasty. From the very outset the Israelites, both as a pastoral race and also as the friends and protégés of the Hyksos, must have been an object of hatred and disgust. Moreover, this shepherd-race had grown to be a numerous people, probably even more numerous than the national Egyptians, who had just recovered their freedom and their independence; and they dwelt in that part of the land in which their presence would be most dangerous, if it should ever occur to them to enter into alliance with the enemies of Egypt outside (Ex. i. 10). How natural that the new dynasty should seek to oppress, to weaken, and to enslave a people which was so dangerous in its estimation! The Israelites were forced to render tributary service; they had to make bricks, and build fortresses. How thoroughly does this suit the character of the eighteenth dynasty! The Hyksos had destroyed so many ancient monuments, that the fresh dynasty determined to renew these objects of Egypt's pride; and it was actually under this dynasty, that the greatest number of buildings and the most magnificent were erected. *Josephus* says in his *Antiquities* that the Israelites were compelled to work at the

pyramids. Whether this is founded upon historical tradition, or is an idea of his own; in any case, it is a conjecture which has every probability in its favour. The friends and protégés of the destroyers were compelled to restore what their protectors had demolished.

But why, it is asked, did not the national dynasty expel the Israelites at once along with the Hyksos, if their presence in the land was thought so dangerous and threatening? The answer to this question is so simple, that we can hardly understand how it could ever have been asked. The second book of the *Pentateuch* furnishes us with the reply. The policy of the Pharaohs rendered it more advisable to enslave the Israelites, and, by forcing them to perform tributary service, to render them harmless, than to drive away so many thousand men, who were actually needed for the accomplishment of their designs. In a state like Egypt (when governed by native rulers, and especially under the eighteenth dynasty), where the greatest glory was sought in the erection of colossal monuments, which must have required hundreds of thousands of hands; nothing could be more desirable, than to have a large population of helots in the land, who could without difficulty be forced to perform the hardest tasks. *Herodotus* (i. 108) and *Diodorus Siculus* (i. 56) both show how important this was to the Egyptian rulers. According to the former the great conqueror *Sesostris* brought back large crowds of people from the conquered lands, who were destined to render this hard tributary service; and the latter states that the same king (*i.e.* Sesoosis) did not employ a single Egyptian in the execution of his designs, but that the whole was performed by captives alone. Hence the inscription on all the temples: "no native has been employed in its erection."

Before leaving this subject, we must return once more to *Manetho's* accounts. Both of them contain some particulars, which need a somewhat closer examination. The first announces that the banished Hyksos went through the desert to Syria, settled in *Judea*, and built JERUSALEM. Is this statement historical or fictitious? What events had occurred in Palestine, during the interval between the departure of the Israelites and the time of Moses, we cannot tell. Hence we are not in position to deny, without further investigation, that there was any historical foundation for this statement. If the Hyksos left Canaan

on account of the Assyrian invasion, as we have already shown to be very probable; it is also probable, that when they were expelled from Egypt, they would first turn their steps in the same direction again. Whether they remained there, and settled in Judea, as *Manetho's* account affirms, or whether they were unable to find any settled abode in Canaan, and therefore wandered further and were lost among the tribes beyond the Jordan, the biblical history does not enable us to determine. We are not even in a position to reject altogether the statement that they built Jerusalem. In the time of the patriarchs, Jerusalem was merely called *Salem* (Vol. i. § 55. 1). In Joshua's days, and as late as the reign of David, the name of the city was *Jebus*; and it was not till David had conquered it, that it was called *Jerusalem*. This change of names is striking enough; and it is very possible, especially as *Jebus* was actually the name of a tribe, (Judges xix. 10, 11), that the Hyksos (or Jebusites) may have conquered Salem after their expulsion from Egypt, and called it by the name which formerly distinguished their tribe. On such a supposition, too, we might possibly obtain some clue to the striking fact, that the city was never completely taken by the Israelites till David's reign. Still we are more inclined to believe, that there is some error or confusion of names in *Manetho's* account, the cause of which is to be traced to a recollection of the close connexion which existed between the Israelites and the Hyksos.

To this conclusion we are more particularly led by the second of *Manetho's* statements, according to which the leprous Egyptians (or Israelites), led on by Osarsiph or *Moses*, called the shepherds of Jerusalem to their assistance, and in alliance with them inflicted fresh calamities of every description upon the Egyptians. With regard to the latter, no one can overlook the fact that we have here an account of the plagues, though it is greatly altered to suit the interest of Egypt. And even the supposed alliance between the lepers and the Hyksos is not altogether imaginary. For we learn from the *Pentateuch*, that a number of *common people* joined the Israelites when they went away (§ 35. 7). Now as the Israelites allowed these Egyptian Pariahs to accompany them, they must have been closely connected with them; so far at least as to have suffered the same constraint and oppression. Hence our conjecture is that we have

here the remains of the banished Hyksos. It is true that *Manetho's* first account says nothing about any of the Hyksos being left behind. But it is certainly not improbable that this was the case. All that the national dynasty wanted to do, was to overthrow the despotic rule of the Hyksos. For this it was sufficient to expel the king with his officers and soldiers. But it was far from being to the interest of the new dynasty to expel the Hyksos settlers, who were engaged in agriculture or rearing cattle, and had taken no direct part in the war; on the contrary they would be more disposed to do all they could to retain those from whom they had nothing to fear, that they might use them as slaves and helots. Common sufferings would then strengthen and knit more closely the connexion, which originally existed between the Israelites and the Hyksos; and we can very well imagine that the latter would eagerly avail themselves of the opportunity of attaching themselves to their fellow sufferers, who were about to depart, and thus escaping the oppressive yoke of the national Egyptians. And if the Egyptians continued to bear in mind the fact, that the Israelites and the Hyksos had left the country together; the traditions of a later age might easily confuse the whole affair, as *Manetho's* accounts have evidently done. The two fixed points, which had been handed down, were these: that the Hyksos had been banished long before the exodus of the Israelites, and also that numbers of the Hyksos had afterwards left the country along with the Israelites. But to those who lived at a later age, these two statements would appear to disagree, and either in the legends which existed before the time of *Manetho*, or by *Manetho* himself, they may have been reconciled and combined on the simple assumption, that Moses recalled the Hyksos, who had been previously expelled.

HISTORY
OF
THE OLD COVENANT,

FROM THE GERMAN OF
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VOL. III.

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SECOND STEP
TOWARDS THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION.

SOJOURN OF ISRAEL IN ARABIA PETRÆA,
AND THE
FIELD OF MOAB;
OR,
THE GIVING OF THE LAW.
A PERIOD OF 40 YEARS.

PART I.
HISTORICAL GROUNDWORK, AND CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED
WITH THE GIVING OF THE LAW.

THE OLD COVENANT.

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 1. FROM the time of the Exodus from Egypt, the Israelites had borne the character of a *redeemed* people, a people delivered by the strong hand of their God from the house of bondage, where the chosen seed, through which all nations of the earth were to be blessed, had been treated with contempt as a worthless mob, and oppressed as a horde entirely destitute of rights. But now, not only had Jehovah liberated the captive maid from the house of bondage, but He had also selected her as His bride; and was leading her to the marriage-altar at Sinai, where the covenant was to be concluded, the result of which would be the birth of children like the morning dew. From Sinai, again, He led her as His bride into *His own* house, to *His own* heart, into the land flowing with milk and honey. Thus the sojourn in the desert may be regarded under the aspect of the *marriage state*, as setting before us a picture of wedded love. And in the prophecies of Jeremiah (ii. 2, 3) Jehovah is represented as saying, "I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after Me in the desert, in a land that was not sown. Israel was holiness to the Lord, the first-fruits of his increase. All that devoured him, offended; evil came upon them, saith the Lord."

According to another figure, Israel was *Jehovah's first-born son* (vol. ii. § 21), brought forth, under the anguish of the

Egyptian bondage, by the aid of a heavenly midwife. He was brought out of Egypt, the womb in which the embryo had attained maturity ; and at Sinai he was set apart and consecrated as a priestly kingdom, a holy nation, a peculiar people.

But the *son* needs a tutor during the years of his youth ; he requires to be educated for his vocation, that the follies of his youth may be overcome, that firmness may take the place of fickleness, and his weakness may give place to strength. Hence Jehovah was not only a loving Father, a faithful Protector to His first-born, delivering him from every trouble and shielding him in every danger, but a faithful Teacher, exercising strict discipline, punishing every fault without reserve, and following the wanderer with unwearied diligence and fidelity, that He might reclaim him from all his errors.

And even to the newly-married bride Jehovah was not only a tender Lover, spreading the wings of love over the chosen one, but also a strict and jealous Husband, demanding fidelity and love, punishing unfaithfulness and apostasy, requiring a royal heart in the royal bride, seeking by love and discipline to train her well, and trying and proving her, to see whether her love would remain stedfast in the midst of calamity and trouble.

Thus the period spent in the wilderness was at the same time one of *education and discipline, of trial and temptation, of punishment and purification*. “Remember,” says Jehovah (Deut. viii. 2 sqq.), “all the way which the Lord thy God hath led thee these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee and to prove thee, to know what was in thy heart, whether thou wouldest keep His commandments, or no. And He humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know ; that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah doth man live. Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years. Consider then in thy

heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee," etc. (1).

In order that the Israelites might be entirely set free from the ungodliness of Egypt, to which they were naturally so addicted and inclined; in order that they might be proved, purified, and bound more and more closely to God by the bands of love, of confidence, and of gratitude; and in order that they might be delivered from the broken, cowardly spirit which had been engendered by a long-continued slavery, and strengthened till they grew into a free, spirited, and courageous race,—Jehovah led His chosen people through the desert. While there, they were to hold intercourse with their God alone, as in a secret place, and to become familiarised with the new relation into which they had entered with Him. There, too, amidst the troubles and calamities, the dangers and privations of a desert life (3), they were to receive continual proofs of the mercy and faithfulness of Jehovah on the one hand, and of their own unworthiness and natural obduracy on the other. But what was to have been only a brief period of trial, according to the original design and intention of God, became, on account of the guilt of the people and the judgment of Jehovah, a long period of detention and purification. Instead of the two years' sojourn in the desert, which would have sufficed for the original purposes, forty years were required to answer the new ends which had to be accomplished now (2).

The pilgrimage of Israel through the desert to the promised land presents three points, around which all the rest is grouped, as around so many generative centres: *first*, the rest at Sinai, where they were set apart as the people of God, and where the covenant with Jehovah was concluded; *secondly*, the sojourn at Kadesh, in the desert of Paran, where the unbelief of the Israelites came to a head, and the Divine sentence was pronounced, that they should be detained in the wilderness for forty years; and *thirdly*, their stay in the plains of Moab, where the period of the curse came to an end, and the new generation

arrived at the goal of its pilgrimage and the borders of the promised land. Taking these, then, as the central points, the history of this period may be divided into three epochs: (1) Israel in the desert of Sinai; (2) Israel in the desert of Paran; (3) Israel in the plain of Moab.

(1.) On the desert itself, and the sojourn of the Israelites there, as a place and period of *temptation* and *purification*, see *Hengstenberg's* excellent remarks in his *Christology*, vol. i., p. 247 sqq. (translation).

(2.) The trial and discipline of the forty years' sojourn in the desert were not without fruit. Even whilst they were encamped in the plain of Moab, there were evident signs that a new generation had grown up, in which the hard, rebellious, and unbelieving heart had been overcome. This was still more apparent in the period immediately following—viz., the age of Joshua—when the people displayed a liveliness and strength of faith, and a pure, deep, full consciousness of God, such as never prevailed to so great an extent in any subsequent period.

(3.) On the *possibility of finding supplies* in the desert, sufficient to sustain so great a number, see *Hengstenberg* on Balaam and his Prophecies (p. 561, translation). There are, at the present time, in the entire desert not more than 5000 inhabitants, who obtain but scanty supplies, and that with the greatest difficulty. In fact, they are not maintained from their own resources; for, were it not for what they earn as guides and servants to travellers, even they would be unable to exist. How then, it is asked, is it conceivable that two or three millions of people, with a proportionate quantity of cattle, should have lived in the desert for forty years? It is evident at once, that at the present day, and under existing circumstances, this would be an absolute impossibility. But it may also be shown, that in many respects the circumstances were formerly very different. (1.) The desert must have contained a much greater number of *oases*, abounding in grass and springs of water. Even apart from Biblical testimony, we have evidence that the desert was inhabited by numerous hordes, both before the Christian era (though subsequent to the days of Moses) and in the Byzantine, Christian age. On this subject *K. Ritter* writes (in the *Evang. Kalender* 1852,

p. 48) : “The number of inscriptions left by a native population of shepherds, which at some period or other settled there (see § 5, 2), is so great in many of the valleys, where they cover the face of the rocks even to the very summit, that at the time when they were first made, there must have been a very numerous population in this part of the wilderness; though they have remained entirely unknown, and no contemporaneous account of them is to be found in any records as far back as the age in which the Mosaic pilgrimage occurred. But, in any case, they furnish a striking proof of the fact, that in the centuries immediately before and after our reckoning, the barrenness of this district was by no means so great, as to render it impossible for a considerable body of people to remain in it for a very lengthened period. The objections, therefore, which have been offered to the statement, that so large a number of Israelites sojourned for half a century in the peninsula of Sinai, and which have all been founded upon the scanty population of Bedouins at present inhabiting that district, necessarily fall entirely to the ground.”—(2.) The Israelites brought a great quantity of cattle with them from Egypt (Ex. xxxiv. 3; Num. xx. 19, xxxii. 1); and whilst, on the one hand, the cattle required a plentiful supply of grass, on the other, it furnished a by no means insignificant provision of milk and flesh for the sustenance of the people, and of leather, wool, and hair for their clothing.—(3.) When the Israelites were assured, after their rejection at Kadesh, that they would have to remain in the wilderness for thirty-seven or thirty-eight years, they may, in fact *must*, have set up domestic establishments there (*vid.* § 41). If, then, even at the present time, there are particular spots to be found in the desert in which the Bedouins sow and reap, we may certainly assume that the Israelites, who had learnt the arts of agriculture and horticulture in Egypt, and had acquired a taste for such pursuits, carried the same thing out to a far greater extent, since the state of the country was apparently much more favourable at that time than it is now.—(4.) We learn from Deut. ii. 6, 7, that the Israelites, at least on the eastern side of the land of Idumæa, purchased provisions of the inhabitants for money. We may suppose the same to have taken place on the western side. The desert was at that time intersected by several caravan roads. With the active trade which was carried on between Egypt and Asia, the

desert must have been traversed frequently enough by caravans, from which the Israelites may have obtained, by barter or for money, such provisions as would otherwise have been beyond their reach. We must bear in mind that they came out of Egypt "with great substance."—(5.) But, notwithstanding all this, the Scriptures describe the wilderness as "great and terrible," and contain accounts of many instances in which want and privation caused the people to murmur and complain. Hence, in addition to the natural supplies, which were far from sufficing for so great a number, and were not always at hand, a special provision was required on the part of God; and such a provision was amply made, not only in a natural way—namely, through the ordinary blessings of His providence—but in a supernatural manner also, by extraordinary manifestations of His miraculous power.

SECTION I.

ISRAEL IN THE DESERT OF SINAI.

COMPARE the works cited at vol. ii. § 10; also *K. Ritter*, “die sinaitische Halbinsel und die Wege der Kinder Israel zum Sinai,” in *F. Piper’s* “Evang. Kalender,” vol. iii., Berlin 1852, p. 31 sqq.—*R. Lepsius*, “Reise von Theben nach der Halbinsel des Sinai,” Berlin 1846; and his “Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai,” Berlin 1852.—*J. Val. Kutschel*, “Herr Prof. Lepsius und der Sinai,” Berlin 1846.—*Fr. Dieterici*, “Reisebilder aus dem Morgenlande,” Berlin 1853, vol. ii. 13 sqq.—*K. Graul*, “Reise nach Ostindien über Palästina und Aegypten,” Leipzig 1854, vol. ii.

HALT AT MARAH AND ELIM.

§ 2. (Ex. xv. 22–xvi. 1, and Num. xxxiii. 8–11.)—The first place of encampment on the eastern side of the gulf, was undoubtedly in the neighbourhood of the modern *Ayun Musa* (5) (*i.e.*, the fountains of Moses). The people proceeded thence in a south-easterly direction, along the eastern shore of the gulf, and travelled three days through the *desert of Shur* (5) without finding water. At length they reached a well, in which there was an abundance of water, that promised to relieve their pressing wants. But the water proved to be so bitter, that it was impossible to partake of it; and hence the place received the name of *Marah* (*i.e.*, bitterness). It is probably identical with the modern well called *Ain Howarah* (5). This grievous dis-

appointment of their hopes stirred up the fainting people to murmur against their leader. In his distress of mind, Moses turned to Jehovah and implored assistance. It was granted him. Jehovah pointed out to him a tree, which he cast into the well, and the water was immediately sweetened (1). This was the first test to which the Israelites were subjected during their probationary sojourn in the wilderness (§ 1); and the first proof that had been given of the mercy and faithfulness of God, in contrast with the obduracy of the people, since the time when they first became a redeemed nation (2).—The next station was *Elim*, where *twelve* wells of water and *seventy* palm-trees, from the very significance of the numbers, invited the people to rest (3). There is hardly any doubt that this resting-place was identical with the modern *Wady Gharandel* (5). On leaving *Elim* they entered a *plain by the Red Sea* (Num. xxxiii. 10), probably at the point where the modern *Wady Tayibeh* (*Taibeh*) opens into the plain by the promontory of *Râs Abu-Zelimeh*. On the 15th day of the second month (4) they encamped in *the desert of Sin* (5).

(1.) Even *Josephus* (*Antiquities* iii. 1, 2) attempts to give a natural explanation of the *miracle at Marah*; but his attempt is at all events so far a failure, that there appears to have been no reason whatever for casting the tree into the well. He says that, after Moses had thrown the tree into the water, he caused the well to be more than half-emptied, and then the water (which flowed fresh into the well) was drinkable.—*Burckhardt* endeavoured to find a clue to the miracle of Moses. He thought he could sweeten the bitter water at *Howarah* by the berries of the *Ghurkud* shrub (*Peganum retusum*), which is very abundant in that district. But, apart from the fact that the scriptural record speaks of wood and not of berries, and that the berries cannot have been ripe at that period of the year (*vid.* *Robinson*, 98), the result, at which Moses aimed, was not in any way connected with such means as these. Both *Burckhardt* and *Robinson* inquired in vain of the native Arabs, whether they were acquainted with any method by which the bitter water could be made

drinkable. For this reason *Lepsius* determined to institute an inquiry, that he might get to the root of the matter ; but unfortunately he found no opportunity of gratifying his curiosity. He says in his "Reise" (p. 25) : "The means employed by Moses for making the water drinkable—*viz.*, with the wood, the bark, or the fruit of a tree or shrub, which must have abounded in those valleys—have undoubtedly been lost ; but a lengthened search upon the spot would possibly lead to their recovery. I have brought home a number of the most common trees,—gathered, it is true, in the higher valleys ; but as yet I have had no opportunity of making experiments with them." *Kutschelt* (p. 12) ridicules this idea of "the very learned German professor,"—in our opinion somewhat unjustly. For the scriptural record does not necessarily shut us up to the conclusion that a miracle was performed : Moses prayed to Jehovah, and Jehovah showed him a tree, etc. The words leave it open to us to infer that the means employed were perfectly natural, and such as would have sufficed to produce a similar effect at any time, even under different circumstances. Nor is it in itself incredible that there may have been some kind of tree in existence, which acted chemically upon the water so as to deprive it of its bitterness. *Probable*, however, we do not think it ; and the naïve assurance with which *Lepsius* assumes that the process was perfectly natural, and therefore may be imitated still, reminds us of the respectable German Rationalism of a bygone age. For our part, we agree with Luther, who says : "The water was naturally bitter ; but as they were to drink it on this occasion, the Lord ordered a tree, or piece of wood, to be thrown in, and it became sweet. Not that the wood possessed this property ; but it was a miracle which God determined to perform by His word, without any co-operation on the part of Moses, and the water soon lost the bitterness which it had before." *Laborde* correctly says (Comment., p. 84) : "S'il existait un moyen naturel de rendre douces des eaux saunâtres, moyen aussi simple et aussi rapide, que celui dont Moïse fit usage à Marah, soyons persuadés, qu'il ne se serait jamais perdu, et que les Arabes du Sinaï l'auraient conservé comme le don le plus précieux, qu'on pourrait leur faire ; si même ce moyen avait existé ou existait quelque part, il aurait étendu son pouvoir sur toutes ces contrées, qui plus ou moins en pouvaient profiter avec les mêmes

advantages." Such a view as this undoubtedly imposes upon us the obligation to inquire, what end was answered by *the tree*, if the change in the water belonged to the department of pure miracle? We reply: The sweetening of the bitter water of Marah stands in evident and intentional contrast to the change in the Nile, by which the sweet and pleasant water was rendered unfit for use. The latter was the commencement of the *penal* discipline inflicted by Jehovah upon the Egyptians; in the former, we see the commencement of the *educational* discipline to which Jehovah was about to subject the Israelites. In the one case, the *staff* of Moses touched the sweet Nile, and its water became corrupt and stinking; in the other, the opposite effect was produced by wood. There, the (dead) stick made the healthy water unwholesome; here, a (living) tree made the unhealthy water whole. This first miracle in the desert ushered in and guaranteed a whole series of miracles in the desert for the recovery (chap. xv. 26: "For I am Jehovah, thy Physician") and well-being of Israel; just as the first miraculous plague in Egypt ushered in an entire series of punishments inflicted upon Mizraim.—Typologists have not failed to make the attempt to find in this *σημείον* a certain connection with the plan of salvation. Tertullian observes (de bapt. 9): "*Lignum illud erat Christus venenatæ et amaræ retro naturæ venas in saluberrimas aquas baptismi remediens.*" Theodoret says: τὸ γὰρ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον τὴν πικρὰν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐγλύκαυε θάλατταν. But Luther's explanation is the finest. He says: "Two things are manifested here: first, that the water, *i.e.*, the law, is not sweetened without the interposition of Moses, who causes man to murmur by the terrors of the law, and thus pains him with bitterness, so that he longs for help; and then, when the Holy Spirit comes, at once it is made sweet. Now, this tree of life is the Gospel, the word of the grace, the mercy, and the goodness of God. When the Gospel is plunged into the law and the knowledge of sin which the law produces, and when it touches a heart in which the law has caused sadness, anxiety, terror, and confusion, it is at once delightful to the taste." Compare *Sal. Deyling*, de aquis amaris ligni injectione a Mose mitigatis, in his *Observv.* ss. iii., p. 62 sqq.

(2.) The scriptural record expressly describes the event at Marah under the aspect of a *trial* (ver. 25, "there He tried

them"). Thus their journey through the wilderness was opened with a trial; just as Abraham was put to the proof when he first entered the land of his pilgrimage (vol. i. § 52, on Gen. xii. 10 sqq.). Jehovah chose and redeemed the Israelites; He led them out of Egypt into the desert; and thus took upon Himself the obligation to protect and maintain them there. The Israelites, on the other hand, who had already experienced how miraculously Jehovah rescues and aids, were required to trust in God and give proof of their faith, even where the eye of man could detect no way by which help or deliverance could come. This was the position in which the people were now placed. They had left Egypt, with its abundance of sweet and wholesome water, for the purpose of escaping from slavery; but the desert, the place of freedom, the asylum of safety, threatened them with death from exhaustion. Then they murmured against Moses; and to murmur against Moses was, in fact, to murmur against Jehovah. How ungrateful and unbelieving, and yet how natural! But this was just the intention of the trial. The unholy, natural root of the heart was to be laid bare, that it might be healed and sanctified by the discipline and mercy of God; it was necessary that the murmuring should be heard, in order that it might be brought to shame, and counteracted by the mercy and faithfulness of God. This really occurred: the bond by which Israel was united to his God was thus drawn closer and knit more firmly; and, as a seal thereof, God gave the people on this occasion "a statute and an ordinance," and said: "If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of Jehovah thy God, and do that which is right in His sight, etc., I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians, for *I am Jehovah, thy Physician.*" Thus the difference, which Jehovah had already made in Egypt between Israel and the Egyptians, was to be still perpetuated, so long as Israel would maintain its own distinction from the heathen, as the people of God, by obedience to Jehovah's will.

(3.) *Elim* presents the same contrast to *Marah*, as the temptation on the part of God to the fruit of that temptation, or as the state of heart evinced by the murmuring people to the loving-kindness and mercy of Jehovah. *Marah* was the representative of the desert, so far as it was the scene of trial and discipline; *Elim*, so far as it was the place in which a covenant

was made with God, and His gracious guidance was enjoyed. Elim was a place expressly prepared for Israel; for it bore the characteristic mark of the nation, in the number of its wells and palm-trees: there was a well for every tribe ready to refresh both man and beast, and the shade of a palm-tree for the tent of every one of the elders of the people (chap. xxiv. 9).

(4.) The people encamped in the desert of *Sin* on the fifteenth day of the second month. On the fifteenth day of the first month they prepared to depart from Egypt. There were only seven stations between Ramceses and Sin, and a full month had been occupied in the journey. In this we find another confirmation of the explanation we have given at vol. ii. § 36, 7. Moreover, this chronological *datum* serves evidently and completely to explain the account, which immediately follows, of the general want of bread. The supply which they brought from Egypt had all been consumed during their thirty days' journey.

(5.) We bring this paragraph to a close with a GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY of the district traversed. After the Israelites had crossed the gulf, they marched for three days through the desert of SHUR (or ETHAM, as it is called in Num. xxxiii.) without finding water. There can be no doubt as to the direction which they took. They marched towards Sinai in a south-easterly direction from the point at which they crossed the sea, in a line parallel with the eastern shore of the gulf. Hence the desert of Shur or Etham must have extended at least a three days' journey from the northern extremity of the gulf, before Marah was reached. But we have good ground for placing its boundaries beyond these limits towards both north and south. For it is nowhere stated that Marah and Elim were not in the desert; and it is not till the next station but one after Elim that a fresh desert is spoken of, *viz.*, the *desert of Sin*. We should therefore place the *southern* boundary of the desert of Shur at the point where the steep promontory of Hamman Faraun intersects the northern shore of the sea. It is not so easy to determine the *northern* limits of the desert of Shur or Etham. We must first of all examine the names themselves. It has already been shown, at vol. ii. § 42, 1, that Etham was an Egyptian border fortress at the northern extremity of the gulf; and from this fortress the desert, which touched it on the west, received the name of Etham. *Shur* was also a city on the Egyptian frontier,

as we may gather from Gen. xvi. 7, xx. 1, xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7, xxvii. 8. When Hagar fled from Palestine to Egypt, the angel of the Lord found her by a fountain in the desert on the way to Shur. Abram lived for some time at Gerar, between Kadesh and Shur. According to the other passages, Shur stood "in front of Egypt (עַל פְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם)." The whole of these passages lead to the conclusion, that Shur is to be regarded as an eastern frontier town of Egypt, between the Mediterranean and the northern end of the Heroopolitan Gulf, and hence that the desert of Shur was the entire tract of desert by which Egypt was bounded on the east. *Josephus* substitutes Pelusium for Shur in 1 Sam. xv. 7, and hence J. D. Michaelis identified the two cities. *Roediger*, on the other hand (in Gesenius' Thesaurus, s. v.), conjectures that Shur was at the northern end of the gulf, in the neighbourhood of the modern Suez,—an assumption to which we cannot possibly subscribe, as we have already seen (vol. ii. § 39, 1) that formerly the gulf must have extended much farther towards the north. But if Etham was situated at this conjectural northern extremity, we must certainly seek for Shur much farther towards the north. Saadias renders Shur *el Jifar*. But by the desert of el Jifar the modern Arabians understand the tract of desert which lies between Egypt and the more elevated desert of et-Tih, and stretches from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Suez. And the Biblical notices of the desert of Shur harmonise very well with these boundaries, with the single exception that the desert, as we have just seen from Ex. xv., must have extended still farther in a southerly direction, along the eastern shore of the gulf. (Consult especially *Fr. Tuch*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 173 sqq.)

The first resting-place, after the successful passage through the Red Sea, may undoubtedly be still seen in the group of *Moses-Springs*, אַיּוּן מוֹסֵה. It is situated opposite to Suez towards the south-west. Even if we have to seek the spot where the Israelites first trod the soil of Arabia somewhat farther towards the north, this is by no means at variance with such an assumption; for Moses would be sure to select as his place of encampment the nearest spot in which water and vegetation could be found, and no other choice remained than this place of springs. "It is certainly not without reason," says

Dieterici, ii. 16, "that the springs have been called by this name : this is the only green spot in the northern part of the barren wilderness in which water can be obtained, and which is close upon the sea-shore." For some years past this lovely and fertile oasis of the desert has been ornamented by some of the richer inhabitants of Suez with a summer-house and pleasure-grounds (*Tischendorf*, i. 172). In the year 1810 *Seetzen* found only seventeen wells open, whereas formerly there had been twenty ; and counted only twenty-five young palm-trees, where a hundred thousand might be grown with care (*Monatl. Corresp.* xxvii. 72). *Robinson*, again, counted only seven wells, some of which appeared to have been but lately recovered by digging in the sand. The water of these wells is rendered brackish and bitter by their proximity to the sea, as is the case all along the eastern coast ; at the same time it is drinkable, and better than any other in the neighbourhood, especially that which is found at Suez. (See *Ritter*, *Erdkunde* xiv. 824, 825.)

The place of encampment at MARAH has been almost universally recognised, since the time of Burekhardt, as identical with the well (Ain) *Howarah*, which had never been mentioned before. It is situated at a distance of fifteen or sixteen hours' journey from the wells of Moses,—a distance which answers admirably to the three days' journey of the Israelites. The country between is a sandy desert, entirely destitute of water. The water of the *Howarah* well is impregnated with alum and salt, and more bitter than any other water that is met with in the ordinary routes of the peninsula. The basin, whose white rocky substance has evidently been formed in the course of time by a precipitate from the water, is said by *Robinson* (i. 96) to be six or eight feet across, whilst the water is about two feet deep. "Round the well there are some stunted palm-trees, and a large number of bushes of the Ghurkud shrub, which bears juicy and slightly acidulous berries, resembling the barberry." *Dieterici* says (ii. 20) : "The small bitter well in the barren sand, and the scanty vegetation, make it difficult to form any conception of the manner in which the people, who so soon forgot the mercy of God, can have encamped on this spot, and how so many thirsty lips can have been refreshed from a basin which is so diminutive now. But the well, which is now choked with sand, may formerly have flowed more copiously ; and even the gifts of

the desert may be increased by perseverance. Since, then, all the signs evidently tend to show, that at the time of the Israelitish wanderings the peninsula was cultivated to a much greater extent than it is now, we are forced to the conclusion, that even this well was maintained with greater care. Its present neglected state is the cause of its scanty supply."

"It was not till after my return from Sinai," says *Graul* (ii. 254), "that I learned at Cairo that the well-known sheikh, Tuweileb, was acquainted with a well on the hills to the right of Ain-Hawarah, the water of which is so bitter that neither man nor beast can drink it. From this spot the road leads direct to the site of the W. Gharandel, where water may be obtained."

The next place of encampment, ELIM, is said by *Kosmas* Indikopleustes (about A. D. 540), in his Topography, to have been called 'Ραιθου in his day. From the context, however, it is evident that this Raithu cannot be identical with the modern Raithu, near the southern harbour Tor or Tur, which was fixed upon by later tradition as the site of Elim, but must have been situated much farther to the north (cf. *K. Ritter*, xiv. 14). *Breydenbach*, who visited the peninsula in the year 1483, was of opinion that the *Wady Gharandel*, which is some hours' journey to the south of Howarah, corresponded to the Biblical Elim. ("In torrentem incidimus, dictum *Orondem*, ubi figentes tentoria propter aquas, quæ illic reperiebantur, nocte mansimus illa. Sunt enim in loco isto plures fontes vivi, aquas claras scaturientes. Sunt et palmæ multæ ibi, unde suspicabamur illic esse desertum *Helym*." See *Raumer*, p. 24.) Nearly every modern traveller coincides in this opinion. "Three hours after," says *Burckhardt* (reckoning from Howarah), we reached *Wady Gharandel*, which runs towards the north-east. It was nearly a mile broad, and full of trees. About half an hour from the spot where we halted, in a southern direction, there is a copious spring and a small brook, which render this valley the principal halting-place in the entire route." *Robinson* speaks to the same effect (i. 110): This *Wady* "is deeper and better supplied with bushes and shrubs than any we had yet seen; and, like *Sudr* and *Wardlau*, it bore marks of having had water running in it the present year. Straggling trees of various kinds are found in it. A few small palm-trees are scattered through the valley."

Tischendorf says (i. 189): "This is a glorious oasis: at the

place where we rested, it lies enclosed like a jewel between the chalky cliffs. We reposed for a long time in the grass, which was as tall as ourselves; tamarisks and dwarf palms stretched like a garland from east to west." Every traveller pronounces the water of this valley disagreeable, as it has a brackish taste, but it is by no means so bitter as that at Howarah. Water is also found on digging to a little depth in the sand.—*Graul* is fully convinced that the Wady Gharandel is identical with the Biblical Elim. He describes the valley as a combination of fertility and loveliness, to which the Wady Feiran alone presents any parallel in the whole of the peninsula.—As the Wady Gharandel extends as far as the sea, *Dieterici* (ii. 22) is of opinion that the encampment of the Israelites may have stretched to the sea-shore; and to this he refers the expression Ex. xv. 27, "And they encamped there by the waters." But there can be no doubt that it is much more appropriate to refer this expression to the twelve wells of water in the valley.—*Laborde* protests against this identification of Elim and Gharandel, on the ground that the distance from Howarah to Gharandel is too short (three hours), and that it is too far from Gharandel to the next station on the Red Sea (eight hours) for the Israelites to have reached it in a single day's march. He places Elim, therefore, at the Wady Useit (Osseita), which is situated at a distance of three hours farther to the south, and thus divides the whole distance into two day's journeys of five or six hours each. With reference to Wady Useit, *Robinson* says (i. 102): "This valley resembles Ghurundel, though not so large; and has a few small palm-trees, and a little brackish water standing in holes."

Laborde, on the other hand, speaks of a "source assez bonne et de palmiers nombreux." *Robinson* appears to us to have offered a complete reply to his objections. He says (i. 105): "As Ghurundel is one of the most noted Arab watering-places, and the Israelites probably would have rested there several days, it would not be difficult for them for once to make a longer march, and thus reach the plain near the sea. Besides, in a host like that of the Israelites, consisting of more than two millions of people, with many flocks, it can hardly be supposed that they all marched in one body. More probably the stations, as enumerated, refer rather to the head-quarters of Moses and the elders, with a portion of the people, who kept near them; while other portions

preceded or followed them at various distances, as the convenience of water and pasturage might dictate."

The next station, "BY THE RED SEA" (Num. xxxiii.), notwithstanding this indefinite announcement, may be fixed upon with greater certainty and precision than any of the foregoing, on account of our intimate acquaintance with the ground. If the caravan proceeded south from the Wady Gharandel or the Wady Useit, it cannot have reached the Red Sea by any other route than through the *Wady Tayibeh* (or Taïbe); for there is a range of mountains at the south of the Wady Useit, which terminates in the steep promontory of *Hammam Bluff*, or *Faraun* (which is pointed out in Arabian legends as the scene of Pharaoh's destruction), and approaches so nearly to the sea as to render it impossible to pass along the shore. The Israelites must therefore have gone round these mountains. The next valley, the Wady *Thál*, which passes through the mountains to the sea merely as a narrow gorge, must also have been crossed. They then arrived at *Wady Shebekeh* (Shubeikeh), from which the Wady Tayibeh branches off towards the east, and leads to the sea-shore. "We reached," says *Strauss* (p. 142), "the broad and beautiful valley of Tayibeh, which is covered with tamarisks and fresh herbage, and where we found the rain of the previous autumn still remaining in many a deep pool. The valley winds about between steep rocks, and frequently it appears to lead into an enclosure from which there is no outlet, until suddenly an opening is discovered at the side. After travelling about eight hours from Ghurundel, we arrived once more at the Red Sea (near Ras Zelimeh). To the north the mountains and rocks came close upon the sea, but towards the south a plain opened before us, which was bounded on the east by wild and rugged rocky formations." This was undoubtedly the station of the children of Israel by the Red Sea. The sandy plain, on which there is a great quantity of vegetation, runs along by the sea-shore for three or four miles, and is about three quarters of a mile in breadth; but after this the rocky wall approaches so nearly to the sea, that it is only at the ebb that there is any road at all. The road then leads into a much more extensive desert plain, which is of considerable breadth, and runs by the side of the sea as far as Ras Mohammed, at the southern extremity of the peninsula. The present name of the plain is

El-Kaa, and it is probable that the DESERT OF SIN had the same boundaries. The halting-place of the children of Israel in the desert of Sin must be sought for in the northern part of this desert plain, probably near to the spot where the *fountain of Murkah* (Marcha) still offers to the traveller a resting-place abundantly supplied with drinkable water.—The foregoing description of the desert of Sin is adopted by *Robinson*, *Ritter*, and others. *Raumer*, *Laborde*, and *Kutscheit*, on the other hand, place the encampment “by the Red Sea” at the spot which we suppose to have been the next station (namely, at Ain Murkah in the plain of El-Kaa), and seek for the commencement of the desert of Sin to the east of the plain of El-Kaa, in one of the wadys by which you reach the mountains of Sinai, namely, in the Wady Nash or the Wady Mokatteb (cf. § 5, 1, 2).—The opinion which *Lepsius* has attempted to establish is widely different from both of these. This celebrated Egyptologist, who landed at Tor, and, after making an excursion into the mountains of Sinai, embarked again at the harbour of Zelimeh, has pronounced the ordinary notions respecting the Israelitish stations for the most part decidedly erroneous, appealing to his own observations in proof of his assertion. He rejects at once the idea of transferring the station at Marah to the Howarah spring (*Reise*, p. 24), for “it is not even situated in a wady, and therefore the flocks could have found no pasture; moreover, the only thing by which it is distinguished is bad water, and hence there was no reason why the name of a station should have been given to it even in ancient times (?!).” It is quite as erroneous, he says, to place Elim in the Wady Gharandel. On the contrary, Marah ought to be placed at Gharandel, and Elim at the point where the Wady Tayibeh opens into the plain of Zelimeh. The next station, “by the Red Sea,” must therefore be sought at the harbour of Zelimeh. The proximity and close connection of these two stations sufficiently explain the fact, that in the leading account (Ex. xv.) the station by the Red Sea is omitted. The reason evidently was, that “there was nothing particular to distinguish it from Elim, the watering-place of the harbour, which bore most probably the same name” (*Briefe*, p. 343). But if the Israelites encamped at the opening of the Wady Tayibeh, it may be assumed as certain, that their camp must have extended as far as the

sea-shore, which was scarcely half an hour's journey distant. The two stations would then coincide; and the writer of Num. xxxiii. must have trifled in a most incomprehensible manner, when he wrote, "And they departed from Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea."—*Lepsius* has also started a new theory respecting the boundary of the *desert of Sin*. The expression employed in Ex. xvi. 1, "which lies between Elim and Sinai," he interprets as meaning that the whole tract of desert from Zelimeh to Mount Sinai (*i.e.*, Serbal, in his opinion) was called the Desert of Sin. "For," he says (*Briefe*, p. 344), "there would be no sense in the statement that the desert of Sin was situated between Elim and Sinai, unless we were to understand that it extended to Sinai, or even farther. Hence, when we read that the next time they removed, they went from the desert of Sin to Rephidim, we are not to suppose that they left the desert; on the contrary, they remained there till they reached Sinai, whose name *Sini* (*i.e.*, *the mountain of Sin*) was evidently first derived from the district, and which must, therefore, not be looked for outside the limits of the desert. The same inference may be drawn from the account of the manna, which the Israelites received in the desert of Sin; for the first place in which we meet with manna is in the valleys in the neighbourhood of Firan, and it is no more to be found in the sandy plains by the sea-shore, than in the more elevated district of *Jebel Musa*." The objection drawn from the manna is founded upon the assumption, that the manna which still trickles from the tarfah shrub is exactly the same as the manna of the Bible. But, to say the least, such an assumption lacks that undoubted certainty which alone could justify us in making it the foundation of further arguments. And even if it possessed this certainty, it would not sustain what it is meant to prove. For how does *Lepsius* know that the plain of El-Kaa was just as destitute of tarfah shrubs three thousand years ago as it is now? The growth of the tarfah, and therefore the existence of manna, is confined at present to the wadys which surround or intersect the two mountain-groups of the peninsula; farther north no traces of either are anywhere to be found. Yet if we reduce the Biblical account of the distribution of manna among the people to the smallest possible scale (*cf.* *Hengstenberg*, *Balaam*, p. 561 sqq., translation), it will be impossible for any one to deny that the Israelites must have partaken of manna in

many parts of the peninsula, where there are no signs of the tarfah bushes to be met with now (see Exodus xvi. 35, and below, § 3, 2).—Again, the argument of the learned Egyptologist falls to the ground, if it can be proved, as we shall presently see that it can (§ 8, 3), that his assertion as to the identity of the Serbal and the mountain on which the law was given is without foundation. And, on the other hand, the assertion that Serbal is equivalent to Sinai cannot possibly be correct, if the alleged boundary of the desert of Sin is erroneous.—We shall now proceed to the proofs of the latter. We observe at the outset, that the derivation of the name of Mount Sinai from the desert of Sin, which is supposed to have touched it, appears to us a very strange one. It is quite as unnatural in itself, as it is opposed to all analogy. For in every other case, without exception, the deserts and wadys are named after the mountains, and not the mountains after the adjoining plains; and it is *a priori* most unnatural to suppose “that the most prominent object in a country derived its name from some insignificant object which happened to be near it” (*Kutschel*, p. 17). But we cannot possibly conceive what it was that led the learned professor to maintain that all the subsequent stations up to Sinai must have been situated within the desert of Sin. Read, for example, Num. xxxiii. 12 sqq. (cf. Ex. xvii. 1): “And they took their journey *out of the desert of Sin, and encamped* in Dophkah. And they departed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush. And they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim. . . . And they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the *wilderness of Sinai.*” Who, on reading this, could possibly imagine that they were all the while in the desert of Sin, and that even the wilderness of Sinai itself was part of the same desert? It seems to us as clear as it possibly can be, that the station of Dophkah was outside the desert of Sin. Moreover, the first look at a *map* convinces us at once of the impossibility of *Lepsius’* explanation. It is very conceivable that the whole of the plain along the coast, which stretches almost without interruption to the southern extremity of the peninsula, may have been called by the common name of desert of Sin. The similarity in the character of the whole of the district would sufficiently account for this. But it is utterly inconceivable and impossible that the whole of the tract between Ras Zelimeh and Serbal should have been classed as one district,

and distinguished from the rest by a common name. The broad, level, sandy plain on the one hand, and on the other the intricate labyrinth of valleys, gorges, cliffs, and mountains, by which the plain is bounded on the east (and in which *Lepsius* placed the whole of the stations between Sin and Sinai), present so complete and striking a contrast to each other, that it would never have entered into any one's mind to class them both under the common name of "Desert of Sin." There is something plausible, no doubt, in the argument based upon the expression in Ex. xvi. 1, "which is between Elim and Sinai," but only so long as we interpret this passage without reference to Ex. xvii. 1 and Num. xxxiii. 12; for it is evident from these passages that not the desert of Sin alone, but the resting-places at Dophkah, Alush, Replidim, and also the desert of Sinai, lay between Elim and Sinai. On closer inspection, in fact, we must maintain that both the words, "they encamped in the desert of Sin," and the clause, "which is between Elim and Sinai," are irrelevant and incomprehensible if the supposition of *Lepsius* be correct. For nothing but the fact that the context limited the more comprehensive term "desert of Sin," to such an extent as to compel us to think only of a certain point in this wide-spread desert (viz., the northern extremity), would explain the omission of any special designation of this particular station. If Dophkah, Alush, Replidim, and others, were also in the desert of Sin, we should naturally expect the name of the first station to be given as well as the names of the rest. The clause, "which is between Elim and Sinai," is neither required, nor intelligible, unless we regard it as a more precise form of the indefinite phrase, "they encamped in the desert of Sin." If the desert of Sin extended along the sea-coast for some distance towards the south (possibly as far as Ras Mohammed), there is no difficulty at all. The meaning of the clause would then be, that the point or portion referred to was that part of the desert of Sin which was situated between Elim and Sinai; in other words, that Israel encamped just where the road to Sinai intersected the desert of Sin. Elim would then stand out as the principal halting-place on the road from Egypt to Sinai. And to the present day the Wady Gharandel answers this description.

HALT IN THE DESERT OF SIN.

§ 3. (Ex. xvi.)—The supply of bread, which the Israelites took with them from the land of Egypt, was all consumed by the time they arrived at the *Desert of Sin*, and there was no prospect of their obtaining a fresh supply. The flocks they had with them were no doubt sufficient to secure them from actual starvation for some time to come; but a thoughtful glance at the future must have shown at once, that it would be impossible to continue to slaughter the cattle, as they had been accustomed to do. Israel, it is true, had already had sufficient experience of the providential care of God, to be able to trust it still further. But there was too much of the original heathen root left in the people, for them to avoid asking the question, in such circumstances as those in which they were placed, What shall we eat, and what shall we drink? It was necessary that this root should be brought to the light, to be punished by the light. For this reason Jehovah did not *anticipate* the pressing and evident need, but employed it as a means of *temptation*, before He removed it. And now first could it rightly be seen how widespread and strong was the heathenish disposition of the chosen and redeemed people. All the people murmured against Moses and Aaron. “Would to God we had died in Egypt,” they exclaimed, “when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full. For ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger.” They put all the blame upon their human leaders, and therefore seemed to themselves to be very pious still, because they did not murmur against God. But Moses stripped them of this self-deception: “What are we, that ye murmur against us? Your murmuring is not against us, but against Jehovah;” and Aaron announced to the assembled congregation, that Jehovah, whom they despised, would give them in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning would cause it to rain bread from heaven. While he was speaking the attention of the people was attracted towards the desert,

where the glory of Jehovah flashed out from the cloud with majestic brilliancy, to attest the truth of the words of reproof and promise which were spoken by His servants.

As soon as the evening came on, a flock of *quails* came up and covered the camp (1); and in the morning the dew lay round about the host: and when the dew was gone up, behold it lay upon the face of the wilderness, small and scaly, like the hoarfrost on the ground. The Israelites called it *Man* (manna), for they discovered therein the gift (תּוֹבָה) and bounty of God; and Moses said: "This is the bread which Jehovah hath given you to eat" (2).—By this gift of God they were to be weaned from all heathenish anxiety. It served to point them to the grace of God alone, and taught them to trust that He, who had fed them this day, both could and would in all time to come amply provide for their wants with this miraculous food. Hence Moses gave them two commands: they were only to gather sufficient for the wants of a single day, namely, one omer each; and they were not to leave any from one day to another. Some of the congregation disobeyed both of these orders; but in both respects God disappointed them. Those who had taken the trouble, by dint of extra exertions, to gather a larger quantity than was actually required for the day's supply, found to their shame, on measuring what they had collected, that they had no more than the quantity allowed; and those who were led by an unbelieving parsimoniousness to keep a portion till the next day, found it on the following morning in a state of corruption and decomposition. But when they had gathered it on the sixth day, they found they had double the usual quantity. Moses explained the enigma. The primeval consecration of the *seventh day* as a *day of rest*, which had probably fallen into disuse in Egypt, was now to be restored, and to become one of the fundamental characteristics of the life of the community (3). The double quantity collected on the sixth day was intended to provide for the wants of the seventh also, that the rest of that day, which was holy to God, might not be disturbed by the collection and preparation of earthly

food. And behold, on the following morning, that which had been left from the previous day had *not* become corrupt and decomposed, as on other occasions, but had remained perfectly sweet and uninjured. In spite of the prohibition, however, some of the people went out into the field to collect a fresh supply, but they found nothing. As a memorial for future generations, Moses (afterwards) caused a gomer full of the miraculous food of the desert to be placed in the sanctuary (4). For forty years from this time the children of Israel continued to eat the manna, till they reached the border of the land of Canaan. Their unusually long-continued sojourn in the desert of Sin (*viz.*, for seven days) answered the double purpose of allowing the people to rest after enduring so much fatigue, and of furnishing a historical basis for the renewal of the law of the Sabbath.

(1.) The birds which covered the camp of Israel in such immense numbers, and furnished the Israelites with food, are called in the original קָלִיב. The rendering *quails* is confirmed by the Arabic سَلَوِي. In the Septuagint it is translated ὄρνυγμαῖτρα (probably the so-called quail-king, which is described by Pliny as leading the flock of quails, h. n. 10, 33). In the Vulgate it is called *coturnix*; and *Josephus* calls the bird in question ὄρνυξ. According to many accounts, both ancient and modern, quails (*tetrao coturnix*) are found in immense numbers in Arabia Petraea and the adjoining countries. They generally fly very low (a yard or two above the ground), and in such dense masses, that the inhabitants catch great numbers in their hands, or knock them down with sticks (*cf. Winer, Real-lex. ii. 666, 667*). Still, expositors differ in opinion as to the bird actually referred to; and some suppose that another bird is meant, which abounds in the whole of Arabia, in Palestine, and in Syria, namely, the *Kata* of the Arabs. This bird is about the size of a turtle-dove; its flesh is rather dry and tough, but it is eaten with relish and in great quantities by the inhabitants, who catch the birds with the greatest ease. It belongs to the partridge tribe (though *Hasselquist* still calls it *Tetrao Alchata*), and is not a bird of passage. But the description in Ex. xvi., and that in Num. xi.

31 sqq., can hardly apply to any but a bird of passage. Moreover, the occurrence took place in the spring, when the birds of passage return from their winter quarters in the south to their northern home; and therefore we abide by the interpretation, in which the oldest authorities agree. The fact, that the flocks of migratory birds frequently direct their course across the peninsula, is fully established by many authorities. *Tuch* (Deutsch-morgenl. Zeitschr., vol. i. 2, p. 174) cites a passage from *Kāzwini*, in which he says: "In the desert of Jifar (Shur) there is a species of bird called el-Morgh, which comes from Rumana. It resembles the quail, and arrives at a particular period of the year. The people catch as many of them as possible, and salt them." When *Schubert* (ii. 358) was near the scene of the occurrence described in Num. xi. 31 sqq., whole flocks of migratory birds passed by at some distance from the traveller, of such a size and such density as he had never seen before. They had come from their winter quarters, and were hastening to their home on the sea-shore. The most natural interpretation of the expression, "they came up and covered the camp," is certainly this, that they came from the neighbourhood of the Nile, and fell down, weary with their flight, in the midst of the camp. It would then be an easy thing to catch or kill the birds, which were too exhausted to fly any farther.—After what we have already said, it will be unnecessary to say anything further in opposition to other explanations of מְלֶכֶת, —such, for example, as *locusts* (see *Ludolf*, hist. Aeth. i. 13, No 96; and, in reply to him, *Laborde*, Comment. 90 sqq.), or *flying fishes* (of the *Trigla* species; as *Ehrenberg* supposed, because he saw many of these fishes lying dead upon the shore).

(2.) From the numerous works which have been written on the *Manna*, we select for reference *J. Buxtorf's* Exercitationes ad Historiam (Basil 1659, 4 Diss. iv., hist. Mannæ, p. 336–390); and still more particularly, the exhaustive summary of the results of modern researches in *K. Ritter's* Erdkunde xiv. 665–695. Three things lie before us for examination: the manna of the Bible; the manna of the present day; and their relation to each other.

a. THE MANNA OF THE BIBLE.—The derivation of the name is doubtful. In ver. 15 we read: "When the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another: מָה הַזֶּה, for לֹא יָדָעוּ מַה־הוּא." By the Septuagint and Vulgate translators, and by Josephus, מָה is regarded as an interrogative particle, equivalent to מַה.

By the first it is rendered *τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο*; by the second, *dixerunt ad invicem: Manhu? quod significat: Quid est hoc?* From this question of surprise, the thing itself, which had been hitherto unknown, is supposed to have received the name מן (cf. ver. 31, "And the house of Israel called it *Man*"). This derivation continued to be the usual one as late as our own days. But very little can really be said in its favour; for מן, as an equivalent for מנה, is not Hebrew, but Aramæan. Moreover, we can hardly imagine the interrogative particle, *what?* being adopted, without any further reason, as the name of an object which was previously unknown. Hence we agree with most modern authorities in giving the preference to the derivation from מן or מנה (*partitus est, mensus est, admensus est*), and render the word: allotment, present, gift. In the Arabic, مَنْ is equivalent to *donum*, and is used with the predicate *cæleste* to designate the manna.

With regard to the *origin*, the *appearance*, and the *nature of the manna*, the Bible contains the following particulars: Jehovah rained it from heaven (Ex. xvi. 4); when the dew fell by night upon the camp, the manna fell upon it (Num. xi. 9); when the dew had ascended, it lay upon the surface of the desert, fine (קָרָן), and like scales (מִתְּפִלִּים), as fine as the hoar-frost upon the earth (Ex. xvi. 14); it was like white coriander seed, and tasted like cake and honey (Ex. xvi. 31). When the heat of the sun became great, it melted (Ex. xvi. 21), and therefore had to be gathered early in the morning. It is repeatedly stated most emphatically, that it supplied the place of bread. In Num. xi. 7 sqq. it is compared to coriander seed, and its appearance to that of the (bright, transparent) bdellium; the people ground it in mills or crushed it in mortars, and then boiled it in pots and made cakes of it, the flavour of which resembled the (mild) flavour of oil-cakes. If it was kept till the morning, it stank and bred worms (Ex. xvi. 20). We may form some idea of the quantity of manna collected, if we consider that, according to Ex. xvi. 16 sqq., a gomer full (not less than a pound) was gathered daily (at least in the early part of the sojourn in the desert) for every member of the congregation, and that it is stated in ver. 35 that the children of Israel ate manna for forty years, until they arrived at the border of Canaan, the land in which they were to dwell.

The statements just referred to have been chosen by *Hengstenberg* as the subject of a special article, which is headed, "Mistakes in reference to the Manna" (*Balaam*, p. 561 sqq., translation). He first of all attacks the assertion of *K. v. Raumer* (*Zug d. Isr.*, p. 27), that "the Israelites ate manna till they reached Edrei, in the neighbourhood of Damascus, and then on their journey back to the plains of Jericho." In opposition to this, *Hengstenberg* endeavours to prove that the Israelites received no manna outside the Sinaitic peninsula,—that is, during their journey through the country of the Edomites and the land to the east of the Jordan. He says, "The country beyond Jordan presented at that time such abundant supplies of food, that the necessity for the manna altogether ceased. A continuance of the manna in a cultivated country would have been just as if the Israelites, when on the banks of the Jordan, had been supplied with water from the rock (§ 4, 1). The Israelites would never have eaten it. They were tired of it in the desert. For what purpose bestow a gift which the receivers could not make use of, and their disgust at which might be foreseen?" (p. 562). But in *Ex. xvi. 35*, it is expressly stated that they ate the manna forty years, until they came to the land in which they were to dwell, to the borders of the land of Canaan. And even *Hengstenberg* cannot deny that the land referred to here was the country to the west, and not on the east of the Jordan. Consequently it is most certainly implied in this passage, that the children of Israel did eat the manna, when they were in the country to the east of the Jordan. Still we admit that, from the summary character of this passage, which renders it somewhat indefinite, it must not be too strongly pressed. But, on the other hand, the words of *Joshua v. 10-12* are so definite and distinct, so exact and free from ambiguity, that *Hengstenberg's* critical trifling cannot possibly be sustained. We read there: "The children of Israel encamped at Gilgal, and kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month at even in the plains of Jericho. And they did eat of the old corn on the morrow after the passover, unleavened cakes, and parched corn in the self-same day. And the manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land; neither had the children of Israel manna any more." What force is there in the following remark, when the words of the passage itself are so

clear: "There is an indication here that now the period of manna made way *definitively* for the period of bread"? *Definitively*, no doubt; but the period of the manna had continued up to this very *moment*. *Hengstenberg* refers, however, to Josh. i. 11: "Prepare you victuals, for within three days ye shall pass over this Jordan;"—which passage, he says, "is unintelligible, if it be assumed that the manna followed the Israelites over the Jordan; and it is perfectly absurd to suppose that they began to eat bread on the very first day after the passover." This is a flourish in the air; for no one maintains that the Israelites had not previously eaten bread whenever they could procure it. The preparation of a supply for the passage over the Jordan may easily be accounted for, even on the supposition that the manna still continued to fall. For *Raumer* himself has not asserted that the Israelites ate manna and nothing else, during the whole period of forty years. On the contrary, we believe that the Israelites were constantly in the habit of eating flesh, and any other kinds of meat within their reach, at the same time as they were receiving the manna. The manna was to be a *substitute* for the bread, which *had failed*; and whenever bread could be obtained, but not in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of so large a number, the *deficiency was made up* by the manna. For this reason it followed them till they reached the productive fields of the land in which they were to dwell, and where they were to sow and reap. The manna, which fell with the dew from heaven, was a harvest which Jehovah gave them without their having sown; but as soon as they reached the land where tillage was possible, and where they were to sow, Jehovah ceased to give them a harvest without a seed-time. See also *Keil* on Joshua v. 12.

From what we have already said, it will be apparent that our opinion coincides to a much greater extent with that of *Hengstenberg*, when he proceeds to refute the mistaken notion that the manna constituted the sole nourishment of the Israelites during the whole of the forty years which they spent in the desert, and when he adduces proofs that many other sources of supply must have been within their reach: cf. §1, 3. But even here he gives way too much to his well-known inclination to contract to the greatest possible extent the scope and force of the miracle, in order that he may bring it as far as possible within the natural

limits of the special providence of God. Hence he maintains, without the least foundation, that the account given in Ex. xvi. 16 of the quantity which fell (a gomer daily for each individual) *merely* applied to the earliest period; and even the *daily* fall of the manna during the entire period of forty years, which is clearly to be gathered from Ex. xvi. 35, compared with ver. 16 sqq., he would gladly set aside.

b. THE DAILY MANNA.—*Josephus* states (*Antiquities*, iii. 1, 6), that in his day the same food, which had been called manna by the Hebrews, continued to rain, by the goodness of God, in the same locality as in the time of Moses, viz., at Sinai. And the German traveller *Breydenbach* (in the year 1483) says, that in the month of August this bread of heaven is still found in the valleys round about Sinai, and is collected by the monks and sold to pilgrims. The subject of the Sinaitic manna was very rarely referred to by travellers until *Seetzen* (1807) confirmed the fact, which had been forgotten in Europe, or was regarded as a fiction, and thoroughly investigated it. He was the first to make the discovery that this manna owes its origin to a tamarisk shrub, which abounds in that district (called by the Arabs el-Tarfah), from the branches of which it trickles down. Since then every traveller has paid particular attention to this phenomenon. In 1823 *Dr Ehrenberg* first made the discovery that the manna produced on the tarfah shrub is caused by the prick of an insect.

From this we perceive that the production of the Sinaitic manna of the present day is dependent upon two conditions—the existence of the tarfah shrub, and the presence of the insect in question. The insect is a species of louse, very small, elliptical, and of a yellow, wax-like colour (*Coccus maniparus*, Ehrenb.). Hitherto it has only been found on the tamarisk in the immediate neighbourhood of the mountains of Sinai. The tamarisk of this district (*Tamarix mannifera*, Ehrenb.) differs but little from the common tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). It merely grows to a greater height (sometimes as much as twenty feet high), is more bushy, and more thickly covered with foliage. The very same shrub is also frequently found in Nubia and Egypt, in every part of Arabia, in the country watered by the Euphrates, and in other places; but the mountainous district of Sinai is the only place in which it produces manna, for the simple reason, as *Ehren-*

berg supposes, that the insect is only to be met with there.—The appearance of the insect even here, and therefore the crop of manna, is dependent upon the humidity of the season. The sap is merely exuded from the outer branches, that is, from the very tender twigs of the manna-tree. In productive seasons a twig of two or three inches long yields from twenty to thirty drops, an entire tree of average dimensions eighty thousand. The twigs are completely covered by the perforations, and acquire a wart-like appearance in consequence. Out of the puncture, which is scarcely visible with the naked eye, a drop of transparent juice exudes, which gradually coagulates and at length falls to the ground. The colour is described as reddish, or of a dull yellow. Before sunset the drops acquire the consistency of wax, and then, if they have fallen upon clean wood or upon stone, they are said to look as white as snow. The manna melts in the heat of the sun. The flavour resembles that of honey; and when taken in considerable quantities it acts as a mild aperient. It first appears towards the end of May; the real harvest time is in June. The Arabs gather it, partly from the branches, and partly from the ground. They press it through a coarse woollen cloth for the purpose of removing impurities, and then keep it in leathern bags, either for sale or for private use. It is eaten upon bread. When kept in a cool place it continues firm, in a warm place it becomes soft, and heat melts it altogether. It cannot possibly serve as a substitute for meal or bread, since it can neither be grated nor pounded, and still less is it possible to bake it. *Mitscherlich's* chemical analysis showed that it yielded no crystals of mannin, but consisted of saccharine matter alone. In dry seasons the manna juice does not flow; and it often happens that for several consecutive years the manna cannot be gathered at all. But at such times the branches are so full of saccharine matter that they have the real smell and taste of manna, and the Bedouins eat them both raw and boiled.—Of late years, however, it has been disputed whether the origin of the manna can really be traced to the puncture of an insect. *Lepsius* especially has opposed this explanation (see *K. Ritter's* *Erdkunde*, xiv. 675, 676). On entering the tarfah grove in the Wady Feiran, on the 28th March, a fragrant smell of manna met him, which he found, on closer examination, to proceed, not from the leaves or flowers, but solely from the tender sprouts.

The twigs, on which a large quantity of manna was already visible, seemed to him to emit less odour than those which were just about to exude it. This appeared to him at variance with the notion that the manna was caused by the puncture of an insect, and not connected with the natural development of the tree itself. Moreover, the large quantity exuded from a single tree in the manna season (from fifty to a hundred thousand drops) does not harmonise, in his opinion, with such a supposition, any more than the fact that the manna is not exuded on any day on which there has been no moisture to facilitate it. *Tischendorf*, again, who entered the wood in the Wady Sheikh about the end of May, was surprised at the strong fragrant odour, which generally surrounded the entire shrub. He saw the manna drop from the trees in thick glutinous masses, but could never find the *coccus* itself.

In the present day the tamarisk-manna is only to be met with in the Sinaitic peninsula, and even there the locality in which it occurs is *very* circumscribed. The tarfah shrub grows only in the immediate neighbourhood of the mountains Sinai and Serbal, and, in fact, merely in the fertile, well-watered wadys of the district. Higher up the mountains it never grows at all. But even where the tamarisk still grows, manna is not always produced by it. The principal supply is obtained from the Wady Feiran and the Wady es-Sheikh. The entire quantity of manna collected in a single year over the whole of the peninsula does not exceed five or six hundred pounds, according to *Burckhardt*, even in the most productive seasons.

c. CONNECTION BETWEEN THE MANNA OF THE PRESENT DAY AND THE MANNA OF THE ISRAELITES.—Very different opinions have been entertained as to the identity between these two. Many travellers and scholars (among others, *K. Ritter*) regard them as essentially one and the same. But if this view be adopted, the incongruity between the Biblical narrative and the descriptions given by modern travellers is so great, so apparent, and so irreconcilable, that, by the side of the well-established facts of modern times, one is forced, with *Winer* and others, to regard the Biblical accounts as a mythical and marvellous distortion of a simple, natural occurrence. Even the theory, which *Hengstenberg* advocates, of an increase and intensification of the existing powers and gifts of nature, could not

preserve the honest inquirer, who guards against every form of self-deception, from arriving at this conclusion. For if his theory be seriously adopted, we must assume that all the manna, which the Israelites gathered and ate during their forty years' sojourn in the desert, actually fell from the tarfah shrubs. Now a miraculous increase of this produce, even if we suppose it to have been carried to such an extent that every shrub yielded a thousand, ten thousand, or even a million times as much as the most abundant crop ever gathered now, would fall very far short of the Biblical accounts, and still leave them open to the charge of exaggeration. Let us confine our attention at present, for example, to the first station in which the Israelites partook of the manna, namely, the *Desert of Sin*. This station, as we have seen, is most probably to be found in the barren sandy plain of El-Kaa, on the sea-coast, where not a single tarfah shrub is to be met with now. But even if we transfer the place of encampment from the sandy desert to the most fruitful and best watered wady in the district, viz., the Wady Feiran, and assuming that the tarfah shrubs in this wady were incomparably more abundant at that time than they are now, it would still be inconceivable that the shrubs within the limits of this *single* encampment can have exuded 14,000,000 gomers, or (at least) as many pounds, of manna, the quantity actually required to feed two millions of people for the space of *six* days (Ex. xvi.), whereas, at the present day, the *entire* peninsula does not yield more than five or six hundred pounds in three hundred and sixty-five days in the most productive seasons. We must also bear in mind that the Israelites arrived at the desert of Sin on the fifteenth day of the second month, that is, about the beginning or middle of May; whereas now the season in which the manna flows most freely is in the months of June and July. Moreover, the production of manna is restricted at the present time to the summer months; but the Israelites required it just as much in spring, autumn, and winter, as they did in summer. Now, if the supposed miraculous enlargement of the natural basis must have been carried to such an extent, that the tarfah shrub yielded quite as much manna in the winter time, when its vitality was naturally suspended, as it did in summer, we must be honest enough to confess that the natural basis cannot be sustained, and that *Hengstenberg's* theory has no foundation whatever.—But we must go still further. The

Israelites spent but *one* year in the midst of the mountains of Sinai, the *only* place in which manna is to be met with now. The other thirty-nine years were passed in the eastern and northern parts of the peninsula, where not a single tarfah shrub is to be found at the present day, and where, to judge from the character of the soil, no such shrub ever can have grown (to say nothing of whole forests of tarfah, with tens of thousands of shrubs). Lastly, the Biblical narrative states expressly, that Jehovah rained the manna from heaven, that it fell with the dew from heaven. Now, how can Moses have thought for a moment of persuading the people that Jehovah rained the manna *from heaven*, that it came down with the dew, if they could see for themselves every day that the manna juice came out of the tarfah twigs, that it hung in drops upon the branches, and eventually fell in solid grains upon the ground? Or are we to suppose that the Israelites had not such good eyes to see all this as modern travellers have? But, it will be replied, the modern Bedouins and monks also call the manna "heaven's gift," and say that it rains from heaven. To this we answer, When Moses said to the people, in the name of Jehovah, "I will rain bread from heaven," and when he himself affirmed that the manna fell with the dew from heaven, he intended, undoubtedly, to persuade the people and his readers that the manna was an *immediate* gift of God (and not one produced by the instrumentality of tarfah shrubs and lice); but when modern Bedouins and monks speak of Heaven's gifts and rain from heaven, this is a mode of speech taken from the Biblical narrative or from the lips of pilgrims, which either vanity or interest leads them to perpetuate.

With the facts before us to which we have just referred, and which are thoroughly undeniable, we are shut up to the following alternative: either we must admit that by far the largest portion of the manna eaten by the Israelites for forty years was supplied to them without the intervention of tarfah shrubs;¹ or, if our

¹ *Tischendorf* (i. 205) endeavours, in a very peculiar way, to preserve the natural basis of the miraculous gift of manna. He says: "Does not the miracle still retain its true character, if we suppose that the qualities of the manna of the present day were intensified in all respects by the grace of God, and thus the manna of the Israelites was produced? If it were not too great a stretch of ingenuity, I would say, that the vapour ascending from the tamarisk forests may not improbably have fallen again to the earth in the

theory of a natural basis to the miracle be too dear for us to relinquish it even in view of those facts, we must not shrink from the legitimate consequence, but must freely admit that the account in the Pentateuch is embellished and exaggerated with miraculous legends; in other words, its historical credibility must be given up. With such as prefer the latter we have at present nothing to do; but those who decide in favour of the former, we refer to the New Testament miracle of the changing of water into wine, which is perfectly analogous, at least in its leading features. If the almighty power of God on that occasion changed the water into wine without the intervention of the vine and vine-dresser, which the natural process would absolutely require, there is certainly no obstacle in the way of our believing that the same Omnipotence could create manna with the dew without the intervention of a tarfah shrub; or, if the Israelitish manna was more than this,—if, as the scriptural record says, it was heavenly bread,—that the same Omnipotence could produce a gift resembling meal or bread from the moisture of the dew which fructifies the earth, without the intervention of the field, the grain, and the husbandman.—We cannot conclude this discussion without quoting an excellent and appropriate remark of *Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 504), with reference to the connection between the dew and the manna, on which so much stress is laid in the Scriptures (Ex. xvi. 13, 14; Num. xi. 9). He says: “The dew is the gift of Heaven, which fertilises the ground and causes it to bring forth bread. But in the desert the dew can produce no effect, because there is nothing sown. If, then, notwithstanding this, the dew still brought them bread, it was truly the bread of heaven.”

The foregoing argument is based upon the assumption, that the manna of the Bible and the tamarisk-manna are precisely the same, both as to their essence and properties, and that there is merely a slight difference in the mode of their origin; and on

shape of dew. At any rate, this thought is just as admissible as the notion that the manna of the present day is a faint imitation of the scriptural bread from heaven.” The problem in natural history involved in this explanation we leave untouched, and merely ask, from a Biblical point of view, What was the process in the eastern and northern part of the peninsula, where Israel lived and ate manna for thirty-eight years, and where there is not a single tarfah shrub, and therefore no manna vapour can possibly have ascended?

this assumption it seeks to explain the *data* of the Pentateuch. But we now proceed to inquire, Is this assumption well founded and true? We find men of the most diverse opinions answering the question without reserve in the negative (*e.g.*, *Wellstedt*, *Schubert*, *Robinson*, *Raumer*, *Lengerke*, *Laborde*, and many others). The weight of such authorities is sufficient to urge us to make a searching investigation.

The supporters of this assumption (the most thorough and circumspect among them is *K. Ritter*) bring forward with great care the real or supposed *points of agreement between these two products*, which they regard as thoroughly decided, and consider the apparent differences as of trifling importance, when compared with the great preponderance of these points of coincidence (*cf. Ritter*, xiv. 682). The first argument adduced is, that “the time of year in which the Israelites first partook of the manna coincides with *the* season in which the manna of Sinai is gathered still.” It has already been noticed, in passing, that the two periods do not exactly correspond: the first plentiful harvest of manna collected by the Israelites occurred in the beginning or middle of May, whereas the manna harvest of the Bedouins does not take place before the months of June and July. Still we shall not lay any great stress upon this fact; but we shall lay all the greater emphasis upon the other fact, which has also been mentioned, that the Israelites gathered manna in sufficient quantities *at every season of the year*.—It is also said, that “the tamarisk-manna is not met with in any other spot, over the whole surface of the globe, than in the peninsula of Sinai, where the Israelites found it.” That this argument is not without weight has been admitted by the most zealous opponents of the view in question (*e.g.*, *Raumer*, p. 28). But it ought to be as candidly admitted by its supporters, that this is more than counterbalanced by the fact, that the Israelites spent thirty-eight years in those parts of the peninsula in which there is not the least trace of tarfah shrubs, and yet ate manna till they were surfeited and disgusted with it (*Num.* xi. 6, xxi. 5).—Again we read, “The tamarisk-manna turns soft and melts in the heat of the sun; and this was also the case with the manna of the Israelites.” But there are many other things on which the same effect is produced by heat, yet it does not follow that they are manna.—Again: “The Bedouins gather their manna in the

morning before sunrise; the Israelites did the same, and for the very same reason." We have here an argument which proves much less than the foregoing one.—Further: "They are both produced during the night." But *Tischendorf* and many others have seen the drops of manna suspended on the branches in broad daylight; and *Schubert* says (ii. 344): The Bedouins generally gather it in the cool of the morning, when it *hangs upon the branches* in the form of small, firm globules; but they also collect at the same time whatever may have *fallen in the sand* on the previous day.—"The manna of the Bedouins has a taste resembling honey, as the Biblical manna had." But the fact is overlooked, that the Biblical manna is said to have tasted "*like cake and honey*" (Luther: like wheaten bread with honey); and in another place it is described as tasting like "oil-cakes." Now what is there in the manna of the present day at all resembling cakes or wheaten bread? *Ritter* appeals to the fact that the modern Bedouins also eat the manna upon bread! But who would ever think of saying that butter, for example, tastes *like bread* with grease upon it?—"The form, the colour, and the general appearance" are said to "correspond." The wavering and discordant statements of travellers render it impossible to subject this argument to any searching test; for sometimes the manna is described as reddish, at other times as a dirty yellow, then again as white like snow, and so on.—"In the Biblical account the manna-insect is actually mentioned" (Ex. xvi. 20). *Sic!*—"Josephus regarded the two as identical; and a mistake could not possibly be made, for a vessel of manna was ordered by Moses to be deposited in the Ark of the Covenant as a perpetual memorial and witness of the food of the desert" (*Ritter*, xiv. 680). As if the pot of manna was still in existence in the Holy of Holies in the time of Josephus (the Holy of Holies is known to have been quite empty in the second Temple, and even in connection with the first Temple we never read anything about a pot of manna), and as if the Holy of Holies had been open to everybody (whereas no one but the high priest was permitted to enter it, and he only once a year with the cloud of incense).!!

So much with reference to the supposed points of agreement: let us now pass to the undeniable *differences in the nature of the two products*. *Schubert* (ii. 345) says: "If this insect-manna formed the entire nourishment of the hosts of Israel in the

desert, they were greatly to be pitied. It contains absolutely none of those substances which are indispensably necessary for the daily nourishment and support of the animal frame, and in which worms of decomposition could be generated. . . . I agree, therefore, with *K. v. Raumer*, with the intelligent, sober-minded, inquiring Englishman, the naval lieutenant *Wellstedt*, and with many other honourable travellers and Biblical students, in the opinion that the angels' food, the manna from heaven, was not the same as the manna produced by lice and chafers." This has always been our opinion, and *Ritter's* arguments have not been sufficient to induce us to give it up.—The manna of the Israelites was *ground in mills* or *pounded in mortars*; and travellers are all agreed that this would be impossible with the manna of the present day. *Ritter* (p. 682) makes a futile attempt to set aside this important fact. "It all depends," he says, "upon the manner in which mills and mortars were employed at that time for bruising solid bodies, whether they may not have been used for simply crushing things which were moderately hard, but not as hard as stone. If so, this would apply very well (?!) to the manna, for in cold situations it is constantly described as becoming hard like wax." But is it possible, under any circumstances, to grind wax in mills, or bruise it in mortars? The cohesion of the particles of the Israelitish manna cannot have resembled that of wax or of the tamarisk-manna, but must have been more like certain kinds of gum, which can be pounded and pulverised.—Again, the Israelites *boiled* it in pots, and *made cakes of it*; and the manna of the present day is confessedly unsuitable for this. *Ritter* remarks, on the other hand (p. 677): "It was not pounded into meal, but it was mixed with meal and made into balls, and it was in this shape that it was used. This was probably the baked manna-bread (Ex. xvi. 23)" (?!). But the Israelites had no meal or bread left, and the manna was expressly intended to supply the place of the meal and bread. Hence the manna of the Bible must have contained some nutritious ingredients of the nature of meal as well as the saccharine matter, or it could not have been boiled and baked without being mixed with meal; but the manna of the present day consists entirely of saccharine matter without nutritious properties, and quite unsuitable for cooking.—Lastly, if the ancient manna was kept till the morning, *worms*

were generated in it and it *stank*; in other words, it fermented and passed into a state of decomposition, and, as is usually the case, maggots were formed in the corruption. The manna of the present day, on the contrary, is kept for years without showing the least sign of decomposition and maggots. It is to our mind inconceivable that so careful and conscientious an inquirer as *Ritter* should have adduced this circumstance (p. 682) as one of the evidences of the identity, after having tried in vain (p. 681) to destroy its force as an argument on the opposite side. "When we read," he says, "in Ex. xvi. 20, that if the manna was kept too long, worms (grew) in it and the supply was spoiled; this is not so incredible, if we bear in mind the insect which appears with the manna; and the Israelites may not have been acquainted with the plan adopted by the modern Arabs for removing the impurities that are mixed with it. The latter strain it through a coarse cloth, and boil it also, that they may be able to keep it for a long time." But what are the impurities which the Israelites must have gathered along with the manna? Sand, earth, and perhaps fragments of withered leaves—all of them materials which are as little likely to decompose and become offensive as amorphous saccharine matter. But modern travellers have made the discovery that many of the insects, whose puncture causes the sap to exude, are enveloped by the sap as it flows from the tree, and fall to the ground with the drops of manna. *Their* decomposition might have produced the offensive odour. Is this really the case, however? If so, does it occur within twenty-four hours? And are the Bedouins accustomed to practise their method of purification, with which the Israelites were unacquainted, on the very same day on which the manna is gathered? We very much doubt it. Still even this has nothing to do with the question. The point of greatest importance is, that there were *no worms* in the manna when the Israelites first collected it, but *they were bred* in it if it was kept till the morning. This is as clear as day; how, then, does it harmonise with *Ritter's* hypothesis?—We shall lay no stress upon the slightly aperient effect produced by the manna of the present day, which has been adduced as an additional argument by the opponents of the identity-theory, since the daily consumption of the manna on the part of the Israelites might have removed any susceptibility to this, which previously existed.

All the rest inevitably forces us to the conclusion, if we examine the question conscientiously and impartially, that "the manna of heaven must have been something different from the manna of lice and chafers;" that there were properties, powers, and component elements in the former, which are wanting in the manna of the present day.

From this indisputable result we must now retrace our steps, that we may do justice to those striking, though only partial points of agreement, which existed between the ancient and modern manna, both as to time and place, and also as to the material itself. *Raumer* concludes his argument against the identity-hypothesis with the words: "Notwithstanding this, it is still very remarkable that the tamarisk-manna should be found just (and only) in that district of the Sinaitic peninsula in which it is probable that the heavenly manna fell, for the first time, upon the camp of the Israelites." *Schubert* also feels constrained to close his objections to the identity-theory with the reservation "and yet -," and to attempt some kind of reconciliation between the two phenomena. "And yet," says this shrewd and thoughtful traveller (ii. 345, 346), "the natural phenomenon observable in the peninsula of Sinai is well worthy of notice for the friend of the Bible. When once the mighty hand of the artificer has opened a channel through the rock, the water continues to flow through it in all subsequent ages. When once the forms of the various genera and species of visible things had been created by the almighty word of God, they were perpetuated by the ordinary process of reproduction. And in a similar manner has the exciting cause in which the manna originated, and which at one time pervaded the whole atmosphere and all the vital energies of the country, continued to act, if nowhere else, at least in the living bushes of the manna-tamarisk."

But whilst we adopt this acute interpretation for the simple reason that it does justice to the differences as well as the congruities in the two phenomena, we would expressly guard against being supposed to regard it as the only possible or admissible solution of the problem (a view which we are sure the author himself did not entertain). On the contrary, we merely look upon it as the most successful attempt to solve the enigma, by bringing the processes of nature and grace within the same point of view.—The following results of our inquiry

we regard as firmly established: 1. That the food which the Israelites ate for forty years was not produced by the tarfah shrubs in the desert, but was prepared in the atmosphere by the almighty power of God, and fell to the earth along with the dew; and 2. that there were nutritious ingredients and properties in this heavenly manna, which are not to be found in the Sinaitic manna of the present day. All the rest belongs to the region of conjecture and hypothesis.

The design of the provision of manna is described by Moses in the book of Deuteronomy as follows (chap. viii. 3): "Jehovah humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." Moses clearly states in this passage, that he looked upon the production of manna as the creation of something *new*. The antitheses are, bread and the word of God: the former is the natural product created in the beginning, the latter is the creative power of God, which is always in operation (Ps. xxxiii. 9); the former indicates the process of nature, the latter that of grace. Where the processes of nature prove to be insufficient, on account of the perturbation to which they have been exposed (Gen. iii. 17), then, by virtue of the counsel of salvation, the processes of grace intervene to complete, relieve, and save. Now, such is the constitution of man, that he naturally relies upon the processes of nature; and where these cease to operate he falls into despair. This false confidence, however, requires to be condemned and destroyed, in order that true confidence, that is, faith, may be brought into exercise and strengthened. The foundation of nature must be broken up, that that of grace may be laid and preserved. This end is subserved objectively by the humiliation resulting from the failure of the supplies of nature, subjectively by mistrust in her powers.

(3.) *Liebetrut* (*Die Sonntagsfeier*, Hamburg 1851) proves from ver. 23, that a previous acquaintance with the SABBATH is taken for granted. *Hengstenberg*, on the other hand (*The Lord's Day*, p. 7, translation), adduces *three* proofs (from vers. 22, 26, 27) that the Sabbath was till then entirely unknown to the Israelites. We are persuaded that neither of them has *proved* anything (see vol. ii. § 8, 2), and that the question cannot be decided from

the chapter before us. Everything depends upon whether the history of the creation, in the first chapter of Genesis, was a pre-Mosaic conception or not. If it was a revelation made to Moses *subsequently* to the period at which we have arrived, there can be no doubt that *Hengstenberg* is right; but there is just as little doubt that *Hengstenberg* is wrong, if the account of the distribution of the work of creation over six days, and the rest which followed on the seventh day, is traceable to a primeval revelation and tradition. We do not hesitate for a moment to declare ourselves most decidedly in favour of the latter (see my *Bibel und Astronomie*, 3d ed., p. 54 sqq.).¹ Hence we regard the sabbatic festival as ante-legal,—in other words, as an institution of paradise; but we are very far from intending thereby to support that unspiritual, unevangelical bondage, which prevails both in exegesis and practice on the other side of the Channel. The institution of the Sabbath *received its legal* character for the first time in connection with the giving of the law at Sinai, and *lost it* again through that love which, in the New Testament, is the fulfilment of the law (Col. ii. 16, 17);—but the *institution* of the Sabbath continued to exist after the law was fulfilled, *as* it had already existed, or rather as it ought to have existed, before the law was given,—and it is destined to continue until it has attained to its fulfilment and completion in the eternal Sabbath of the creature.—The occurrence under review formed the historical preparation for the announcement of the *law* of the Sabbath, as an inviolable command, carefully defined, and requiring literal observance,—a law which became the sign of the covenant, and the breach of which involved the breach of the covenant also. But as God never requires without *first* giving, so do we find it here. Israel received a positive assurance and pledge, that the blessing of God would richly compensate him for the cessation from work, which the law of the Sabbath required.

(4.) In reading the injunction, that a GOMER *full of manna* should be laid up “before the testimony” as a memorial for future generations, the first thing which strikes us is the explanatory clause, that a gomer (גֹּמֵר) is the tenth part of an ephah (Ex. xvi. 36). *Väter* and *Böhlen* adduced this clause as an argument against the early composition of the Pentateuch, on the ground that a gomer must by this time have become anti-

¹ Pages 9 sqq. of the translation with which vol. i. of this work is prefaced.

quoted. The rashness of such an inference is quickly apparent ; for the worst result to which we could be brought would be, to regard the clause as a gloss of later date. *Hengstenberg* (*Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 172 sqq., translation) follows *J. D. Michaelis* and *Kanne*, and gets rid of the difficulty by assuming that a gomer was not an actual measure, but a vessel in ordinary use, which was always about the same size, and could therefore serve as a measure in case of need. There are many places in which instances of this might still be found.—*Bertheau* (*Zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, p. 73) infers, from the inquiries made by *Böckh*, that the superficial dimensions of the ephah were 1985·77 Parisian cubic feet, and that it held 739,800 Parisian grains of water. *Thenius*, on the other hand, sets down the dimensions at 1014·39 cubic inches (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1846, Pt. 1, 2).—The statement in ver. 34, that Aaron laid up a gomer full of manna לִפְנֵי הָעֵדוּת, as the Lord commanded Moses, has caused unnecessary difficulty. The historian here evidently anticipates, and mentions the execution of the command, which occurred at a later period, at the same time as he records the command itself. (See *Hengstenberg*, *Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 169, translation.)

HALT AT REPHIDIM.

§ 4. (Ex. xvii. 1–xix. 2).—The next stations after the desert of *Sin* were *Dophkah*, *Alush* (Num. xxxiii. 12–14), and *Rephidim*, from which place the procession at length passed into the desert of *Sinai* on the *first day* of the third month (5).—At *Rephidim* there was no water. The people tempted Jehovah in consequence, and said: “Is Jehovah among us, or not?” They also murmured against Moses for having brought them out of Egypt to let them perish with thirst in the wilderness. The anger of the people assumed, in fact, so threatening an aspect, that Moses complained to his God: “They are almost ready to stone me.” The intention and effect of temptation are to *prove*. Now *Jehovah* was perfectly justified in tempting the people, for they had not as yet been by any means sufficiently proved ; but *the people* were by no means justified in tempting their God, who had delivered them out of Egypt, and led them miraculously through sea and desert, and

had thus given sufficient and superabundant proofs of His fidelity. But the unconfiding, unbelieving nature of the people, displayed itself more and more; and Jehovah proceeded to meet it with discipline and mercy. Moses was ordered to go into the mountain, with some of the elders, to be witnesses of the great miracle which was about to be performed. Jehovah manifested Himself to them there, standing upon a rock. Moses struck the rock with his staff, and a stream flowed out, which furnished an ample supply to the whole congregation. The place in which the miracle occurred received the name of *Massah* and *Meribah* (temptation and murmuring), that the lesson and warning, involved in the event, might be the more deeply impressed upon the minds of the people (1).—The encampment at Rephidim also acquired memorable importance from another event. The Israelites had been rescued from the enmity of the mighty Egyptians by the strong hand of their God. But the principle of hostility to the people of God was not Egyptian merely, it was common to all the heathen. The Israelites stood in the same position towards every Gentile nation as towards the Egyptians; for their election and separation were a direct opposition and protest against heathenism of every kind. When the hostility of Egypt was sentenced, all the nations that heard of it trembled (vol. ii. § 36, 2); for they felt that the judgment on Egypt affected them, and the enmity, which had hitherto perhaps been merely an unconscious one on their part, ceased henceforth to be dormant or concealed. Thus the Israelites had hardly escaped the dangers of Egypt, when new dangers of the same description appeared in their way. The *first* nation which ventured to give expression to its natural enmity towards Israel was *Amalek*. As the Amalekites belonged to a kindred race, namely, the family of Edom (2), they ought to have been the last to feel themselves called upon to rise against Israel in defence of the general interests of heathenism; but so completely had the heathen nature entered into the heart of this people, and so thoroughly had it transformed them, that the tie of blood-relationship only

widened the breach, and heightened the heathen hatred of the Israelites. Without provocation, the Amalekites rose against the chosen people as the first champions of heathenism; and thus forfeited their claim to be exempted from destruction, in common with all the other tribes that were related to the Israelites (*vid.* § 46). They treacherously attacked the exhausted rear of the Israelitish army (Deut. xxv. 18). Moses then directed *Joshua*, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, to lead a band of picked men against the foe, and went himself, along with his brother *Aaron* and his brother-in-law (?) *Hur*, to the summit of a hill, within sight of the field of battle, that he might superintend the conflict through the aid of the powers of a higher world. The *staff of God*, which he held in his hand, was the banner of victory to the army of Israel, that was fighting in the plain below. As long as the hand of Moses was held up Israel prevailed; but whenever he let it down from weariness, the Amalekites triumphed. Thus the issue of the conflict was for a long time undecided. At length Aaron and Hur placed a stone under Moses' arm, and helped to hold it up, grasping the banner of victory, till the setting of the sun. At length Joshua discomfited Amalek with the edge of the sword. Moses then received directions to commit this important and instructive event to writing. He also built an altar, which he called "*Jehovah my banner*" (יְהוָה נִסִּי). By their heathenish malice towards their kindred, the Amalekites had forfeited for ever the right to protection, to which it might have laid claim on the ground of relationship, as well as the other branches of the Terahite tribe (including the tribe of Edom, cf. Deut. ii. 4-6; xxiii. 8, 9). "The war of Jehovah against Amalek from generation to generation," was henceforth to be the watchword whenever they came into contact with this tribe, which was to be exterminated, like the Hamite tribes of Canaan (Deut. xxv. 19), whose iniquity was now full (Gen. xv. 16) (3).—The report of the glorious issue of the conflict with Amalek must undoubtedly have filled the minds of surrounding nations with terror, as the fate of the Egyptians had done before. It reached

even to *Jethro*, Moses' father-in-law (vol. ii. § 19, 7), with whom he had left his wife and children (vol. ii. § 21, 3, 4); and he at once determined to bring them to him. When *Jethro* joined the procession, it had probably already arrived at the *desert of Sinai*. The wonderful works of *Jehovah*, which were fully narrated to him by *Moses*, excited him also to praise the God above all gods; and the elders of *Israel* joined in a covenant-meal, by which they extended the bond between the two chiefs to an alliance between the two nations. On the following day *Moses* was occupied from morning till evening in judging the people. This led *Jethro* to advise him to select out of every tribe able men, who feared God and hated covetousness, and to appoint them as inferior judges over every ten, every fifty, every hundred, and every thousand of the people. All questions of minor importance were to be settled by them; and thus *Moses* himself, by reserving only the more serious disputes for his own decision, would gain time for the uninterrupted discharge of the duties of his office as mediator before God. *Moses* adopted this advice, and *Jethro* returned to his own land (4).

(1.) The miraculous gift of WATER FROM THE ROCK is frequently referred to in the Scriptures (Ps. lxxviii. 16, cv. 41, cxiv. 8; Is. xlviii. 21), and was repeated in *Kadesh* at the termination of their pilgrimage through the desert (Num. xx.). As the rock is described as a rock in *Horeb*, we must suppose the outer hills of the *Sinaitic* group to have been already reached. But there is not the least ground for identifying the rock in *Horeb* with the mountain of God in *Horeb* (the mountain of the law). Whether the brook which *Moses*' staff called forth from the rock continued to flow, though less copiously than at first, and may still be discovered, must remain undecided. Yet (taking as an analogy the gift of manna) an answer in the affirmative appears to us more plausible than one in the negative.—*Lepsius* (*Reise*, p. 41) eliminates every miraculous feature connected with the event. "Hitherto," he says, "the *Israelites* had tasted no water from the primary rocks; and though they had found a well in *Dophkah* and *Alushi*, the supply was probably scanty for so large a multitude, and the water less agreeable

than that obtained from the chalk or sandstone. The people therefore began to murmur during the next day's journey, and clamoured for water. . . . Upon this, Moses led them to Rephidim, which was six hours distant, and gave them to drink of the sparkling and pleasant fountain of the Wady Firan." If this view be correct, we must assume, either that the whole story is mythical, or that Moses resorted to some conjuror's tricks;—which of the two we are to prefer the author does not tell us.—The statement of *Tacitus* (Hist. 5, 3) probably has reference to this occurrence. He says: "The Jews, on their exodus from Egypt, were thoroughly exhausted for want of water. Moses, however, observed a herd of wild asses climbing to the top of a rock covered with trees. He followed them, and found a well with a copious supply of water. This led him to set up the image of an ass to be worshipped in the holy place."

(2.) The *Amalekites* were a rapacious Bedouin tribe, who had their settlement to the south of Palestine in Arabia Petraea, and extended as far as the mountains of Sinai. They were encircled by the Egyptians, the Philistines, the Amorites, the Edomites, and the Midianites (Gen. xiv. 7; Ex. xvii. 8; Num. xiii. 30; Judg. vi. 3; 1 Sam. xv. 7, xxvii. 8; 1 Chron. iv. 43). From this locality they appear to have penetrated at one time into the interior of Canaan; at least we find a mountain in the tribe of Ephraim which bore the name of "the mount of the Amalekites" (Judg. xii. 15, v. 14; cf. *Ewald*, Gesch. i. 296, Ann. 3). The Mosaic list of tribes (Gen. x.) does not include their name; but in Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16, and 1 Chron. i. 36, there is an Amalek mentioned, who was the grandson of Esau (Edom). This omission of their name from the list, which embraces all the tribes with whom the Israelites came into contact (excepting the Terahite tribe, the various branches of which are given in Gen. xii. sqq.), and the insertion of the name in the Edomitish genealogy, remove all doubt that the author of the book of Genesis looked upon the Amalekites as a branch of the Edomites. Accordingly *Josephus* (Ant. ii. 1, 2) also describes them as an Edomitish tribe, and their territory as a portion of Idumæa. *Clericus* was the first to dispute this combination; and *J. D. Michaelis* (Spicil. i. 171 sqq.), who followed him, has written still more elaborately, maintaining that there was no connection whatever between the grandson of Esau and the tribe of the

Amalekites. Among modern writers, such as *Bertheau*, *Ewald*, *Lengerke*, *Knobel*, *Tuch*, *K. Ritter*, etc., this has become the prevailing opinion,—with this difference, however, that in order to account for the statement in Gen. xxxvi., it has been assumed by some (*Ewald*, i. 296) that a branch of the original Amalekites sacrificed their national independence, and connected themselves with the kingdom of the Idumæans, and that this gave occasion to the introduction of Amalek into the Edomitish genealogy as a grandson of Esau (Gen. xxxvi.). *Knobel*, who adopts this view, traces the Amalekites to the Semitic tribe Lud (Gen. x. 22; Arabic, *Laud* or *Lawad*), on the authority of Arabic tradition (*Völkertafel*, p. 199 sq.). *Hengstenberg* alone adheres firmly to the old opinion, and we cannot but agree with him. The arguments adduced on the opposite side are the following: (1.) “According to Gen. xii. 7, there were Amalekites in Abraham’s time,—that is, long before Esau.” But *Hengstenberg* neutralises the force of this argument entirely by remarking, that it is not the *people*, but a *field*, of the Amalekites that is here referred to, and that it is evident from the whole tenor of the account that this expression is used proleptically.—(2.) “In Balaam’s oration (Num. xxiv. 20), they are described as the firstling of the nations (גֵּוֹיִם אֶשְׁרֵי אֶרֶץ), in other words, as one of the earliest tribes.” This expression is employed, however, as *Hengstenberg* has proved from the words themselves, and from the context of the passage (*Balaam*, pp. 489, 490), to denote that Amalek was, not the *oldest* of the nations, but the *first* to oppose the people of God (after their deliverance from Egypt),—the prototype of heathenism in its hostile relation to the kingdom of God.—(3.) “In the period which elapsed between the grandson of Esau and Moses (four or five hundred years) there was not time for so large a body of people to spring up, as Ex. xvii. presupposes.” To this we reply, that it was just as easy, as for Israel to grow into a much larger body during the same period. In the formation of the Amalekite nation a large number of servants (Gen. xxxii. 7, 8) and tributaries, and more particularly the incorporated remnants of subjugated tribes, may have contributed a very important contingent towards its rapid growth.—(4.) “There is no indication of the existence of so close a relationship between the Edomites and the Amalekites, either in their sympathies or their antipathies; and there is no reference whatever in the Biblical

history, to any claim on the part of Amalek to that protection which the Israelites were to extend to every kindred tribe." We have already replied to the latter part in the paragraph above. In reply to the former, it is sufficient to say, that the early separation of this minor branch from the main body suffices to explain their subsequent estrangement.—(5.) "Arabian traditions also describe the Amalekites as a very ancient, wide-spread, and powerful people." But even *Tuch* himself (*Sinaitische Inschriften*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, ii. 150) is obliged to acknowledge that this legend is a very vague one: "The term Amalek," he says, "as employed by the Arabians, is very comprehensive and indefinite; for instance, they mix up together the traditions of the Amalekites themselves and those of the giant-tribes of Canaan, of the Hyksos, and of the Philistines."—On the other hand, *Hengstenberg* adduces as proofs of the descent of the Amalekites from the grandson of Esau—(1.) not only the identity of name, but that of their settlement also (1 Chron. v. 42, 43); (2.) the fact that in Gen. xii. 7, with evident intention, and in contrast with the whole of the context, there is *no people*, but only *a field* mentioned,—an evident intimation that there was not as yet any people of this name; and (3.) lastly, the improbability of a tribe, with which the Israelites came so frequently into contact, and which stood in so important a relation to their history, being introduced entirely ἀγε-νεαλόγητος,—a course which would have been completely opposed to the plan invariably adopted in the Pentateuch. *Ewald's* remark (i. 296), that "the Amalekites are passed over in the list of tribes because they had lost their original importance at the time when the catalogue was drawn up," by no means weakens this argument; for in that case, as there were other nations which had lost their importance even before the Amalekites (the Amorites, for example), they ought much rather to have been omitted.

(3.) According to Deut. xxv. 18, the Amalekites attacked the exhausted REAR of the Israelitish procession. "Remember," says Moses, "what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary." The course of events may be supposed to have been the following: The

murmuring on account of the want of water, and the relief afforded, took place immediately after the arrival of the main body at Rephidim; while the rear, which had been prevented by fatigue from arriving earlier, was still on the road. And it was upon the latter that the attack was made.—We learn from Num. xiii. 17 (16), that JOSIUA'S original name was *Hosea*. The change in his name was no doubt connected with this victory over the Amalekites, even if it was not made immediately (§ 35, 3): Moses called *Hosea* (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *i.e.*, deliverance, help) *Joshua* (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *i.e.*, *Jehovah is a help*, Sept. 'Ἰησοῦς), because he had proved himself a help to Israel. The change was made to show whence the help really came. The alteration in his name had also a prophetic signification. It was his ordination to a new course, upon which he had now entered, and which was destined to become still more glorious in its future stages than in its first commencement; and the new name served to excite in him a consciousness of his new vocation.—*Hur* is frequently mentioned (chap. xxiv. 14, xxxi. 2) as an assistant of Moses, and a man of great distinction. *Josephus* (Ant. ii. 2, 4) follows the Jewish tradition, which is by no means improbable, and describes him as the husband of Miriam, Moses' sister.—*The attitude of Moses*, with his *hand raised*, is frequently supposed to have been that of a man in prayer. But there is nothing in the account itself to sustain such a view; and it is the less admissible, since it attributes an importance to the outward form of prayer which has no analogy even in the Old Testament. The power of prayer is in the desire of the heart towards God, and not in the elevation of the hands to God; and so far as this desire is in need of a vehicle and outward expression, it is to be found in the *word* of prayer. The attitude of Moses was rather that of a commander, superintending and directing the battle. This is evident from the simple fact, that the elevation of the hand was only a means; the raising of the *staff*, which was held up before the warriors of Israel as the signal of victory, was really the end. It was not to implore the assistance of Jehovah that the hand and staff were raised, but to assure the Israelites of the help of Jehovah, and serve as the medium of communication. It was not a sign for Jehovah, but for Israel: it was rather a sign *from* Jehovah, of whom Moses was the mediator. So long, therefore, as the warriors of Israel could see the staff of

God lifted up, by which so many miracles had already been wrought, their faith was replenished with Divine power, inspiring confidence and insuring victory; and they became strong to smite Amalek in the name of the Lord. But the mediator, by whom this power was conveyed, was only a feeble man. His arm was wearied, and almost crippled, by the long continuance of the conflict; and he was obliged to let it fall. At the same time, the courage and confidence of Israel fell with it; for their weak faith still required an outward, visible sign. It is evident from ver. 9 that this is the correct interpretation. Moses there says to *Joshua*, "Go out, fight with Amalek; to-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand." And it is further confirmed by ver. 15, where Moses calls the altar, which he built as a memorial, *Jehovah Nissi* (Jehovah my banner). His design in giving this name was precisely the same, as that which led him to change the name *Hosea* (help) into *Joshua* (Jehovah is help). It was not Joshua who was the help of Israel, but Jehovah through him; and neither Moses nor his staff was the banner of victory for Israel, but Jehovah through him. Jehovah was the banner, the staff was His symbol; and this banner was held by the hand of Moses. Hence Moses says, ver. 16: "The hand is on the banner of Jah;"—for we agree with the majority of commentators in regarding it as probable, that כַּף should be the reading adopted here, instead of סֵפֶר (equivalent to סֵפֶר), which is not met with anywhere else.—When Moses received the command to record the occurrence in THE BOOK (סֵפֶר), the article shows that it was not any book that was meant, but one particular book, which had either been already provided, or the idea and plan of which existed in Moses' mind. So much, at any rate, we may learn from this passage, that the leading facts connected with the history of Israel were written in a book by Moses himself, though it does not necessarily follow that this book was the Pentateuch in its present shape (*Hengstenberg*, *Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 122 sqq., transl.).—And when, again, Jehovah commanded Moses to enjoin upon Joshua the extermination of Amalek, it became at once apparent that Joshua was destined to be the successor of Moses; and what we have already said respecting the alteration of his name is thereby confirmed.

(4.) It is questionable whether the VISITS OF JETHRO oc-

curred during the halt at Rephidim, or not till they reached the next station (the desert of Sinai). In support of the former, it is said that the departure from Rephidim is first recorded in the next chapter (xix. 2); but to this it is replied, that in chap. xviii. 5 Jethro is expressly stated to have brought the wife and children of Moses "into the wilderness, where he encamped at the *mount of God*." The former cannot possibly be maintained, unless it be assumed, either that the mountain of God here referred to was a different mountain from the mount of God in Horeb mentioned in chap. iii. 2, and the "mountain" by which Moses went up "to God," namely, the mountain of the law (chap. xix. 2, 3); or that the place of encampment at Rephidim was so near to Sinai, that it could very properly be described as a place where he encamped at the mount of God. Either of these, however, appears to us entirely out of the question. It is a sufficient objection to the last, that, however near to each other Rephidim and the desert of Sinai may be supposed to have been, they still formed *two different stations*; and that the account would have been confused indeed, if Rephidim had been called the place of encampment at the mountain of God, and then the author had proceeded to state, in chap. xix. 2, that "they departed from Rephidim, and came to the desert of Sinai (after at least a day's journey), and camped there before the mount (of God)." We are surely not to infer that this day's journey had led them farther from the mount of God, rather than brought them towards it.—The other opinion, that the mountain of God in Rephidim is to be distinguished from the mount of God in the desert of Sinai, is supported by *K. Ritter* (Erdkunde xiv. 741). He supposes the mountain at which Jethro met with Moses to have been the Serbal, which had received the appellation "mountain of God," as a place of heathen worship, and distinguishes it from the mountain of the law, which was afterwards called the mount of God (that is, of the *true* God) on account of the giving of the law. He thinks that this view is sustained by chap. xix. 2, where Mount Sinai is merely spoken of as "the mountain," not "the mountain of God," because it had not yet been rendered a holy mountain by the giving of the law. But *Lepsius* (p. 428) refers him to the next verse (ver. 3), where Moses is said to have gone up the mountain "unto God," and *Jehovah* to have called to him out of

the mountain. To this we would further add a reference to chap. iii. 1, 12, and iv. 27, which equally demonstrate the futility of Ritter's reasoning. Still more untenable is the supposition that the Serbal was called the mount of God, "because the Amalekites and Philistines regarded it as a sacred mountain." If this was the case (and for many reasons it is by no means improbable, § 5), and if the Amalekites really called it the mount of God (though they would have been far more likely to call it the mount of Baal), it is altogether inconceivable that this name should have been so unreservedly adopted in the Bible, especially as the same name had already been given to another mountain, as the place in which the true God was worshipped (Ex. iii. 1, vi. 27). In what way the expression of Jethro at Rephidim (chap. xviii. 11), "Now I know that Jehovah is greater than all gods," can have been enlisted in support of this hypothesis, I cannot divine. In fact, the most unfortunate of all the explanations that have been given, is that commended by Ritter. There is an earlier one, which has much more to recommend it, viz., that the *rock* at Rephidim, from which Moses brought the water, was also called the mount of God, because Jehovah stood upon it in the presence of Moses (chap. xvii. 6). But even this explanation is inadmissible, for a rock is not a mountain; and (what is of the greatest weight of all) as the mountain of the law has no parallel in history, so must the title given to it, the mountain of God, have remained in the language as the designation of this mountain alone.

We are shut up, therefore, to the other assumption, that the visit of Jethro did not occur during the halt at Rephidim, but at the next resting-place (the desert of Sinai). But how is this to be reconciled with chap. xix. 2? Only on the supposition that the position assigned to the account of Jethro's visit is *chronologically* inaccurate, though it is *actually* correct and appropriate; *i.e.*, that according to a strict chronological arrangement, it would more properly have stood immediately after chap. xix. 2, or perhaps even later, but that there were still stronger reasons for placing it here. It makes no essential difference to our purpose, which is purely historical, whether this inversion was made by a later compiler of the Pentateuch records, or by the single author of the entire Pentateuch. We may therefore leave this question unanswered, and proceed to point out the

motive which may have induced the one or the other to make such an inversion. *Ranke* (*Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, i. 83) has also pointed this out with his usual circumspection: "The mountain of God," he says, "and not Replhidim, is described as the place of encampment at that time (ver. 5). Moreover, the circumstances in which we find the people are adapted, not to their flying halt at Replhidim (only half a month intervened between their arrival at the desert of Sin and their encampment in the desert of Sinai), but to their longer stay at Sinai. Hence this chapter departs from the chronological order, and anticipates the occurrence. As our examinations thus far have shown that we have here a well-arranged and orderly work, we must inquire into the reason of this singular deviation. The author is now standing at the commencement of an important section in his history, which extends from Ex. xix. to Num. x., and contains the account of the giving of the law at Sinai. All the directions embraced in this section are given through Moses by Jehovah, and bear throughout the character of Divine commands. It is different with the appointment of the judges, the origin of which is recorded in chap. xviii. This was not ordered by Jehovah, but recommended by Jethro. . . . And hence we are led to conjecture that the author purposely separated the human institution from such as were Divine, and pointed out the distinction by the position assigned to it."

We have something to add to this excellent exposition, which will serve still further to establish its correctness. First of all we would observe, that the chronological inversion is only a partial one, and is not made entirely without preparation. For the commencement of the account of Jethro's visit (chap. xviii. 1-4) is to all appearance fitly placed, even chronologically considered, in the position in which it stands. "And Jethro heard all that God had done for Moses and for Israel." The words, "All that God had done for Moses and for Israel," undoubtedly refer primarily, though not exclusively, to the victory over Amalek, recorded immediately before. The news of *this* victory first convinced Jethro that he might restore his daughter and grandchildren to Moses without anxiety or danger. Before he reached the camp, the Israelites had no doubt departed from Replhidim, and entered the desert of Sinai. If we assume—what is very probable for the reasons already assigned (vol. ii. § 19, 6)—that

Jethro was living at the time on the other side of the Elanitic Gulf, a whole month or more may easily have intervened between the victory over Amalek and the arrival of Jethro in the camp at "the mount of God;" and in that case his arrival would not even fall in the very earliest period of the sojourn at Sinai, but *after* the promulgation of the first Sinaitic law.

There is another view, which will probably serve to confirm our opinion. When Moses left his wife and children with his father-in-law, he will certainly have given him to understand when, where, and under what circumstances he intended to receive them back again. According to Ex. iii. 12, he knew for certain that he would return to Sinai, and remain there for a considerable period. Now, is it not very probable that he had instructed his father-in-law to bring his wife and children to join him there?—But the history of the Israelitish journey itself furnishes still more decisive arguments in support of our opinion. The period which elapsed between the arrival of the Israelites in the desert of Sin, and their arrival in the desert of Sinai, was only fourteen days (chap. xvi. 1, and xix. 1). Of these fourteen days, seven were absorbed by the halt in the desert of Sin alone (according to chap. xvi. 22 sqq.; see § 3). Consequently their stay at Rephidim must have been brief and hurried, and (as the battle itself occupied a whole day, chap. xvii. 12) cannot have left sufficient time for such transactions as are described in chap. xviii., viz.: first, the lengthened confidential interview between Moses and Jethro (ver. 8 sqq.); then the sacrifices offered by Jethro, and the festal meal in which Jethro united with the elders of Israel (ver. 12); after that, the day spent by Moses in judging the people (ver. 13); and, lastly, the organisation of the new plan, recommended by Jethro, which must have occupied a considerable time, especially as we find, from Deut. i. 13, that the judges were elected by the *suffrages of the people*. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile chap. xviii. 27 with the opposite view. If Jethro's visit took place at Rephidim, his journey homewards would have lain in the same direction as that taken by Moses,—and as Moses must have left Rephidim at the same time as his father-in-law, we cannot understand why Jethro did not travel in company with Moses until their roads separated.—*Lepsius* also maintains (Briefe, p. 437) that Jethro's visit did not take place during the halt at Rephidim, but when they were

encamped at Sinai (*i.e.*, according to his theory, at the foot of the Serbal). But when he accounts for the error in the order of events by asserting that chap. xix. 1, 2 is a later interpolation, or, if not, that it must have stood before chap. xviii., we cannot agree with him. We must also dissent from him when he places Jethro's visit in the very earliest part of the halt at Sinai; *i.e.*, in the period which intervened between the arrival of the Israelites and the promulgation of the law (according to him, in the first three days). We cannot believe that everything connected with Jethro's visit can have been transacted in these three days (in fact there would not be *three* days, but two, if his interpretation of chap. xix. 11, 15 were correct; for we find in vers. 11, 15, not "on the *fourth* day," but on the *third*). Still less can we believe that the two or three days, which were set apart for the purpose of preparing for the giving of the law, were spent in such tedious, noisy, and distracting occupations (as Jethro's feast with the elders of Israel, the day spent by Moses in settling disputes, and the election and installation of the new judges).—We observe, in conclusion, that *Josephus* (*Ant.* iii. 2–5) interpreted the text as meaning that Jethro's visit was not paid till after the Israelites were encamped at Sinai.

Two objections have been offered by critics to the credibility of the account before us. *Vatke* (*bibl. Theol.* i. 296) attacks the *decimal division* in the new institution, as inappropriate and not historical. But *Hengstenberg* (*Pentateuch*, ii. 342) has completely set aside this objection, by showing that the new arrangement itself was merely the restoration of an ancient institution, which naturally arose out of the organisation common to nomadic and patriarchal communities. In Egypt the judicial customs of the patriarchs had fallen to some extent into disuse; as we may infer from the occurrence described in Ex. ii. 11 sqq. A monarchical principle, of which Moses was the representative, was introduced into the Israelitish community on its departure from Egypt, and therefore all judicial authority centred in him. But Jethro's advice led to the restoration of the ancient judicial institutions, which were henceforth associated with the new monarchical principle. There can be no doubt that the new arrangement was essentially identical with the ancient custom, which had fallen for some time into disuse. The word מֵאָה (a thousand) is frequently employed to denote a large, natural

section of a tribe, as every lexicon proves; and it is apparent enough that the numeral employed here is merely approximative, and not mathematically exact. Why may not the same principle of classification have been carried out still further, and thus groups of a hundred, fifty, and ten individuals have formed larger or smaller family circles, with a common judicial head?

In Arabic the family is called عَشِيرَةٌ, from the numeral ten, though a family does not always consist of ten persons. In Deut. i. 13, 15, it is also expressly stated, that the judicial plan adopted on Jethro's advice, was made to conform as closely as possible to the existing divisions into families and tribes.

De Wette (*Einleitung*, § 156, 2) finds a *contradiction* in the fact, that in Deut. i. 6-18, where the introduction of the judicial plan is again referred to, no mention whatever is made of Jethro; and even *Köster* (*Die Propheten der alten und neuen Test.*, p. 23) says: "According to Ex. xviii. 17, Jethro recommended that judges should be appointed over the people according to a decimal system of classification; and, according to Deut. i. 15, Moses adopted this plan by the direction of God. Thus we see that the good advice of a friend was regarded as the word of God." But it is not true that the institution is traced to the direction of God in Deut. i. 15; and *Stähelin* himself (*Krit. Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, p. 79) admits the futility of *De Wette's* objection: "The omission of any reference to Jethro in Deuteronomy does not amount to a contradiction; for the intention of the writer was simply to state *the fact* of the appointment of judges, and not to describe the *manner* of their appointment."

(5.) In chap. xix. 1 it is stated, that "IN THE THIRD MONTH (בְּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי) after the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, ON THAT DAY (בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא) they came into the desert of Sinai." What day does this mean? Nearly every expositor, from Jonathan downwards, has taken it to mean the day of the new moon, basing the explanation upon the primary meaning of חֹדֶשׁ = *novilunium*,—a meaning which the word always retained (1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 24; Hosea v. 7; Amos viii. 5; Is. i. 13, 14; 2 Chron. ii. 3, viii. 13; Neh. x. 34, etc.); thus *Gesenius* renders it *tertio novilunio, i.e., calendis mensis tertii* (*Thesaurus*, p. 449). But *Lepsius* protests most strongly against such an interpreta-

tion.¹ If this were the meaning, he says, we should find בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, as in Ex. xl. 2, 17; Num. i. 33, 38. Now no one can deny that this would be the more exact expression; but the use of the less exact (as in this passage, and in Num. ix. 1, xx. 1) is not thereby precluded, especially in the present case, where any misunderstanding is prevented by the words בְּיוֹם הַהוּא (in that day). But when he further maintains, that the Jewish tradition cannot have taken this to be the meaning of the word, since it fixes the fiftieth day after the Exodus—*i.e.*, the fifth or sixth day of the third month—as the day of the promulgation of the law (which, according to Ex. xix. 11, 15, took place on the third day after the arrival of the Israelites at Sinai), and must therefore have taken the second or third of the month to be the day of arrival, he is evidently in error. For it is not stated anywhere, that the third day was reckoned from the moment of their arrival at Sinai; on the contrary, such an interpretation is

¹ Both *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, ii. p. 297, transl.) and *Bertheau* (*Sieben Gruppen*, p. 62) object to the rendering *novilunium*, though for a totally different reason. Their argument is directed against *Hitzig*, who asserts (*Ostern und Pfingsten*, p. 21 sqq.) that, in contradiction to Ex. xii. and other passages, Ex. xxxiv. 18 fixes the first of the month Abib (בְּרִאשִׁית חֹדֶשׁ אֲבִיב), instead of the fourteenth, for the celebration of the Passover. In addition to many other correct and conclusive arguments, which they bring forward in opposition to this unheard-of assertion, they state that the word הַיּוֹם does not occur a single time in the whole of the Pentateuch with the meaning “the day of the new moon.” But this is unquestionably the primary meaning of the word; and it is also certain that this meaning was preserved through the whole of the Old Testament (see the passages quoted above). Still, in the passage before us, *Hengstenberg* does not regard the expression as referring to some day in the third month, which is not more particularly defined, but agrees with us in supposing the day intended to be the *first* of the month. He does not found this opinion, however, upon the words בְּהַיּוֹם הַהוּא, but upon the expression “on that day,” which is employed to define more precisely the general expression “in the third month.” for “on that day” means, “on the day in which the month commenced.” The incorrectness of such reasoning is very apparent; for if הַיּוֹם did not of itself denote the beginning of the month, the clause, “on that day,” could not suffice to indicate the first day of the month. *Hengstenberg’s* objection, that in this case בְּיוֹם הַהוּא would be superfluous, has already been refuted by *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 519): “The analogous passage,” he says, “in Gen. vii. 13, demonstrates the opposite. The words, ‘on that day,’ point emphatically to the day just mentioned, and are only a little weaker than ‘on the self-same day,’ which also refers to a day already indicated, and not to any longer space of time.”

excluded by the context. Shortly after their arrival, probably not till the second day (on account of the fatigue of the journey), Moses ascended the mountain and received the preliminaries of the covenant (vers. 3-6). On his return he collected the elders together, to make known to them the words of Jehovah (this was on the third day). He then brought back to Jehovah the answer of the people, and received a command to make the people ready for the promulgation of the law on the third day from that time (that is, on the fifth or sixth of the month). Thus the fiftieth day from the Exodus is seen to correspond quite correctly to the fifth or sixth day from the arrival at Sinai; and it is evident that the Jewish tradition interpreted *היום הזה* in the same manner as we have done.—*Lepsius* supposes "that day" to have been the day of the battle with Amalek (for, in the learned critic's opinion, chap. xix. 1, 2, is put in the wrong place, and ought to stand *before* chap. xviii. 1). That is to say, *on the same day* on which Israel had maintained a severe conflict with Amalek, from the first thing in the morning till late in the evening (xvii. 9, 12), and on which Moses had crippled his hands with the exhaustion caused by holding them up (xvii. 12),—*on the very same day*, though it was a long time past sunset (xvii. 12), Moses not only built an altar at Rephidim (xvii. 15), but after erecting the altar, directed the people, who were worn out partly with terror and anxiety, and partly from the twelve hours' engagement, to leave Rephidim and march through the Wady Aleyat to the Sinai-Serbal;—yes, and *on the same day*, notwithstanding all the strain that had already been put upon both body and mind, Moses ascended to the top of the fearfully precipitous Serbal, which is 6342 feet high, and conversed with Jehovah there; again, *on the same day*, he came down from the mountain (we will hope that he did not find the same difficulty as the Egyptologist, who was quite fresh when he went up, and who says, with regard to himself and his companions [p. 332]: "We were obliged to leap from rock to rock like the chamois, and by this pathless route, the most difficult and exhausting that I ever travelled in my life, we arrived at our tent with trembling knees in two hours and a half"); and even then the indefatigable Moses had *not* yet finished his day's work, but *on the same day* again he assembled the elders of the people, and then again reported the answer of the people to Jehovah,—all this *היום הזה*,

for all this occurred on the day of their arrival, with which the three days' preparation for the promulgation of the law commenced.—Indeed! Then let no one say that *Lepsius* does not believe in miracles! But that is the way with these critics: the actual miracle (*e.g.* the sweetening of the bitter water at Marah, and the flowing of the water from the rock at Replhidim) is pronounced a purely natural occurrence; and the simplest and most natural event in the world, which really required no miracle at all, is so interpreted as to be absolutely inconceivable without the performance of miracles of a most colossal description.

GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE ROAD TO REPHIDIM AND THE
COUNTRY ROUND SINAI.

§ 5. As the route of the Israelites from Ayun Musa to the plain of el-Kaa may be determined with tolerable certainty, so may also the course which they took from the latter place to Sinai. From the northern extremity of the plain of el-Kaa (whether we suppose this spot to have been the station “by the Red Sea,” or the station in the desert of Sin), the Israelites, like the modern traveller, had to choose between three different roads, which led to the Jebel Musa, the mountain appointed for the giving of the law (§ 8). They could traverse the plain of el-Kaa towards the south, along the sea-coast as far as the *Wady Hebran*, and then, turning to the east, reach Mount Sinai through this wady to the south of the Serbal group. This is the route which Kosmas, the Indian traveller (in the sixth century), supposed the Israelites to have taken. The first part of the way is very easy, but the latter part is so full of difficulties, that Moses, who knew the country, is not likely to have selected it. The northern route, which leads through the *Wady Nash* to the table-land *Delbet er-Ramleh*, on the north of the Serbal and Sinaitic groups, is also not likely to have been chosen, notwithstanding its superior facilities,—less, perhaps, because it would be more circuitous and badly supplied with water, than because the Israelites would be directly exposed to the attacks

of the barbarous hordes of Amalekites who inhabited that region (1).—The shortest, best watered, and safest route, led through the Wadys Mokatteb, Feiran, and es-Sheikh, by a tolerably direct and easy way, to the Jebel Musa; and there is scarcely ground for a single doubt that this was the road by which the Israelites travelled. In this opinion both travellers and expositors are now unanimously agreed. We shall therefore dwell a little longer upon the description of this route.

A little to the south of the Wady Nasb, the *Wady Mokatteb* opens into the plain of el-Kaa. This wady owes its name (Valley of Inscriptions) to the ancient inscriptions in the rocks, for which it has become so celebrated (2).—It is from three-quarters of a mile to a mile in breadth, and runs S.S.E. for a distance of four or five hours' journey between rocky hills. At length it joins the *Wady Feiran*, which also opens into the plain of el-Kaa. The latter wady turns somewhat more towards the east, and, after a journey of about six hours, brings the traveller to the northern promontories of the Serbal group. The Feiran valley is "the largest, the most fertile, and the broadest of all the valleys in that region, and the only one through which a clear rivulet is still flowing for several miles. The exact source of this stream, and its disappearance beneath the rocky soil, have not been by any means sufficiently investigated. Again, in all that rocky wilderness there is no other oasis so beautifully studded with palm-groves, fruit-gardens, and corn-fields, as the Wady Feiran" (3).—"From the higher and most fertile portion of the Wady Feiran, where the ruins of the ancient Pharan still bear testimony to an age which understood, far better than the present degenerate race, how to turn its fertility to account, the *Wady Aleyat*, an hour's journey in length, opens into the Wady Feiran, and conducts through a narrow defile to the group of the lofty and majestic *Serbal*, whose tall peaks rise to a height of 6000 feet, and command all the valleys on every side. From the most remote distance, even from Elim, it serves as a landmark to guide the traveller from Egypt, the

loftier but more distant group of Sinai being concealed for a time behind it" (4).—A little farther to the east of the ruins of the ancient Pharan, you ascend from the Wady Feiran to the broad and extensive *Wady es Sheikh*, which continues winding for a distance of about ten hours' journey, till it forms a complete semi-circle, and eventually opens into the plain of *er-Rahah*, on the northern side of the central group of the mountains of Sinai (5).

(1). As the most decisive reason for not passing through the *WADY NASB* (*copper valley*), Ritter (Ev. Kal., p. 45) mentions the circumstance, that a considerable number of Egyptians, whom he had every reason for wishing to avoid, had already settled in this valley for the sake of the mining, which was carried on there with spirit. "For it was here," he says, "that the ruined edifices of an ancient Egyptian colony were discovered by Niebuhr, at the northern outlet of the wady, into which he had wandered by mistake. The ruins consisted of a temple, several tombs, and blocks of stone, all covered with hieroglyphics. They are surrounded by a district which is full of the excavations made in connection with ancient mining operations, with copper mines and furnaces, that point to a very early pre-Mosaic period. This mining was still carried on at the time of Moses, and had been pursued at the same spot a thousand years before (? !); for we find the name of the Pharaoh of the Exodus—namely, *Menephtha*—in hieroglyphics on the monuments, with those of many of his ancestors of a much earlier date. The name given to the place by the modern Bedouins is *Sarbat-el-Khadin*, i.e., hill of the rings, from the rings which surround the names of the kings on the stone tablets, according to the general and traditionary custom of the Egyptians." (For further particulars, see Ritter's *Erdkunde*, xiv. 793 sqq.) This argument has little weight in our estimation, since it presupposes the unconditional correctness of the fallacious results of the chronology of *Lepsius* (vol. ii. § 45, 1). Moreover, even if there had been still, or had been already, Egyptian colonists engaged in mining there, it is not very likely that they would be provided with a military garrison of sufficient strength to cause the Israelites any anxiety.

(2.) In the *WADY MOKATTEB* there are several side openings, containing traces of Egyptian architecture, with ruins of

temples, shafts of mines, etc., on some of which there are the names of kings of still greater antiquity than those at Sarbat-el-Khadim. The fact that these are not noticed in the Mosaic account of the journey of the Israelites, is explained by *K. Ritter*, on the supposition that either the mines had been already forsaken as being older than the others, or the Israelites passed by them without observing them, as they were somewhat hidden in the clefts which are found at the end of the side valleys.—But the Wady Mokatteb has derived much greater interest than that which is imparted to it by the remains of mines, from the quantity of *inscriptions* in the sandstone rocks, which cover nearly every spot where room could be found to engrave them. As inscriptions of just the same character are frequently met with in other places in the neighbourhoods of the mountains of Sinai, they are called by the general name of the **SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS**.

“They are found,” says Robinson (i. 188, 189), “on all the routes which lead from the west toward this mountain, as far south as Tûr. They extend to the very base of Sinai, above the convent el-Arbain, but are found neither on Jebel Mûsa, nor on the present Horeb, nor on St Catherine, nor in the valley of the convent; while on Serbâl they are seen on its very summit. Not one has yet been found to the eastward of Sinai. But the spot where they exist in the greatest number is the Wady Mukatteb, ‘Written Valley,’ through which the usual road to Sinai passes before reaching Wady Feirân. Here they occur by thousands on the rocks, chiefly at such points as would form convenient resting-places for travellers or pilgrims during the noon-day sun; as is also the case with those we saw upon the other route. Many of them are accompanied by crosses, sometimes obviously of the same date with the inscription, and sometimes apparently later or retouched. The character is everywhere the same; but until recently it has remained undeciphered, in spite of the efforts of the ablest paleographers. The inscriptions are usually short; and most of them exhibit the same initial characters. Some Greek inscriptions are occasionally intermingled.”

The earliest notice of the existence of these inscriptions we find in the work of the Indian traveller Kosmas (about 530). But even then every historical tradition of their origin had disappeared, as well as the ability to read and interpret them. *Kosmas* himself was led to believe, on the testimony of some

Jews, who professed to have read them, that they were relics of the pilgrimage of the children of Israel under Moses. He says (according to *Ritter*, xiv. 28): "When the people received the written law of God through Moses at this spot, they were made acquainted for the first time with the art of writing; and during their prolonged stay there, they had time and leisure enough to exercise themselves in the practice of that art. Hence at every station in the neighbourhood of Sinai, at which the people rested, you may see the blocks of stone which have been rolled from the heights, and the surface of the rock itself, covered with Hebrew characters. The writing itself consists of names and dates connected with their journey, the names of tribes, the months, etc."—Since his time, it was not till the last century that attention was again directed to these inscriptions. Several copies were made and brought to Europe; but for a long time the attempts of antiquarians to decipher them entirely failed. Professor *Beer* of Leipzig made the first successful beginning in 1839 (*Inscriptiones vet. ad montem Sinai servatae*, Lps. 1840). *Credner*, in a review of Beer's work, carried the investigation considerably further (*Heidelberg Jahrbücher* 1841, p. 908 sqq.); and more recently *Fr. Tuch* has subjected the researches of his predecessors to so strict a scrutiny, and carried them out to such an extent, that hardly any essential improvements remain to be made (*Versuch einer Erklärung von 21 Sinaitischen Inschriften*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgent. Gesellschaft* iii. H. 2, pp. 129–215, Lpz. 1849). *Beer* was misled by the frequent recurrence of the cross in these inscriptions, and attributed them to Christian pilgrims belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era. But such a theory could hardly be reconciled with the fact, that all the names which he deciphered were purely heathen names, and that not a single Jewish or Christian name could be found among the whole of them. Moreover, where could the pilgrims have come from, who wrote in characters of which we cannot find the slightest trace, and to which no analogy can be discovered among all the languages of antiquity? The assumption, that the writers lived in the peninsula itself, seems altogether impossible, if we suppose them to have been Christians; for the only Christians who inhabited those regions in the first centuries of the Church, are known to have been nearly all monks and hermits, whose lives were constantly

threatened by the wild heathen natives, the so-called Saracens. *Tuch's* researches, however, have established it as an undoubted fact, that these inscriptions are written in a dialect of Arabic, and that the authors belonged to the native population of the peninsula, and were most likely of Amalekite descent. Their religion he has since discovered to have been the Sabæan worship of the stars; and the occasion of the inscriptions themselves he supposes to have been the pilgrimages made to the Serbal, the mountain consecrated to Baal from time immemorial, for the celebration of religious festivals. The date of their composition he imagines to have been the last centuries before Christ, and the first centuries of the Christian era. The difficulty arising from the frequent recurrence of crosses he removes by the supposition, which a single glance in most cases confirms, that they were added afterwards by Christian pilgrims, just as trees, camels, goats, and a hundred other things, were inserted at a still later period by the hands of shepherds. The inscriptions generally consist of a short salutation, and the name of the writer.

(3.) Travellers are all enraptured at the paradise-like fertility and loveliness of the WADY FEIRAN. *Lepsius* (*Briefe*, p. 332) calls it the most precious jewel of the peninsula, praises its luxuriant forests of palms and tarfah, and the lovely banks of the brook, which flows rapidly through the wady, winding along amidst bushes and flowers. "Everything that I had hitherto seen, and all that I saw afterwards, was bare stony desert, in comparison with this fertile, woody, and well-watered oasis. For the first time since we left the Nile we trod upon soft black earth, had to keep off the overhanging branches with our arms as we walked along, and heard birds singing among the thick foliage of the trees." Though the writer, from sympathy with the Israelites, who, according to his theory, spent a whole year on this spot (as Sinai), or rather from partiality to this hypothesis of his own, may have used too brilliant colours in his painting (most decidedly he has done so in the negative portions), there is still no doubt that the Wady Feiran is one of the most fertile spots in the whole of the peninsula (cf. *Dieterici*, ii. 31). According to *Lepsius* (p. 334), the most fruitful part of the valley is situated between two rocky hills, which rise from the plain in the midst of the wady. Of these, the upper one, which stands at the opening of the Wady es-Sheikh, is named

el-Buëb; the other, which is opposite to the entrance to the Wady Aleyat, *Hererat*. Near the latter stood the ancient populous city of Pharan, which *Cl. Ptolemæus* inserted in the geographical tables drawn up by him about the middle of the second century, and which in the time of Kosmas was an episcopal see of considerable importance. On the *Hererat*, which is surrounded by two arms of the brook Feiran, there stood a splendid monastery, the site of which is still marked by its ruins. Immediately behind the hill, *Lepsius* (p. 334) found "the narrow valley as stony and barren as the upper valleys, though the brook flowed for half an hour at their side. It was not till the next sharp turn in the valley, which he calls *el-Hessun* (*Burckhardt*, *Hosseye*), that some groups of palm-trees were seen again. Here the BROOK disappeared in a cleft in the rock, just as suddenly as it had issued forth behind the Buëb, and we saw it no more." According to *Ritter* (xiv. 739), the brook, at the present day, is the natural result of the confluence of the waters from the large Wady es-Sheikh and the numerous valleys in its vicinity.

(4.) In the *Wady Aleyat* the traveller passes by innumerable inscriptions in the rock, to a well surrounded by palm-trees, from which *Lepsius* (p. 333) enjoyed a full prospect of the majestic SERBAL. "Separated from all the other mountains, and forming one solid mass, the Serbal rises to the height of 6000 feet (according to *Rüppell*, 6342 feet) above the level of the sea. At first the ascent is gentle, but higher up there are only steep precipitous rocks." "We were obliged," says *Lepsius* (p. 330), "to go round the south-eastern side of the mountain, and to ascend it from behind—that is, from the south, as it would have far exceeded our powers to climb to the top through the *Rim-cleft*, which separates the two eastern peaks, and the ascent through which is straight and very steep. After about four hours' exertions, we reached a small piece of table land, lying between the (five) peaks. There was a road across it, leading to the western edge of the mountain. . . . From this point the mountain-path suddenly descended through rugged rocks into a deep, wild ravine, around which the five peaks of the Serbal rose in a semicircle, forming a majestic coronet. In the heart of this ravine lay the ruins of an ancient monastery." *Lepsius* went back from this spot across the table land, and

ascended first the southernmost peak, and afterwards the one next to it, which appeared to be somewhat higher. As it was beginning to get dark, he returned by the steep cleft in the rock, which led straight to the travellers' encampment (compare § 4, 5). See also the lively description given by *Dieterici*, ii. p. 31 sqq.—The name, Serbal, is derived by *Rödiger* (on *Wellstedt's Reisen in Arabien*, vol. ii. last page) from the Arabic سرب (*palmarum copia*) and *Baal*, and most Arabic scholars agree with him. It is equivalent, therefore, to “the palm-grove of Baal.” The name itself points to the idolatrous worship which was offered upon it in ancient times; and the inscriptions that cover it to the very summit are proofs, that this was the spot whither the festal pilgrimages were made, memorials of which have been handed down by inscriptions on the cliffs of every road through which it can be approached. The Serbal, in fact, seems made for the Sabæan worship of the stars. “The fine, bold, rugged, hardly accessible rocky peaks, which crown the summit in so royal a form, seem better fitted,” says *K. Ritter*, “for the five pyramidal thrones of the five great planets, than for the seat of the one God; for the other two of the seven planetary deities, the sun and the moon, had undoubtedly their own special sanctuaries in the Serbal itself and the immediate neighbourhood. Antonius the Martyr, at the end of the sixth century, found this opinion still prevailing among the inhabitants of the district, whom he called Saracens. And even to the present day the Bedouins of the tribe of Tawarah, in that locality, who are probably the latest descendants of the ancient heathen population, and who have adopted but little of the religion of Islam, only approach the summit with dæmoniackal reverence, barefooted and praying. On occasions of prosperity they offer sacrifices on the mountain, and regard it as a desecration of the sacred mountain to bring strangers thither.

(5.) The WADY ES-SHEIKH (*Shech*) is described by *Ritter*, in the heading to his excellent description (xiv. 645 sqq.), as “the large, crooked, principal valley, the cleft which connects the Sinai and the Serbal groups in the central range, and the *only* convenient road by which the two are connected.” Immediately behind the spot at which the rocky hill el-Buêb (Note 4) contracts the Feiran valley to so great an extent, you enter the longer and broader Sheikh valley, which derives its name from

the tomb of an Arab sheikh who was considered a saint, and who lies buried there. It winds first towards the north-east, then towards the east and south-east, and lastly towards the south, and thus describes almost a perfect semicircle of ten hours' journey in length. This great wady continues to ascend gently, but constantly; so that at the point at which it issues into the plain of er-Rahah, at the foot of the Sinaitic group, it is more than 2300 feet higher than at its junction with the Wady Feiran. The waters of the innumerable side wadys flow into this one; and hence it is well watered for a considerable portion of the year, and contains many tracts of meadow land, with a large number of tarfah-trees. It is especially noted as yielding the largest supply of manna at the present day. Moreover, there is no spot in the whole peninsula, so densely populated as this wady and its numerous side valleys. Towards the middle of the wady, at the point at which its direction changes from the east to the south, the broad valley is contracted into a defile of not more than forty feet in breadth, which runs between cliffs that rise on either side like granite walls. In a part of this pass, which is a little broader than the rest, the Bedouins point out a block of stone five feet high, which looks like a seat provided by nature, and to which they have given the name of *Mokad Seidna Musa* (resting-place of the lord Moses). Beyond this pass the valley widens again, and there is an opening in the eastern wall of rock, at the farther extremity of which is a well with excellent water, called the *Moses-well* (Bir Musa). After travelling an hour from the so-called resting-place of Moses, you enter a second defile, in a side opening of which you find the *well* of *Abu-Suweirah* (Abu-Szueir). When you emerge from this pass, the valley attains a considerable breadth, and you proceed for some hours in a southerly direction, rising gently the whole way, until at length you reach the table land of *er-Rahah*.

§ 6. As the curvilinear Wady es-Sheikh affords to the traveller a convenient road from the Serbal group to that of Sinai, so are the two groups also connected by the "Windy Pass;" but the difficult passes of this range of hills repel the traveller from going to them for a shorter road from Serbal to Sinai.

We shall content ourselves, therefore, for the present, with our acquaintance, if not with the shortest road, yet with the one which was most suited for the journeyings of Israel, and will proceed at once to survey the Sinaitic group and its immediate neighbourhood.

“Whichever peak may be regarded as the scene of the giving of the law, the ordinary notion, that there is a large plain at the foot of the mountain, on which the Israelites may all have assembled, is altogether a mistaken one. On the contrary, it is completely surrounded by a labyrinth of valleys and clefts, so that the whole nation can hardly have witnessed what was taking place at the summit of the mountain.”—We have here an assertion which so circumspect a scholar as *Winer* was able to make (as he imagined, with perfect certainty) but a very short time ago (*Reallexicon*, ed. 2, ii. 550). Since then, however, our acquaintance with the environs of Sinai has been so improved and extended, that we know of not *one* merely, but *two* large plains in the immediate neighbourhood of the mountains, either of which would perfectly satisfy all the requirements.

The heart of the Sinai- (et-Tur-) mountains consists of a group of three immense parallel ranges, running from the north-west to the south-east. The centre of the three is *Horeb*, which has two peaks,—*Ras-es-Sufsâfeh* towards the north, and *Jebel-Musa* to the south. The eastern portion of the group is called *Jebel ed-Deir*, and the western *Jebel el-Homr*. The last of the three extends much farther towards both north and south than either of the others, and rises in the south into the highest mountain of the entire group, *Mount Catherine* (1.)—At the north of the *Horeb*, the broad *Wady es-Sheikh* (§ 5, 5), leading from the north-east, joins the still broader *table-land* of *er-Rahah*, which extends two English miles towards the north-west, when it is closed by the *Windy Pass*, which joins the *Jebel el-Homr* and the *table-land* of the *Jebel el-Fureia*, that bounds it on the north (2). The two narrow defiles, which separate the three mountains from one another, open into this plain. The western

defile (between Jebel el-Homr and Horeb) is called *Wady el-Leja*; it has no outlet towards the south, as the Jebel Musa and the Jebel el-Homr are connected together by a ridge, from which you ascend Mount Catherine. The eastern defile, between Horeb and Jebel ed-Deir, is named *Wady Shoeib*; this also forms a *cul-de-sac*, the two mountains being joined together towards the south by a saddle-shaped ridge (the *Jebel es-Sebaye*) (3). On the other hand, a broad valley curves round the eastern and southern side of the Jebel ed-Deir, the *Wady es-Sebaye*, which may be regarded as a continuation of the *Wady es-Sheikh*, and is also connected with the plain of er-Rahah. This wady forms the only open and convenient approach to a large and broad plain, which surrounds the Jebel Musa on the south in the form of an amphitheatre, and touches the western foot of Mount Catherine. The name of this plain is *Sebaye* (4).

N.B.—An excellent and graphic representation of the Sinaitic group is attached to *Robinson's* Researches. In general, it accords with the map of Sinai which *Laborde* has incorporated in his *Commentaire Géographique*, and in which (though in other respects it is inferior to Robinson's) one feature overlooked by Robinson is very accurately given, viz., the plain of *Sebaye*.

(1.) The central range (HOREB, *Sinai*, Jebel et-Tur, etc.) rises almost perpendicularly from the plain of er-Rahah, like a wall of rock, to the height of about 1500 feet above the plain, and 5366 feet above the level of the sea. Its highest point is called RAS ES-SUFSÂFEL (by *Lepsius*, *Sefsâf*). The summit is crowned by three distinct peaks,—two of them conical, the central one resembling a dome. From this point you command a view of the plain of er-Rahah in its whole extent, and also of a large portion of the *Wady es-Sheikh*. The three peaks all rise about 500 feet above the main body of the mountain-range, the southern extremity of which is almost an hour's journey distant, where it rises into another and still larger peak, the so-called mountain of Moses, or JEBEL MUSA (according to *Russegger*, about 7097 feet high). The plain is hidden from this point by the Ras es-Sufsâfel, and the view of the southern plain of es-Sebaye, which lies at its foot, is somewhat contracted

by the low hills in the foreground.—The eastern range—which *Robinson* calls *Jebel ED DEIR*; *Laborde*, *Epistemi*—is not much inferior either in magnitude or height.—*Jebel EL-HOMR* is larger and more lofty than either. Its highest point in the southern part of the range, according to *Russeger's* measurement, is 8168 feet above the level of the sea.

(2.) The *WADY ER-RAHAH* was certainly seen and trodden by many a traveller *before* the time of *Robinson*; but none of them had ever paid particular attention to it, or observed its importance in connection with the configuration of the Sinaitic group. The merit of this unquestionably belongs to *Robinson* (i. 130 sqq.), however *Laborde* may endeavour to detract from it (*Comment. Geogr.*, pp. 41, 42 of the Appendix). As *Robinson* and his companion *Smith* were descending by the Windy Pass from the north-west towards the south-east, they were struck with the view which unexpectedly presented itself, and both of them involuntarily exclaimed, "There is room enough here for a large encampment!" "Before us," says *Robinson*, "lay a fine broad plain, enclosed by rugged and venerable mountains of dark granite, stern and naked, splintered peaks and ridges of indescribable grandeur, and terminated at the distance of more than a mile by the bold and awful front of Horeb, rising perpendicularly, in frowning majesty, from twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height. It was a scene of solemn grandeur, wholly unexpected, and such as we had never seen; and the associations which at the moment rushed upon our minds were almost overwhelming." The whole plain is, on an average, from one to two-thirds of a mile broad and two miles long, making in all more than a square mile. This space is nearly doubled by a broad curve towards the south-west, which leads to the *Wady el-Leja*, and by the level ground of the *Wady es-Sheikh*, which is very little narrower, and which runs at right angles to the plain of *er-Rahah*, from which it is separated by a deep mountain torrent.

(3.) The western defile, *WADY EL-LEJA*, conceals in the background the deserted monastery of *el-Arbain* (*i.e.*, the forty, *sc.* martyrs), with its rich olive plantations. (For further particulars of the monastery, see § 8, 1.) The eastern defile, *WADY EL-SHOEIB*, is better known, as it is from this point that the ascent of *Jebel Musa* is generally made. *Shoeib* is the Arabic

name of Jethro (vol. ii. § 19, 7); and the valley is named after him, because the flocks of this prince and priest in Midian are supposed to have been driven hither for pasture. In the heart of this valley lies the hospitable *monastery of St Catherine*, with its pleasure grounds and fruitful gardens, in which every traveller to Sinai finds a welcome home (see *Ritter*, xiv. 598 sqq.).

(4.) The existence of so extensive a plain at the foot of the *Jebel Musa*, as the *PLAIN OF ES-SEBAYE* (*Zbai*, according to *Lepsius*) proved to be, had escaped the notice of all the earlier travellers, not excepting even *Robinson* himself. The cause of this remarkable circumstance is to be found in the fact, that the view from the *Jebel Musa* is by no means an advantageous one, as there is a row of small gravel hills at the foot of the mountain, which, though they do not quite conceal the plain, prevent your discovering its actual extent. *Laborde* can claim the merit of having been the first to perceive the importance of this plain, and of having included an outline of it, though somewhat inaccurate and confused, in his topographical sketch of *Sinai*. *W. Krafft* and *F. A. Strauss* examined this remarkable plain with greater minuteness and care (compare *Strauss's Sinai und Golgotha*, p. 136, and his manuscript communications quoted by *Ritter*, xiv. 596 sqq.). "The *Sinai*," he says, "descends abruptly for about 2000 feet, and at the foot there are low gravel hills, and behind them a broad plain, which rises like an amphitheatre towards the south and east. . . . If the view from the summit of the *Jebel Musa* was such as to astonish us at its majestic situation, our amazement was equally aroused when we looked from the plain at the grandeur of the altar of God, which rose abruptly before us in the most magnificent form." "On the side on which the *Wady es-Sebaye* enters, the plain is 1400 feet in breadth; at the south-western foot of the mountain, 1800 feet. The latter is the breadth at its central part, and its length from east to west is 12,000 feet. Its superficial dimensions, therefore, are greater than those of *er-Rahah*. (According to *Robinson*, i. 140, *er-Rahah* is 2700 feet broad and 7000 feet long,—though this space is nearly doubled when we add the broad plain of the *Wady es-Sheikh*.) Towards the south the plain of *es-Sebaye* rises very gradually; and even the mountains, which bound it on the south, have a gentle slope, and do not

reach any very great height ;” so that the plain and mountains together form a natural amphitheatre around the majestic Moses’ mountain.

Graul (ii. 218) writes as follows :—“ I crossed the hills in the foreground, which are connected with the *Jebel Musa*, and with some difficulty reached the low-lying *plain of Sebayeh*, which I found on closer inspection to be considerably larger than it had appeared to be when I looked at it from the summit of the *Jebel Musa*. I walked straight forwards, with the determination to keep right on till the summit of the *Jebel Musa* was lost to view ; but, as the sun was very hot, I turned back long before there was any prospect of reaching the point I had intended. The road still continued to ascend between the mountains. From the point at which I turned I counted 1500 steps, over partly hilly ground and partly a gentle slope, and then 1500 more over level ground, to the point at which the *Wady Sebayeh* curves round the *Jebel ed-Deir*, and the summit of *Jebel Musa* is lost for a short distance. As soon as it was visible again, I walked forward 1500 steps into the *Wady Sebayeh*, and was unable to perceive any point at which it was likely to be obscured again. The wady is from two to four hundred paces broad, apart from the gentle slope of the mountains to the east.”

§ 7. In what part of the valleys and plains, which we have now traversed with the help of experienced guides, are we to look for the stations, *Dofkah*, *Alush*, and *Rephidim*? Where was the encampment in the *desert of Sinai*? And which of the giants of the desert, that we are now acquainted with, was the mountain of the law, the *Mount of God* in *Horeb*? We have no clue at all to the exact position of *Dofkah* and *Alush*, and even with regard to the station at *Rephidim* we are not much better off. We can only decide with tolerable certainty, that they must all three have been on the road which leads from the plain on the coast, *el-Kaa*, to the *Jebel Musa*. A comparison between the number of the stations and the length of the road will not even enable us to get a general idea of the distance between the stations ; for our previous investigations have shown

most conclusively that there was the greatest inequality in the length of the various stages,—sometimes they were hardly a day's journey, and at other times they occupied three whole days, if not more. At Replidim there was a dearth of water: Moses smote the rock, and a spring issued from it. How far will this fact help us? There are thousands of rocks on the road at which this might have occurred. We do not even know whether we are to look for a particularly parched locality, which might answer the description given, or for a peculiarly well-watered district, which would testify to the results of the miracle wrought by Moses. For who can inform us whether the spring, which Moses called forth from the rock, was merely intended for the time of their sojourn at Replidim, or continued to flow after the Israelites had departed? Again, we read of the battle between the Israelites and the Amalekites, and of a hill from which Moses looked down upon the battle-field. But both the Wady Feiran and the Wady es-Sheikh are of very nearly the same breadth throughout; and there are so many hills on the road, that it is impossible, if we examine without prepossession, to fix with confidence upon any one spot as more adapted for this purpose than all the rest. And is it absolutely certain that the battle-field must have been a broad and extensive *plain*, when we consider that the conflict merely arose from a predatory attack of Bedouins?—We have now exhausted all the special *data* from which we might hope to obtain a clue to the exact position of Replidim. It appears, therefore, that we must for ever renounce the hope of discovering the rock from which the waters gushed out, and the spot where Moses stood when his uplifted staff brought victory to the combatants. Only *one* hope still remains, namely, that possibly the ancient names Dofkah, Alush, Replidim, might be unexpectedly heard from the lips of the Bedouins as faithfully guarded reminiscences of the most remote antiquity (an occurrence by no means without analogies). Yet even this we can hardly speak of as *possible*; for in that portion of the peninsula which is the most frequented and the most thickly populated, travellers have asked the name of every little

wady, every opening, every rock, and every hill, a thousand times, without once detecting the least resemblance to the ancient names.

(1.) Under the circumstances described above, we shall content ourselves with giving a cursory sketch of the conjectures of the most celebrated travellers and expositors as to the *situation of Rephidim*. The most westerly spot of all has been selected by *Lepsius*, who supposes the Serbal to have been the mountain of the law. He places it at *el-Hessun* (§ 5, 3), where the Feiran brook suddenly disappears behind a cleft in a rock, and never emerges again. To this spot, with which he was well acquainted, Moses is supposed by him to have led the murmuring people, that they might taste for the first time the water of the primeval mountains. To this he reduces the whole miracle at Massah and Meribah (§ 4, 1). But even apart from the triviality of his mode of explaining the miracle, this hypothesis cannot be sustained; for the original record points to the origin, not to the end, of a stream; and *Ritter* (xiv. 740) has conclusively replied: "The staff of Moses cannot possibly have caused the water to issue forth at the spot where it buries itself in the ground; this can only have taken place at the point at which it takes its rise, even if it be correct to regard the stream of the Wady Feiran as identical with Moses' spring." The paradise, which commences half an hour behind *el-Hessun*, between the two hills *Hererat* and *el-Bueb* (§ 5, 3), is supposed by *Lepsius* to have been occupied by the Amalekites, who were afraid that Israel might intend to dispossess them, and therefore had reason enough for the attack which they made. *Lepsius* also appeals to the fact that *Eusebius* and *Jerome* place *Rephidim* ἐγγὺς Φαράν (*prope Pharan*). But the most conclusive argument he supposes to be, that *Massah* and *Meribah* were a "rock in Horeb," and that *Jethro* visited his son-in-law, when there, at the "mount of God in Horeb," *i.e.*, at the mountain of the law (or *Serbal*) (§ 4, 4; 8, 3).

K. Ritter is of opinion that we must look for *Rephidim* higher up, namely, in the most fertile parts of the valley between *Hererat* and *el-Bueb* (xiv. 739 sqq.). In this case, the hill *Hererat* would be the spot upon which *Moses* stood when *Israel* fought against *Amalek*, and the rock *Massah* and *Meribah*

would be identical with the narrow cleft el-Bueb (§ 5, 3), where the brook of Feiran suddenly issues from the rock. In the present day, it is true, the brook takes its rise in a natural manner from the confluence of the waters of the Wady es-Sheikh. But may not "the staff of Moses have first opened a passage for the brook into the Wady Feiran, through the narrow cleft el-Bueb?" If so, "this wady will not have been a cultivated valley, as it afterwards was, nor a treasure of such importance for the sons of Amalek to defend." For "if this was the case, the luxuriance and cultivation of the Wady Feiran cannot be of a more ancient date than the age posterior to Moses." The Mount of God at Rephidim, where Jethro visited Moses, must have been Serbal, in Ritter's opinion; and there were therefore *two* distinct mountains of God—the Serbal, the mountain of heathen worship, and the Jebel Musa, which afterwards *became* the mountain of (the true) God in consequence of the promulgation of the law (§ 4, 4). The mention of *Horeb* in connection with the smiting of the rock (chap. xvii. 6), is accounted for by Ritter on the ground that the name Horeb is used in the Pentateuch to denote the whole of the Sinaitic group of mountains, including even its most extensive outlying hills (§ 8, 1).

Robinson, Laborde, Raumer, and others, go farther up the road through the Wady es-Sheikh in their search for Rephidim. *Laborde* fixed upon a site between the two defiles of Mokad Seidna Musa and Abu-Suweirah (§ 5, 5); but *Robinson* decides in favour of the point above the well Abu-Suweirah, at which the valley widens again into a broad plain, about five hours' journey from the junction of the Wady es-Sheikh with the plain of er-Rahah. This site, says *Robinson*, answers very well to the description of Rephidim as the last station before the encampment in the desert of Sinai, and also enables us to explain the fact that the rock is said to have been "in Horeb," and that Jethro came to Rephidim "at the mount of God;" for the outermost hills of Sinai actually commence here, and the people were already in the neighbourhood of the mountain of the law. *Robinson* is only acquainted with one objection which can be offered to this opinion, namely, that neither at this spot, nor throughout the entire Wady es-Sheikh, is there any particular dearth of water at the present day. This difficulty he cannot meet in any other way, than by supposing that, as the people appear to have remained at Rephi-

dim for a considerable length of time, the small supply (from the well Abu-Suweirah) was soon exhausted.

The *legend* of the monastery at Sinai places the site of Rephidim farthest up, and is decidedly inadmissible. It points out an immense mass of rock, in the western cleft of Horeb, the Wady el-Leja (§ 6, 3), as the rock from which the water was brought by the rod of Moses.

§ 8. But the most interesting and important question of all is, which was the mountain, or mountain-peak, upon which Jehovah descended amidst thunder and lightning and a mighty trumpet blast, and whence He proclaimed to the assembled people, in fire and with the voice of thunder, the fundamental law of the covenant (Ex. xix. 16 sqq.)? Where did the people encamp in the "Desert of Sinai;" and where are we to look for the spot to which Moses "brought forth the people *out of* the camp to meet God" (xix. 17), and from which the people fled away and stood afar off, "when they saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking" (xx. 14 [18])?

We have every reason for keeping at a distance from the opinion to which *Lepsius* has given utterance, and which he has advocated with such a show of eloquence and such persuasive arts, viz., that the *Serbâl* was the mountain of the law,—to say nothing of other conjectures of travellers in search of discoveries. A calm examination of the Biblical statements, a thoughtful comparison of the localities referred to (1), and a proper attention to the testimony of tradition (2), which is by no means so groundless in this case as it frequently is, compel us to decide in favour of the mountain-range of the Jebel Musa (§ 6, 1) (3). The only thing about which there is still some uncertainty, is whether we should side with *Robinson*, who fixes upon the northern peak of this range, namely, the Râs es-Sufsâfeh (4), as the spot to which the Lord descended in the fire, or should follow tradition and many modern travellers, and give the preference to the southern peak, or Jebel Musa. A careful examination of the neighbouring valleys and plains may enable us

to arrive at some certainty as to this contested point. And, happily, the latest researches have added so considerably and essentially to our knowledge of the locality in question, that we can now assert with tolerable confidence, that the place of encampment in the desert of Sinai was the *plain of er-Rahah*, with the adjoining valleys and patches of pasture land; that the mountain on which the law was promulgated was the *Jebel Musa*; and that the spot to which Moses conducted the people of God was the *plain of es-Sebaye* (5).

(1.) The use of the NAMES SINAI AND HOREB (*Choreb*) has always been very variable. *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 325 sqq., translation) and *Robinson* (i. 177, 551 sqq.) decide that, in the Pentateuch and the Bible generally, *Horeb* is used as the original name of the entire group, whilst *Sinai* is restricted to one particular mountain (that of the law); and in this decision *Rödiger* (on Wellstedt's Reise, ii. 89–91) and *Ritter* (xiv. 743) concur. *Gesenius*, however (on Burekhardt, p. 1078), comes to the very opposite conclusion; and *Lepsius* (Briefe, pp. 352, 439) declares that the two names are continually applied to the mountain of the law, with exactly the same signification. It is certain, at the outset, that if either of the two names is more comprehensive than the other, it must be the name *Horeb*; for there is not a single passage in the Old Testament, in which the name *Sinai* is employed, where the context shows that it necessarily refers to the entire group of mountains. But this is the case in Ex. xvii. 6, where the name *Horeb* occurs. When the rock *Massah* and *Meribah* is described, as it is there, as “a rock in *Horeb*,” we think at once of the outlying mountains of the entire Sinaitic group, not of the mountain of the law; for *Rephidim* (where the rock was situated) and the desert of *Sinai* (at the foot of the mountain of the law) were two different stations, at least a day's journey apart (chap. xix. 2). This more comprehensive, and therefore more indefinite meaning of the name *Horeb*, is still further confirmed by Ex. iii. 1: “Moses led the flock of *Jethro* to the mountain of God, to *Horeb* (הַרְבֵּיהַ),” where the mountainous *district* of *Horeb* is evidently referred to, and not one particular mountain. On the other hand, the fact that the name *Sinai* originally denoted the par-

ticular mountain, is evident from this among other reasons, that the plain at the foot of the mountain is always called the "desert of *Sinai*," never the "desert of *Horeb*." On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that the name *Horeb* is frequently employed in cases in which we can only think of the one mountain of the law, and that in the later books this actually became the prevailing name. There is nothing strange in such an interchange of names, especially as it takes place according to a definite law, as *Hengstenberg* has fully proved. During the whole period of the sojourn of the Israelites at the mountain of the law, when the number of mountains round about them rendered it necessary that a distinction should be made, this particular mountain was called *Sinai* (with the single exception of Ex. xxxiii. 6). But in the history of the Israelites subsequently to their departure from that district—for example, in the whole of the Book of Deuteronomy, with the exception of Dent. xxxiii. 2—the name *Horeb* is applied to the mountain on which the law was given. There was no longer the same necessity for distinguishing the one mountain from all the rest, as during their stay in the immediate neighbourhood; and the more general name became current again.—The name *Horeb* was probably of Egyptian origin, and *Sinai* the name given in the district itself. If so, the more general and indefinite use of the former could be very easily explained.—In the later books of the Old Testament, the two are used promiscuously (but *Horeb* the more frequently of the two). In the New Testament we meet with *Sinai* alone; and this is also the case in *Josephus*. After the time of the Crusades, travellers varied considerably in their use of the two names; but, since the last century, this diversity has ceased among Christian writers,—*Jebel Musa* being almost invariably designated *Sinai*, and the northern part of the same range *Horeb*.

2. The remarks of *K. Ritter* (xiv. 729, 730), with reference to the *perpetuity* of the TRADITION CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF THE MOUNTAIN OF THE LAW, are undoubtedly correct. He says, "The stupendous events connected with the sojourn of the Israelites at *Sinai* were intended to produce a far greater effect upon their immediate descendants, the people on the *Jordan*, than merely to fix their attention upon localities, namely, to work upon their minds in such a way as to contribute to their

eternal salvation. Hence the transient terrestrial phenomena only needed to be so far hinted at, as to connect, to some extent, the brief occurrences of the time with the local circumstances that attended their wanderings. At the same time, but little weight was attached to details, since Jehovah did not remain behind at Sinai and in the desert, but went along with His people Israel to Canaan and to Sion. Hence, in all future ages, though the attention of the Israelites was directed to the *law*, it was not fixed upon the *mountain* of the law. For the glorious event was not concentrated exclusively upon this particular mountain. . . . Moreover, this one mountain, Sinai, was never an object of adoration, like the sacred places of other nations, nor were the pilgrimages of the Israelites directed thither.”—Still, we must not carry this out so far, as to suppose that the Israelites of a later age lost all interest in the spot where the law had been delivered, and that even their acquaintance with the locality became less and less, if it did not cease altogether. The frequent references made by the psalmists and the prophets to the mountain of the law, could not fail to excite and perpetually renew inquiry as to its exact situation. It did not follow that, because the people were spiritually minded, or were intended to be so, therefore this question excited no longer any interest in their minds. We have evidence enough that the places in the Holy Land, which had been rendered sacred by the events connected with the history of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were regarded with perpetual interest by their descendants (sometimes, in fact, with more than was right), and that this was in itself quite a proper thing (of course within proper bounds). The book of Genesis, with its vivid descriptions of the patriarchal adventures, was evidently designed to stimulate this interest, and keep it alive. Abraham laid the foundation of it by purchasing the family grave at Machpelah (vol. i. § 66). Moriah, Bethel, Mahanaim, and many other places, consecrated by manifestations of God Himself, demanded it by their very names. The temple at Moriah was founded upon a spot, which had already been marked out for the purpose by the culminating points in the lifetime of Abraham. Jeroboam selected Bethel for the worship of the calves, doubtless in order to give a colour to what he did by the recollections which the name excited. And the worship offered on the high places was able even to

maintain a successful opposition to the temple-worship at Jerusalem, since it called to mind the fact, that the patriarchs themselves had sacrificed on the very same high places. And, even if we had no direct testimony to the fact, it would be natural to assume that the people cherished similar feelings with reference to the place at which the law was proclaimed. But we are not altogether without such testimony. Elijah made a pilgrimage to the mountain on which Jehovah in His majesty had given the law to the people, that he might there utter his complaints to God, of the manner in which the people of his times had fallen away from the law. Elijah, and the men of his age, therefore, were undoubtedly acquainted with the situation of this holy ground (cf. 1 Kings xix. 8). The Apostle Paul was even in a position to inform his readers of the name which the mountain of the law bore among the native Arabs at that time (Gal. iv. 25 : for Mount Sinai is called Hagar by the Arabs). He had been in Arabia (Gal. i. 17) : *very possibly* he had ascended the mountain with feelings akin to those with which Elias had climbed it before him ; for, like Elias, he also had had to complain of the obduracy and persecution of his nation. We may assume that he also was still acquainted with the situation of the mountain, or that he thought he was. Christian churches were formed in Arabia at a very early period, namely, in the second century ; and Christian hermits withdrew from the world into the mountains and valleys, which had been consecrated by the wonderful works that God had performed for His people. Dionysius of Alexandria (about the year 250) mentions, that in his day Mount Sinai was the resort of Egyptian Christians during the time of persecution, and that the Saracens, who frequented it, often made them slaves (*Eusebius Historia*, 6, 42). We also learn from many authorities of the fourth century, that Mount Sinai was the seat of many a hermitage ; and that, although the hermits themselves inhabited separate cells, they had a common president, and were in constant intercourse with one another. One of these rulers of the hermits was *Sylvanus* the Egyptian (about the year 365), who had laid out a garden upon Mount Sinai, which he cultivated and watered with his own hand. In the year 373 the monk *Macarius* made a pilgrimage to Sinai, and reached it eighteen days after his departure from Jerusalem. He met with a number of anchorites there ; and during his stay

an attack was made upon them by the Saracens, in which forty of the Christian fathers were slain. Such massacres as these were of frequent occurrence. There was one, for example, in the time of *Nilus*, who lived among the anchorites of Sinai with his son *Theodulus*, and has left us a description of an attack, when he himself escaped, whilst his son was carried off into slavery, from which he was afterwards ransomed by the Bishop of Elusa (in the year 390). At that time Pharan, in the Feiran valley, was the seat of a flourishing Christian bishoprick. We have a letter, written about the middle of the fifth century, by the Emperor Marcian to the Bishop Macarius, and to the Archimandrites and monks of Sinai, warning them against being led away by a heretic, Theodosius, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Sinai after the Council of Chalcedon. In the year 548, a certain *Theonas*, *presbyter Montis Sinai*, signed his name, at a synod held at Constantinople, as legate from this mountain, and from the church at Pharan and Raithou (= Elim). At the the fifth œcumenical council at Constantinople (553), there was present a certain Constantine, Bishop of Sinai, etc. (Compare the still fuller accounts given by *Robinson* and *Ritter* xiv. 12 sqq.). When we take all these facts into account, though we have not in any instance such further details as would enable us to determine which was the mountain referred to, it may not perhaps be going too far, if we venture the assertion, that the exact site of Sinai was kept in mind till the time of Justinian by means of continuous tradition. But just at that period we meet, undoubtedly, with two different accounts of the position of the sacred mountain. *Kosmas* Indicopleustes evidently identifies it with *Serbal*, when he describes it as six miles from the city of Pharan (in *Montfaucon Coll. nova* T. ii. L. 3, p. 196: εἰς Χωρὴν τὸ ὄρος, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Σιναίῳ, ἐγγὺς ὄντι τῆς Φαράν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων ἕξ); and this is confirmed by his remarks concerning the inscriptions (see § 5, 2). Yet, previously to this, very weighty authorities had decided in favour of the *Jebel Musa*. According to the tradition of the existing monastery of Sinai, in the *Wady Shoeib*, Justinian I. was the founder of the monastery (in the year 527), and built it on the site on which *Helena* had erected a small church a long time before. The essential part of this legend, namely, the erection of a large church in one of the valleys of Sinai for the numerous monks in the district, is confirmed by the historian

Procopius, who was almost contemporaneous with the event itself (de ædificiis, *Justin.* 5, 8). He states, that it was impossible to build the church on the top of the mountain, on account of the constant noise and other supernatural phenomena, which prevented any one from remaining there at night, and therefore it was placed lower down. There can be no doubt that the church referred to is the Church of the Transfiguration, which is in existence still. According to *Procopius*, the same emperor erected a strong fortress at the foot of the mountain, in which he stationed a select garrison to resist the attacks of the Saracens. The credible testimony of the Patriarch *Euty chius* of Alexandria, in the ninth century, is more definite still. He states that *Justinian* ordered a fortified monastery to be erected at Sinai, for the purpose of protecting the monks from the predatory attacks of the Ishmaelites, and that this monastery embraced the tower which had already been built by the anchorites for their own defence (*Euty chius*, *Annales* ed. *Pococke*, ii., p. 160 sqq.). This is probably the existing monastery, which *Procopius* confounded with a fortification. These statements are all confirmed by the *Itinerarium* of the martyr *Antoninus*, who made a pilgrimage to Sinai at the end of the sixth century. His account removes the possibility of a doubt, that the *Jebel Musa* is the mountain referred to (*Ritter* xiv. 30); and such distinctness is thereby given to the legend of the church of *Helena*, and the locality of the invasion, as described by *Nilus*, that there can be no question as to its being situated either on the side or summit of the *Jebel Musa*. This proves, then, that from the time of *Helena* the general opinion was, that *Mount Sinai* stood just where the tradition of the present day still places it; and there is nothing extravagant, therefore, in regarding it as possible that the tradition might be traced back through *Paul* and *Elijah* to the time of *Moses* himself.

But as this tradition is supported by such general as well as ancient testimony, how did the Indian traveller come to entertain a different opinion? *Ritter* (xiv. 31) conjectures that "possibly two different traditions or party views prevailed in the monasteries and among the monks of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*, which may have arisen from a contest to secure for one or the other of the two places the highest repute for sanctity. The Byzantine view, which received such imperial support, would very naturally prevail over that of *Egypt*." But we cannot find the least indi-

cation anywhere of the existence of such a relation, and in itself it is very improbable. The only foundation upon which it could possibly rest, is the fact that *Kosmas* was an "Egyptian" monk; but this is at all events a very weak one. The difference between the *party* views entertained by the two rivals on the Bosphorus and the Nile, must in that case have existed as early as the times of Dionysius of Alexandria and the Empress-mother Helena, and must have continued for three hundred years. But we should certainly expect to find some trace of it, when we consider the various ways in which Byzantium and Alexandria came into collision with each other, and still more, the very numerous and sometimes very full notices which we possess of the anchorites of Sinai. All the accounts of (? before) *Kosmas* mention only *one* Sinai, namely, the one upon which Justinian built the monastery. There is no hint of the possibility of any other locality putting in a claim to be regarded as the scene of the most wondrous work performed by God in connection with the history of Israel. Even Eutyches, who was an Egyptian, and must therefore have been acquainted with the Alexandrian "party view," and most probably would share it—who possessed, moreover, the most accurate knowledge of all such subjects, does not make the slightest allusion to the possibility of Mount Sinai being discovered anywhere else than where Justinian erected his cloister-fortress. The claim of Serbal to the honour of being the mountain of the law must have arisen at a very late period, not long before the time of *Kosmas*; it must have been confined to a very limited space, and can only have met with acceptance in a very contracted circle. We can hardly be wrong, therefore, if we trace the origin of this notion to Pharan. Pharan was at first a heathen city. It owes its proximity to Serbal certainly not to the fact that the mountain was sacred to Jehovah (if its sacredness had anything to do with it, it must have been Baalite or Sabæan), but to the paradisiacal fertility of the Feiran valley, that "most costly jewel" of the whole peninsula. But Pharan became by degrees a Christian city, the centre of a flourishing episcopal see. What could be more natural than that the city, which was at all events situated in the road taken by the people of God under the conduct of Moses, should endeavour to fix as many reminiscences as possible of the mighty works of God for Israel in its own immediate neighbourhood, and especially of the

greatest and most glorious of all? But these attempts cannot have met with much approval, or spread over a wide area (they cannot have been received either at Byzantium or Alexandria), probably because the conviction, that the Jebel Musa was the mountain of the law was too ancient, and too firmly and deeply rooted, as well as too widely diffused and too generally adopted. In fact, the other opinion prevailed to so limited an extent, that we should hardly have heard of it at all, had not a *credulous* monk of the 6th century, who most likely never went beyond Pharan, allowed himself to be persuaded that the opinion, which prevailed in that city, was the more correct of the two. It would undoubtedly be all the easier to convince him of this, on account of the deep impression which the aspect of the majestic Serbal must have made upon his mind.

Lepsius (p. 445 sqq.) has taken great pains to weaken the evidence, referred to above, in favour of the antiquity of the tradition which has come down to us; but more especially to convince us that the monastery at Sinai cannot have been built by Justinian, and that the entire tradition originated in the 11th century, at the time when the monastery was actually built. But the whole of his argument consists of nothing more than an assertion that Kosmas Indicopleustes is the only "credible witness"—all the rest being either spurious, or, if genuine, not trustworthy. Relying implicitly upon Procopius, he maintains that Justinian had a fortress erected upon Jebel Musa for purely military purposes, without the slightest reference to the assumed importance of the spot in connection with the history of Moses, etc.

(3.) *Burckhardt* (according to the quotation in *Lepsius*, p. 418) was misled by the references to Serbal occurring in the inscriptions, which he supposed to be of Christian origin, and therefore came to the following conclusion: "I am persuaded," he says, "that Mount Serbal was at one period the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula, and that this was considered to be the mountain where Moses received the tables of the law; though I am equally convinced, from a perusal of the Scriptures, that the Israelites encamped in the Upper Sinai, and that either Jebel Musa or Mount St Catherine is the real Horeb." Since his time several have written in support of the opinion, that the Serbal is the true Sinai, though this opinion has always been confined to individuals. According to *Kutschelt's* account

(in Brun's Repertorium 1846, ii., p. 12), *Hughes*, the Englishman, who published a Biblical Atlas in 1841, was the last to assign the promulgation of the law to Sinai. In 1846, *Lepsius* appeared, claiming credit not only for having rediscovered in Serbal the true position of Sinai for the first time for a thousand years, but also for having set the question at rest for all time to come (Reise, pp. 11–50). Again, in 1852 he published an eloquent defence of his theory, though *Ritter*, the master in this department, did not adopt his view; but, on the contrary, brought forward the most conclusive arguments against it (xiv. 736 sqq.).¹ Hitherto his hypothesis has met with but little success, notwithstanding his reiterated defence of it. *Robinson* has determinately rejected it (Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. iv., p. 381 sqq.). The acknowledgment made by *Dieterici* (ii. 53, 54) is also worth noticing:—"Professor *Lepsius*," he says, "was kind enough to send me his work before my departure. I found it so excellent in many respects, that I determined to follow it in the formation of my own plan. At the outset I had almost made up my mind to regard the Serbal as Sinai; but, after having climbed the Serbal, I have formed a totally different opinion."

Let us look more closely, however, at the arguments and counter-arguments employed by *Lepsius*. First of all, he fancies that he takes away from the prevailing opinion its main support, by pronouncing it a monk's fable of comparatively modern date. How wrong he is in this assertion, is apparent from what we

¹ *Kutschel's* pamphlet, which is certainly somewhat warmly written, has not been deemed worthy of notice by *Lepsius*. On the other hand, he has entered partially into *Ritter's* objections. The fact that *Ritter* still adheres to the traditional theory, in spite of his own proofs of its fallacy, he excuses in the following manner (p. 427): "In *Ritter's* account there was necessarily an *a priori* decision in favour of one of these two views. Hence, when a new (?) view was only presented to him at the final conclusion of his important preliminary labours, in which the belief of a thousand years, confirmed as it had been by every modern traveller, was for the first time (?) disputed in an occasional and necessarily imperfect book of travels, it presented but little claim to his preference, especially as it had neither been critically reviewed nor noticed by later historians." We confess that we have a better opinion of the literary fidelity and conscientiousness of such a man as *Ritter*; and we are convinced that even "at the conclusion of his important preliminary labours" (which, however, had but little to do with this question), he would not have shrunk from the trouble of changing, if necessary, the passages referred to.

have already written. Then, again, he lays it down as an axiom, which is to be maintained under all circumstances, that, generally speaking, the geographical conditions of the peninsula have continued essentially the same since the days of Moses, and particularly, that the amount and relative proportions of fruitfulness and unfruitfulness are exactly the same now as they were at that time; so that, in his opinion, any one who has recourse to the opposite view, though he may prove everything, will for that very reason prove nothing. *K. Ritter* may well take this to heart; for he not only maintains, in innumerable passages in his invaluable work, and adduces satisfactory reasons to prove, that the peninsula was generally much more fertile in ancient times than it is now, but, what is more important still, he is very much inclined to trace the fruitfulness of the Feiran valley, upon which the whole of the argument of *Lepsius* rests, to the miraculous production of the Feiran brook by means of Moses' rod (§ 7, 1). *Dieterici* has pointedly observed (ii. 55, 56): "Professor *Lepsius* persists in taking the present condition of the peninsula of Sinai, as a standard by which to measure the past. We shall not attempt to decide whether the learned Egyptologist, when he looks at Egypt and Nubia in their present desert state, with the fields so deeply buried in sand, has laid the same stress upon the present condition of the country as in the case of Arabia."

Moreover, the effort of *Lepsius* is evidently to make as much as possible of the unfruitfulness of the environs of Sinai and of the fertility of those of Serbal, and to place the contrast between the two in the most glaring light. The Sinai, with the surrounding district, is said to differ in no respect whatever, so far as regards sterility, from the dead and barren soil of the rest of the peninsula, whilst a little patch of garden is maintained with the greatest difficulty by the skill of the monks. But is it really the case that the country round about the *Jebel Musa* is a parched and barren desert? *Kutschelit* (p. 23) appeals to *Shaw*, *Niebuhr*, *Burckhardt*, *de Laborde*, *Robinson*, *Schubert*, and a hundred other travellers, who were also eye-witnesses and trustworthy men, and from whom we receive very different testimony. One of the latest travellers, *St Olin*, the North American, writes as follows (in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft* ii. 3, pp. 318, 319: "Beautiful springs gush

forth from the rocks, and form together a magnificent waterfall, which rushes down into the ravine beneath. . . . We often had recourse to its cool, clear water, for the purpose of quenching our thirst," etc. *K. Ritter*, who has studied the character of the peninsula more minutely than any other of his contemporaries, has given a very different account of the mountains of Sinai, and supports it by the concurrent testimony of travellers in innumerable ways. He describes it as containing "a cool, wide-spread, elevated, Alpine tract of meadow land;" and sees no difference in the Feiran valley, except that there is "a greater amount of fertility concentrated within a more limited space" (xiv. 743). *Lepsius* considers it inconceivable, that Moses should ever have thought of leading the people away from the fertile paradise of the Feiran valley, to spend a year in the barren desert of Sinai; and believes that the people themselves would have politely declined to follow him, when once they had enjoyed the delights of such a paradise as this. To this *Kutscheit* replies, "That is very like saying that the Israelites had no other object in view than to find out some fruitful nook in which they might pitch their tents and huts, and stay there for ever. But the desire of the Israelites was to reach the land of their fathers, which flowed with milk and honey; and, first of all, it was necessary that they should be conducted to Sinai, there to lay aside the children's shoes, and be made by the law a perfect man, an organised nation." But *Lepsius* is very serious in the matter. He says (*Briefe*, pp. 347, 348): "The fact cannot be overlooked, that if Moses wanted to conduct so numerous a people to the peninsula, the first and principal thing that he had to settle, by means of his wisdom and his knowledge of the country, was how to maintain them all. For, whatever conclusion we may come to with reference to the number of the emigrants (*Robinson* estimates them at two millions), we must in any case assume that there were a very large number, who had all to be supported in the Sinaitic desert, and who had taken no provisions with them. How can we suppose it possible that, instead of directing attention at once to the only fruitful and well-watered spot in the whole peninsula, and striving to reach it with all speed, Moses should have led them to a remote corner among the mountains, where two thousand emigrants, with their cattle and attendants, could never have found sufficient food and water? It would

have been a wrong thing for Moses to rely upon the miracles of God ; for they always commence just when human wisdom and human counsel fail, and are never intended to supersede them.” —Very good ; but if this line of argument is really to be taken as serious, it must be admitted, *at the very outset*, that Moses was the most infatuated and imprudent leader that ever existed, and that the murmuring people were quite right when they cried out, “Are there no graves in Egypt? Wast thou obliged to bring us into the desert, to kill us with hunger and thirst?”—*Lepsius*, who reduces the 430 years spent in Egypt by a bold stroke of the pen to 90, will probably show the same skill in reducing the two million emigrants to twenty thousand, or, if necessary, to a still smaller number ; but how quickly would even these, with their cattle, have consumed the entire produce of the Feiran valley, which is scarcely a mile long, and at the most 500 paces broad ? What becomes, then, of the celebrated wisdom of Moses, and his intimate acquaintance with the country ? Even if he did select the Feiran paradise for his principal halting-place, he must still from the very first have “relied upon the miracles of God,” though *Lepsius* considers that this would have been a most improper proceeding. Is there, then, so great a difference in this respect between Feiran and er-Rahah, when we take all the circumstances into consideration ? *K. Ritter* is of a different opinion (xiv. 743) : he thinks, on the contrary, that the neighbourhood of the Jebel Musa “is *better adapted* than any other spot in the peninsula for the *lengthened* halt of such a people, on account of the many ramifications of its different valleys, and even superior to the Feiran valley, in which a greater amount of fertility is concentrated in a smaller space.” We fully concur in this opinion. At the present day, the environs of the Wady es-Sheikh (§ 5, 5), with its innumerable side valleys and clefts, are incomparably more densely populated than the district surrounding the Feiran valley, which is more fertile in itself, but has much smaller side valleys, and none of equal fertility to those found in the Wady es-Sheikh. *Dieterici* has very correctly observed, in opposition to *Lepsius*, “The only conception we can form of the encampment of the Israelites is, that whilst the head-quarters were fixed at the place whose name is given, the flocks were scattered far and wide in search of their scanty food, in precisely the same manner as

those of the Bedouins of the present day. At the same time, we must never lose sight of the extraordinary supply which they received from the Lord." From this point of view, *Ritter's* opinion, just quoted above, is fully confirmed.

Lepsius is certainly right, when he says, in his reply to *Ritter*, that there cannot possibly have been two different mountains of God at the time of the Exodus (*viz.*, the Serbal and the Sinai; see § 4, 4); but *Ritter* is as decidedly correct when he maintains, in opposition to *Lepsius*, that the mountain of the heathen gods (the Serbal) cannot possibly have been the same as the mountain of Jehovah. Since *Credner* and *Tuch* have clearly proved that the Sinaitic (or, as *Ritter* more correctly names them, the Serbalitic) inscriptions point out the Serbal as the central point, not of Christian worship, but rather of the earliest heathen worship and pilgrimage (Baalite or Sabæan), the Serbal hypothesis has lost its most plausible argument. It cannot but surprise us, therefore, to find *Lepsius* still adducing these inscriptions in support of his opinion. "To this we must add," he says at p. 347, "that the Sinaitic inscriptions, which are found in the greatest numbers on the road to the Wady Feirân and in the Wady Aleyât, leading up to Serbal, seem to indicate that in a much later age large crowds of people performed a pilgrimage to this mountain, for the purpose of celebrating religious festivals." *Sic!* On the contrary, as the Serbal, from its very shape, invited the heathen inhabitants of the peninsula (the Amalekites) to idolatrous worship (§ 5, 4), and therefore had been abused to that purpose even before the time of Moses, it was for that very reason absolutely unfit to be the mountain of the God of Jehovah. "The people," says *Dieterici* (ii. 57), "were still carrying on a fierce mental conflict (with their deeply-rooted inclination to idolatry), and were overcome by it again and again. And can we suppose that, whilst this conflict was still going on, Moses selected the mountain of Baal as the mountain of God?"

Moreover, when "the rock in Horeb" (Ex. xvii. 6), from which the people were supplied with water at Rephidim, and the visit of Jethro (to Rephidim?) at the "mount of God" (Ex. xviii. 5), are referred to the Serbal; *we* are just as much at liberty to refer the former to the outlying mountains of Sinai, as *Lepsius* to those of Serbal;—and the latter simply proves that

Rephidim was either so near to the mountain of the law as to justify an expression of this kind (as *Robinson* supposes), or (what seems to us still more correct, see § 4, 4) that this visit is narrated according to the subject-matter, and not in chronological order; an alternative which even *Lepsius* cannot oppose (and in fact assents to), for his Rephidim is not situated immediately at the foot of the Serbal, but the Wady Aleyat lies between.—The remarkable proof deduced from Ex. xvi. 1, that the Serbal alone can have been called Sinai, or the mountain of Sin, because it touched the desert of Sin, we have already disposed of in § 2, 5.

We see, then, that the argument in favour of the identity of the Serbal with the mountain of the law is very weak; and we cannot blame *Ritter*,¹ *Robinson*, *Dieterici*, and others, when, in spite of the learning and eloquence of *Lepsius*, in spite of his challenge to ocular demonstration, they still adhere to the ancient system; especially as this system is supported by a mass of the most convincing arguments and proofs. The authors just named have furnished such powerful arguments in proof of the improbability, or rather impossibility, of *Lepsius*' theory, and also in

¹ Notwithstanding the weighty arguments brought forward by *Ritter*, in opposition to *Lepsius*, and in support of the more ancient view, he still speaks of the latter, with which his own opinion coincides, as hypothetical (xiv. 740): "We see," he says, "in the two almost contemporaneous authorities, *Jerome* and *Kosmas*, the great diversity that existed between the views entertained with reference to these places, whilst neither of them is supported by such decisive arguments as to commend itself, to us at least, as the only one that can possibly be maintained. As both of these attempts to elucidate a text which has been left so indefinite in topographical respects, and to describe a locality as yet so little known, can only rest upon hypothetical probabilities, we may be allowed to give a brief explanation of our own hypothetical opinion on a subject which will, probably, never be entirely extricated from obscurity." The thought of *Kosmas*, who is certainly overrated, has given to *Ritter*'s words an air of uncertainty here, which they lose altogether afterwards. He repeatedly expresses himself in a most decided manner (e. g. p. 742). In the *Evang. Kalender*, again (p. 52), he concludes his treatise with the words: "The latest researches have contributed to bring about at least a negative result; that is, to render it impossible to regard the Serbal of Amalck as the Sinai of Israel, unless subsequent discoveries should furnish positive reasons for coming to an opposite conclusion. Till then, the noble range, at whose foot the monastery was erected in the time of Justinian, will be regarded by every pilgrim as the true Sinai and Horeb of Israel, which furnishes equal evidence of its ancient dignity and splendour."

confirmation of the ancient traditional view, that we have little else to do than to let them speak for themselves, and to arrange their arguments, which supplement one another, into one consolidated phalanx.

Robinson considers it a prerequisite, in determining the scene of the giving of the law, that there should be sufficient space for so large a multitude to stand and behold the phenomena on the summit; and rejects the hypothesis of *Lepsius*, because this condition is wanting in the case of the Serbal. *Lepsius* himself confesses, that there is certainly no plain at the foot of the Serbal, on which the whole of the people could have been collected together. But he appeals to the fact, "that the encampment of the people at Sinai is described in just the same terms, as at all the earlier stations. Hence, if we suppose the term camp to require a given space, sufficiently large for so numerous a body of people to pitch their tents, we must be prepared to point out a plain of er-Raha at all the earlier stations. If we imagine two million people congregated together in an enclosed camp, which must have consisted of two hundred thousand tents, reckoning one for every ten, and these tents arranged as in a regular military encampment, even the plain of Raha (§ 6, 2) would be too small; but if we suppose that a comparatively small number were collected immediately around the head-quarters of Moses, whilst all the rest sought out the shady spots and scanty pasturage of the surrounding valleys, the Wady Feiran would suffice for the *head-quarters* as well as any other. Moreover, the Wady Feiran, even if we take only the most fertile portion of it, as far as to el-Hessun, along with the broad Wady Aleyat, would afford quite as much space, and certainly a much more suitable situation, for a continuous camp than the plain of Raha." We readily admit all this, but make two remarks:—In the *first* place, the argument just mentioned involves an acknowledgment, that there was not room at the foot of the Serbal even for the *head-quarters*, since it places them as far off as el-Hessun, in the valley of Feiran (even when the Israelites are said to have encamped in the "desert of Sinai"). But the Feiran valley corresponds to the station at Replidim, which would therefore be identically the same as the station in the desert of Sinai. The Israelites, however, had to depart from the former and march at least one day's journey farther before they arrived at the latter, where

they pitched their tents again (Ex. xix. 1, 2).—*Secondly* (and this is still more important), *Lepsius* has totally misunderstood *Robinson's* arguments, or at least has given such an explanation of it that it was a very easy matter to refute it. *Robinson* required a large space at the foot of the mountain, not (as *Lepsius* assumes) that all the tents might be pitched within it, but that all the people might be able to see what was going on at the summit; and whilst there is every ground for laying down such a condition (Ex. xix. 17 sqq., xx. 18 sqq.), it is quite certain that it cannot possibly be satisfied in the neighbourhood of the Serbal. But let us turn to *Dieterici*, who went with a decided prepossession in favour of the hypothesis of *Lepsius*, and carefully examined the neighbourhood with special reference to that hypothesis. He says (ii. 54): "It was impossible for either me or my companion, *D. Blaine*, who showed a remarkable tact in the examination of all local circumstances, to imagine the scene in any way as occurring upon the Serbal. This mountain is, no doubt, visible from a great distance, on account of its height; but not in the immediate neighbourhood, either from the Wady Aleyat or the fertile valley of Feiran. There is only a small corner of the valley visible from the Serbal, just where the former turns a little more towards the north, opposite the ruins of the City of the Desert (Pharan). In the blooming valley of Feiran the mountain is hidden by the high rocky walls. The Wady Aleyat curves round at a short distance from the mountain, and a precipitous cleft, with blocks of stone heaped up in wild confusion, leads up between the rocky cliffs. But the writer of the Bible history represents the scene as so present to the view of all, that the revelation of God was made 'in the sight of all the people' (Ex. xix. 11), and Moses went up and down again several times before their eyes (chap. xix.). Moreover, the mountain must have risen abruptly from the plain, for it was ordered to be fenced round (xix. 12). But the ravine just mentioned (the Wady Aleyat) is the only approach to the Serbal, and it is not without the greatest difficulty that any one can reach the mountain itself; if, then, this road was guarded by the elders, what necessity could there be for a hedge?"

Another argument is based upon Ex. iii., and is sufficient of itself to decide the question. We read there, that Moses kept the sheep of Jethro, the priest in *Midian*, and led them behind

the desert to the mountain of God in Horeb. Now Wady Feiran and the Serbal were in the territory of the Amalekites; but the Jebel Musa was in the eastern half of the peninsula, within the territory of the Midianites. And, as *Dieterici* says, even if Moses had attempted to drive his flock into the country of the Amalekites, they would certainly have prevented him. If the Amalekites guarded this treasure of theirs (the Wady Feiran) with so much jealousy as to attack the Israelites when they passed through, they are not likely to have suffered the flocks of foreigners to come and feed there at pleasure. "We must assume, therefore, if we decide impartially, that this Horeb was in the territory of the Midianites. These two tribes appear to have been both well organised, and to have lived side by side in the peninsula. Now there were two large mountain-ranges in the peninsula, the Serbal and the Sinai. In both of these water was to be found; and either of them answered admirably, as the head-quarters of a pastoral tribe."—*K. Ritter* was also acquainted with this argument, and laid great stress upon it (*Evang. Kalender* 1852, p. 52).

Lepsius cannot possibly conceive how Moses could pass by the majestic Serbal, which was visible from so great a distance and commanded the whole country like a lofty watch-tower, and go into a corner of the desert, enclosed on all sides, to a mountain which was not visible in any direction, was almost entirely unknown, and by no means remarkable for its shape, its position, or any other peculiarity. *Robinson* and *Ritter*, on the contrary, regard the concealed position of this corner of the desert, and the fact that the mountain is completely enclosed, as furnishing another argument in favour of the opposite view. *Robinson* (i. 176) describes it as an *adytum* in the midst of the great circular granite region, with only a single feasible entrance,—a secret holy place shut in from the world by barren, solitary mountains. *Ritter* writes to the same effect (xiv. 742). He calls the Jebel Musa "the *adytum* of the more central and better protected group of Sinai;" and employs this expression, without doubt, to indicate that, in his opinion, this mountain was selected for the giving of the law, because it was the most secret sanctuary in the peninsula. Just because Jehovah desired to speak to Israel in secret, because He wished to be *alone* with Israel, that He might conclude the marriage covenant with the nation,

He led them into the most central and secret *adytum* in the desert.

(4.) After the southern peak of the Sinaitic range had passed, for more than a thousand years, as the scene of the promulgation of the law, ROBINSON pronounced this assumption an impossibility, after a personal examination of the various localities, and transferred the grand event to the northern peak of the same range, the *Ras es-Sufsafeh*. His arguments appeared so forcible, that nearly every commentator embraced his opinion; but, latterly, still further discoveries have been made in the locality of Sinai, which have caused many to alter their views again.—*Robinson's* argument was twofold, negative and positive: showing, first, the incompatibility of the Biblical *data* with the position of the Jebel Musa; and, on the other hand, demonstrating the perfect harmony between these *data* and the situation of the Ras es-Sufsafeh. The former we shall have to examine in the next note: at present, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to the latter.—Being thoroughly dissatisfied with his ascent of the Jebel Musa, *Robinson* proceeded to climb the northern peak. “The extreme difficulty,” he writes, “and even danger of the ascent, was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain er-Rahah lay spread out beneath our feet, with the adjacent wadys and mountains; while Wady esh-Sheikh, on the right, and the recess on the left, both connected with and opening broadly from er-Rahah, presented an area which served nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened, that here, or on some one of the adjacent cliffs, was the spot where the Lord descended in fire and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched if not forbidden; and here the mountain-brow, where alone the lightnings and thick cloud could be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trumpet be heard, when the Lord came down on Sinai” (i. 157, 158). We shall presently show, that all these points of agreement with the Biblical text are to be found even more completely in the Jebel Musa; whilst, on the other hand, there are two points in the description of the Ras es-Sufsafeh and its vicinity which are not in harmony with the Biblical data. *Robinson* himself has pictured the difficulty of ascent in glowing colours: “We first attempted to climb the side in a direct course; but

found the rock so smooth and precipitous, that after some falls and more exposures, we were obliged to give it up, and clamber upwards along a steep ravine by a more northern and circuitous route. From the head of this ravine we were able to climb around the face of the northern precipice, and reach the top, along the deep hollows worn in the granite by the weather during the lapse of ages" (vol. i. p. 157).

Lepsius (Briefe, p. 327) and *Dieterici* (ii. 46) climbed this peak, and both agree with *Robinson* as to the danger and difficulty of the undertaking. "This alone," says *Lepsius* with perfect justice, "would have prevented me from coming to the conclusion that Moses had even stood upon one of these rocks, which are visible from the valley." And this argument has double force, when we consider that on more than one occasion Moses went up and down the Mount of God *several times* on the same day.

Moreover, we read in the scriptural record, that "Moses brought forth the people *out of the camp to meet with God*, and they *came to the foot of the mountain*" (Ex. xix. 17); and when the people saw the terrors of the majesty of God, which were displayed before their eyes, "they fled and stood afar off" (Ex. xx. 18), evidently that they might not see and hear what they were quite unable to bear. But how does this tally with Ras es-Sufsafeh and the plain at the foot? If the camp was in the plain of er-Rahah, that is, close to the foot of the mountain, what necessity was there for Moses to lead the people *out of the camp* to the foot of the mountain? And whither could the people flee, so as to avoid seeing and hearing what had caused them so much alarm? There was no spot in the whole of the plain of er-Rahah, or the adjoining portion of the great Wady es-Sheikh, from which the Ras es-Sufsafeh would not be distinctly seen.

DIETERICI also came back from the Jebel Musa discontented, and climbed the Ras es-Sufsafeh in the hope of finding a spot better adapted for the giving of the law; and in this hope he was not disappointed. "The broad plain of er-Rahah lay before us," he says, "in which were a number of black Arab camel-hair tents, that reminded us of the camp of the Israelites. The precipitous abruptness, with which this rock rises almost perpendicularly from the plain, led us to subscribe to *Robinson's* conjecture, that this might be the mountain on which Moses stood

transfigured before the people." Still, the second objection suggested by us appears to have excited some scruples in his mind. At any rate, he tries to evade it by a peculiar combination of the two opinions: "As Ras es-Sufsafeh and Jebel Musa are actually two peaks of Mount Horeb, we might imagine one of them (the more northerly) to have been the point at which Moses was visible to the people, and the other (the Jebel Musa) the place where he was hidden from the people in the stillness of secrecy with God. We can then imagine the scene exactly. The Jewish camp was in the Wady er-Rahah; the elders stood in the Wady Shueib, where the monastery has since been built, or in the western opening (Wady el-Leja); on the Jebel Musa Moses was separated from all the world; and on the Ras es-Sufsafeh he was still present to the eyes of all." But Robinson's hypothesis gains nothing from this modification. Which was the peak upon which the Lord came down in the fire? The Ras es-Sufsafeh? In that case both of *our* objections remain in full force. The Jebel Musa? Then Robinson's difficulties, which Dieterici shares, are not removed. But, beside this, the notion of there being two mountains of God, upon the one of which everything was visible, whilst upon the other all was hidden from view, is altogether arbitrary and unfounded, and thoroughly irreconcilable with the Biblical account.

(5.) We come, lastly, to the opinion which has generally prevailed from the very earliest times, though *Laborde* was the first to test it by an examination of the locality itself, and which has been thoroughly and conclusively expounded by F. A. STRAUSS and *Krafft*, and warmly commended by RITTER. To this opinion we at once acknowledge our adhesion.

Robinson (i. 153) says, with reference to his ascent of the Jebel Musa: "My first and predominant feeling, while upon this summit, was that of disappointment. Although, from our examination of the plain of er-Rahah below, and its correspondence to the scriptural narrative, we had arrived at the general conviction that the people of Israel must have been collected in it to receive the law; yet we still had cherished a lingering hope or feeling that there might, after all, be some foundation for the long series of monkish traditions, which for at least fifteen centuries has pointed out the summit on which we now stood, as the spot where the ten commandments were so awfully proclaimed.

But scriptural narrative and monkish tradition are very different things. In the present case, there is not the slightest reason for supposing that Moses had anything to do with the summit which now bears his name. It is three miles distant from the plain on which the Israelites must have stood, and hidden from it by the intervening peaks of the modern Horeb. No part of the plain is visible from the summit; nor are the bottoms of the adjacent valleys; nor is any spot to be seen around it, where the people could have been assembled. The only point in which it is not immediately surrounded by high mountains is towards the S.E., where it sinks down precipitously to a tract of naked gravelly hills. Here, just at its foot, is the head of a small valley, Wady es-Sebaiyeh, running towards the N.E. beyond the Mount of the Cross into Wady esh-Sheikh, and of another not larger, called el-Warah, running S.E. to the Wady Nusb of the Gulf of Akabah; but both of these together hardly afford a tenth part of the space contained in er-Rahah and Wady esh-Sheikh." *Dieterici* writes to the same effect: "The view from this point is exhilarating, though the first feeling is one of disappointment. We look in vain for any large valley in which the numerous host would have pitched their tents; for the valley of the Jews (? probably the plain of es-Sebayeh, § 7, 4), which lies below, shut in by mountains, is evidently by no means sufficient. Nor does the mountain itself appear to be so detached from the others, that it could easily have been touched."

Let us turn, however, to what *Ritter* says (xiv. 589, 590): "Further examination leads to a totally different conclusion. It is not a fact, that the only large plain, adapted for the encampment of a tribe, *lies by the northern cliff of the Horeb*; but there is an equally large one immediately adjoining the southern cliff of the Sinai, from which there is a direct road to the Wady Sheikh, through the broad, capacious Wady Sebayeh; and from this large, southern *plain of Sebayeh* (§ 7, 4), the peak of the lofty Sinai of tradition, which rises like a pyramid to the north, would be just as visible to a whole tribe as the Sufsâfeh, which is supported by no ancient tradition whatever." On a closer acquaintance with this plain, every difficulty vanishes in the clearest and most satisfactory manner. It meets the requirements of the case, as described in the Bible, even to the most minute details: "For it is large enough to contain an immense

crowd of people; it lies close at the foot of Sinai, which rises in front of it and towers above it like a great monolithic granite wall to the height of 2000 feet; and the buildings at the top—the mosque, the Christian chapel, and even the stone of Moses—are clearly discernible by any one looking up from below. There is not a single spot in the whole peninsula in which the topographical data (given in the Bible) can all be found united more perfectly than they are here.” This is *Ritter’s* opinion.—*Tischendorf* (i. 232) says: “This wady (this plain) of Sebayeh has been regarded, and not without reason, as the spot on which the children of Israel were encamped during the Mosaic legislation. It is of considerable extent, and looks as if it had been made for some such festival as this. It also enables us to understand the expression employed by Moses, ‘Whoever touches the mountain.’ In the Wady Sebayeh the mountain may literally be touched; for it rises so precipitously, that it stands before your eyes a distinct object from the foot to the summit, evidently detached from everything around. The same remark applies to the words, ‘And the people came up to the foot of the mountain.’ It is very rarely possible to see the summit of a mountain, and yet stand so near to the foot as you can here.” At the same time *Tischendorf* discovers difficulties, which make it almost more advisable to adhere to Robinson’s views: first, because there is not a good road direct to the summit from the plain of Sebayeh; again, because the way by which the Israelites must have gone from the Sheikh valley to the foot of the mountain would be “too narrow and difficult;” and, lastly, because the words, “Moses led the people out of the camp to meet God, and they came to the foot of the mountain, seem to imply that there was a considerable distance between the mountain and the camp.” But there is no ground for the assumptions, from which these difficulties arise. The plain of Sebayeh was not the place in which the people encamped, and *also* that in which *they went out of the camp to the foot of the mountain* to receive the law. It only answered the latter purpose. The head-quarters of the encampment were, without doubt, in the plain of er-Rahah and the Wady es-Sheikh. From this spot Moses conducted the people out of the camp, through the broad though short Wady es-Sebayeh, into the plain of es-Sebayeh, to the foot of the Jebel Musa, to meet with God; a dis-

tance which the Englishmen who accompanied *Strauss* and *Krafft* were able to accomplish, with fast walking, in three quarters of an hour. The people were collected together in this broad plain, which surrounds the steep rocky cliff of the *Jebel Musa* like an amphitheatre. On account of the precipitous character of the mountain, even the front ranks could see everything that passed at the top of the mountain; and as the plain itself rises gradually towards the south, and therefore every row stood on somewhat higher ground than the one before it, there was nothing to prevent the hindermost ranks from seeing clearly the summit of the mountain. Moreover, as the mountains which bound the plain on the south are neither steep nor lofty, a considerable number of people could take their stand upon the mountains, if there was not sufficient room in the plain. When the people, overpowered by the sublime spectacle attendant upon the giving of the law, were seized with a panic and rushed away from the spot, they ran through the *Wady Sebayeh*, and hurried back to their tents in the valleys and openings of *Sheikh* and *Rahah*, from which they were no longer able to see what was taking place on the *Jebel Musa*, as the steep cliff of *Ras es-Sufsafeh* stood between.—If the question be asked, By what road did *Moses* ascend the mountain? the most natural assumption is, that he ascended from the plain of *Sebayeh*, crossing the *Hutberg* (which connects the *Jebel Musa* with the *Jebel ed-Deir* in the form of a saddle); in which case his ascent would be “witnessed by no stranger’s eye, and concealed from all below.” Subsequently, however, when starting from the camp in the valley of *Rahah*, he will probably have gone through one of the ravines which intersect the range (vol. ii. § 42, 3), either *Wady Leja* or *Wady Shocib* (probably the latter, which is still the more usual route for ascending the mountain). The seventy elders, whom *Moses* took with him, after the conclusion of the covenant, within the boundary of the sacred mountain, that they might see God (*Ex. xxiv. 10*) and partake of the covenant-meal (*ver. 11*), and whom he left behind him (*ver. 14*) when he went up to the top of the mountain, were probably stationed in the *Wady Shocib* at the foot of the *Hutberg*, or they may possibly have accompanied *Moses* to the top of the main body of the mountain-range, and remained standing there while he went up the highest peak.

In *Ritter's* opinion (xiv. 591), if we look upon the plain of Sebayeh as the spot from which the giving of the law was witnessed, we need only assume that it was not the *whole* of the people who were led there to meet with God, but only a very large portion of them. For "the whole people, even though they had only numbered hundreds of thousands, could not possibly have passed in one day through such narrow valleys as all the wadys of the Sinaitic group, even the broadest, are; and this they must have done before they could reach the mountain." The same assumption, however, would be quite as necessary if we removed the scene to the plain of Rahah. And he does not consider that this presents any difficulty; for very frequently (*e.g.*, chap. xix. 7-9) the elders, who were the representatives of the whole people, are actually spoken of as though they were themselves "all the people." Still, although such a limitation is certainly admissible, in our opinion it is by no means necessary. As a matter of course, the old men, the women, and the children, would not be there. Hence there would not be more than 600,000 men present (Ex. xii. 37); and we do not see that it would be impossible for this number to pass through the Wady es-Sebayeh, which is very short and from two to four hundred paces broad, into the plain of es-Sebayeh, and back again to the camp in the course of a day.

We conclude with an extract from *Graul*. He says (ii. 260): "I am not the man to take up the cause of monastic traditions, and least of all those of Sinai, which rest as traditions upon very feeble foundations. But I cannot, and do not wish to conceal the fact, that of all the spots in the peninsula which I have visited, not one has seemed to me to harmonise so completely with the Biblical account of the giving of the law, as the Jebel Musa and its neighbourhood. At the same time, I must candidly confess that I visited the Jebel Musa with a decided prejudice *in favour* of the hypothesis of Lepsius."

PREPARATIONS FOR GIVING THE LAW AND CONCLUDING THE COVENANT.

§ 9. (Ex. xix. 3-15).—When the procession had reached the desert of Sinai, and the tents had been pitched there, Moses went up the mountain to God. Probably the pillar of cloud and

fire (vol. ii. § 36, 3) may have rested on the mountain, to show that that would now be the dwelling-place of God for a considerable time, and that He would continue there in the midst of His people, who were encamped in an amphitheatrical form on the north of the mountain. At the same time, the cloud was hidden from the view of the people, by the rocky cliff of the Ras es-Sufsâfeh which stood between. From the period of His call (Ex. iii. 12), Moses had known that the people were to serve God on this mountain. He went up the mountain, therefore, to ascertain in what manner this was to be done. The answer which he received was the following: "*Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto Myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all people; for all the earth is Mine: and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation.*" These were the *preliminaries* of the covenant (1),—a promise and a demand on the part of God, to which the people were required to respond with cheerful faith and obedience. Moses came down the mountain with this message, and delivered it to the elders, who at once announced their readiness to enter into the covenant on these terms. As the covenant was to be concluded through the medium of Moses, it was necessary that he should receive special credentials in the sight of the people; and for this purpose, God promised to come down to him in a visible manner, and converse with him before all the people. Moreover, as the mountain was set apart as the Holy of Holies in which God was about to reveal Himself, it was requisite that it should be consecrated, that is, separated and distinguished from the hills round about. This was done by placing a hedge around it; and as it was now no longer a similar mountain to the rest, but a mountain of Divine manifestation, it had become an unapproachable sanctuary, that might not be touched by either man or beast (2). Moreover, as the people were to draw near to Jehovah to receive the law, the groundwork of the covenant, they also must sanctify themselves and make ready for the third

day (3); for on the third day Jehovah would come down upon Mount Sinai before the eyes of all the people, to use it as His throne from which to proclaim the law.

(1.) The first message which Moses had to bring to the people from the sacred mountain, contained the PRELIMINARIES OF THE COVENANT. It laid before them, for their acceptance, a general outline of the nature, conditions, and design of the covenant which was now about to be concluded. On the basis of this covenant a politico-religious commonwealth was to be formed, which should include both Israel and its God, and the distinctive characteristic of which *Josephus* (c. Ap. 2, 16) first appropriately designated the THEOCRACY, or rule of God. Referring, by way of contrast, to the various constitutions of other states, he says: ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς μὲν τούτων οὐδοσιῶν ἀπέειπεν, ὡς δ' ἂν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, θεοκρατιαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα, θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθείς. What the theocracy actually involved, can only be learned from the legislation itself, in which its nature was fully unfolded in the most minute details. At present, we have only to seek to understand the fundamental idea, which was first expressed in a general form in the preliminaries of the covenant.

The first prerequisite, the *conditio sine qua non*, of the establishment of the theocracy, was the deliverance of the people from Egypt. As the *Redeemer* of Israel, Jehovah claimed to be the *King* of Israel. Hitherto He had *served* for the sake of Israel, and had thus earned the right to govern it;—He had *sued* for Israel, as for a bride; as a Bridegroom, He had attested His love and fidelity to the bride (§ 1), and therefore He now claimed to enter upon the rights and supremacy of a Husband. As a *Father*, He had begotten Israel for His first-born, and now He asserted his paternal rights, and demanded filial obedience and love. As the Creator and Governor of the world, He was the Lord and King of every nation; but He did not base His kingly relation to Israel upon this foundation. He founded it rather upon what He had done *especially* for Israel: it was not as *Elohim*, but as *Jehovah*, that He desired to reign over Israel. Moral freedom and necessity were united in the establishment of this covenant, for, as the son of Jehovah, Israel was bound to obey; but Jehovah had made Israel a bride

merely as the result of its own free choice and consent. As Elohim, He was a King over Israel, as He is over every nation, by virtue of unconditional necessity; as Jehovah, He was King over Israel in consequence of the free concurrence of the people, and in a sense in which no other nation could claim Him as King.

For this reason the preliminaries of the covenant commenced with a reference to the deliverance from Egypt. "*Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto Myself.*" He had rescued from the house of bondage the bride, whom He had chosen by His free grace, and He had carried her home to His own home on the eagles' wings of love. He gave before He demanded; He gave proofs of His love, before He asked for obedience; He gave Himself to Israel, before He required Israel to give itself to Him. Now came the demand; but even here it was not without a promise: "*Now, therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all people,*" etc. What commandments His voice would give, what duties His covenant would impose upon the people, could not be fully explained in these brief preliminaries. But the essence and intention of the covenant were made known, and the duties of the covenant were affected and determined by these. Moreover, the guidance afforded thus far by Jehovah, constituted a title to unconditional confidence. At present, however, He merely required a provisional assent. It was not till His will had been fully explained in the giving of the law, that the people made a solemn declaration, and gave a distinct and definite pledge (Ex. xxiv. 3).

The first position assigned to Israel by the covenant of Jehovah was this: "*Ye shall be My property out of (before) all nations, for the whole earth is Mine.*" All the nations of the earth are God's property,—they are so by virtue of their creation. Israel, however, was to be so, not by virtue of creation only, but by virtue of redemption also. God created the nations; but, in addition to this, He begat Israel as His son; He wooed Israel as his bride; He purchased Israel, when it was in foreign slavery, to be in a far higher sense His own property. Hence this possession was of double worth to the Possessor; and the nation was under double obligation to show affection and attach-

ment to its Lord. “*The whole earth is Mine:*” this fact, which was the groundwork of their consciousness of God, was to be kept perpetually present before the minds of the people of the covenant. On the consciousness that Jehovah was the God of all gods, and the King of all kings, was built the consciousness of the peculiar relation in which they stood to Him as a nation. Nothing can be more unwarrantable, therefore, than to assume that the Israelites regarded Jehovah as merely a national Deity; for they knew that, as the Creator, their God was the God of all nations; but they also knew that, as their Redeemer, He stood in a peculiar relation to them (Dent. iv. 7). The notion of national deities involves the idea of co-ordination. As the nations are co-ordinate one with another, so are also the national deities. Their power is measured according to the power and strength, which they are supposed to confer upon the people who serve them. Hence the gods of one nation may appear to be stronger than those of another; the deity of one nation may be regarded by a heathen as having gained a victory over that of another; but, originally and essentially, they are supposed to be equal. With the God of the Israelites it was altogether different. The idea which they entertained of their Deity did not even permit a comparison with the gods of the heathen; and these gods were not only not co-ordinate and equal to the God of Israel, they were not even beings of simply inferior power. On the contrary, in distinction from Him, they were pure אֱלֹהִים, *i.e.*, *nothings* (vol. ii. § 23, 1).—It is a most reprehensible frivolity, therefore, on the part of *Stähelin* (*Krit. Unters. über d. Pentateuch*, p. 19), and *v. Lengerke* (i. 460), who copies him word for word, to take this passage, which is expressly designed to guard against the notion of a national god, and make it teach this very notion, as they do when they say that “Moses ascended the mountain, and Jehovah commissioned him to ask the people whether they would acknowledge Him, under certain circumstances, as their national God.”

“*And ye shall be to Me a kingdom of priests* (מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים), *and a holy people:*” in these terms they received again a message and a promise. There was to be a *kingdom* founded by the covenant. But a kingdom must have a *king*, and, as a matter of course, this king could be no other than Jehovah; for, if the members of a kingdom are *priests*, the ruler must be *God*;

and if the subjects in this kingdom were the property of Jehovah above all nations—His property in a sense in which no others are—the sovereignty of Jehovah over Israel must also have been unique. Moreover, as Jehovah Himself desired to be King over Israel, not merely on the ground on which He ruled over every other nation, *viz.*, because the whole earth was His, but for a reason altogether peculiar to itself, *viz.*, because He had redeemed, won, and earned it as His own special property; His intention to be Israel's King could only be understood as meaning, that in the case of Israel He would raise and consolidate His universal rule into one of a special nature; that in His own person He would undertake the duties and claim the privileges of sovereignty, which He left in other cases to earthly, human kings. In a word, Jehovah was about to stoop to be not merely heavenly, but earthly King over Israel. So far as Israel was a *nation*, an earthly political commonwealth, He did not refuse to place Himself in the list of earthly kings. As such, He undertook the obligations, and laid claim to the rights of a king. Among these were, in home affairs, the giving and administration of the law; and in foreign affairs, the determination of peace and war. Hitherto He had given to the people a visible sign and pledge of His presence as their guide, by sending the Angel, who was His personal representative (Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15), and in whom was His name (Ex. xxxiii. 20, 21), to go before them in the pillar of cloud and fire (vol. ii. § 36, 3). This was done because He desired to conclude a covenant with Israel. By the conclusion of the covenant itself, this sign of His presence was still more firmly united to the congregation of Israel. But whereas hitherto He had only spoken to the people by Moses, though always present Himself, henceforth He would make use of other human agents for announcing and executing His will. Various theocratical offices would be associated with the new organisation of the covenant constitution; and through these, the different theocratical functions would be discharged. Before and during the process of organisation, these functions had all been united in Moses; but as soon as the organisation was complete, they were to be distributed and arranged as present or future circumstances might require (they included priests, elders, judges, kings, prophets, etc.).

But Jehovah was not the less Israel's *God*, because He became

Israel's King. The peculiarity of the new relation was just this, that He was God and King in one person ; in other words, was *God-King*. And as divinity and royalty were thus combined in the Head of the new commonwealth (their God manifesting Himself and acting as their King, and their King as their God), all His commandments bore this twofold character : the religious commandments were also political, and the political at the same time religious. The breach of a religious commandment was also a civil crime; and the violation of a civil and political institution was treated at once as sin. The moral, civil, and ceremonial laws were not in any way subordinated the one to the other, but were in all respects equal ; and whenever they were broken, they all required, according to the heinousness of the offence, in precisely the same way, religious expiation and civil punishment. A faithful subject was therefore, *eo ipso*, a pious child of God, and *vice versa*. And this did not apply to the commands alone ; but the gifts and promises of this God and King partook of the same twofold character. What He promised as God, He performed as King ; and what He did as King, subserved His Divine purposes, *viz.*, the accomplishment of His eternal plan of salvation.

This was still more clearly indicated by the further announcement, that the kingdom about to be established in Israel was to be a "kingdom of *priests*." A priest is a mediator between God and man : hence the idea of a priest implies the existence of a God who allows of mediation, and of men who need it. But the whole nation of Israel consisted of none but priests. The nation, as such, was to sustain the character and discharge the obligations of a priest ; and therefore it is evident that the men in need of mediation, those who required this priesthood, were not to be found in Israel itself, but outside its limits,—in other words, that the priestly vocation of Israel had reference to other (*i. e.*, heathen) nations. What the priest in a particular nation is to the individuals composing the nation, that was Israel as a people to be to the sum-total of the tribes composing the great (Elohistic) kingdom of God in this terrestrial world. It is the province of the priest to receive and preserve the revelations, promises, and gifts of God, of which the nation stands in need, to make them known to the people, and transmit them to future generations. And thus was it Israel's vocation, as a priestly

nation, to communicate to every other nation the revelations which it received from God. Hence the promise of a covenant with the nation leads us back to the promise formerly made of a covenant with the family ("In thee and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," see vol. i. § 51, 4); and it becomes apparent that the covenant at Sinai was precisely the same as that which had formerly been concluded at Mamre. The one was merely a renewal of the other—a transference to the nation, which had sprung from the family, of the promise and call which the family itself had already received. The individuality and exclusiveness which characterised the former covenant, were equally manifest in the latter, for *out of* all nations Israel was the property of Jehovah; but the fact that the covenant was destined for the most unlimited universalism, appeared in the latter also, bright and clear, as the pole-star of the future. Here also was the truth exhibited and confirmed—that Israel was merely the *first-born*, not the *only* child of Jehovah; that the other nations, as younger members of the family of Jehovah, were to be made partakers of the same sonship which Israel was the first to receive, but which it received as the pledge of the future adoption of the other nations of the earth (vol. ii. § 21, 1); "for the whole earth is Mine," saith the Lord.

Lastly, Israel was to be "*a holy nation.*" The primary notion of holiness is that of *separation*; but the merely negative idea of separation is not complete without the addition of the positive side, that of separation *to*, as well as *from*. According to the idea of holiness, God is the source of all holiness: He is revealed as the only Holy One. This fact determines what holiness is, both on its negative and positive sides. It is a loosening and separation from everything that is opposed to God, estranged from God, everything god-less; it is also dedication to God and His purposes, an entrance into His saving plans, the return of a godless creature to fellowship with God, the reception of those saving influences from God Himself, by which a man becomes holy again, or in other words, conformed to God, and well-pleasing in His sight. This state of holiness was *demanded* of the people of the theocracy: "Be ye holy, for I Jehovah, your God, am holy" (Lev. xix. 2). But in the passage before us, where we first meet with this demand, it appeared in the form of a promise, to testify that the sanctification of the people *could* only take

place, and at the same time assuredly *would* take place, as the result of the covenant of God with Israel, by virtue of the covenant acts of God, to which He bound Himself when the covenant was concluded. Hence, as the nation was to become a holy nation under the theocracy, the latter was also a *remedial institution*:¹ in fact, this was its actual kernel, its centre and soul; for all the preliminaries of the covenant culminated in the promise, "Ye shall be a holy nation unto Me." Every other purpose was subservient to this one; every other institution (political and magisterial) subserved the purposes of salvation, which they were merely intended to protect and define. The kingly office of the God-King was merely a foil to His *saving* work; the theocratical state-institutions were merely the outer form in which the Church was for the time enclosed; and the position of subjects, assigned to the people of the theocracy, was merely the setting which enclosed its higher position as a nation of worshippers of God.

Israel was a priestly nation; but a priesthood, the essence and office of which is mediation, can only continue so long as mediation is necessary; and therefore the priesthood of Israel only lasted till its task of conveying to heathen nations the revelations of God had been fully accomplished. After this the Israelites had no essential superiority, either in rights or duties. From this it is evident that the *form* of the theocracy, in which the Sinaitic covenant was embodied, was not *an end*, but merely a *means* to an end,—that it was not permanent and eternal, but changeable and temporary. There are other considerations which lead to the same result. If God became a King, that as a King He might accomplish His divine purposes, *viz.*, the plan of salvation, it followed that He would cease to be a King, in *this* sense, as soon as His purposes of salvation had been realized.

But it was merely the *form* of the theocracy which was changeable and temporary. Its *essence*, like the purposes of salvation from which it had sprung, was imperishable: it existed

¹ There is a play upon the word here, which cannot be rendered into English. A *Heilsanstalt* is, strictly speaking, an infirmary or hospital. The theocracy, says Kurtz, was a *Heils-anstalt* (an institution for making men *whole*), because its purpose was to make men *heil-ig*, holy. In German the words *Heil*, soundness, salvation, *Heiland*, Saviour, *heilen*, to heal, and *heilig*, holy, are all formed from the one root *Heil*. —*Tr.*

before the establishment of the ancient covenant, and continued to exist when the design of the covenant had been fully accomplished. The kingdom of God on earth then passed beyond the national limits, within which the wisdom of God had confined it during the time of the ancient covenant; the sphere of the operations of *Jehovah* henceforth embraced all nations, and was co-extensive with that of the operations of *Elohim*. *Jehovah* was still a King, as He had been before; but His kingdom was no longer a *national* one, and His government no longer political and magisterial. For the *political* affairs of a state arise out of its separation from other states, and its connection with or opposition to them; but in the new Divine state, in the kingdom of God under the New Testament, all distinction, separation, and opposition between tribes and nations have been abolished,—“there is neither Jew nor Greek, but all are one in Christ.” In the same way are the *magisterial* functions (*lit.* the police administration) of the Divine government entrusted (or rather, like the political, they naturally fall again) to the very same authorities to which they had been entrusted from the beginning, under the universal government of *Elohim*. But the real, eternal, imperishable kernel of the theocracy, the personal interposition on the part of God to carry out His plans of salvation, His personal activity in connection with human affairs, His incorporation in the creature, have not come to an end, but, on the contrary, have now received their complete and highest fulfilment.

(2.) “Make a FENCE AROUND THE MOUNTAIN, and sanctify it” (ver. 23). *Hofmann* (*Schriftbeweis* i. 79) says, that הַגְּבִילִי denotes a separation from what is without, שָׁדָרָה the setting apart of that which is within. I cannot agree with this. The *ra* is not disjunctive, but explanatory. It does not show that a second thing was to be done in addition to the fencing, namely, sanctifying; but the additional clause, “and sanctify it,” shows what was the design of the fencing, what it really signified. If the קָדַשׁ had been different from the הַגְּבִילִי, an explanation would necessarily have been given of the manner in which it was to be performed. By the fencing, the mountain was separated and distinguished from all the other mountains round about; and, by the separation itself, was set apart for other—that is to say, for Divine purposes. The fence around the sacred mountain was also a fence around the unholy people (ver. 12); for it warned

them against presumptuously touching the mountain, and guarded them from doing so accidentally (unintentionally). The latter was rendered impossible by the fence, and therefore the former could all the more justly be threatened with the punishment of death. The reason of the infliction of such a punishment was, that a presumptuous approach or ascent of the mountain, on which the holiness of God was about to be manifested, would have indicated a thorough contempt of the conditions which were indispensable to the conclusion of the covenant. If the Holy One was to make a covenant with those who were unholy, the latter must first make themselves holy (ver. 10); if, however, the latter should attempt to climb the mountain, *i. e.*, to draw near to God, without a previous sanctification, or before their sanctification was complete, this would be equivalent to a declaration that the conditions were unnecessary, either because they themselves were holy, or because God was unholy.

It is very difficult to give a more particular explanation of the prohibition in question.—In ver. 12 we read: “Take heed to yourselves that ye go not up into the mount (עֲלֹת בְּהָרָה), or touch the border of it;” but in ver. 13, on the other hand, it is said, that “when the horn is sounded *they* are to ascend the mount” (הִפְּחֵה יַעֲלֵי בְּהָרָה). Hence that which was prohibited to the people for the time being, was permitted, or rather commanded, for a subsequent period, when the signal should be given by the sound of the horn. But this again appears to be contradicted by what follows. For, according to ver. 16, “it came to pass on the third day, that there were thunders and lightnings, and the *voice of the trumpet* exceeding loud;” whereupon Moses led the people out of the camp to the foot of the mountain to meet with God. Whilst the sound of the trumpet continued to grow louder and louder, *Moses* ascended to the top of the mountain, but was obliged to come down again, to charge the people once more not to break through (the fence) to Jehovah to gaze (ver. 21, 24); so that what seemed to be permitted, and even commanded in ver. 13, appears in this verse to be strictly and unconditionally forbidden.

Various attempts have been made to solve the difficulty. *O. v. Gerlach* refers the הִפְּחֵה (they), in ver. 13, not to the people, but to the elders, mentioned in ver. 7; and supposes that during the promulgation of the law they were allowed to pass beyond

the fence, just as we find in chap. xxiv. 9, 10, that after the covenant was concluded, they passed beyond the fence to look at God. But this solution is not only inadmissible, on account of the intolerable harshness of referring the pronoun "they" to the elders, who had been mentioned a long time before, and in a totally different connection, but it is also at variance with ver. 24, where the warning, "Let not the *priests* and *the people* break through to come up to Jehovah," is repeated immediately before the giving of the law. What is here forbidden to the priests was certainly forbidden to the elders also; or, at any rate, the expression, "the priests *and* people," which embraced the whole nation, must assuredly have included the elders as well.—*Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 522), on the other hand, interprets עלות בהר, in ver. 13, as denoting merely the approach of the people to the fence itself. But if the expression in ver. 13 denotes an approach to the fence, it must have the same meaning in ver. 12, where the words are precisely the same; and it is an unjustifiable act of capriciousness on the part of *Luther* to render it "auf den Berg steigen" (go up the mountain) in ver. 12, and "an den Berg gehen" (go up to the mountain) in ver. 13. It is imperatively required by a correct exegesis, that the whole passage should be interpreted as prohibiting the עלות בהר until the horn was sounded, and then commanding it.—The Septuagint adopts a different method. The thirteenth verse (בְּמִשְׁתֵּי הַיָּבֵל הִפְּחָה יַעֲלֵי בְּהָרָה) is translated, or rather paraphrased, as follows: "Ὅταν αἱ φωναὶ καὶ αἱ σάλπιγγες καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ἀπέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ἀναβήσονται ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. By taking the sounding of the horn to mean the time when it left off sounding, the difficulty undoubtedly vanishes. But is such a rendering of אָטַח warrantable? The Vulgate gives the very opposite meaning: *cum cæperit clangere buccina, etc.*

As the whole of the 19th chapter was certainly the production of the same author, and there are no various readings to be met with, *criticism* cannot render any assistance in getting rid of the difficulty. Moreover, as it is not conceivable that the author should have written such contradictions as ver. 12 and 13 appear to contain, when compared with ver. 16, 19, and 21, the expositor need not despair of finding a solution. According to the law of exegesis, we hold it as *a priori* indisputable, that עלות בהר must mean precisely the same in ver. 12 as it does in ver. 13;

and therefore, that what had been previously forbidden was allowed, or rather commanded, when the trumpet gave the signal (בְּמִשְׁעֵי הַיְבֵל). It is also quite as indisputably evident (from Josh. vi.) that the trumpet (שׁוֹפָר) in ver. 16 and 19 was exactly the same instrument as the horn in ver. 13. With these premises, it appears to us that there are only two ways open in which the apparent discrepancy can be solved, viz., either by assuming that, notwithstanding the identity of the instruments referred to, the sounding of the horn in ver. 13 was different from the voice of the trumpet in ver. 16 and 19;—or else, by supposing that the ascent of the mountain in ver. 12, 13 was altogether different from the “breaking through to Jehovah,” in ver. 21 and 24.

The former of these could only be established in some such way as this: the term ordinarily employed to denote the blowing of the horn is תִּקַּע (Josh. vi. 4, 8, 9, 13, 16, 20), and מָשַׁךְ only occurs twice (Ex. xix. 13 and Josh. vi. 5). But are the two perfectly identical? We feel obliged to differ from *Gesenius* and others, and answer this question in the negative. תִּקַּע means to *strike*, to *thrust*; מָשַׁךְ to *draw*. The application of these two different expressions to the blast of a trumpet, leads to the conclusion that each refers to some particular kind of blast: the former denoting a short, sharp, crashing sound; the latter a blast, sustained and long drawn out. This difference we believe to be indicated here; for there can be no doubt that the tone of the תִּקַּע is referred to in ver. 16 and 19, where the *voice* of the trumpet is associated with the thunder and lightning. Hence the מִשְׁעֵי הַיְבֵל in ver. 13 does not mean “when the blowing ceases,” as the *Septuagint* renders it, nor “at the commencement of the blowing,” as the *Vulgate* has it, but denotes a peculiar long-drawn note; and *Luther*, therefore, has hit upon the correct interpretation, when he translates the clause in ver. 13, “but when the blowing continues *long*.” The meaning of the announcement in ver. 13 would in that case be the following: the people were forbidden to ascend the mountain, until the long-drawn blast of the trumpet gave the signal that they were now at liberty to ascend it and draw near to Jehovah. This could not occur, as ver. 21 and 24 clearly show, either *before* or *during* the promulgation of the law, and must therefore have followed the giving of the law. This is confirmed by chap. xx. 18 (15), where we are told that thunder, lightning, and the sound of trumpets

(which must certainly have been silent during the utterance of the ten commandments) concluded the promulgation of the law, just as they had previously introduced it (chap. xix. 16). The time had now arrived when, according to the announcement in chap. xix. 13, the people ought to have ascended the mountain; that is, if the evolution of the drama had taken place according to the original design. But this had not been the case: the Divine plan laid down in chap. xix. 13 had not been followed. The people endured the introductory phenomena; they even stood their ground during the utterance of the ten "words." But the majestic voice of Jehovah, in which He proclaimed the fundamental principles of that holiness which He demanded of the nation, made so powerful and alarming an impression upon the people, who had already been made conscious of their unholiness, that when the giving of the law was ended, and they heard the thunder, and lightning, and the sound of the trumpets, they lost all their courage, and could stand it no longer; and, instead of waiting for the promised signal, and then ascending the mountain to Jehovah, as Moses had arranged, they were overpowered by fear and anxiety, and ran from the spot, crying out to Moses (chap. xx. 19): "Speak *thou* with us, and we will hear; but let not *God* speak with us, lest we die."

It cannot be denied that this solution has the appearance of being somewhat forced; still, I should be sorry to reject it summarily on that account. If it is inconceivable, that the writer should have set down two things so contradictory in such close connection; the appearance of contradiction must arise from some looseness in the terms employed, which has caused them to be misunderstood, and in such cases there is almost sure to be something apparently forced in any solution that may be suggested. The second solution, which has been mentioned as also a possible one, has the same appearance of being forced; but I am inclined to give it the preference. In this case, the difficulty is removed by understanding the "breaking through to Jehovah," in ver. 21 and 24, in a different sense from the עלות ^{עלות} (going up to the mount) in ver. 12 and 13. I do not think this impossible. The former (the breaking through) evidently refers to the fence placed around the mountain, and denotes a forcible attempt to break through or climb over the fence. But the latter may be interpreted as meaning merely an ascent from

the camp, which stood upon the low ground, to the foot of the mountain, which was on a higher level. In this case, the meaning of the announcement in ver. 13 and 14 would be the following: The Israelites were not even to approach the mountain (the foot of the mountain) during the three days of preparation. As soon as the signal was given by the trumpet-blast from the mountain, they were to go up to the foot; but even then they were not to break through the fence (ver. 21). This is in harmony with the epexegetis in ver. 12: "Take heed that ye do not go up to the mount and *touch the extremity of it.*" It is also in harmony with what actually took place; for, when the trumpet sounded, Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God, and they came to the foot of the mountain (ver. 17),—for "touching the *extremity* of the mountain," and "coming to the *foot* of the mountain," may very well be taken as identical expressions. This rendering of עלה בהר is justified by the well-known usage of the language, in which עלה is the standing expression for going to any place that stood upon a higher level. It is also confirmed by the fact, that the phrase ordinarily employed to denote the ascent of a mountain is אָל רֹאשׁ הָהָר or עָלָה אֶל הָהָר (see Ex. xix. 20, 23, xxiv. 13, 15, 16, 18; Num. xxxiii. 37, 38; Deut. xxxii. 49), and by the meaning of בְּהָר itself, which is usually employed in other cases to denote, generally: "by the mountain" (Ex. iv. 27; Num. xxviii. 6; Deut. i. 6), or "among the mountains" (Gen. xxxi. 23, 25, 54), or "in the neighbourhood of the mountain" (Ex xxxiv. 3; בְּכָל הָהָר all round the mountain).

3. The SANCTIFICATION, by which the people were to prepare themselves during three days for receiving the law, consisted chiefly of two things—washing their clothes (ver. 10), and abstaining from their wives (ver. 15). *Sommer* pronounces the latter unhistorical (bibl. Abhandl. Bonn 1846, p. 226 sqq.). He thinks that he has proved that Lev. xv. 18 does not relate to conjugal connection; and (to use his own words) that "the opinion which so generally prevailed in ancient times, of the uncleanness of conjugal connection," was not adopted in the Mosaic law, but found admission among the Jews at a much later period. His reasons are certainly plausible, but we have not been convinced by them. However, we must defer our

exposure of the fallacy of his argument till we come to our own systematic account of the Mosaic legislation. We shall also find a more fitting opportunity for the examination of the meaning and design of these forms of purification, when we come to that section of the law which treats of the subject in question.

PROMULGATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW.

§ 10. (Ex. xix. 16–xxiii. 33 ; Deut. v.)—On the third day after the announcement of the preliminaries of the covenant (probably the fiftieth after the departure from Egypt, § 4, 5), thunder and lightning burst forth ; a loud blast of trumpets was heard, and the mountain was covered with a black, heavy cloud. The people were greatly alarmed, and Moses led them out of the camp to the foot of the mountain to meet with God (§ 8, 5). The whole of the mountain of Sinai smoked, and shook to its very foundations ; for Jehovah had come down upon it in fire (1). Moses ascended the mountain, but was ordered to come down again, and repeat the warning to the people not to break through the fence. Whilst he was below among the people, JEHOVAH (2) Himself addressed the assembled congregation, face to face, from out of the midst of the fire and darkness, and proclaimed with a loud voice the *ten* fundamental “words” of the law of the covenant (3). All the people heard the voice of God, and the mountain burned with fire (Deut. iv. 33, v. 4, 22). Upon this the people fled in the greatest terror ; and the heads of the tribes and elders came to Moses, and said (Deut. v. 23) : “Speak thou to us, and we will hearken ; but let not *God* speak to us, lest we die.” Thus the people abandoned the privilege of a priesthood, of coming directly into the presence of God, and holding immediate communion with Him. In the consciousness of their unholiness, they felt that they were not yet fitted to enter upon the priestly office in its fullest extent, and that they were still in need of a mediator to conduct their intercourse with God. The nation retained its priestly vocation, but the full realisation of it was postponed to a very remote future on

account of this change of affairs. This was necessarily the case, and it was intended that it should be so. The designs of God in connection with the covenant pointed to this from the very first; but the people themselves were to learn by experience, that for a time it could not be otherwise. Jehovah therefore approved of the people's words (Deut. v. 28); and Moses was solemnly appointed by *both* parties, and recognised henceforth as the mediator of the covenant. In this capacity he now ascended the mountain a second time (with Aaron, Ex. xix. 24) to receive Jehovah's further commands. The ten words, which the people themselves had heard from the mouth of God, had laid the foundation of all future legislation.

(1.) The design of those terrific phenomena of nature, which introduced and accompanied the promulgation of the law, is pointed out in chap. xx. 20. Moses addresses the people thus: "Fear not; for God is come *to tempt you*, and *that His fear may be before your eyes*, that ye sin not." The whole path of the Israelites, from their departure out of Egypt to the present hour, had been one series of *temptations*, intended to bring the people to a knowledge of themselves and of their God, and to establish the normal relation between the two. Amidst the temptations of the desert, the natural obduracy and unholiness of the people unfolded itself on the one hand, and the faithfulness and mercy, the power and glory of Jehovah, were revealed upon the other. The previous temptations had served to reveal the ungrateful and unbelieving disposition of the people, and to put it to shame by attesting the mercy and faithfulness of Jehovah. The words of Moses, "Where is there a nation to whom God is so near, as Jehovah our God when we call upon Him?" (Deut. iv. 7), were confirmed on every hand. The *Redeemer* from the Egyptian house of bondage showed Himself also as the Deliverer from all the straits and necessities of the desert. But Jehovah intended to be not merely the Redeemer, but also the Lawgiver of Israel. As the Redeemer of the people, He had shown them His faithfulness and mercy, His patience and long-suffering; and now it was requisite that as their Lawgiver He should make known to them the whole majesty of His glory, and the fearful severity of His holiness. Israel was also to be tempted, that it might not

place so false a confidence in the goodness and mercy of God, as to attribute them to its own worthiness, and thus forget His *holiness* and *majesty*. The Israelites again were *tempted*, that it might be seen whether they could stand before the majesty of God. They were to learn by experience that they could not do this; that however near Jehovah might draw to them, they were not in a condition to draw near to Jehovah, but still needed a mediator to act on their behalf. In the terrors of Sinai there was a representation of the terrors, which the holiness of God always has to an unholy man; in other words, of the terrors of the law towards the sinner by whom it has been transgressed. But even in the midst of the terrors of Sinai there was a manifestation of mercy as well; for the fire of holiness did not appear uncovered, but hidden in a thick, black cloud; and even unholy Israel learned that day, "that God may talk with man, and man remain alive" (Deut. v. 24).

(2.) The *manifestation of God at Sinai* was made through the same *representative of God* who had formerly spoken to Moses out of the burning bush (Ex. iii. 2 sqq.), and who had hitherto conducted Israel in the pillar of cloud and fire (Ex. xiii. 21 sqq.). It was the majesty of God Himself which came down upon Sinai in the fire; but the majesty of the invisible God was brought within the cognisance of the senses in the Angel who represented Him. It was the voice of God and the commandment of God which entered the ears of the people; but the voice came from the mouth of the Angel, in whom was Jehovah's name (Ex. xxiii. 20, 21). We refer the reader to our remarks at Vol. i. § 50, 2, and also append the clear and pointed remarks of *Hofmann* (*Weissagung und Erfüllung*, i. 136), with which we entirely concur, in further explanation of the occurrence under review. He says: "What the people heard, and what Moses heard, were both angelic words. When Moses on a subsequent occasion called to mind the great day on which the holiness of Jehovah appeared on Sinai, he said (Deut. xxxiii. 2): *He came in the midst of His holy myriads*. But in the book of Exodus we read of nothing but thunder and lightning, and a sound resembling a trumpet. Yet, as all the natural operations employed by Jehovah to make known His presence are operations of His spirits, Moses was right in recognising the presence of the multitude of heavenly hosts. It was the voice of God,

and not of a man, which the people heard (Deut. iv. 12, 32, 33, v. 4); but, notwithstanding this, it is still certain that God only spoke through the medium of his finite spirits. Hence it is stated in the New Testament that the law was spoken by angels (Heb. ii. 2, ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος), was given to the people through their mediation (Acts vii. 53, ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων; Gal. iii. 19, διαταγὰς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου). No other part is ascribed to the angels in connection with the giving of the law. The διατάσσειν τὸν νόμον was exclusively the work of God, but He made use of angels to publish his will. All that the words of Acts vii. 53 say is, 'Ye received the law as the commands of an angel.' When Moses, therefore, ascended the mountain to hear the words of Jehovah alone, he saw the God of Israel close by him, as the people saw Him in the distance, namely, like a consuming fire (Ex. xxiv. 10, 17). But Stephen says, an angel spoke to Moses on Sinai, as He had done before out of the burning bush (Acts vii. 38, 30, 35). Moses himself was the mediator between God and the people, and not the angel, as *Schmieder* infers from Gal. iii. 19 (in his treatise on that passage, 1826); for the words ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου (in the hand of a mediator) refer to the position in which Moses stood, and of which he himself says (Deut. v. 5), 'I stood between Jehovah and you.' But the revelation of Jehovah to Moses was made through the medium of the same angel who went before the people as a pillar of smoke. Moses did not learn the will of Jehovah concerning His people apart from Him."

3. In the year 1836 a lively and learned discussion originated with *Fr. Sonntag* (*Ueber die Eintheilung der zehn Gebote; theologische Studien und Kritiken* 1836, pp. 61-89) respecting the form and contents of the DECALOGUE. *E. J. Züllig* answered him in 1837 in the same periodical, pp. 47-122 (*für die calvinische Eintheilung und Auslegung des Dekalogs*), and *Rinck* in the *Badisches Kirchenblatt* (1836, No. 24). *Sonntag* defended his position in a second article in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1837, pp. 253-289 (*noch einiges über die Eintheilung des Decalogs zur Rechtfertigung meiner Ansicht*); but another weighty opponent rose up in the person of *J. Geffken* (*Ueber die verschiedene Eintheilung des Dekalogus und den Einfluss derselben auf den Cultus*, Hamb. 1838). *Hengstenberg* (*Pentateuch* ii. 317 sqq.), *Bertheau*

(*die sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze in den mittl. Büchern des Pentateuchs*, Göttingen 1840, p. 7 sqq.), and others, wrote in the same strain as Geffken.—*S. Preiswerk* defended another view (*Morgenland* 1838, No. 11, 12); and with both skill and good practice in connection with unsupported criticism, *E. Meier* has discovered and restored “the original form of the decalogue. Mannheim 1846.”

We must defer till a more fitting occasion our examination of the religious and ethical elements of the decalogue. At present, only a few questions will engage our attention, which bear more immediately upon its external form.

a. With regard to the SCRIPTURAL NAMES OF THE DECALOGUE, we observe at the outset that the name which is usually given to it now, “the ten commandments,” is nowhere to be met with in the Sacred Writings. On the other hand, it is frequently called “the ten words” (עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים); e.g., Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4. As the earliest document of the covenant, it is also often called “the covenant” (הַבְּרִית); Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13; 1 Kings viii. 21; 2 Chron. vi. 11, etc.). A very favourite name is הָעֵדוּת, *the testimony*. *Hengstenberg* maintains (Pent. ii. 319) that this name is to be traced simply to the design of the decalogue, as the accuser and judge of the sinner,—an opinion which I have shown at some length (in my *Beiträge zur Symbolik des alttestl. Cultus*, Leipzig 1851) to be thoroughly inadmissible, and to which I shall have to refer when describing the ark of the covenant as the receptacle of the testimony. The only possible meaning of the word is “attestation of the Divine will to the people.” At the time when the New Testament was written, the decalogue appears to have been known as *αἱ ἐντολαί* (Luke xviii. 20).

b. It is evident from the standing expression, “the ten words,” that *the number ten* was intentionally chosen, and therefore not without meaning. In any case, then, we must look back to the symbolical importance of this number. In my work, *über d. symbolische Dignität der Zahlen an der Stiftshütte* (Stud. u. Krit. 1844, p. 352 sqq.), and in my *Einheit d. Genesis* (Berlin 1846), I have traced the symbolical meaning of the number ten, as the sign of completeness and independence, to the isolated position in which this number stands in the series, and I still adhere to my opinion. *Bähr, Hengstenberg, Bertheau,*

Baumgarten, and others, have given the same explanation. *Hofmann* has taken a different course, but it leads eventually to the same result (see also *Delitzsch*, Genesis Ed. 2, ii. 225). He starts from the number of fingers on a man's hand, and finds from this that ten is the number which represents human capacity,—in other words, the manifold development of humanity. It does not, therefore, denote absolute perfection, but human perfection; and in this sense the number ten sets the seal of perfection upon any object. A simple fact may serve to connect these two opinions, namely, that the decimal system of numeration undoubtedly originated in the number of the fingers. *Delitzsch* explains the use of the number ten as the sign of perfection in another way still. Three is the number of the only absolute, self-existent God; seven, on the other hand, is the number of divinity, as manifested in the created world: hence *ten* ($3 + 7$) denotes the complete revelation of God, both in relation to Himself and outwardly towards the world, the sevenfold radiation of that which in itself is threefold.—*Grotius* (de decal. p. 36) thinks that the number of the commandments was fixed at ten, because men were in the habit of counting with the ten fingers, and that number would therefore be more likely than any other to impress them upon the memory. The bald utilitarian theory on which this opinion is based, is well deserving of the two notes of admiration with which *Bähr* (*Symbolik*, i. 181) expresses his amazement. But when this view is traced back to still deeper roots, as it has been by *Hofmann*, it is really worthy of attention; and if the division of the decalogue into two pentads, to which we shall refer more particularly presently, can be established, the agreement with the number of fingers will then be so striking, that it will hardly be possible to dispute it. But when *Friedrich* (*Symbolik d. mos. Stiftshütte*, p. 120) brings forward Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18, and Prov. vii. 8, in support of the view expressed by *Grotius*, he is most decidedly in the wrong; for, in the first place, there is no reference to the ten commandments in either of these passages; and, in the second place, it is not the fingers that are spoken of, but the hand, the space between the eyes and the table of the heart. We may safely infer that the ten commandments were divided into two parts by the Lawgiver Himself, from the fact that the ten words were written upon two tables. No further information is given,

however, as to the division itself. But we shall return to this subject again (Note 1).

c. In addition to the *copy of the decalogue* in Ex. xx., which is evidently the original and authentic one, we have a *second, and in many respects a different copy*, in Deut. v. (see *Ranke*, *Unterss.* ii. 399 sqq., and *Baumgarten*, *Comm.* i. 2, pp. 443, 444). The differences are merely formal, and for the most part very immaterial. They may be explained on the ground that the Deuteronomist took the decalogue, which stands in Ex. xx. in its fixed, statutory form, and repeated it to the people with a certain amount of freedom, when he made it the ground of his exhortations to them. There is only *one* variation to which, on certain suppositions, some importance may be attached; but even in this case the difference is simply in the form. In the book of Exodus, the list of things which it was unlawful to covet is given in the following order: house, wife, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, anything that is thy neighbour's; in the book of Deuteronomy, wife, house, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, anything that is thy neighbour's. See below, under Note h.

d. The most difficult question which we have to examine relates to the DIVISION OF THE DECALOGUE *into its ten words or commandments, and the two tables* upon which it was written (Ex. xxxi. 18, etc.). The following divisions have been made at different times, and most of them date from a very early period (see *Geffken*, p. 9 sqq. 123 sqq.). (i.) The words, "I am Jehovah thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt," have been taken as the first commandment; in which case the second includes the prohibition to worship other gods and to make any graven image, and the tenth embraces both the clauses which treat of coveting. This is the division which has been current among modern *Jews* from the time of the Talmud. It was adopted by the Emperor Julian, Georgius Syncellus, and Cedrenus; and lately *Preiswerk* has declared in favour of it, with this exception, that he does not regard the words, "I am Jehovah thy God," as a commandment in itself, but as an introduction to the (*nine*) commandments. In support of his opinion, he appeals to the fact that the Pentateuch never speaks of *ten commandments*, but simply of *ten words*.—*E. Meier*, who agrees with this to some extent, but who has adopted a

totally different and new division for the rest, looks upon the introductory words as a command to acknowledge the national God of the Israelites (p. 14).—(ii.) According to a second division, the law against idolatry is the first commandment, that against the making of images the second, and that against coveting the tenth. This division was unhesitatingly adopted by *Philo*, *Josephus*, and *Origen*; and they were followed by nearly all the Greek fathers, and by all the Latin till the time of *Augustine*. In the *Greek Church* it continued to prevail (the law against the worship of images being of course interpreted as referring to *λατρεία*, not to *δουλεία*), and the Swiss reformers introduced it again in connection with the *Reformed Church*. It has been most warmly and thoroughly defended by *Züllig* and *Geffken*, and is almost universally adopted by modern theologians (both Lutheran and Reformed).—(iii.) According to a third division, the law against worshipping other gods and that against serving images form but *one* commandment, namely, the first; and the law against coveting is divided into two commandments, the ninth and tenth. This division cannot be traced to an earlier source than *Augustine* (*Quæstiones in Ex. 71*).¹ *Augustine* takes the edition of the decalogue in *Deuteronomy*, and makes the ninth commandment to consist of the law against coveting a neighbour's wife, the tenth that against coveting a neighbour's house, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, or anything that is his. This division became the current one in the West, with this unimportant difference, however, that instead of the edition in *Deuteronomy*, the more authentic copy in *Exodus* was taken as the basis; and thus the law against coveting the house formed the ninth commandment, and that against coveting the wife, man-servant, and others, the tenth. The Catholic and Lutheran Church continue to adopt this division to the present

¹ There is a passage of *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Strom. vi. p. 682, ed. Colon. 1688*) which has frequently been appealed to as an earlier proof of the division adopted by *Augustine* (and *Züllig* still admits its validity). In this passage he connects the prohibition of image-worship with the first commandment, calls the command not to take the name of the Lord in vain the second, and the command to keep holy the Sabbath day the third; but he passes over the fourth, and still calls the command to honour father and mother the fifth, and expressly mentions all the objects referred to in the command against coveting as contained in one commandment (*δέκατος; διέ* *ίστην ὁ περὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀπασῶν*). See *Geffken*, pp. 159, 20, 159 sqq.

day. *Sonntag* (ll. cc.) returned to the form given in Deuteronomy, and defended the arrangement of the ninth and tenth commandments founded upon that form with acuteness and learning.—The *Parashoth*, into which the law is divided in the synagogue-rolls and most of the Codices, are in favour of uniting the introduction and the prohibition of idolatry and image-worship into one commandment, and separating the various objects mentioned in the law against coveting into two. But this gives rise to the following discrepancy: According to the book of Exodus, the *ninth* commandment is, “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife;” but according to that of Deuteronomy it is, “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s house.”—(iv.) Lastly, *E. Meier* has very recently discovered the “original form of the decalogue.” It consists of two pentads, and the different members of the first series correspond exactly to those of the second. The order is as follows:—I. (1.) I am Jehovah thy God! (2.) Thou shalt have no other gods beside Me! (3.) Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image! (4.) Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain! (5.) Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy!—II. (1.) Honour thy father and thy mother! (2.) Thou shalt not commit adultery! (3.) Thou shalt do no murder! (4.) Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour! (5.) Thou shalt not steal!—These were the entire contents; there was not a single word more or less; and this was the way in which the commandments were arranged in the two tables!!

e. A closer examination of such of the methods referred to as are worth noticing, leads to the conclusion that the INTRODUCTORY WORDS, “I am Jehovah thy God, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt,” cannot be reckoned as the first (independent) *word* or *commandment*. If we regard this clause as the first *commandment*,—*i. e.*, as announcing the duty to serve and acknowledge Jehovah as the one and only God,—it is inseparably connected with the next clause, which passes as the second commandment, “Thou shalt have no other gods beside Me.” But if we take it to be merely the first *word*, which does not contain any commandment in itself, but simply introduces and lays the foundation of the commandments which follow, the decalogue contains only *nine* commandments. But as both of these are equally untenable, the *Jewish* division and all

kindred modes of reckoning fall at once away.—Nor does it seem to us that the method adopted by Catholics and Lutherans can be sustained. For the command not to covet your neighbour's house cannot stand by itself as an independent command, by the side of the command not to covet your neighbour's wife, or his man-servant, or maid-servant, or his ox, or his ass, or anything that is his. The solution of the difficulty, adopted by early Lutheran controversialists (*cf. Geffken*, p. 12), that the ninth commandment prohibits actual, impure lust, the tenth, merely covetousness, need only be mentioned to be at once disproved. There remain, then, only the division adopted by Philo and Origen (the Græco-Reformed method), and that defended by Augustine, and lately by Sonntag.

f. On both sides the early Jewish and Christian TRADITION has been appealed to, and great learning has been displayed, but without any decided advantage on either side. The supporters of the Reformed division attach excessive importance to the fact, that the oldest writers, who give any account of the method which prevailed in their day (*Philo* and *Josephus*), confirm the correctness of the view adopted by them. But who will answer for it, that *Philo* and *Josephus* have really reported the view which prevailed in their time, and not merely their own private opinion? Why may there not have been various methods current among the Jews of that time, from which *Philo* and *Josephus* selected the one which pleased them best? At all events, we know that Pseudo-Jonathan adopted the opinion which still prevails among the Jews. But even granting that *Philo* and *Josephus* have merely given utterance to the current opinion of their day, what guarantee have we that this opinion was correct, and had been handed down from the earliest times? It can be proved that in the time of *Josephus* the views entertained by the teachers of the law, with reference to innumerable questions connected with the Jewish ritual, were doubtful, fluctuating, and contradictory. In the whole of the Old Testament we cannot find a single instance in which the commandments are referred to by their numerical position in the decalogue. This does not appear to have been at all a usual thing. And if it was not, the practice in the time of *Josephus* is of no importance at all. The New Testament is also appealed to (*Matt.* v. 27, 28, xix. 18, 19; *Mark* x. 19; *Luke* xviii. 20;

1 Tim. i. 9, 10 ; Rom. vii. 7, xiii. 9). But even *Geffken* admits (p. 136) that these passages do not furnish a convincing proof of the correctness of his arrangement. For our part, we cannot admit that they favour the system of Origen any better than that of Augustine.—Again, we attach no importance whatever to the real or supposed adoption, of the division current in the Reformed Church, by all the fathers anterior to Augustine.

On the other hand, we cannot admit that there is much weight in the evidence adduced on the opposite side. *Sonntag* attaches most importance to the *Parashoth*-arrangement. In the Hebrew MSS. the decalogue is marked off by a *Pethuchah* in both recensions, viz., after Ex. xx. 6, and Deut. v. 10, and is divided into its ten sections by nine *Sethumoth*. “There might even be ten *Sethumoth*; for it depended entirely upon accident, namely, upon the size of the open space in a particular line, whether the *Parashah* was a closed or an open one. It made no difference as to the worth and importance of the division itself, whether it was marked by a *Sethumah* or a *Pethuchah*” (*Bertheau*, p. 14). Now, undoubtedly, according to this division, the introductory clause and the prohibition of idolatry and image-worship form *one* connected whole,—*i.e.*, they constitute one of the ten words or commandments; and it is just as indisputable that the authors of the *Parashoth* have divided the law against coveting into two commandments, the ninth and tenth. *Bertheau* (p. 17) finds it remarkably easy to solve the enigma of this *Parashoth*-arrangement, which is directly opposed to the Jewish division, so far as we have been able to trace the latter up to a distant date: “It must” (?!), he says, “have been introduced into the Hebrew MSS. under Christian influence (!!), probably since the 14th century, as the history of the division of the decalogue indisputably (?!) proves. It is only necessary to bear in mind the division into chapters, which originated with Christians, but yet has been adopted by Jews.”—*Sic!*—There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Christian plan of dividing the chapters should have been adopted in the Jewish MSS.; the matter was one of perfect indifference, and did not in any way bring the Jews into collision with their early traditions, or the dicta of their ancient teachers. But with the numbering of the commandments it was altogether different. From the time of the Talmudists, they have had a fixed and

inflexible arrangement, which differed entirely from that current among the Christians. And this being the case, it is as thoughtless as it is unhistorical to maintain that in the 14th century the Jews introduced the Christian arrangement into their Biblical MSS., notwithstanding the fact that it was directly opposed to that which they had inherited from their fathers. How much more, then, does this apply to their synagogue-rolls, into which they would not even admit the system of vowels and accents, which had been transmitted to them by their own honoured fathers! Of all inconceivable things, surely this is the most inconceivable. — *Geffken* appeals in preference to the facts of the case themselves. For instance, *Kennicott* has collated 694 of the most ancient MSS., and has discovered that in the law against coveting, the *Sethumah* is wanting in 234 codices of the book of Exodus, and in 184 of that of Deuteronomy (in the Samaritan Pentateuch he did not find it in a single MS. which he consulted). *Züllig* calculates that the proportion was as follows: two-thirds of the MSS. have the *Sethumah*, and in one-third it is wanting. But *Sonntag* becomes magnanimous from his confidence of victory, and makes more liberal admissions. In his opinion, the proportion may have been just the reverse, since the MSS. of *Kennicott* did not all of them contain the whole of the Old Testament. But he was evidently not warranted in making so sweeping an assertion. *Geffken*, however, accepts it without hesitation, and constantly argues as if the *Sethumah* were wanting in two-thirds of the MSS. But even if it were, how did it find its way into the other third? How did it get into *all* the synagogue-rolls; and how are we to explain the fact, that there is not a single MS. in which the prohibition of image-worship is separated by a *Sethumah* from the prohibition of idolatry? It must be admitted that the enigma of the *Sethumoth* of the decalogue is by no means solved; and it is still possible, notwithstanding the ridicule in which *Geffken* indulges, that these *Sethumoth* may be traced to an authority of more ancient date than *Philo* and *Josephus*.—Still, in our opinion, it is impossible to deduce from this any clear or probable evidence of the authenticity of the numbering adopted by Augustine. It is also just as impossible to deduce any certain proof from the practice of accentuation. See *Bertheau* pp. 15, 16, and *Sonntag* 1837, p. 277 sqq.

g. If the question is to be decided at all, we can only hope that the solution will be obtained from the *decalogue itself*. The first question which arises is this: Are the laws against having other gods (idolatry) and making graven images (image-worship) so related to each other, that we may assume that, according to the ancient Israelitish notion, they must necessarily have formed one commandment, or that they could only be regarded as two distinct commandments? In other words, was the early Israelitish (Mosaic) notion of the worship of images identically the same as that of the worship of foreign gods, or were they kept apart as two totally distinct notions? In Ex. xx. 3 we read, "Thou shalt have no other gods beside Me;" and in ver. 4, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any (idol-) image (לְפָנָי), nor any likeness (תְּמוּנָה) of that which is in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not worship it, nor suffer thyself to be brought to serve it." According to the explanation given by the supporters of Origen's opinion, ver. 3 prohibits the worship of other gods (such as Baal, Apis, etc.), and ver. 4 the worship of Jehovah under the figure or symbol of any creature whatever. As a proof of this interpretation, they refer to the historical fact, that this untheocratic and illegal form of worship was actually resorted to very shortly after in the worship of Aaron's calf, and also to the essential difference which there was between Ahab's worship of Baal and Jeroboam's worship of the golden bulls. But even granting that by פָּסֵל and תְּמוּנָה we are to understand *merely* images and symbols of *Jehovah*, borrowed from the created world, it does not necessarily follow that the law may not have included this in the same commandment with actual idolatry, and ranked it as a *species* under the genus of idolatry. On the contrary, the stringency and exclusiveness of the Mosaic monotheism, and the earnestness with which it held fast to the notion of the absolute spirituality of God, required that the one should be held up as equally reprehensible with the other, that both should be punished as rebellion against Jehovah; in fact, that both should be represented under exactly the same point of view. It is easy enough to distinguish them in theory; but in practice the limits drawn by theory are quickly disregarded and overstepped. Aaron was a theorist of this kind: he said (Ex. xxxii. 5): "To-morrow is the feast of Jehovah;" but the people had

“asked for a God to go before them” (Ex. xxxii. 1). Hence they had rejected *the* God, who had gone before them in the pillar of cloud and fire, and demanded to be led in a different way; they wanted a god to go before them in a more tangible form, and not enveloped in the pillar of cloud. They probably had no intention of rejecting and denying their God Jehovah, for they said: This is the God who brought us up out of the land of Egypt (Ex. xxxii. 8); but they merely retained the name of Jehovah, and substituted a different and totally heterogeneous idea. The Jehovah worshipped by the people in the form of the golden calf, was as much an idol as Apis, Moloch, and Dagon; and the people acted in violation of the command in Ex. xx. 3, quite as much as of that in Ex. xx. 4. In the same way may Jeroboam have set up the bulls at Dan and Bethel as images of *Jehovah*, but in practice the people were not able to make so nice a distinction as he. Now, such dangerous distinctions as these the law would at once cut up by the root, if it placed the false worship of Jehovah in precisely the same category as the worship of idols. And this it has done. For it is a false idea to suppose that ver. 4 refers to (symbolical) images of *God* alone, and not to *idolatrous* images also. Where can we find the least indication that פסל and תמונה are to be interpreted as referring to symbolical representations of Jehovah *alone*? The usage of the language is most decidedly opposed to this arbitrary limitation of the word פסל. In Is. xlv. 9–17, for example, the word is applied four times to heathen deities; and three times in the same connection (ver. 10, 15, 17) the manufacture of a פסל is called the preparation of a *god*. And when we read in the Pentateuch of *Elohim* of wood and stone (Deut. iv. 28), or *Elohim* of silver and gold (Ex. xx. 20), or molten *Elohim* (Ex. xxxiv. 17; Lev. xix. 4), what does the author mean but פסלים? And are not these *Elohim* to be regarded as the “other gods” prohibited in Ex. xx. 3? Does not this prove, beyond a doubt, that Ex. xx. 4 contains a special prohibition of the very same thing, which had been prohibited generally in Ex. xx. 3? Or rather, strictly speaking, the relation between the two is not that of genus and species, but that of the idea and the actual manifestation. *Pesel*-worship is not a subdivision of idolatry in general, but is the very same thing: the two notions entirely coincide. For wherever idolatry shows itself, the form which it

assumes is that of *Pesel* (image-) worship. Idolatry is the abstract, *Pesel*-worship the concrete sin.

We may therefore regard it as a safe conclusion from all that has been said, that the worship of a *Pesel* or *Themunah* (an image or likeness) is merely a particular species of the "worship of *other gods*;" and hence it necessarily appears to us more than probable, that the two verses (Ex. xx. 3, 4) contain together but one single command. This is still further confirmed by ver. 5, 6; for if we regard the fourth verse as a *second* independent commandment, the striking and expressive words, with reference to the blessing and curse to come upon the children and children's children, would apply merely to the worship of images, and not at all to idolatry, to which confessedly it most strictly belongs.

h. We now turn to the LAW AGAINST COVETING. If we look, first of all, at its external form, it cannot be denied that the repetition of the words, "Thou shalt not covet" (in Exodus אֲלֹהֵי תַחֲמוֹד is repeated, in Deuteronomy we find אֲלֹהֵי תַחֲמוֹד and אֲלֹהֵי תַחֲמוֹדָהּ), seems to indicate that they are *two* distinct commands. But when we turn, on the other hand, to the subject-matter, it can just as little be denied that the opposite opinion has its strongest support here, and that the arguments based on this are unanswerable, if we regard the present text of the two recensions as a genuine copy of the original. The prohibition "Thou shalt not covet" is essentially one, it is argued, however various the objects coveted may be. And this is raised into indisputable certainty by the fact, that in Exodus the *house* stands first, in Deuteronomy the *wife*. If therefore there were *two* commandments, according to the book of Exodus the *ninth* commandment would be, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," whilst in Deuteronomy it would read, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife." Such a difference as this, however, would constitute a complete and insoluble discrepancy. But if all the objects mentioned were included in the same commandment, the transposition would be perfectly indifferent and unessential, and not more striking than the rest of the changes made by the Deuteronomist in his free version of the decalogue. All this we are compelled to admit. But the question would assume a very different form, if we were at liberty to suppose that the arrangement in Deuteronomy, where the wife is placed first, is original and authentic, and that by some mis-

take the words have been transposed in our present text of the book of Exodus. In that case we should be warranted in assuming, or rather the recurrence of the words "Thou shalt not covet" would force us to assume, that there were *two* commandments; and this would harmonise completely with the arrangement of the decalogue in every other respect. For example, the decalogue is divided into two parts: duty towards God, and duty towards our neighbour. Both of these are represented under a threefold point of view, as they relate to the heart, the mouth, and the action. In the first part, the desire for other gods is a sin of the heart; the misuse of the name of God is a sin of the mouth; the desecration of the Sabbath, an act of sin committed against the God-King of Israel. In the second part this order is inverted. First of all, after the commandment enjoining love to parents, which links the two together, the acts of sin against a neighbour are divided into three: injury done to his life, his marriage, and his property. This is followed by the commandment against injuring one's neighbour with a word, attacking his honour. And lastly, the neighbour is protected against those sinful desires, by which he might be disturbed in the peaceable possession and enjoyment of the goods and rights which his God had conferred upon him. This sinful *desire* is parallel to the *actual* violation of a neighbour's rights; but it stands to reason, that of the three objects which may lead to actual sin (life, marriage, and property), only the last two could be cited as objects that it was possible to covet. Hence the ninth commandment (answering to the sixth) prohibits any desire to invade the married rights of another; and the tenth (answering to the seventh) prohibits every desire to interfere with his rights of property. Hence the division of the law against coveting into two commandments, is warranted by the parallel thus presented to the corresponding division of the law against *actual* sin. Moreover, it is confirmed by the fact, that the desire to obtain possession of another's wife belongs to a totally different department of the moral (or rather immoral) life, from that to which a longing for another's house and property belongs. If lust and covetousness can, or rather must, be regarded as two different *genera* of sin, there can be no doubt that the law against them may also be divided into two different commandments. *Bertheau's* objection to this is quite unintelligible. He says (p. 12): "There would be just as much

reason for dividing the six objects named in the law into six different commandments." But house, field, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, and everything that is one's neighbour's, are all included in the general notion of property. Wife and property are kept distinct in the sixth and seventh commandments, and they could be separated in the same way in the ninth and tenth; but if the tenth admits of being divided, then the seventh might also be divided into five, or even a hundred commandments.

We have been fully convinced, by what we have written above, that if the arrangement in Deuteronomy be really the original one, the division adopted by Augustine is unquestionably correct. But are we warranted in coming to this conclusion? Must we not give the preference to the recension in Exodus, which is so evidently both legal and authentic? Undoubtedly; yet it does not follow that an alteration, which makes no difference as to the subject-matter, but a considerable difference as to the form, may not have crept in at an early date, through the oversight, mistake, or carelessness of a copyist. Undoubtedly the critical evidence in favour of such a conjecture is very weak. Among all the codices of the book of Exodus collated by *Kennicott*, he found only one in which the wife was mentioned first; and he also found three codices of Deuteronomy in which the house stood first: but both of them had evidently arisen from the attempt of a copyist to remove the discrepancy. We might attach greater importance to the circumstance, that the Septuagint places the wife first, even in the book of Exodus, if we did not know how little weight it possesses as an authority in such questions as these. On the other hand, the Samaritan Pentateuch places the house first in Deuteronomy, as well as in Exodus. This leads us to the conclusion, at any rate, that at the very distant date at which these two versions arose, the whole question was a doubtful one.—Let us keep, therefore, to the words of the text. Which, we ask, is the more natural, the more suitable, and therefore the more probable, that the *house* should stand first, or the *wife*? There are only two hypotheses upon which *the former* could be defended, namely: either that the *wife* was placed in the same category with the "man-servant, the maid-servant, the ox, and the ass, and everything that is his," and was thus regarded as an article of property, a *mancipium*; or that the word *house* was used in its more general sense, as inclusive

of the entire family and everything connected with it. Both of these hypotheses would be false. With regard to the former, we must refer the reader to a future volume (*cf. Sonntag* l. c. 1837, pp. 264, 265). That the word *house* cannot have been employed in this broad and general sense—that it must have been used as a species, not as a genus—will be apparent at once, if we bear in mind that in this general sense a house not only included, but sometimes consisted entirely of such objects as could not be referred to in the law against *coveting*; *e. g.*, sons, daughters, grandsons, and other descendants. If, however, the word *house* is used here in its literal signification, it is clear that the only natural, suitable, and worthy arrangement, is for the wife to be mentioned first.

i. There still remains a fact of some importance, which may contribute towards the settlement of the dispute, namely, the *division of the ten commandments into two tables*. It has never been doubted that the first table contained the duties towards God—the second, those towards man. But the question arises, how far the former extended. *Philo* divided the decalogue into two pentads. In this case, not only must the law against idolatry and image-worship be separated into two commandments, but the command to honour one's parents must be included in the first table. Nearly all the modern writers have adopted this arrangement; but we must pronounce the latter quite as inadmissible as the former (see above, under Note *g*). On the side of our opponents, it is argued that parents are placed upon the first table, because they were regarded as representatives of God. We have no doubt that the pious feelings of the early Israelites led them to look upon parents (and rulers) in this light; but when we consider the strict and jealous exclusiveness with which the law protected its monotheism, and the marked distinction which it made between the creature and the Creator—between God and man, we cannot but declare it inconceivable, that a commandment having reference to men should have been placed in the first table, when every other commandment of the same character was placed in the second. If the command to honour one's parents was written upon the first table, the worship of parents was placed *upon a level* with the worship of God. But such co-ordination must have been regarded as idolatry in the eye of the law; for the first commandment says: Thou shalt have no *other gods by the side of*

Me. It is said, indeed, that in one's parents the *image* (the representation) of God—in other words, *God Himself*—was to be honoured. Very good! But why, then, does the next commandment prohibit murder? Undoubtedly for the *very same* reason—that a man bears the *image* of God; as the law given to Noah most clearly and emphatically declares (Gen. ix. 6). He who attacks the life of a man, attacks the image of God, and therefore God Himself;—consequently, this commandment ought to have been placed upon the first table. In fact, there would at last be nothing left for the second table at all. For it is God who has bestowed my property upon me; and therefore whoever attacks my property, makes an attack upon God Himself.

The division of the commandments into two tables has been arranged upon a very different principle. The first table directs the eye of man upwards, to God,—to the Person of the one, holy, spiritual God; the second downwards, to the relations of earth, which God has instituted, and which he is required to maintain. The first commandment on the second table has respect to the *supremacy* of one man over another, in which there is a reflection of God's absolute supremacy. The other commandments refer to those relations in which there is no such distinction, and arrange them under the threefold division of life, marriage, and property. It also describes the sins to which these give rise, under a threefold point of view: action (murder, adultery, theft), word (false witness), and desire (lust and covetousness).

We are led to the same result by another consideration. If it be indisputable, as is generally admitted, that the *number ten* was symbolical, it is at least highly probable that the division of the decalogue into two series of commandments was regulated by the ordinary laws of the symbolism of numbers. Now, the division, which we have just shown to be rendered necessary by the subject-matter of the commandments themselves, gave us the numbers three and seven. And we may very soon see that precisely the same division is required by the symbolism of numbers. When *Augustine* says, “*Mihi tamen videntur congruentius accipi tria illa et ista septem, quoniam Trinitatem videntur illa, quæ ad Deum pertinent, insinuare diligentius intuentibus,*” he unconsciously disregards the Old Testament stand-point, and

anticipates that of the New. Nevertheless it is a settled fact, that even in the Old Testament the *number three* is the symbol of God in His essential existence (*cf. Bähr, Symbolik* i. 115 sqq., and *my* treatise in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1844, p. 336 sqq.). This use of the number three was not first derived from the doctrine of the Trinity, but was based upon a speculative consideration of the number itself. It is equally certain that *seven* is the symbol of Divine things, so far as they are brought out to view in the world, in the creature, and more particularly in the kingdom of God. It was the covenant-number, the number of the covenant of God with His people; and therefore $\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$ the *sacred* number. As seven is formed by adding three to four, the holiness that is in the world (in the kingdom of God) arises from the covenant which God has made with man; and thus seven denotes the life of the creature, so far as it has received a divine and holy character from union with God Himself. Now, in the theocracy, the relation of parents, personal existence, marriage, and the rights of property (as we shall show more fully in the second part of this volume), did acquire such a character; and the purpose of the seven commandments on the second table was to guard *it* against actual violence, as well as the attacks of calumny and covetousness.

From this it is apparent that the division of the decalogue into three and seven is as natural and fitting as it is symbolically significant. If it were divided into four and six, it would lose all its symbolical meaning, and even *five plus five* has less significance than *three plus seven*. Though *five* is, no doubt, to be reckoned among the symbolical numbers, yet, as the half of ten, it can only denote that a thing is half complete; *i.e.*, that in the attempt to attain perfection, it is half way towards the goal. It would be difficult, however, in the present case, to find a fitting occasion for any such symbolical meaning. At any rate, such a division would have no connection whatever with the distinctive character of the two tables; whereas, in the other division ($3 + 7$), this is most evidently and strikingly the case.

k. The RESULT of the whole inquiry is the following. If we follow the version of the decalogue which is given in Deuteronomy, and assume that, according to the primary and correct arrangement, the wife stood first among the objects mentioned in the law against coveting; the most simple, natural,

and suitable way in which the entire decalogue can in all respects be arranged, is that adopted by Augustine. But this method is clearly inadmissible if we place the house first, as in the book of Exodus. In that case, we are compelled to give the preference to the arrangement proposed by Origen. But the many inconveniences, incongruities, and difficulties, which it becomes impossible to solve and reconcile, form such obstructions to the adoption of this view, that, even without sufficient external critical evidence, we feel warranted in giving the preference to the reading in Deuteronomy, and therefore subscribe without hesitation to the Augustinian arrangement.

(4.) *E. Bertheau* (*Die sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze in den drei mittlern Büchern des Pentateuchs*, Göttingen 1840) maintains that the entire Mosaic legislation (including Deuteronomy) consists of seven groups, of seven decalogues each; and has endeavoured to carry out this hypothesis with great acuteness, but not without much that is forced and arbitrary. The hypothesis itself has much to recommend it. Such an arrangement of the contents of the law, according to numerals that were held to be sacred, would be thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of Israelitish antiquity. The whole law, too, would thus present an appearance of unity and plan; it would look at once well organised and complete in itself. It was with a strong prejudice in its favour, therefore, that I proceeded to examine this hypothesis, and with a hope that I might find it based upon solid arguments; but I was thoroughly disappointed. Not one of the forty-nine decalogues discovered by *Bertheau* (with the exception of the first) has the appearance of being a simple and natural division into exactly ten commandments. Of the supposed introductory *formule*, by which the particular commandments are distinguished, sometimes there are more than ten, sometimes less. Thoroughly heterogeneous elements are mixed together in the same commandment; whilst others, which are undoubtedly connected together, and must have been looked at from the same point of view, are kept distinct as separate commandments. And sometimes the very things, which had been combined together in one case, have to be torn asunder in another, although the circumstances may be perfectly analogous. For example, the instructions to make the curtain of the Holy of holies, and the pillars thereof, are said to constitute *one* commandment; but imme-

diately afterwards the directions to make the curtain of the Holy Place *and* the necessary pillars must be divided into *two* commandments (simply because the words “and make” happen to be written twice). Again, whole series of commandments and ordinances, both within and outside the supposed decalogues, are passed over on sundry pretexts, and not counted at all. In other places the text must be fearfully twisted about, and an entirely new arrangement made, before it is possible to divide it into ten at all. In the Pentateuch itself there is no hint whatever at any such general division into tens and sevens. It only speaks of one decalogue, which would hardly have been so exclusively designated “the ten words” if there had been forty-eight other “ten words” besides.—We are therefore obliged to give up *Bertheau's* hypothesis, however it commends itself at first sight, however much acuteness the author may have displayed, and however successful he may appear to have been in different instances in carrying it out.

The first sevenfold group of decalogues, according to *Bertheau* (and *Baumgarten*, who has adopted his hypothesis), is the series of laws contained in the so-called BOOK OF THE COVENANT (chap. xix.–xxiii.); and in this case, though with some slight difficulties, his mode of reckoning and arrangement might at first be carried out and made to appear intentional. This Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxiv. 7) contains the historical and legal preliminaries to the conclusion of the covenant. There is, first of all, a historical introduction, giving a description of the preliminary negotiations respecting the intended covenant, and of the preparations to be made for the reception of the law (chap. xix.). This is followed by the fundamental law of the theocracy, of which the covenant was to be the foundation—in other words, by a declaration of the covenant-duties of the nation (chap. xx.–xxiii. 19); and lastly, by the promises which Jehovah made to the people (chap. xxiii. 20–33). We have first a compendious account of the covenant obligations of the people, arranged according to their most essential and indispensable characteristics, as they were directly announced by God to the people; and then a further expansion, which was given through Moses (chap. xxi.–xxiii.). For, notwithstanding the objections urged by *Bertheau*, *Ranke's* assertion (i. 87) is perfectly correct, that the laws in chap. xxi.–xxiii. are merely a more copious expansion of

those contained in the decalogue. The difference between the first group of laws (which is found in the Book of the Covenant) and the subsequent groups which were based upon it is this: the former laid down the conditions on which the covenant was to be concluded, and the basis of the theocratical constitution; the latter contained their further development, especially in a liturgical point of view. The first group related to such departments of life, as embraced the most general and fundamental features of the theocratical commonwealth. It contained laws that equally affected the whole nation and every individual belonging to it; whereas the following groups related to more special departments of life and worship, and contained commandments, the observance of which depended upon the sanctuary, which was not yet erected, and the existence of a priesthood that had not yet been instituted.

(5.) The demands of Jehovah, which are imposed upon the people in the Book of the Covenant, are followed by the PROMISES of Jehovah, or the covenant obligations which Jehovah imposed upon Himself (chap. xxiii. 20-33). According to *Bertheau* (p. 72 sqq.), these promises also form a decalogue upon the following plan: 1. The special guidance of Israel by the Angel, in whom was Jehovah's name (ver. 20-22; cf. § 14, 3); 2. the entrance of Israel into the land of Canaan, and the extermination of the inhabitants (ver. 23, 24); 3. the blessing of bread and water; 4. immunity from diseases (ver. 25); 5. freedom from premature births and barrenness on the part of the Israelitish women; 6. long life (ver. 26); 7. dread of God among all the enemies of Israel (ver. 27); 8. hornets, which should drive out the Hivites, Canaanites, and Hittites (ver. 28); 9. a gradual extermination of the inhabitants of Canaan, that the country might not become waste, or be overrun by wild beasts (ver. 29, 30); 10. the determination of the boundaries of the promised land (Israel was to take possession of the country between the Red Sea, the sea of the Philistines or Mediterranean, the desert of Arabia Petraea, and the river or Euphrates; see vol. i. § 38, 1).—We cannot persuade ourselves that this division is natural and unconstrained, and therefore do not adopt it.

With regard to the promise in ver. 28, which recurs in Dent. vii. 20, and is represented in Josh. xxiv. 12 as already fulfilled, *Bochart* has collected the following particulars (*Hieroz.* ed. Rosenmüller, iii. 407 sqq.). Several of the Fathers (*e.g.* *Eusebius*, *Augustine*,

etc.) thought that the passage must be interpreted as figurative (representing the dread of God, or something of that kind), since we have no account whatever in the Bible of the Canaanites being driven out by hornets. On the other hand, there have not been wanting expositors (*Theodoret*, etc.) who believe that it should be interpreted literally; and *Bochart* acknowledges himself to be one of these. In *Josh. xxiv. 12*, the promise given here is mentioned in passing as having been fulfilled. The fact that there is no express and detailed account of the occurrence itself in the historical narrative, proves nothing; for the sacred historians frequently pass over different events, which, as we learn from incidental allusions in other passages, must actually have occurred. *Bochart* then cites a number of passages from ancient authors, to show that small animals, such as frogs, mice, snakes, wasps, etc., frequently increased to such an extent, that the inhabitants were obliged to leave the country in order to escape from the plague. But he lays particular stress upon an account given by *Ælian* (ii. 28), to the effect that the Phasalians were once driven out of their settlement by wasps (σφήκες). These Phasalians or Solymites were a tribe, whom *Strabo* (L. 14) describes as inhabiting the Solymite mountains on the borders of the (Dead) Sea; and, according to other ancient accounts, they were of Phœnician (Canaanitish) origin, and spoke the Phœnician language. *Bochart* believes that he has here discovered a confirmation of the Biblical account, according to its literal interpretation; and *M. Baumgarten* is not disinclined to agree with him. *O. v. Gerlach*, on the other hand, interprets it as referring to the different plagues and terrors by which God effected the overthrow of those tribes; and with this opinion we agree.

THE SINAITIC COVENANT.

§ 11. (Ex. xxiv. 1-11.)—After a solemn and unanimous declaration, on the part of the people, that they would observe all the words which Jehovah had spoken, Moses wrote the words themselves in a book (the so-called Book of the Covenant), as the recognised conditions of the covenant which was about to be established (1). He then built an altar at the foot of the mountain with twelve pillars (stones of memorial) (2); and

selected twelve *young men* (3) to offer the covenant-sacrifice. Half of the blood he sprinkled upon the altar, and then read the Book of the Covenant to the people; and after they had once more solemnly promised obedience, he sprinkled them with the other half of the blood, which had been kept in a bason, saying, as he did so: "Behold, this is the *blood of the covenant*, which Jehovah has concluded with you on all these laws" (4). He then ascended the sacred mountain, attended by *Aaron*, and his sons *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and by *seventy of the elders*. There they saw the God of Israel, and celebrated the *covenant-meal* as an attestation of the covenant-fellowship which they now enjoyed (5).

(1.) THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT is supposed by *Hävernick* (Introduction) to have been a Mosaic work of considerable extent, embracing the whole of the Pentateuch, so far as it was then completed; but *Hengstenberg* has shown that it cannot have contained more than Ex. xx.—xxiii. (Dissertations on Pentateuch, vol. i. 435, and ii. 125, transl.).

(2.) In Ex. xx. 24, 25 we find that Jehovah had already given directions concerning the erection of the *altar*, on which the covenant-sacrifice was to be offered. When Israel built an altar, it was to be constructed of earth, or unhewn stones: "If thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." The altar was the place at which Jehovah would "cause His name to be praised, and come down to Israel and bless it." For this reason He appointed both the place where the altar was to be erected, and the material of which it was to be constructed. But an altar was also a stepping-stone by which man ascended to God, and on which he offered the gifts which he presented to God. It was, therefore, necessary that the altar should be erected by man himself. When Jehovah came down—not to receive gifts and sacrifices from the people, but to give him laws and promises—Sinai was the altar on which He revealed Himself. The people durst not ascend Mount Sinai to offer their gifts to God; it was necessary, therefore, that they should build an altar themselves, which should bear the same relation to Sinai as the work of man to the work of God. At the same time, its connection with Sinai was to be made known by the fact that it was

constructed of earth and unhewn stones. As the gift itself, which man offers upon the altar, is really both the work and gift of God, which has been first presented by Him to man; so was the material of which man built an altar, for offering his gifts to Jehovah, to be the work of God, and not of an impure human hand.

Although these directions were given first of all merely with reference to a particular case, the fundamental idea was necessarily of universal validity. This appears, indeed, to be at variance with the directions afterwards given respecting the erection of the altar of burnt-offering for the fore-court of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvii.); since the very thing which had been forbidden in the former case was actually required in this, namely, that the art of man should be engaged in its construction. But the difference between the two altars was not so great as might be imagined. For, even in the altar in the fore-court, the material itself, on which the offering was presented, was *earth*; the wooden case, which was covered with copper, merely serving to enclose the earth and keep it together. But there was no such enclosure in the case of the altar erected at the conclusion of the covenant, nor could there be, since the sacred institutions of the Old Testament first received their (in some respects artistic) form in consequence of the conclusion of the covenant.

We are not told in Ex. xxiv. whether the altar which Moses caused to be built for the covenant-sacrifice was constructed of wood, or stone; probably of both. It is, at any rate, a mistake to suppose that the clause, "he built an altar *and* twelve *Mazeboth* (stones of memorial) according to the twelve tribes of Israel," means that the twelve pillars were intended to support the altar. This would have been quite as irreconcilable with Ex. xx. 24, 25, as with the meaning of the word *Mazebah* (*cf.* Gen. xxxi. 45). The *Mazeboth* were placed round the altar. And as the altar is described in chap. xx. 24 as the place where Jehovah would meet with Israel and cause His name to be praised, the twelve pillars represented the people assembled *round* Jehovah.

(3.) The sacrifices were offered by YOUTH of the children of Israel. Jewish expositors suppose that these were the first-born, who had been set apart (chap. xiii. 2), and who were

therefore the priests at that time (see our answer to this at vol. ii. § 35, 5). *Vitringa* (observv. ss. i., p. 281) is of opinion that they were the priests mentioned in chap. xix. 22, 24, whom *O. v. Gerlach* identifies with the elders in chap. xxiv. 9. But it is inconceivable that the *elders* (זקנים=the old men) should be called *youths*; and it is just as inconceivable that the *priests* should all at once either be, or be called, young men. We cannot for a moment suppose that the reference is to those who had been priests before; for their priesthood was antiquated (this is implied in chap. xix. 24), and no new priesthood had as yet been instituted, or even chosen. Moreover, it is not true that the "youths" were called upon to exercise priestly functions on this occasion; at least, in the ritual of later times it was no part of the priest's office to slay and offer the sacrificial animals that were presented in sacrifice. The special work of the priest, to receive and sprinkle the blood, was performed by Moses, to whom the *priestly* mediatorship was entrusted until the appointment of a new and peculiar order of priests. The youths represented the people, by whom the sacrifice was presented, and whose attitude as a nation resembled that of a youth just ready to enter upon his course.

(4.) The *sacrifices*, which were offered to complete the covenant and the consecration of the people as a covenant nation, were burnt-offerings and thank-offerings. The sin-offerings, of which as yet we have found no trace, were also wanting on this occasion, probably because they were first introduced in connection with the more fully organised ritual of a later age. The more immediate object of the sacrifice, on this as on every other occasion, was expiatory. Before Jehovah could enter into a covenant relation to the people, it was necessary that expiation should be made for the sin of the people. But every point, in which this sacrificial ceremony differed from the ordinary practice, was subservient to the conclusion of the covenant itself. For example, the division of the blood into two halves, one of which was sprinkled upon the altar, the other upon the people. This double application of the blood corresponded to the twofold manner in which the flesh was disposed of, part being burnt on the altar, whilst the other part was kept for the sacrificial meal. By the sacrifice of the animal, both the blood and the flesh became the property of

Jehovah. The blood was sprinkled upon the altar as a sign that God accepted the sacrifice as a vicarious atonement. As soon as the blood was sprinkled upon the altar, the people were regarded as reconciled, and therefore fit to enter into covenant alliance with God.—When the people had thus received a negative consecration through the removal of their sin, the whole law of the covenant was laid before them; and when they had pledged themselves to obedience, they received a *positive consecration* as the covenant people, by being sprinkled with the other half of the blood. The *expiatory* virtue of the blood was derived from the fact, that the life of the animal sacrificed was in the blood. And it was from this also that it derived its virtue as a *positive consecration*. The life was taken from the animal that the people might have the advantage of it. In the place of the sinful life of the sinful nation, the innocent life of the animal was given up to death; and Jehovah accepted it as a valid atonement. But when the life that had been sacrificed was proved by God's *acceptance* of it to have power to expiate guilt which merited death, it was also proved as a *gift* of God to have power to effect the restoration of life. The former was exhibited in the use that was made of the first half of the blood, the latter, in the purpose to which the second was applied. For the people stood in need not only of the extermination of sin, that they might be negatively prepared for entering into covenant-fellowship with Jehovah, but also of the restoration of life, that they might be positively fitted for that fellowship. By being sprinkled with the blood, they received the necessary consecration.—The covenant, thus concluded, had a fundamental character; it was concluded once for all, and every member of the covenant nation had *eo ipso* a part in the covenant itself. No doubt the covenant relation might be disturbed by fresh sins, which rendered a fresh expiation necessary; but the covenant *consecration* retained its validity as long as the covenant lasted. It was this which constituted the difference between the sacrifices which were offered within an *existing* covenant, and the sacrifice which accompanied the first establishment of the covenant. This will also explain the fact that, whilst the subsequent law of sacrifice made provision for the continued offering of an *expiatory* sacrifice by the sprinkling of the sacrificial altar, nothing more is said about *consecration* by

sprinkling the blood upon the *people*, or the individual, who offered the sacrifice.—According to Jewish tradition, which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews adopts (chap. ix. 18–20), the ceremony of consecration was even more complicated than the account in the Pentateuch would lead us to suppose. Not only blood, but water, coccus-wool, and hyssop, were used in the sprinkling of the people; and the Book of the Covenant was sprinkled as well as the people. These supplementary details are mostly borrowed from the consecration of the leper (Lev. xiv. 4–8), which certainly resembled it in several particulars.—For a fuller examination of the covenant-sacrifice, see my *Mosaisches Opfer*, p. 236 sqq.

(5.) In the fact that *Aaron* and his sons *Nadab* and *Abihu* ascended the mountain with *Moses*, there was already an intimation of their future priesthood. The *elders* were taken as representatives of the people. As it was of course impossible that *all* the elders of the assembled people should go up the mountain with *Moses*, a selection must have been made for the purpose. Now, the number *seventy* was both historically and symbolically significant, as well as *twelve*, the number of the tribes (see vol. ii. § 2, 3). The number of *Jacob's* sons who founded tribes was twelve, and that of his grandsons, who went down with him to *Egypt* and founded families (*Mishpachoth*), was seventy.—It is evident from ver. 14 that *Aaron* and the elders did not go with *Moses* to the summit of the sacred mountain, but only to the lower part of its lofty peak. In any case, however, they went beyond the fence.—The purpose of their ascent was to celebrate the sacrificial feast, which could only be kept in the neighbourhood of what was then the sanctuary, or dwelling-place of God, since it was a feast at which God was both the Head of the household and the Host. For this reason, the guests invited *saw* the God of Israel, before they proceeded to partake of the meal; “and under His feet there was, as it were, a work of transparent sapphire, and like the sky itself for clearness.” For the rest, we can appropriate *Hojmann's* words (*Schriftbeweis* i. 336): “They saw in the midst of the darkness the God of Israel. . . . It was not to mark the imperfection of their vision, that nothing was said about the appearance which God assumed; nor was it as a sign that the God of Israel was enthroned above the sky, that under Him it was

like the brightness of the sky; but what they saw was only so far different from what the people had seen all along, that after they had entered the darkness in which the mountain, whose summit burned as with fire, was enveloped, they saw the fiery sign separate itself from the cloud and assume a shape, *under* which everything was light and clear. In this there was a representation of undisturbed blessedness, intended to impress upon their minds the fact that the holy God is a terror to the sinner alone,—that to His own people He is a God of peace.”

The *flesh* of the covenant-sacrifices was no doubt disposed of in the usual way,—the *whole* of the burnt-offering being burned, but of the thank-offerings only the *best portions* (the fat parts), the remainder being set aside for the sacrificial meal. In the offering which was burned upon the altar for a sweet-smelling savour to Jehovah (Gen. viii. 20), the nation consecrated itself, with all its members and all its powers, to the God of Israel, who had received it into His covenant; and in the *sacrificial meal* Jehovah entertained His covenant-ally at His own table, as a seal and attestation of the covenant which had just been concluded.

ORDERS FOR THE ERECTION OF A SANCTUARY.

§ 12. (Ex. xxiv. 12—xxxii. 18.)—As Jehovah had now entered into covenant association with the people of Israel, and in attestation of the covenant was about to dwell in the midst of the people as their God-King, the first thing required was, that they should build a sanctuary for Him to reside in (chap. xxv. 8). But as it was for a specific purpose that God was about to dwell among the Israelites,—namely, for the accomplishment of His own predetermined plan of salvation,—it was necessary that both the mode in which He dwelt among them, and the style of His dwelling-place, should be subservient to this end (1). Neither Moses, however, nor the people had any full or distinct idea of what the plan of salvation was; it was equally necessary, therefore, that God Himself should issue directions for both the erection and the arrangements of the sanctuary. For this purpose Jehovah summoned Moses once more to the sacred mountain,

after the covenant had been fully concluded. During the period of his absence, Moses entrusted the superintendence of the congregation to Aaron and Hur, and then ascended the mountain, attended by his servant Joshua (§ 4, 3). On the seventh day he was called into the darkness of the cloud, where the glory of Jehovah was enthroned. There Jehovah showed him (in a vision) a *representation* of the dwelling which He required, and of all the articles of furniture (2) which were to be placed in it, and gave him the necessary *instructions* (3) for its erection. When He had completed His directions, He gave him *two tables of stone*, on which the ten words of the fundamental law had been inscribed by the finger of God (4). These, they were ordered to preserve, as a witness (עֵדוּת) of the covenant, in the sanctuary which was about to be erected.

(1.) We must reserve any more minute description of the sanctuary and its furniture, as well as the examination of its design and importance, till we enter upon a systematic account of the entire legislation.—In the meantime I refer the reader to my smaller work, entitled *Beiträge zur Symbolik des alttest. Cultus*, I. *Die Cultusstätte*, Leipzig 1851.

(2.) We have already pointed out in vol. i. § 22, 3, the great significance and peculiar importance, in connection with the history of salvation, of the fact stated here, that Jehovah showed to Moses when on the mount the heavenly original of the sanctuary, as a model to be copied in the erection of the earthly sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, xxvii. 8; cf. Heb. viii. 5). A full discussion of these allusions will be found at the proper place.

(3.) The historical narrative is interrupted at chap. xxiv. 18, by the account of the Divine instructions with reference to the erection and furnishing of the sanctuary, and is not continued till chap. xxxi. 18. *Bertheau* (l. c. p. 82) asks: Why this interruption? and answers the question in the following way. In the course of the narrative (chap. xxxiii. 7–11) there occurred the statement that Moses took the tent, pitched it outside the camp, and called it the Tent of Assembly (§ 14, 4). But there had been no mention made of this tent, either in the previous

history or in the law of the covenant. To guard against the surprise which such an omission would have excited in the reader's mind, the editor of the Pentateuch (whom *Bertheau* supposes to have lived in the time of Ezra) interpolated this second group of laws, containing an account of the tent.—But such a view is as arbitrary as it possibly can be. For, as *Bertheau* himself confesses, it does not give the least explanation of the reason why these laws should be interpolated just at this particular point; and the actual difficulty is not in the least removed, namely, that a tent of assembly is spoken of before the erection of the tabernacle, which is first described in chap. xxxv. sqq. But the entire question is altogether superfluous. For, the simple reason why the group of laws in question is placed between Ex. xxiv. 18 and Ex. xxxi. 18, is no other than this, that the laws themselves were published between these two historical dates. The order of time, and nothing else, determined the order of the narrative. Moses was summoned to the mountain (according to chap. xxiv. 13), to receive the tables of the law that were written with the finger of God. The question immediately arose, What should he do with them, where should he keep them? To this question an answer is given in the group of laws contained in chap. xxv.—xxxi. The ark of the law was to be placed in the ark of the covenant (Ex. xxv. 16, 21); and this again was to be placed in the sanctuary, which was destined for the service of the priests. But as there was neither ark, nor sanctuary, nor priesthood in existence at that time, it was necessary that directions should be given for the preparation and appointment of all of these; and when they had been given, Jehovah delivered to Moses the tables of the law (chap. xxxi. 18).

Bertheau also objects to the division of the subject-matter of this group of laws, as unnatural and not original. By dint of various transpositions and arbitrary numberings, he succeeds in making a better arrangement, and dividing the whole into 7×10 commandments, which he declares without hesitation to have been indisputably the original plan. We cannot follow him through these critical operations. We may observe, however, that the arrangement adopted in the text is by no means so accidental and confused, as a cursory glance might lead one to suppose. The difficulty has already been essentially removed by *Ranke*, i. 89 sqq. *Bertheau* effectually prevented himself from

understanding the plan pursued in the text, by detaching the passage entirely from the historical basis on which it rests (chap. xxiv. 12-18). The actual arrangement is as follows: After some general commandments about procuring materials for building a sanctuary, there follow first of all directions how to make the ark, in which the tables of the law were to be preserved. This reference to chap. xxiv. 12 was in itself sufficient to cause the ark of the covenant to stand first in the list. The same arrangement was also required, by the fact that the ark of the covenant was to be the innermost centre of the building, the sanctuary of the sanctuary, the depository of the most valuable treasure (namely, the record of the covenant), and the throne of Jehovah. The directions as to the table of shew-bread and the candlestick follow in perfectly natural order: the only thing to cause astonishment is the fact, that the altar of incense, which stood in the same category as these, should not be mentioned at the same time. The precepts concerning the erection of the tent follow quite as naturally (chap. xxvi.); and after these the instructions to build the altar of burnt-offering and the court of the tabernacle (chap. xxvii. 1-19). The furniture was the principal thing; for the ark of the covenant, the table, and the candlestick, were not prepared for the sake of the tent, but *vice versa* the tent was made for their sake. And this is the reason why they are mentioned first. (On the other hand, it is quite as natural that when the account is given of the actual construction of the sanctuary [chap. xxxvi. sqq.], the tent is mentioned first and then the furniture; for the very fact, that the latter was the most important, rendered it necessary that the tent, in which they were to be placed, should be first made ready to receive them.) This description of the principal furniture of the sanctuary, and of the sanctuary itself, is followed by instructions as to the kind of oil to be used in the lamp, the lights of which were to be kept always burning. It was part of the priests' duty to look after this. But, as the priests had not yet been appointed, the text proceeds to describe the arrangements made to supply this want. Aaron and his sons are pointed out as priests. But they were not actually priests till their investiture and consecration. There follow, therefore, directions as to the priests' robes (chap. xxviii.), and notices of the manner in which the priests themselves were to be ordained (chap. xxix.). Up to

this point, apart from the omission of the altar of incense, everything is arranged in the most natural and orderly manner. But the instructions respecting the altar of incense are not mentioned till now (chap. xxx. 1-10). This is certainly a very remarkable inversion. The only explanation which we can suggest (and it is not satisfactory to my own mind) is, that the altar of incense was a higher form of the altar of burnt-offering, and presupposed its existence; and also, that the attendance at the altar of incense was the crowning point of the general duties of the priesthood, and therefore presupposed that the priests had already been installed. No doubt the latter might be said of the lamp, the table of shew-bread, and the altar of burnt-offering; but neither of these was so essentially and exclusively associated with the priesthood as the altar of burnt-offering was. All the rest,—such, for example, as the instructions with regard to the erection of the sanctuary, the construction of the laver, the preparation of the anointing oil and the incense,—were so subordinate to what had been mentioned before, that there is nothing remarkable in their being mentioned last.—A much greater difficulty arises from the introduction of what appears to be an incongruous section, describing a more stringent renewal of the law of the Sabbath (chap. xxxi. 12-17), into the group of laws which treat of the restoration of the sanctuary and priesthood. We explain this in the following manner. As soon as these laws of worship had all been given, Jehovah delivered to Moses the two tables of the law. These tables contained the fundamental commandments of the *covenant*. Among those commandments the law of the Sabbath held a particularly prominent place. The consecration of the Sabbath was the *sign* of the new (Mosaic) covenant (חֵטֶן ver. 13), just as the rainbow was the sign of the covenant with Noah, and circumcision the sign of the Abrahamic covenant. The violation of this sign was a breach of the covenant, and was immediately punished with death (ver. 14). It was very fitting, therefore, that when Jehovah delivered up the tables, which were the memorial of the covenant, he should lay stress again upon the sign of the covenant and its inviolable character. The words of ver. 13-17, then, we regard as the words, with which Jehovah handed over the tables to Moses; and suppose them to have been occasioned by the event, and to refer to it alone.

(4.) As Jehovah had previously declared the fundamental law to the people without human intervention, so did He now engrave them *Himself* upon the TWO TABLES, for a memorial of the covenant. They were engraven on tables of *stone* to indicate their perpetuity, and their indissoluble validity. The fact that the tables were written on *both sides* (Ex. xxxii. 15), is correctly explained by *Bähr* (Symbolik i. 385) as being occasioned by the importance of the document itself, to which the words of Deut. iv. 2, respecting the whole law most peculiarly applied, namely, that nothing should be added or taken away (compare Rev. xxii. 18, 19). The *dimensions* of the tables were probably the same as those of the ark of the covenant (two cubits and a half long and one cubit and a half broad; cf. Ex. xxxvii. 1), as the only design of the ark was to hold the tables of stone. As the tables of the law were not intended to be exhibited before the eyes of the people, but to be hidden and shut up in a chest (like a costly treasure), both sides could very well be written upon. The design of this was not that the letters might be large and legible at a distance; and therefore the difficulty which has been suggested, as to the possibility of finding room on the two tables for the whole of the decalogue, as given in Ex. xx. and Deut. v., falls at once to the ground.

THE WORSHIP OF THE CALF.

§ 13. (Ex. xxxii. 1-29; Deut. ix. 7-21.)—At the very time when Jehovah was occupied on the top of the mountain, in giving directions for the organisation of such a system of worship and the erection of such a sanctuary as should be adapted to the call of the people to be different from the heathen, the people themselves were consulting at the foot of the mountain how they should make a god, and organise a system of worship after the manner of the heathen. As Moses had remained on the mountain for forty days and forty nights, the people began to doubt whether he would ever return. It was soon made evident, now, that the groundwork of *Nature* still remained in the nation, seeing that it preferred the worship of Apis to that of Jehovah, and would rather have to do with a visible but dumb

idol than with an invisible God, who had spoken to it from the midst of the thunders of Sinai, and required it to be holy as He was holy. So long as the powerful influence of Moses had been brought to bear upon the people, this unconquered tendency of their nature had not dared to show itself. But when weeks and weeks passed by without Moses returning (1), the people turned to Aaron, who was the *interim* ruler of the community (chap. xxiv. 14) with the stormy demand: "Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, we know not what is become of him." Aaron perceived the evil of this demand (2); but he had not the courage to offer an open resistance. He sought refuge in worldly wisdom. "Break off," he said, "the golden ear-rings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them to me." He counted upon the vanity of the women and youth, and their love for golden ornaments, and he hoped that in this way he would excite such opposition in the community itself, as would suffice to save *him* from having to offer a resistance which appeared to be dangerous. But he had entirely miscalculated. He knew but the surface of the human heart, the depths of its natural disposition were beyond his reach. All the people cheerfully broke off the golden ornaments from their ears, for they were about to accomplish an act of pure self-will; and in that case there is no sacrifice which the human heart is not ready to make. Aaron now found that he was caught in the trap which his own sagacity had laid. He collected the ornaments together, made the image of a *bull* (4), built an altar, and caused proclamation to be made to all the people, "To-morrow is the *feast of Jehovah*." We see from this that he wanted to quiet his own conscience, to persuade the people to regard the image of the bull as no other than the God who had brought them out of Egypt, and perhaps to convince the Holy One of Israel Himself that they were not about to be guilty of an act of rebellion. The people, at any rate, did him the pleasure to enter into his theory; for the next day, when they celebrated a festival to the new idol, they shouted

joyfully : " This is thy God, O Israel, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt." Not so the Holy One, who had declared His will from Sinai. For whilst the people below were shouting and singing, eating and drinking, dancing and playing around the new deities, the living God said to Moses : " Away, get thee down ! For *thy* people, which *thou* broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves ; they have turned aside quickly out of the way which *I* commanded them. Behold, I look upon this people, and it is a stiffnecked people. Now, therefore, *let Me alone*, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and I may consume them ; so will I make of *thee* a great nation." But Moses knew what his position as mediator required ; he knew that it was both his right and duty to say, "*I will not let Thee go.*" He boldly repeated the words "Thou" and "Thy people," and applied them in return to God. "Why," said he, "why, O Jehovah, should Thine anger burn against *Thy* people, which *Thou* broughtest out of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand ? Why should the Egyptians say, For mischief did He bring them out, to destroy them in the mountains ? Turn from Thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against Thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, Thy servants, to whom Thou swarest by Thine own self, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and will give you all this land for an everlasting possession." And the voice of the mediator prevailed : "Jehovah repented of the evil which He had spoken against His people" (5).

Thus did the mediator address *Jehovah*, when he interceded for the salvation of the people. But a mediator is not a mediator of one. He had also to defend the holiness of Jehovah in the presence of the people ; and this he now prepared to do. He came out of the darkness, in which he had conversed with Jehovah for forty days, and hurried with Joshua down the mountain. When they were half-way down, the shouting of the people reached their ears. Joshua thought it was a war-cry. But they soon discerned the golden calf in the camp, and

the people dancing round it in festive circles. The indignation of Moses burned at the sight. He threw down the tables of the law, which Jehovah had given him, and broke them in pieces at the foot of the mountain. The people had broken the covenant itself, and therefore Moses, the messenger of God, broke the memorial of it. He then tore down the idolatrous image, burned it with fire, and crushed it to powder at the brook of Horeb, that the wicked worshippers might be compelled to drink it (6). Aaron was then subjected to examination: "What did the people unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?" Aaron's wisdom had been put to shame, when he attempted to outwit the people; it was now turned into miserable folly, when he tried to defend himself in the presence of judicial wrath: "They gave me the gold, I threw it into the fire, and there came out this calf!" Moses now entered the camp and cried out, "Whoever is on the Lord's side, let him come to me." This would show how many repented of their sin, and were willing to return to the service of Jehovah. All the sons of Levi gathered round him. They were willing to return and obey. But their obedience had to be put to a severe test. They were ordered to go sword in hand through the camp, and put all they met to death; not even a brother or a friend was to be spared. It was a stern but just judgment which befell the sinners; and it was doubly deserved, because they had despised the amnesty offered them (7). There fell that day about three thousand men. By this painful and willing act of obedience, Levi expiated the curse which had hitherto rested upon his house (Gen. xlix. 5-7). It had been incurred by an act of ungodly rage and self-willed revenge; it was now wiped away and turned into a blessing by their obedience in executing the wrath and vengeance of God. In proof of this, Moses called the house of Levi, and consecrated it temporarily to discharge the duties of the priesthood which was to be established in Israel (8).

(1.) We have here another scene of proof and temptation unfolding itself before us. *The people* were tempted, to see how

they would act as a covenant people ; and *Moses*, to see how he would act as the mediator of the covenant. *Aaron*, the future high priest, and *Levi*, the future priestly tribe, were also put to the proof. Aaron, the head of the tribe of Levi, and the people did not stand the test ; but Moses, the head of the people, and the tribe of Levi came out of it unscathed. For the sake of the strong the weak were spared (Gen. xviii. 22 sqq.) ; and the unrighteousness of the many was covered on account of the righteousness of the few, which came to light.—The originating cause of the temptation was the fact, that Moses remained so inconceivably long a time upon the mountain. The people fancied that he had either died or disappeared ; and now, when left to themselves, they showed how far they were from entering into the covenant with all their heart and soul, and how slightly they were rooted in it. The forty days had been days of temptation for Israel ; and if the number forty did not already possess a symbolical importance as a period of temptation, it acquired it now, and henceforth continued to retain it.—By the fall of the people *Moses* was exposed to temptation, in which he showed himself faithful and conscientious in his mediatorial office (see Note 5). And *Aaron*, who was destined to be the high priest of the covenant nation, was exposed to temptation in consequence of the rebellious desire of the people, and proved how unfit he was by nature for such an office. But as the people had received their call to be the chosen nation, not for any merit of their own, but from the mercy of Him who had called them, so was it with Aaron also. It was necessary, however, that his natural weakness and unfitness should be made apparent before he entered upon the office, that he might not be highminded afterwards. The strange anomaly, presented by the priesthood in Israel (which showed so clearly that it was not the perfect and absolute priesthood), was to be brought out at the very first, namely, that the man who offered an atonement for sin was himself a sinner in need of an atonement. At the same time, if we would be just in our estimate and comparison of Moses and Aaron, we must not forget that Moses was already in office, and in possession of the grace of office, and that Aaron was not ; and also, that the firmness of Moses when in office had been preceded by weakness and pusillanimity *before* the office was conferred upon him (Ex. iii. 4).—On the temptation of the tribe of Levi, see below, Note 8.

(2.) Israel had just been chosen *above* all the nations of the earth, and exalted to fellowship with that God who is *above* all gods. But its natural disposition soon broke forth, and it began to feel uncomfortable in the possession of such privileges. It would rather have been a nation like other nations, possessing gods like the heathen. Still, as it was Jehovah who had brought it out of Egypt, and fed it with bread from heaven and water out of the rock, it did not wish to give Him up, but rather to draw Him down to the level to which it had fallen itself,—in other words, to shut up the holy, spiritual, and transcendental God, with the power He had so richly displayed, in the realm of Nature alone, that He might be nearer and more completely within its grasp. Jehovah sought to raise up the Israelites to His own holiness; but they were desirous of bringing Him down to their own worldliness. Instead of becoming assimilated to Jehovah in the way of holiness, they found it more convenient to assimilate the supernatural God to their own natural condition. They had still but little notion of the spiritual blessings of salvation; and therefore the spirituality of God appeared to them to be something altogether superfluous. Their minds were still fixed upon temporal blessings; and therefore it was enough for them to have a God who had shown Himself mighty in this lower sphere.—The gods of the heathen were regarded as concrete embodiments of natural powers. Hence any objects, in which the power in question was manifested with peculiar energy, were looked upon as the concentration, embodiment, or representation of these powers of Nature. Physical power was regarded much more than mental; and hence it was chiefly the various objects of the (vegetable and) animal world to which this process of deification extended. The worship of Nature was much more direct and outward, where actual (living) specimens were selected as the objects of worship. It was more mental and ideal, where ideal representations of the same objects were employed, and when there was not only the idea of the incarnation of the Deity in the objects of Nature, but where that incarnation was represented in such a manner as to pave the way for symbols. The latter (higher) form of Nature-worship was the one which Israel chose. See below, Note 4.

(3.) The *manufacture of the golden calf* is thus described in ver. 4: “And he received (the golden ear-rings) at their hand,

וַיַּצַר אֹתוֹ בַּחֶרֶט, and he made it a molten calf." The middle clause has been translated and interpreted in the most various ways. The word חָרַט (from the root חרט = χαράττω, to scratch, engrave, hollow out) is only found in this passage and Is. viii. 1, and in the latter case it denotes undoubtedly a pencil for writing (for engraving). From this some have deduced the kindred meaning "chisel," and have rendered the passage before us: He formed (from the root צַר, cf. 1 Kings vii. 15) it (viz., the calf) with a chisel. But this meaning is inadmissible, both grammatically and as a question of fact;—grammatically, because אֹתוֹ can only refer to something that has gone before (the golden ornaments), not to the calf, which is not mentioned till afterwards; and as a matter of fact, because the calf is expressly described as molten, and files, not chisels, are used to polish up metal casts.—*J. D. Michaelis* renders it: He formed it with a pencil; i.e., he made a drawing of it with a pencil. *M. Baumgarten* gives a similar rendering: He formed it with the chisel; i.e., he made a wooden model from which to form the mould.—Others are of opinion that the word חָרַט itself means a model (see, for example, the two Arabic versions, Erpenius, Aben-ezra, *J. D. Michaelis*, and others). But all these renderings, and others beside them, which may be seen in *Rosenmüller's Scholia*, are so forced, that one can hardly feel satisfied with any of them. The most natural of all is that of *Jonathan*, which has been adopted by *Bochart* (*Hieroz.* ed. Rosenm. i. 334), *Schröder*, *Rosenmüller*, and others. He takes חרט in the sense of חָרִיט (= something hollow, a pocket, a purse), and derives וַיַּצַר from צַר (to bind, or bind together): "And he bound, i.e., collected them in a pocket." In precisely the same terms is it said of *Elisha's* servant (2 Kings v. 23): And he tied up (וַיַּצַר) the two talents in two purses (חָרִיטִים).

(4.) On the *Israelitish* CALF-WORSHIP see *Bochart* (*Hieroz.* i. 339 sqq. ed. Rosenm.), *Selden* (*Syntagma* i. 4), *Hengstenberg* (*Beitr.* ii. 155 sqq.).—In the worship of Nature, the calf (represented sometimes as a bull, at other times as a cow) has passed from the very earliest times, and with very general agreement, as an idol or symbol of the generative (or the receptive and reproductive) powers of Nature. The fact that Israel derived this notion from Egypt, and therefore that the *Israelitish* calf-worship was a copy of the *Egyptian*, has been first denied in modern

times by *Vatke* (*Religion des alten Testaments* i. 393 sqq.), who maintains that calf-worship was the primitive Canaanitish symbolism, the oldest historical form of the national religion of the Israelites, which prevailed universally till the division of the kingdom under Rehoboam, and was afterwards perpetuated in the kingdom of Ephraim until its eventual overthrow (consult *Hengstenberg's* reply to this). The principal argument adduced by *Vatke* is, that only *living* animals were considered sacred in Egypt, figures of animals being only employed as masks or in casts. This purely imaginary argument is completely set aside by the authority of *Mela* (i. 9, § 7): *colunt effigies multorum animalium atque ipsa magis animalia*; and of *Strabo* (xvii. p. 805), who says, that wherever images were found in the Egyptian temples, they were in the form of animals, not of men. (See also *Herodotus* ii. 129 sqq., *Plut. de Is. et Osir.* ii. p. 366, and also *Hengstenberg ut sup.*)—The derivation of the Israelitish calf-worship from the Egyptian is expressly asserted in *Josh.* xxiv. 14; *Ezek.* xx. 7, 8, xxiii. 3, 8. And *Hengstenberg* has already called attention to the remarkable agreement between *Ex.* xxxii. and the description of an Egyptian festival given by *Herodotus* (ii. 60): *αἱ μὲν τιwes τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, αἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες αἰείδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτεύουσι.* Cf. *Herodotus* iii. 27.

Of course the Moloch-hunters scent the worship of Moloch even here (*cf. Daumer and Ghillany*, ll. cc. vol. i. § 15, 4). The three thousand men who were slain by the sword of Levi, were victims to the worship of Nature in a very different sense from that described in the falsified statements of the Biblical record. They were offered by Moses, who was a zealous worshipper of Moloch, as Abraham had been before him, to the image of Moloch which Aaron had set up, to celebrate the giving of the law and the sealing of the covenant with Moloch-Jehovah !!

It is very characteristic of the historical style of *Josephus*, that he makes no mention at all of the golden calf in his Antiquities, but describes the people as shouting for joy (*χαρᾶς δ' ἐπέπλησε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιφανείs*), when Moses returned from the mountain after an absence of forty days (*Ant.* iii. 5, 8).

(5.) In the interview between Jehovah and Moses on the mountain, there is something in *the part performed by Jehovah* which may at first sight be regarded as strange. The principal

point undoubtedly is the *temptation of Moses* in his vocation of mediator, not in order that Jehovah might discover whether Moses would stand firm, as though He could not foresee the issue, but in order that Moses might have an opportunity of exercising his vocation with perfect freedom. If, however, the threat to exterminate Israel on account of its sin, and the offer to make of Moses a great nation, *i.e.*, to transfer all the promises made to the fathers to Moses alone, were merely intended to put Moses to the proof, and try whether he had courage and generosity enough to perform his task as mediator, notwithstanding the greatness of the nation's apostasy, the power of the devouring wrath of God, and the plenitude of His offers to him; and if it was the will of God that Moses should stand this test: it might appear as though neither the threat nor the offer was meant in earnest, and both would in that case appear to be illusory, and, like everything illusory, unworthy of God. But this appearance only lasts so long as we forget that in God justice and mercy are not opposed to each other, and cannot possibly clash, since they are eternally and essentially one in the One holy and perfect Being; and that it is for us only that they are distinguished, since we are obliged to isolate the particular sides of the many-sided, in order to comprehend them.

In Jehovah, the wrath, which would have exterminated the apostate nation, was just as true and earnest as the power of the love, which would see it saved in spite of its rebellion. But they were both united in the eternal counsel of salvation, which was the combined product of the two; for in that counsel wrath was appeased by love, and love sanctified by wrath. Wrath and love were *made one* in the counsel of salvation; but they were not *extinguished*. Yet as they both equally continued to exist in absolute fulness and energy, it was necessary that man should have equal evidence and experience of both; and for this end it was requisite that, *for him*, they should be separated, that is, that they should operate upon him singly. As the *Divine counsel* of salvation was the product of the union of wrath *and* love, the human *consciousness* of salvation could only result from his experiencing alike the ardour of both the wrath and love of God. Though the two are one and eternal in God, yet to man, who lives in time, they must be manifested successively according to the laws of time. When thus distinguished, wrath is naturally and necessarily ex-

perienced first ; because sin furnishes the first occasion to the entire movement. It is not till man has experienced wrath, that he feels the need and longing for mercy ; and the consciousness of need first paves the way for the reception of mercy.

These two, wrath and mercy, were first of all displayed separately to Moses, the mediator between the sinful nation and the holy God. The wrath of God on account of the sin of the people was made known to him, in order that he might remember his vocation of mediator, and, by appeasing the wrath, open the way for the proclamation of mercy. "Let Me alone," says the wrath, "that I may destroy them, and I will make of *thee* a great nation." This was not appearance and pretence, but thorough earnestness and truth ; on one side only, however, of the Divine nature, namely, that of wrath on account of sin. The other not less powerful attribute of the one Divine Being, viz., love, was still silent, waiting till wrath had produced its due results before it appeared at all. But the fact that wrath felt itself fettered even in this isolation, betrayed itself in the words, "Let Me alone." It could not work unrestrained ; for by its union with love, the product of which was the plan of salvation, limits were set to its exercise. The counsel of salvation, or Moses the mediator of it, stood between the wrath of God and the sin of man.

In this instance Moses was the only righteous man among the many unrighteous. The wrath, therefore, could not reach *him*. But if free course had been given to the wrath, he alone would have been spared, and a new commencement would have been made with him, as formerly with Abraham. A retrograde movement would have taken place, and Moses would have stood upon the same footing as Abraham. This is indicated in the words, "And I will make of thee a great nation." But we can only admit the abstract, not the concrete possibility of such a result. If Moses had yielded before the wrath of God, which it was his duty as mediator to withstand, and which he was bound to overcome by intercession and by appealing to the counsel of salvation, he would have displayed his unfitness for the high office conferred upon him. In that case, however, it would have been apparent that Jehovah had made a mistake in appointing him mediator—a mistake which would have threatened the whole plan of salvation, as Moses was for the

time being all in all. But such a mistake is inconceivable in the case of God; and, consequently, any misapprehension or neglect of duty in the case of Moses is also inconceivable; for, when God called him to the office He must have foreseen that he would discharge its duties faithfully. From this it is evident that the words, "let Me alone, and I will make of thee a great nation," were intended as means, not as the end: that the purpose they were designed to serve, according to the will of God, and which, from Moses' state of mind, they must inevitably serve, was to furnish Him with an opportunity of making a glorious display of His mediatorial vocation.

The announcement of wrath produced upon Moses the effect which was intended. *He did not let God alone*; on the contrary, he held up before Him His own purpose and promises of salvation, as well as His own glory. Like *Jacob*, he fought and wrestled with the wrath of Jehovah; with *Jacob* he said, "I will not let Thee go except Thou bless me;" and, like *Jacob*, he also gained the victory and came forth from the conflict as a second Israel (cf. vol. i. § 80, 4), for "Jehovah repented of the evil which He had said that He would do to His people" (ver. 14).

It looks somewhat at variance with the statement that Jehovah ceased at once from His wrath at the intercession of Moses, when we afterwards read (chap xxxii. 30 sqq.), that Moses still continued anxious and uncertain as to his success in appeasing the wrath of Jehovah, and that Jehovah was still angry, His purposes of wrath but slowly giving place to those of mercy. But this difficulty ceases at once, when we consider that ver. 14 does not contain the words of God but the words of the *writer*, who thereby informs the reader that the intercession of Moses was not without effect. Moses himself did not as yet receive any answer to his intercession, nor any assurance of forgiveness.

(6.) The burning zeal of Moses, and the firmness which he displayed, so powerfully affected the guilty consciences of the people that they let him do as he pleased, and did not even oppose *the steps he took for the destruction of the new god*. In what way Moses had the GOLDEN CALF BURNED WITH FIRE (פָּרָה) and pounded (ground פָּרָה) to powder, and then gave it to the people to drink along with the water of the brook of Horeb (Ex. xxxii.

20; cf. Deut. ix. 21), is a problem that has never yet been solved. If we are merely to understand that he destroyed the *form* of the calf with the fire and then reduced the *material* to powder (possibly by means of files), and strewed it upon the brook of Horeb, the whole process is simple, natural, and intelligible; but the description is somewhat obscure and wanting in precision. Still, we are not prepared for an unconditional rejection of this hypothesis. The first thing to be accomplished was to destroy the *form* of the idol, for it was that alone which constituted it an idol. And this might be regarded as burning, since it was actually destruction by fire. This may at first have been all that Moses intended to do; and possibly it was not till this was accomplished, that he saw the necessity for destroying the *material* also, as the instrument of sin. Of course, as soon as the gold dust was strewed upon the water, it would sink to the bottom. But even in that case the expression might still be used, "he strewed (it) upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink (it)." For the object of the whole symbolical transaction undoubtedly was, that the curse and uncleanness attaching to the gold, which had been abused for the purposes of sin, should be conveyed to the water, and pass along with the water into the bowels of those who drank it,—not that they should drink the gold itself. It must be admitted that this explanation does not remove the difficulty altogether. And the question may still be entertained, whether it is not preferable to assume that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with some chemical process of calcining gold, *i.e.*, of changing it by the application of heat into a friable metallic oxyde, or with some other process of a similar kind, and that Moses learned it from them. We could not in any case have recourse to so unnatural an explanation as that of *Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 105); "As there are no natural means of calcining gold, we must suppose the elementary fire to have been miraculously intensified by the glow of the godly zeal which burned in Moses. It presents an analogy to the fire, which will melt the elements of the world on the day of the wrath of God (see 2 Pet. iii. 10)." — *Winer* (Reallex. 1 645) is of opinion, that the principal difficulty is to be found in the words וַיִּשְׂרֹף וַיִּשְׂרֹף, which are not applicable to any chemical decomposition, nor even to the calcination of gold, and, on the other hand, are equally inapplicable to the mere process of melting. "There

remains, therefore, only the mistaken opinion, or at least mistaken expression, of an editor who was not acquainted with the subject." We cannot take advantage of this escape from the difficulty. It is certain, we admit, that the word פָּרַח is not the proper term to apply to the fusion of metals; but, as we have already remarked, it was not the process of melting, but the destruction of the form of the calf, which was the main thing referred to here. And, if the Egyptians were really acquainted with any process of calcining metals, we see no difficulty in the assumption that פָּרַח was applied as a technical term to that particular process. It is well known how far from appropriate the names given to such processes frequently are: *e.g.*, to cite only one—our "burning lime" and "slaking lime" are perhaps quite as inadequate as the term פָּרַח , when applied to the calcination of metals. The word פָּרַח is used in Gen. ii. 3 to denote the burning of bricks; and, in this case, the notion of consuming can no more be preserved than in that of burning the gold. The kindred word צָרַח is the term actually applied to the melting of metals, but this word is first met with in books of a later date.

(7.) The PUNISHMENT inflicted by the command of Moses (ver. 27) has often been described as an act of inhuman cruelty. If there is any ground for such a charge, it not only applies to this particular case, but to the spirit and essence of the whole code of laws, and to the entire course of history of which they formed the guiding principle. The law represents every act of apostasy from Jehovah, every kind of idolatry, and every species of heathen superstition, as a capital crime. If, then, the law itself is not to be condemned for such stringency as this, the command of Moses, which merely carried the spirit of the law, is perfectly justifiable. Such stringency was perfectly justifiable on the part of the law; for it was demanded as well as dictated by the peculiar position and character of the Old Testament theocracy. It was first of all demanded by the fact that the God of Israel was also the King of Israel. Every sinful disregard or violation of the dignity of Jehovah, the one God in Israel, was also a crime against the sole monarchy of the King Jehovah; every religious crime was a state crime as well. When the worship of God, and loyalty to a sovereign, church and state, religion and politics, belong to two different

and independent spheres, however close the relationship in which they stand to each other, the crimes connected with each department must also be kept distinct, and be separately judged and punished. Crimes against the state, being a violation of earthly order, must be followed by earthly punishment; and, in the case of a capital crime, which threatens the existence of the state itself (high treason), by absolute excision from the community, *i.e.*, the punishment of death. Religious crimes, being sins against God, must be left to the judgment of God, and so far as they threaten the existence of the religious community (the Church), be punished by exclusion from that community. But when Church and state are identical, as in the theocracy, absolute exclusion from the religious community is *eo ipso* absolute exclusion from the state, that is, the punishment of death. From this point of view, then, the calf-worship of Israel could only be regarded and punished as an act of treason against the God-king of Israel; and high treason has always been punished by death.—*Secondly*, the severity and exclusiveness, which are sometimes complained of in the Old Testament institutions, were required by the character and design of the Old Testament itself, as the introductory part of the plan of salvation. It bore a strictly legal character, and must, therefore, be upheld by strict laws; for, as the Apostle says, the law was a schoolmaster to bring to Christ (a subject which will be treated of more fully in the next volume).—*Thirdly*, if there was such recklessness in the spirit and character of all antiquity, it must have been because Christianity,—the only thing which could destroy the root of it,—was not yet in existence. If, however, there was such recklessness in the spirit of the age, it must also have been a necessity of the age. If it appeared to every one a natural thing, as being a product of the spirit of the time, and if every one therefore expected it, it must have been required both as a guiding principle, and also for the maintenance of order. The legislation of the Old Testament, which was as far as possible from everything unhistorical and purely ideal, took the circumstances as it found them, and was obliged to do so, since it sought to found and erect its institutions, not in the cloudy regions of merely imaginary circumstances, but on the firm foundation of a concrete reality.

If, however, the foregoing considerations are sufficient to

justify the severe procedure of Moses in general, his ruthlessness and severity had also a mild and considerate side, which has been entirely overlooked by those who make this charge. The course he adopted was of such a nature, as to give to every one time and opportunity to escape the sentence before it began to be executed. The children of Levi saved themselves before the judgment fell; and the harbour of refuge, which was open to them, was equally open to all the rest. For, it is nowhere stated, and there is no ground for the supposition, that the children of Levi opposed the introduction of the worship of the calf, or abstained from taking part in the festival. When Moses called out, "Who is on the Lord's side, let him come hither to me," he addressed not merely the Levites, but all the people. He did not summon to his side those who were innocent of the crime of worshipping the calf—for there were no such persons in the camp—but those who were willing to return to Jehovah, notwithstanding their rebellion against him. Hence, by these words, he offered an amnesty to all without exception; and those who would not attend to his summons, proved by that fact that they still adhered impenitently to their self-chosen worship, and that they despised and rejected the amnesty offered. After this they doubly deserved death. But there are other things connected with these proceedings, of a more special character, which have also excited surprise. Among these are, *first*, that although all who did not obey his summons were equally (doubly) guilty, the punishment was not inflicted upon all, but only upon three thousand men; and that the selection of those who were put to death was not made in a judicial manner, according to their relative guilt, but was left to chance, the first who came in the way of the swords of the avengers being immediately slain. But this again was necessary. All were equally guilty: but for reasons which lie upon the surface, it was sufficient for a portion only to be executed, as the representatives of the whole and the bearers of the common guilt. Under such circumstances the practice of decimation was very frequent in ancient times. The selection was left to chance or to the lot, *i.e.*, to the gods. Thus was it in the present instance; with this difference, however, that Moses knew that the issue was in the hands of the living God. The same thing, which was afterwards done at Taberah (Num. xi. 3), and on the occasion of other similar judgments by the im-

mediate interposition of God, was here accomplished by the swords of the Levites. In the instance referred to, the pestilence seemed to be guided by chance, smiting one here and another there, yet there was certainly something more than chance directing it, namely, the hand of God, without whose will not a hair of the head can fall.—This leads us to the *second* difficulty presented by the conduct of Moses. We find this in the fact that, although the Levites who had received an amnesty were as guilty as the rest, and had been accomplices with them, Moses intrusted the execution of vengeance to the hands of these evil-doers; and, apparently losing sight of all considerations of friendship, relationship, and humanity, made the pardon of the Levites dependent upon this sanguinary act of obedience, from which their natural feelings must instinctively have revolted. Now, all this might certainly have been avoided, if God Himself had executed the judgment by means of His destroying angel. But, as the extermination of the Canaanites was afterwards effected, not by the hand of God, but by the Israelites, to whom the execution of judgment was intrusted by God Himself, in order that a deep and lasting impression might be made upon their minds, of the severe and unsparing punishment which falls upon a nation when the measure of its iniquity is full, and that they might acknowledge in the act itself that they would merit and expect a similar punishment if they fell into the same sin;—so was it on the present occasion: penitent Israel was called upon to inflict punishment upon impenitent Israel, that their own guilt, which had been forgiven, and the mercy which had been shown them on account of their penitence, might be impressed upon their minds in its fullest extent as a warning for future times. Before such considerations and designs all considerations of a sentimental character must give way, as, in fact, sentimentality of every kind is out of place in matters concerning the judgment of God on the impenitent sinner.

The Vulgate, without any other authority, makes the 3000 men who fell on one day 23,000. This false emendation may probably be traceable to Num. iii. 43, where the children of Levi are said to have numbered 23,000 men. The author of the emendation probably thought that each of the 22,273 Levites must necessarily have found a man to slay. But, if so, in the first place, the fact is overlooked, that in Num. iii. 43, all the

children from a month old and all the old men, who could not have engaged in such work as this, are reckoned with the others. Moreover, the entire view of the transaction before us, which has given rise to such a conjecture, is a mistaken one. The text does not say that when Moses called out "come hither to me," only Levites gathered round him. We may be sure that there were many belonging to other tribes who responded to his appeal; but the reporter had not the same reason for mentioning them by name, as the 29th verse shows him to have had in the case of the Levites. Undoubtedly his statement does imply that the tribe of Levi distinguished itself above the rest of the tribes, that it came in a body to profess repentance and obedience, whereas it was more as individuals that members joined them from other tribes. But this view only heightens the difficulty at which the Latin translator stumbled. It vanishes completely, however, when we picture to ourselves the events as they probably occurred. From first to last it is the men who are spoken of, not the women and children,—the representatives of the nation, not the entire nation itself. Moses treats with the elders and the heads of families, as representing both the families and the nation. When Moses called out "come hither to me," *they* divided themselves into two camps; and when he ordered those who had assembled round him to slay any whom they might meet belonging to the opposite party, it is probable that an actual conflict took place between the two parties, in which individuals of Moses' party may have fallen, though there was no necessity to make a special record of the fact. It was sufficient for the Scriptural record to mention, that the men who adhered to Moses gained a complete victory, that 3000 of the opposite party suffered death in one day for their obstinacy and crime, and that this defeat completely deprived them of the power to offer further resistance.

(8.) According to ver. 29, Moses said to the *Levites* who had executed his commands: "Fill to-day your hands for Jehovah, for every one (עִשְׂתָּ) is in his son and in his brother, that ye may bring blessings upon yourselves to-day." These words are generally supposed to have been spoken earlier (quite contrary to the order of the text), and are interpreted thus: bring to-day an acceptable offering of obedience to the Lord, each one against his son and his brother, etc. But neither do

the words admit of such an interpretation, nor is there room for the assumption that they were spoken before. This has been correctly pointed out by *M. Baumgarten* (i. 2 p. 107). But his own explanation I cannot subscribe to, in fact I am not even able to comprehend it.—It is evident enough that ver. 29 contains an order to the Levites to offer a sacrifice to Jehovah on that very day. The necessity for such a sacrifice is explained in the words *בְּי אִישׁ בְּבָנוּ וּבְאָחָיו*, and the object of it is said to have been *לְהַתְּעַלְיָכֶם הַיּוֹם בְּרִכָּה*. Every sacrifice points to reconciliation, to the renewal of something that has disturbed the relation between God and the worshipper. We might fancy that the sacrifice required of the Levites, on the present occasion had reference to their participation in the worship of the calf, but in that case the words *בְּי אִישׁ*, etc., would be thoroughly superfluous and unintelligible. These words might be rendered, “for every one is in his son and brother,” or, what appears to us still more natural and plain: “for every one (of you) was *against* his son and brother.” In either case, however, they refer to the fact that *the* disturbance, which rendered the present sacrifice necessary, arose from the unhesitating manner in which the Levites had risen against their blood-relations. It is true, the act of the Levites was an act of obedience to the will of God; an act intended to vindicate the injured honour of Jehovah. But it had also made a rent in the unity of the congregation, and had placed those who were united by the tie of blood, in hostility one to another. There was in this the disturbance of a natural and divinely appointed relation, intended, no doubt, to remove a much greater disturbance, and restore an infinitely higher and more important relation, but still a disturbance which was very likely to leave behind it conscientious scruples on the one hand, and bitterness of spirit on the other. And *this* was the disturbance, for the removal of which, as it appears to us, the Levites were ordered to fill their hands, that is, to offer sacrifice.

We regard it as altogether a misapprehension, to suppose that Moses summoned the Levites “to consecrate themselves to the priesthood.” Moses undoubtedly had already been informed by God (Ex. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9) that Aaron and his sons were selected for the priesthood; but this only related to the family of Aaron, and had nothing to do with the whole body of the Levites. The Levites, who were not set apart to the priesthood,

could not be set apart to it on the present occasion, either by Moses, or by their own voluntary act. At the same time, this act of the tribe of Levi certainly bore some reference to its future appointment to be the *κλήρος* of Jehovah, as the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 9) clearly shows. By his untimely and ungodly zeal for the honour of his own house, the forefather of the tribe of Levi had brought a curse upon himself, which still rested upon his tribe (Gen. xlix. 5-7, xxxiv. 25 sqq.); by their well-timed and holy zeal for the honour of the house of God, his descendants had now extinguished the curse and changed it into a blessing. If their ancestor had violated truth, fidelity, and justice, by the vengeance which he took upon the Schemites from a mistaken regard to blood-relationship, his descendants had now rescued truth, justice, and the covenant, by executing the vengeance of Jehovah upon their own blood-relations. Hence Moses referred to this tribe in the following words (Deut. xxxiii. 9): "Who says of his father and mother, I saw them not; who is ignorant of his brother, and knows nothing of his own sons." The disposition manifested by Levi on this occasion, and his obedience in such difficult circumstances, *viz.*, his readiness to esteem father and mother, friend and brother, but lightly in comparison with Jehovah, was that which qualified the tribe of Levi above every other to serve in the house of Jehovah, and rendered it worthy to be chosen as the lot and inheritance of Jehovah (*cf.* Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10).—The command of Moses to the Levites, who were assembled round him, to avenge the honour of Jehovah on those who persisted in their rebellion, was a temptation intended to prove whether they were fit for their future vocation, namely, to devote themselves entirely to the service of Jehovah.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A RENEWAL OF THE BROKEN COVENANT.

§ 14. (Ex. xxxii. 30-xxxiii. 11).—Moses had no sooner received the first tidings of the apostasy of the people (chap. xxxii. 7, 8), and heard the first threat of their rejection (ver. 9, 10), than he put forth all the power of his mediatorial office to appease the righteous indignation of Jehovah, and avert from his nation the sentence of rejection. His mediation was

not without effect, though the issue was not revealed to him at the time. He was, first of all, to go down and look with his own eyes upon the abomination which the people had committed at the foot of the mountain. He must first learn the extent of the crime, that he might be able to measure the greatness and difficulty of his demand, and the greatness and depth of the mercy of God, which hearkened to his prayer. And, in addition to this, since Moses, as mediator, was not merely the representative of the people with God, but also the representative of God with the people, he must uphold the honour of God in the presence of the people, with the same zeal and firmness with which he had pleaded for the good of the nation in the presence of Jehovah, before his intercession could be crowned with success. The two sides of his mediatorial work are closely related, and stand or fall together. The earnestness with which he pleaded with Jehovah on behalf of the nation, gave him a right, and imposed upon him the duty, to avenge the violated honour of the Lord; and, on the other hand, the execution of his mediatorial *wrath* upon the people, gave a fresh warrant and new force to his mediatorial *intercession* with Jehovah. And, lastly, the people themselves must give signs of sorrow and repentance, before they could be assured of mercy and forgiveness.

In his anxiety to know whether the sin of the people, the full extent of which he had now beheld, admitted of any atonement whatever, Moses ascended the mountain the following morning. "Oh! this people," said he to Jehovah, "have sinned a great sin. But O that Thou wouldest forgive their sin! If not, blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book which Thou hast written" (1). Upon this he received the first reply to his intercession. The anger of God was so far subdued, that the first threat, namely, that the nation should be immediately and utterly exterminated, was withdrawn. The nation, as a nation, was to continue in existence and be the bearer of the promises still: Moses was to conduct the people to Canaan, as heretofore; and Jehovah would send an angel before them, as He had previously promised

(Ex. xxiii. 20 sqq.), to drive all the Canaanites out of the land. But these renewed concessions were couched in very severe terms. For, first of all, the nation, as a whole, was to be preserved, but the individuals of whom it was composed were not to escape the punishment they deserved: "Nevertheless, in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them" (2). Secondly, Jehovah announced that He would certainly send an angel before them, to prepare the way for them to enter into possession of the promised land, but that He Himself would not go up in the midst of them any more (3), "for thou art a stiff-necked people, lest I consume thee in the way." "When the people heard these evil tidings they mourned, and no man did put on him his ornaments." This was the first sign of genuine and voluntary repentance on the part of the people. And it did not remain unnoticed. A fresh ray of hope burst forth from the words of Jehovah: "Put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee."

But the sentence was not revoked, that Jehovah would no longer dwell in the midst of the apostate nation. Moses took his tent, therefore, pitched it outside the camp, and called it the tent of meeting (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, *tent, tabernacle*). It is true, Moses had received instructions, even before the apostasy of the nation, to set up a tent of meeting, that God might dwell in the midst of the people (Ex. xxv. 9), and to make it according to the pattern which had been shown him in the mountain; but the present was by no means the time for carrying these instructions into effect. As the negotiations, however, for the restoration of the broken covenant had been renewed, and there was a prospect of their being crowned with success, Moses set up a temporary tent of meeting, as a substitute for the true sanctuary, until the latter should be erected. And Jehovah consented to this arrangement; for, when Moses went out to the tent the pillar of cloud descended (from the mountain) and stood at the door of the tent, and Jehovah talked with Moses, face to face, as a man talketh with his friend (4). The people also gave a fresh sign of the sincerity of

their repentance by submitting cheerfully to this discipline and humiliation. Whoever had to inquire of Jehovah went out to the tent, that he might obtain an answer through the mediation of Moses. And when Moses went out to the tent, every one went to the door of his tent, looked after him with reverence, and prostrated himself before the sign of the Divine presence (the pillar of cloud), which came down to talk with Moses.

(1.) In reading the words of Moses, "*if not, blot me out of Thy book,*" we must, undoubtedly, think of the language of affection, which forgets itself and the entire world in the thought of the one object by which the soul is moved. Hence they are certainly wanting in objective certainty, and in a general and simultaneous consideration of all the circumstances of the case; but with all the greater life, freshness, and directness, and also with the greater boldness and freedom, have the truth, the depth, and the strength of this *one* feeling been embodied in his words. The fact that the justice of God would prevent him from acceding to the wish and request of Moses (ver. 33), does not change nor diminish in the least its objective truth, and depth and force.—Moreover, the desire expressed by Moses was founded in his vocation, and in the post which he occupied, as the leader and mediator of the people. He was so thoroughly absorbed in his vocation, that every thought and imagination, all his hopes and ardent desires were concentrated there. His life and being were so intertwined and blended with it, that it had actually become his life and existence itself. A life without this vocation, or a life apart from it, was to him an inconceivable thought, a contradiction which refuted itself. If God were to do what He had threatened, to give free course to His righteous indignation, and consequently to exterminate the nation at once from the earth, the vocation of Moses would also be brought to an end, life would have no more value in his esteem, for his vocation was his life. If the wrath of Jehovah should slay the people, it would slay Moses as well, for it would put an end to his vocation. But, because, on the one hand, Moses had continued righteous, when the whole nation had fallen into unrighteousness deserving of death, and therefore he would necessarily be preserved from the judgment which threatened the rest; and, because, on the other hand, Moses had

not selected his vocation himself, but had been appointed to it by Jehovah, and therefore it was in accordance with the will and purposes of God that his life should be absorbed in his vocation, Jehovah laid Himself under the necessity to execute the judgment upon the nation in such a way, that whilst the people suffered the punishment they deserved, the vocation and office of Moses, which had respect to the nation, should not be abolished or destroyed, since the life and happiness of Moses were bound up with his office and vocation. But the only way in which this could be effected was, that instead of the sudden and simultaneous infliction of punishment on all the guilty, the individuals who had sinned should be punished one by one; and thus the nation, so far as it embodied the notion of a species, would be preserved, and the continuity of its history sustained. This method of reconciling the discrepancy would also be supported by the fact, that the apostate nation was still the seed of Abraham, to whom the promise, which cannot be broken, had been made, and that the basis for the continuation of its history was already to be found in the children and infants.—Jehovah's reply, accordingly, rejected the conditional request of Moses as inadmissible: "Whoever hath sinned against Me, him will I blot out of My book." At the same time it contained an assurance that the history of Israel should not be broken off: "Go, lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee: behold Mine angel shall go before thee." On the other hand, it adheres to the necessity for punishing the sin: "Nevertheless, in the day of My visitation, I will visit (punish) their sin."

(2.) "*In the day of My visitation I will visit their sin.*" Is it possible to determine the period of history which constituted the day of visitation, and the manner in which the visitation itself took place? We believe that it is. It commenced at the time when the Israelites were at Kadesh (§ 36. 2), and when the judicial sentence was pronounced upon the nation, that the bodies of all those who were twenty years old and upwards should die in the wilderness, and that not one of them should enter the land of promise (Num xiv.); and it extended over the thirty-eight years, during which they wandered about without an object in the wilderness. It was at Kadesh that the measure of their iniquity was filled up. At Sinai they had rejected Jehovah, who led them out of Egypt, and had desired a god

such as they formerly possessed in Egypt; at Kadesh they rejected the land of Jehovah—the land of promise, and wished to return to Egypt (Num. xiv. 3).

(3.) In consequence of the intercession of Moses, Jehovah gave a fresh assurance that the history of Israel should not be broken off. Moses was to lead the people to Canaan; and for the future Jehovah would send *His angel* before them, and drive out the Amorites. This sounds like the promise in Ex. xxiii. 20–23. It might be regarded as simply a repetition of the promise, were it not for the stern and momentous words which follow: “For I will not go up in the midst of thee, for thou art a stiff-necked people, lest I consume thee in the way.” With reference to the angel who was promised to accompany them, it was stated in Ex. xxiii. 21: “My name is in him” (שְׁמִי בְקִרְבּוֹ); in other words, he was to be the medium of the *personal* presence of Jehovah. This angel was to represent Jehovah in such a manner that the personal and essential presence of Jehovah, which cannot be seen by any creature in its own purely divine form of existence, when divested of all material clothing (1 Tim. vi. 15, 16), might be brought to view in him, its representative and pledge (see vol i. § 50. 2). But on this occasion Jehovah declared that He Himself would not go up in the midst of them. The angel, therefore, who was still to lead them, could not be any longer the representative of the personal presence of Jehovah; he was nothing more than every angel naturally is,—a messenger and delegate of God. To punish Israel Jehovah declared that He would withdraw from the angel the שְׁמִי בְקִרְבּוֹ. But the fulfilment of this threat would deprive Israel of the very thing which distinguished it above every other nation (Ex. xxxiii. 16), for the fact of an angel presiding over a nation or kingdom on behalf of God, and guiding its affairs, was not so unparalleled a circumstance that it applied to the chosen people of God alone. Such a mission as this does not belong to the province of the Jehovistic, but rather to that of the Elohistic government, and, therefore, not only could be, but actually was possessed by heathen nations and kingdoms as well (Dan. x. 13–21, xi. 1). The commonwealth of Israel ceased to be a theocracy in consequence; for the maintenance of the theocracy (§ 9. 1) was dependent upon the personal presence of God in the midst of the nation. The announce-

ment, therefore, that Jehovah would no longer dwell in the midst of the nation, was equivalent to an announcement that the theocracy would be brought to an end;—whether temporarily or for ever, whether in the shape of suspension or of abolition, the connection of the words would hardly leave in doubt. Since it was not upon the nation, as such, that the judgment was to fall, but only upon individuals, and in the meantime the outward course of events was to continue as before, nothing more could be intended than a *suspension*, which would last until all the individuals at present composing the nation had been swept away, and a new generation had grown up which had not participated in the apostasy of the fathers. This was what Israel had to expect if this sentence of God was carried into effect. And this was the reason that Israel mourned and complained so bitterly on account of the evil tidings. But we shall soon see that by his unwearied intercession Moses succeeded in procuring another, still milder, sentence from the forgiving mercy of God.

We have already shown (vol. i. § 50. 2) that Ex. xxiii. 20 sqq., when compared with Ex. xxxii. 34, is perfectly irreconcilable with the hypothesis that the Maleach Jehovah was not merely a representative, mediator, and bearer of the personal presence of Jehovah, but was that presence itself, namely, the Logos, the second person of the Trinity. For in the former passage, as well as the latter, Jehovah calls this angel מַלְאָכִי, “My angel,” equivalent to מַלְאָכִי יְהוָה, and in the former the same task is assigned to him as in the latter (chap. xxxiii. 2), with the simple exception, which indeed is of great importance in other respects, that in the former the name of Jehovah is in him, and in the latter this is no longer the case. In opposition to this *Hengstenberg* says: “The threatening of the Lord becomes unintelligible, and the grief of the people incomprehensible, if by the angel in chap. xxiii. an ordinary angel be understood” (Christology vol. i. p. 119 transl.).—(As if we imagined him to be an ordinary angel, and nothing more; an ordinary angel he was, but with the unusual circumstance, that “the name of Jehovah was in him.”) *Hengstenberg* proceeds: “But everything becomes clear and intelligible if we admit that in chap. xxiii. there is an allusion to the angel of the Lord, *κατ’ ἐξοχήν*, who is connected with Him by unity of nature, and

who, because the name of God is in Him, is as zealous as He is Himself in inflicting punishment, as well as in bestowing salvation; whilst in chap. xxxii. 34, the allusion is to an inferior angel, who is added to the highest revealer of God as His companion and messenger, and who appears in the book of Daniel under the name of *Gabriel*, while *the* angel of the Lord appears under the name of *Michael*." Then "everything becomes clear and intelligible?" What even the מַלְאֲכֵי (my angel) in chap xxxii. 34? *Hengstenberg* boldly replies, "Yes, even this;" and notwithstanding *Hofmann's* complete answer (*Schriftbeweis* i. 156 seq.), he brings forward again the indescribably weak and palpably worthless hypothesis of a Maleach of the Maleach. "In Ex. xxxii. 34, after Israel had sinned in worshipping the calf, their former leader, Jehovah, *i.e.*, the angel of Jehovah, told them that He should be their leader no longer." Then for "Jehovah," the leader of Israel, we may substitute the "Maleach Jehovah?" Very good! But in Ex. xxiii. 20 sqq. the former leader Jehovah, *i.e.*, the angel of Jehovah, says, "Behold I send an angel before thy face," etc, and the angel to be sent is one of whom it is affirmed, "the name of Jehovah is in him." Consequently, as we infer from *Hengstenberg's* premises, this angel, in whom the name of Jehovah dwelt, was the Maleach of the Maleach Jehovah; *ergo*, we have two *Logoi* in the Deity, two uncreated revealers of God, "for the name of God can only dwell in him who is originally of the same nature;" *ergo*, we must expunge the doctrine of the Trinity from our system, and insert in its place, "four persons in one Godhead."—The relation of Gabriel to Michael in the book of Daniel is also very different from *Hengstenberg's* account; but we cannot enter into this question at present.

(4.) The *Ohel-Moëd* which Moses pitched outside the camp has been regarded by many critics as identical with the sanctuary of the same name, which was afterwards constructed by Bezaleel and Oholiab, according to the pattern shown to Moses in the Mount; and upon this supposition they have based the conclusion that our records contain two different and discordant myths respecting the building of the tabernacle. (In reply to this see *Ranke*, vol. ii. p. 61.)

§ 15. (Ex. xxxiii. 12–xxxv. 3.)—So much, then, had Moses

obtained by his intercession, that the covenant was not to be abolished, but merely suspended; and that an angel (not indeed an angel in whom the name of Jehovah was, but still an angel), that is, at any rate a messenger from the heavenly world, should conduct the nation to Canaan, and drive out the Canaanites before them. But Moses was not content with this result. He persisted in the prayer, that the covenant might be perfectly restored, and that the face of God, that is, He Himself, in the angel in whom His name was (§ 14, 3), would undertake the guidance of the people, and take up his abode in the midst of them. And this was also granted. Emboldened by these concessions, Moses desired—as a confirmation of the promise, and a proof that he had found mercy with Jehovah, and also to perfect his mediatorial character—that he might see the *glory* of Jehovah, that is His face as it is, uncovered, without the veil of the cloud, or the mediation of an angel. He asked for what no mortal could possibly bear. His petition, therefore, could not be granted; but Jehovah promised that he should see and feel all that he could bear: “I will cause all my goodness (חַסְדִּי) to pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of Jehovah before thee.” For this purpose Moses was to ascend, the following morning, to the top of the mountain, and station himself in a hole in the rock. Jehovah would then cause His glory to pass by, and keep His hand upon him till the vision was over. He would then be allowed to look after it, that his eye might still catch a ray of the Majesty which had already departed (1). In this unparalleled manifestation of God, Moses received a pledge of the success of his mediatorial intercession,—a fresh seal and elevation of his mediatorial work,—based upon the willingness of Jehovah to restore the covenant in all its completeness. With this, therefore, there would be associated the restoration of the covenant-records, as a pledge to the *people* of the restoration of the covenant; and Moses received instructions to cut two stones like the former, and bring them with him up the mountain (2). Moses went the following morning, furnished with these, to the place

appointed. Jehovah came down in the cloud, and stood beside him. He had asked to look with his bodily eyes upon the unveiled face of God; but it is only in the mirror of the Word, with the inward spiritual eye of faith, that a man can look upon the Divine Being, whose features, as manifested outwardly, are called His face. In the *word*, therefore, Jehovah permitted him to behold His essence; but it was in a word of such comprehensiveness, such depth and fulness, as had never fallen upon human ears before. As He passed by Moses, He proclaimed to him who and what He was: "Jehovah, Jehovah, a merciful and gracious God, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation." Then Moses made haste, and bowed his head to the earth, and worshipped (1). What was here declared to Moses was a far deeper, fuller, and more comprehensive explanation of the name *Jehovah*, a commentary on the words "I am that I am" (Ex. iii. 14), by which He had previously given to His servant, and through him to His people, a deeper insight into the meaning of His name (vol. ii. § 20, 6). It was quite in its right place here; for what it expressed in *words*, was immediately afterwards confirmed in a gracious *deed*, *viz.*, in the renewal of the covenant. To this end Jehovah repeated the most essential portion of the earlier covenant promises (Ex. xxiii. 20 sq.), and covenant demands (Ex. xxi. 1, xxiii. 19) in the book of the covenant, and commanded Moses to commit these words also to writing as the basis of the renewal of the covenant. He also wrote upon the tables, which Moses had brought with him, the same ten words which had been engraved upon the first tables (2). On this occasion also Moses remained with Jehovah on the mountain forty days and forty nights; and when he came down the skin of his face shone, though he himself was not aware of it. It was the reflection of what Moses had seen on the Mount, of the glory of Jehovah.

Aaron and the princes of the congregation, when they saw it, were afraid to go near him. But, after he had told them all that Jehovah had said and commanded, he put a veil upon his face, which he took off whenever he went before Jehovah (into the tent of meeting, § 14, 4), and put on again when he returned to the camp (3).

(1.) What did Moses desire to see? And what was it which led him to express the desire *at this particular time*? So much is certain, that he desired to see and to learn what he had never seen or learnt before. It must have been something more, then, than is expressed in the words of Ex. xxxiii. 11, "Jehovah talked with him face to face, as a man talketh with his friend." And however little it was possible to grant of his request, this little must have far exceeded all the previous visions of God. Moreover, if it was something so extraordinary that Moses saw it but once in his life, it must have far surpassed what is represented in Num. xii. 8 as the constant form of intercourse between Moses and Jehovah, "with Him I speak mouth to mouth, and let him see, not in figures (visions and dreams, ver. 6), but he looks upon the form of Jehovah (תִּמְנַת יְהוָה)." Moses calls what he wishes to see the *glory of Jehovah* (קְבוֹד יְהוָה, ver. 18); and Jehovah Himself also calls it "My glory" (ver. 22), "all my goodness" (כָּל־טוֹבִי, ver 19), and "my face" (פָּנַי, ver. 20). But the *glory* of the Lord dwelt in the pillar of cloud and fire (vol. ii. § 36, 3), and the angel of the Lord, who went before Israel in this particular symbol, is also called the bearer of the *face* of Jehovah (Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15); and, therefore, what Moses desired to see, can have been nothing else than this same face and this same glory, but uncovered and without a cloud, immediately and without angelic representation,—that is to say, the very essence of God, in its purest form of existence, and in its entire majesty and glory. The name טוב leads to the same conclusion. The corresponding verb and adjective are used to denote the good and beautiful in every form which it can possibly assume; they are applied to the essence and substance, and also to the form and manifestation, to the inward power as well as the outward operation. טוב, therefore, is employed here to denote the essence and manifestation of God, as the *absolutely good and*

beautiful. But if this **תבנית** was to be seen, it must of necessity manifest itself in a certain form, and hitherto this had been done in the angel who represented it, and who went before Israel in the pillar of cloud and fire. This was the "form of Jehovah" (**תְּמוּנַת יְהוָה**), mentioned in Num. xii. 8. The *people* looked upon it merely from without, and saw the splendour shining through the pillar of cloud; the *elders*, at the time of the giving of the law (Ex. xxiv. 10) looked upon it from beneath ("and under his feet was as it were a work of transparent sapphire, and as the heaven itself in brilliancy"); *Moses*, again, went into the cloud itself (Ex. xx. 21), and saw the *Temunah* of God, face to face, and spoke with it mouth to mouth (Ex. xxxiii. 11; Num. xii. 6-8). That **תְּמוּנַת** does not denote the immediate, absolute form of God, but merely a form assumed by Him for the purpose of intercourse with man, is evident also from the etymology of the word. The verb **תָּמַן** does not occur in Hebrew. In Arabic it means *mentitus est*; the primary meaning was undoubtedly *to invent*. *Temunah*, therefore, was not a real and essential form, but a form invented or assumed, a likeness of the real form, or a symbol of the ideal. Hence it is used to denote not merely the form in which men picture God to their own mind, or the images by which they represent Him (Ex. xx. 4; Deut. v. 8; vi. 16, 23, 25), but also the form which God assumed in order to manifest Himself to man.

We proceed now to the second question: What was it that led Moses to express such a desire, just at this particular time?—Hitherto there had been one limit to the mediatorial work of Moses, namely, that he had seen and became acquainted with the **תְּמוּנַת יְהוָה** (the form of Jehovah) alone, and not with **כָּל־טוֹב יְהוָה** (all the goodness of Jehovah). His intercourse had been confined to the covered glory, the representative-face of Jehovah, he had not conversed directly with Himself. His mediatorial office, however, would necessarily be incomplete, so long as he had not enjoyed as close and direct intercourse with Jehovah, on the one hand, as with the people on the other, and so long as he had not seen and known Jehovah in His true and essential form. Instead of this, another mediator had hitherto stood between him and Jehovah;—for it was by an angel that Jehovah had called him, by an angel He had led the people out of Egypt, by the medium of angels He had placed the law

in the hands of Moses ("ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator." Gal. iii. 19, compare Heb. ii. 2, Acts vii. 53, also § 10, 2). It was evident, then, that a merely human mediator did not suffice. Something more was needed to give completeness to the mediation between Jehovah and the people. Another superhuman mediator was still required to carry on the intercourse between the human mediator and Jehovah Himself.—But, on the present occasion, when Jehovah promised to restore the broken covenant, and Moses was therefore recognised again in his mediatorial capacity and confirmed in his office, we can understand that he should be concerned to know whether the limit was absolutely necessary, or whether it was not possible, if only once for all, that he should have a direct sight of God and hold immediate intercourse with Him. The answer was in the negative. Hence the mediation of the Old Testament was never freed from this inevitable limitation; and, it was evident, that however exalted the position of Moses might be, he was not, and could not be, the perfect mediator, and that if ever the design of the covenant was to be secured, it must be by the coming of one still more exalted.

It was quite a correct feeling which led Moses to conclude that he was justified in expecting and asking, now that the covenant was about to be restored, for a higher and more glorious manifestation of Jehovah than had taken place at the conclusion of the covenant before the apostasy. In the thunders of Sinai, the holiness, justice, and majesty of Jehovah had been displayed; but, it was absolutely necessary now, if the breach was to be healed, that His grace, His long-suffering, and His mercy should be brought into exercise as well.—But Moses went too far in his expectations, when he hoped to be able, all at once, to pass the limit which divides immediate perception from the faith which cometh by hearing. And, the fact that, instead of a glorious vision of the goodness and beauty of God, he had still to be satisfied with hearing them proclaimed, brought down his expectations within the proper bounds. At the same time, faith, which is one day to be changed into sight, contains within itself already the germ of that which it is eventually to become, an instalment and pledge of the future payment, is given even here. Faith cannot look upon the essential nature of God, but it sees a reflection of it in the visible traces of His secret action which

are left behind. This was all that could be granted to Moses now; and the promise was made in a manner befitting the peculiar character of his intercourse with God. "I will make all My goodness pass before thee," said Jehovah to him, "and when My glory passes by, I will keep My hand over thee till I have passed by, then will I take away My hand, and thou shalt see My back (אֶחְצֵבֶנְךָ אֶחְצֵבֶנְךָ, that is, the light which remains when the full glory has passed away), but my face (פָּנַי) cannot be seen."—In the description of the occurrence itself, we are not expressly told when this vision of the אֶחְצֵבֶנְךָ אֶחְצֵבֶנְךָ actually took place; but the point of time is indicated, with sufficient clearness, in chap. xxxiv. 6, "and Jehovah passed before him." The fact that it is not more particularly described is to be accounted for on the ground that it did not admit of any description, that Moses had no words with which to describe what he saw with his eyes, as there was no analogy in earthly phenomena with which it could be compared.

(2.) *Hitzig*, in his *Ostern und Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog* (*Heidelberg*, 1838, p. 40 sqq.), pretends to have made the discovery that the *second tables of the law* did not contain the ordinary decalogue, that is, the ten words of Ex. xx., but the ten commandments contained in Ex. xxxiv. 12–26, and therefore that there is an evident discrepancy between this account and Deut. x. 4, where it is expressly stated that these two tables contained the same words as the first. *Hengstenberg* (*Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 319 trans.) is perfectly willing to leave him the honour of having been the first to discover this second decalogue. But he has no claim even to the honour of this discovery; for, as early as 1770 (and it is a remarkable thing that this has been overlooked by all who have ever written on the subject) *Goethe* gave expression to a similar view, in a treatise entitled "*zwo wichtige, bisher unerörtete Fragen, zum erstenmal gründlich beantwortet von einem Landgeistlichen in Schwaben.*"¹ *Goethe's* leading idea is the exclusiveness of Judaism. "The Jewish nation," he says, "I regard as a wild, unfruitful stem, which was surrounded by other wild, unfruitful trees. On this stem the Eternal

¹ This youthful work of *Goethe* was published in the forty volume edition of 1840, but some years before this it had been reprinted in *Tholuck's literarischer Anzeiger*. It will be found in vol. xiv. p. 263–270, of the edition referred to.

Gardener grafted the noble twig, Jesus Christ, that by growing thereupon it might ennoble the nature of the stem itself, and that grafts might be taken from it to fertilise all the other trees. The history and doctrines of this nation are certainly exclusive; and the very little of a universal character which may possibly be found in the anticipations of the grand event to occur in the future, is difficult to find and hardly worth the seeking." *Goethe* passes then to his immediate subject, and says, the Lord spake from Sinai, for the most part on general truths, the knowledge of which He presupposed in their case as in that of other nations. The people were terrified, and entreated Moses to speak to the Lord in their stead. Moses then received the laws of the book of the covenant, wrote them down, read them to the people, and so forth. He was then summoned up to the mountain to receive the tables of the law. He went; and after the Lord had given him instructions for the erection of the tabernacle, He gave the tables into his hands. "What was written on them no one knows. The sinful affair of the calf ensued, and Moses broke them to pieces before it was even possible to guess at their contents." After the purification of the penitent people, Moses was ordered to cut two new stones, on which the same words were to be written which stood upon the first. When Moses went up the mountain with these two tables, the Lord announced to him these ten words (chap. xxxiv. 12-26), and ordered him (ver. 27) to write these words upon the tables, for, according to these words, He had made a covenant with him and with Israel. "It was written here in the plainest terms, and the human understanding rejoiced thereat. The tables were witnesses of the covenant with which God had bound Himself, in a peculiar manner, to Israel. How appropriate, then, that we should find laws there, which distinguished Israel from every other nation. . . . How gladly do we cast away the awkward, old, erroneous idea, that the most exclusive of all covenants could be founded upon universal obligations. In short; the preamble of the law (chap. xx.) contains doctrines with which God pre-supposed that His people were acquainted, as men and as Israelites. As men . . . this applies to those of a generally moral character; as Israelites . . . the knowledge of one God and the Sabbath." But how did this mistake, on the part of the Church, originate? Answer: "The author

of the book of Deuteronomy was the first to fall into the error. It is probable, and I believe that I have read it somewhere, that this book was compiled from tradition during the Babylonian captivity. The want of arrangement, by which it is characterised, makes this almost certain. Under such circumstances as these a mistake was very natural. The tables were lost along with the ark, there were very few who possessed genuine copies of the sacred books; the ten commandments were dormant and forgotten; the rules of life were written in every one's heart, or at least retained in his memory. And who knows what may have given rise to this clumsy combination." Nearly the same line of argument may now be found in *Hitzig*. But with this exception, the hypothesis in question has met with no approval. *Bertheau* rejects it as decidedly as *Hengstenberg* (l.c.), and even *E. Meier* holds fast to the current belief (*Dekalog*, p. 6-9).

There is no necessity to enter into an elaborate refutation of this hypothesis.—(1) "According to chap xxxiv. 1, the same words were to be written upon the second tables which had already been contained by the first. Now, it would be a very strange thing if these words were not made known till the second tables were prepared. They must certainly be contained in what goes before, and, therefore, ver. 12-26 cannot contain the ten words which were written on the tables" (*Hengstenberg*).—(2) The testimony of the Deuteronomist would still retain its force, even if it really belonged to the period of the captivity; for, if the nation of Israel had a distinct recollection of anything connected with its early history, it would certainly not have forgotten the fundamental law.—(3) The words which were to be, not only the most important in the whole law, but its very foundation, by the fact that they and they alone were spoken by *Jehovah Himself* must necessarily have been engraved upon the tables as being the "testimony to the covenant." "The speaking and writing on the part of God," as *Hengstenberg* says, "answer to each other. The very fact that the author does not consider it necessary to state distinctly that the decalogue, which was proclaimed by *Jehovah Himself*, was written down, is a proof how completely this was taken for granted; not to mention the circumstance, that for thousands of years before the time of *Hitzig*, it never entered any one's mind to question the fact."—(4) It could only be a thoroughly

false idea of the law of Moses, a misapprehension of its entire character, which could ever lead to the conclusion that the fundamental records of the covenant could not possibly contain, in accordance with their original design, moral precepts of a universal character, which were recognised by the heathen as well, or such commandments as had been binding upon the Israelites before the time of Moses. For the fact is hereby entirely overlooked, that the Sinaitic covenant was simply a repetition, renewal, and extension, of the covenant with Abraham, and that even the moral precepts of a universal character, which are common to heathenism and the Mosaic system, are altogether different in the latter from what they are in the former: the principle, the spirit which inspires them, the root and the soil from which they severally spring, being not only different, but entirely opposed. The one thing which constituted the groundwork and fundamental principle of the religion of the Old Testament, as distinguished from every form of heathenism, namely, the belief in one, personal, holy, and spiritual God, and the one thing which was to be maintained as the inviolable sign of the covenant, and to give a shape to the whole life, in accordance with it, namely, the command to keep the Sabbath holy, must of necessity have been incorporated in the fundamental law and original records, whether they were absolutely new or received by tradition from the fathers. And if, by this means, justice was done to "the most important of the distinguishing doctrines of Hebraism," we cannot see why the leading principles of morality generally should not, or rather, we can see that they necessarily must be included, seeing that the fundamental principles of the entire law is expressly declared to be contained in the words, "I, Jehovah, am holy, therefore, be thou, My nation, holy also."—

(5) It is perfectly obvious that Ex. xxxiv. 11–26, contains an abridged repetition, a compendium of the law contained in the book of the law, in Ex. xxi.–xxiii. Moses applies the same terms to the latter as to the former (chap. xxxiv. 27). And, if the laws contained in Ex. xxi.–xxiii. cannot be identical with the words engraved by Jehovah upon the first tables, this must also be the case with the commandments in chap. xxxiv. 11–26. In both instances the writing of Moses presupposes that of God.

Goethe's hypothesis derives a certain plausibility from chap.

xxxiv. 27, 28, and from that alone. Jehovah there says to Moses, "Write thou these words, for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel." It is then stated that Moses "was there *with* Jehovah forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread nor drink water; and *he wrote* upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten words." Everything turns in this case upon the question, who is the subject of ויכתב. If it be Moses, then, undoubtedly, the expression כְּתַבְתָּ לְךָ shuts us up to the conclusion that the words of ver. 11–26 are those which were written upon the tables. But Moses is not the subject of the verb. Not only in Deuteronomy (chap. x. 2 וְאִכְתַּב), but in Exodus also (chap. xxxiv. 1 וְכָתַבְתָּ), the writing on the two tables is referred to Jehovah Himself. It is true, *E. Meier (Dekalog, p. 6)* makes an emendation here for the purpose of destroying the agreement between this passage and Deuteronomy, and reads וְכָתַבְתָּ (thou hast written); but such arbitrary criticism as this condemns itself. *Bertheau's* criticism (*Sieben Gruppen, p. 98*) is much more correct: "On a careful examination of the contents it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that יהוה is the subject to ויכתב, since ver. 28 contains a palpable reference to ver. 1. . . . Moreover, it is not stated in ver. 27 that Moses was to write 'these words' upon *the two tables*; on the contrary, the analogy of chap. xxiv. 4, 7 would lead us to expect that he wrote them in a book. The name of Jehovah is mentioned just before ויכתב,—not as subject, it is true, but the *vav consequ.*, I might almost say, would lead us to *expect* the subject to be changed. At any rate, no objection can be offered, on philological grounds, to the hypothesis that Jehovah is the subject; and the context renders such an assumption absolutely necessary." (1) To this we may also add, that even the command to Moses in chap. xxxiv. 1, to hew out tables and bring them with him up the mountain, *forces* us, as it were, to expect Jehovah to write upon these, as He had previously done upon the first tables. . . . With such convincing proofs as these we must reject the forced and unnatural interpretation given by *Wette (Machmosaisches, p. 126)*, who refers the verb ויכתב to Moses, but thinks that it can be reconciled with וכתבתי in Ex. xxxiv. 1, and אכתב in Deut. x. 2, by the simple remark, that what a prophet does in the name and by the command of God, is done by God Himself.

The difference, then, between the first and second tables was simply this: the latter were hewn by Moses, whereas the former were delivered to him (even so far as the material was concerned) by Jehovah Himself; but both were written by the finger of Jehovah. *Hengstenberg* regards this difference as a punishment: "It was a sufficient punishment," he says, "for the nation, that the material had to be provided by Moses." But we question whether we can agree with him in this. We might almost as well, and perhaps with still greater point, explain it with *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 113) as the mark of a higher stage of the covenant, "for the farther the reciprocity extends, the firmer the covenant becomes, and, for this reason, it could only be completed in a person who was both human and divine."

(3.) The *dazzling splendour of Moses' face* was the reflection of the after splendour of the glory of Jehovah which had just passed by. As this was an extraordinary and unparalleled event, it was also extraordinary in its effects;—and, as the sight enjoyed by Moses was related to the restoration of the covenant, the people also received, in the splendour of the face of the mediator, a reflection of what he had witnessed. The distinction between Moses and the people was thus clearly set forth, and he was accredited as the representative of God before the people. The true mediator between God and man must bear the nature of God as well as that of man, that he may equally and perfectly represent the two. Such a mediator as this Moses certainly was not: but the splendour upon his face bore witness to the fact, that an emanation from the Divine nature had passed over to him, and that he had been holding intercourse with God Himself. Although the splendour on Moses' face was a doubly reduced reflection of the glory of Jehovah, it was still too much for the people to bear; and Moses was obliged, at least in private intercourse, to cover his face with a veil. The Apostle Paul regards this covering as a symbol of the covering in which the truths of salvation had come down to the people, who could not grasp or bear them when plainly revealed (2 Cor. iii. 11); which covering, however, in proportion as the people become better able to grasp the truth, grows more and more transparent, until in the fulness of time it can be entirely done away. . . In the *Septuagint*, the words עֹר פָּנָיו

(ver. 29), are rendered, in accordance with both the grammar and the fact, *ὅτι δεδόξασται ἡ ὄψις τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν*; the *Vulgate*, on the other hand, renders it, to say the least, in an unintelligible manner (*quod cornuta esset facies sua*). Compare *Sal Deyling, de vultu Mosis radiante*, in his *Observationes* iii. p. 81 sqq. The Rationalists have gone so far in the insipidity of their expositors, as to attribute the splendour of Moses' face to the electricity of the mountain. See *Eichhorn's Einleitung* (Ed. 4 vol. iii. p. 280): "When he came back in the evening from the mountain, and those who saw him perceived merely the shining of his face, on account of the rest of his body being covered with clothes; since neither he nor his contemporaries could understand the physical causes, was it not natural that Moses should trace it to, what he was fully convinced of,—his intercourse with God?"

ERECTION OF THE SANCTUARY.

§ 16. (Exod. xxxv.—xl.)—Now that the covenant was renewed, Moses was able to proceed to the fulfilment of the instructions which he had received, a long time before, with regard to the erection of the sanctuary, a plan of which had been shown him on the Mount. He first called for a voluntary offering of all the requisite materials; and the whole congregation cheerfully contributed golden ornaments, costly cloths and skins, jewels, spices, and so forth. The silver was obtained by means of a tax of half a shekel, which every adult was required to pay (compare Ex. xxx. 15). Moses then summoned the master workmen, whom Jehovah had mentioned to him by name, and who had been specially endowed by the Spirit of God with wisdom and understanding for the work in question. The management of the entire building was committed to *Bezaleel*, of the tribe of Judah; and *Oholiab*, the Danite, was appointed as his colleague. In addition to this, all the men of the congregation, who were skilful in any department of art or handicraft, as well as all the women who could work embroidered cloths and things of that description, offered their assistance. The work was commenced with spirit, and the voluntary contributions accumulated

to such an extent, that Moses was able to restrain the people from giving more. The gold which was used amounted to 29 talents and 730 shekels, the silver to 100 talents and 1775 shekels, and the copper to 70 talents and 2400 shekels (1). At the end of six or seven months the entire work was complete, including the various utensils and the priests' garments; the workmen delivered them over to Moses; and on the first day of the first month of the second year from the departure out of Egypt, the holy place was set up and consecrated by the anointing of the dwelling-place itself, and also of the vessels it contained. The cloud then covered the sanctuary, and the glory of God filled the dwelling (2).

(1.) *De Wette, Bohlen*, and others, maintain that the whole account of the tabernacle and its erection is proved to be fictitious, by the fact that it presupposes such an acquaintance with the arts, and the possession of such an abundance of costly materials, as is perfectly inconceivable in the case of a migrating nomad race. See, on the other hand, *Havernick's Einleitung* i. 2, p. 460 sqq.; *Bährs Symbolik* i. 257 sqq., 273 sqq.; and *Hengstenberg's Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 133 sqq.

The *πρώτον ψεύδος* in this charge is the assumption that the Israelites were a rude, uncultivated, and uncivilised nomad tribe. We have shown the fallacy of this at vol. 2 § 15. So far as the *materials* required for the building are concerned, it can be proved that the Israelites were either in possession of all that was wanted, or, if not, could easily have procured them in the desert itself, or from the trading caravans that were passing through. The most important article of all, the Shittim (Acacia) wood, could be felled in the desert. Gold, silver, and precious stones they had brought with them in great abundance from Egypt (vol. 2 § 35, 4). The *tachash* skins were to be found in the Arabian Gulf. The raw materials for the cloths, the necessary spices, etc., could be purchased from the caravans. There is no reason for astonishment at the quantity of gold and silver that was used. In comparison with the almost incredible wealth in the precious metals which presents itself on every hand in ancient times (see *Bähr* i. 257 sqq.), the quantity used in connection with the tabernacle is a mere bagatelle, in which there

is nothing whatever to surprise. The entire mass of the gold employed was 87,730 shekels (a talent, כֶּתֶבֶת, consisting of 3000 shekels). Now, according to the highest valuation, this was not more than 300,000 ducats. Of the silver there were 301,775 shekels (worth not quite 300,000 Prussian thalers, or L.45,000), to which every adult Israelite had contributed *half* a shekel (*Bertheau* values the silver shekel at twenty-one groschen; *zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, p. 49). We must bear in mind that in this case the tax was the same for every Israelite, and therefore that the rich man did not and was not allowed to give more than the poor (Ex. xxx. 15). The free-will offerings, on the other hand, were presented according to the circumstances of the giver. This was intended to show that all the Israelites, whether poor or rich, were under the same obligations in relation to the sanctuary.

It has been thought that there was the stronger ground for maintaining the want of the requisite *artistic skill* on the part of the Israelites, from the fact that even Solomon thought it advisable to intrust the building of the temple to Phœnician workmen. But to this we reply, that in the building of the temple acquaintance with architecture, as an *art*, was required; but in the erection of the tabernacle, as a simple tent, proficiency in the art was not what was wanted, but simply *skill* as carpenters, founders, gold-beaters, weavers, workers in colours, and stone masons. Now *Bähr* and *Hengstenberg* have fully proved that this was to be found, in a very high degree, in Egyptian antiquity; and, it is evident from 1 Chron. iv. 14, 21, 23, for example, that many of the Israelites had made the best use, in this respect, of their sojourn in Egypt.

(2.) When it is stated in chap. xl. 35, that "Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of Jehovah filled the tabernacle," this corresponds entirely to what took place at the dedication of the temple (2 Chron. vii. 2). On this occasion also, the priests, were unable to enter into the house of Jehovah, because the glory of Jehovah had filled it. In both instances it is merely a temporary inability that is alluded to; of course, the priests went in afterwards, and Moses afterwards went with Aaron into the tabernacle (Lev. ix. 22; compare Num. vii. 89). Hence, in both instances, the filling of the house with the glory of Jehovah,

must be regarded as something altogether extraordinary, and of temporary duration. It was in connection with the act of first taking possession of the dwelling, that the glory of the Lord displayed itself in such unabated splendour, that even Moses durst not enter in. At the dedication of the dwelling, Jehovah took possession of the whole; but afterwards the cloud, the vehicle of His glory, withdrew into the Holy of holies, and stationed itself there between the cherubim (Lev. xvi. 2). For this reason no one was permitted to enter here, with the sole exception of the high priest, who entered once a year, though even then not without the enveloping cloud of incense (Lev. xvi. 13), and not till he had offered sacrifice for his own sins and that of his house (Lev. xvi. 3). Further particulars will be given in a subsequent portion of this work.

THE LAW OF SACRIFICE AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

§ 17. (Lev. i.—viii.)—The sanctuary was erected; Jehovah had made His entrance into it; and it was now time for the service to commence. The basis and centre of this service was sacrifice. For this reason the law of sacrifice (Lev. i.—vii.) was promulgated first, and that not merely from the mountain, but also from the sanctuary; for the latter was now the permanent dwelling-place of Jehovah, the place into which His glory had entered, and upon which the pillar of cloud and fire had come down. Another prerequisite of the service of the sanctuary was the institution of a permanent priesthood. The family of Aaron had already been singled out for this office (Ex. xxviii. 1); the manner of their consecration was determined (Ex. xxix.); the priestly dress was selected and prepared (Ex. xxviii., xxix.); and now the consecration and ordination of the priests themselves took place (Lev. viii.). The whole congregation assembled before the door of the sanctuary. Moses then brought Aaron and his sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar, and after washing, clothing, and anointing them, offered for them a sin-offering, a burnt-offering, and a thank-offering. After this he touched their right ears with the blood of the latter, and also the

thumb of the right hand and right foot. The rest of the blood he sprinkled round about the altar. He then filled the hands of Aaron and his sons with the pieces of fat and meat for a wave-offering, and brought the whole ceremony to an end by appointing a sacrificial meal, of which the newly consecrated priests partook.

(1.) We must reserve, till a future period, any further investigation into the law of sacrifice, and also into the dedication of the priests (see, however, my *Mosaisches Opfer*, Mitau, 1842).

§ 18. (Lev. ix., x.)—The consecration of the priests lasted seven days. On the eighth Aaron officiated for the first time as priest. He offered the first sacrifices for his own sins and those of the people; and when the blood had been sprinkled, and the pieces had been waved and arranged upon the altar, Aaron went into the sanctuary by virtue of his priestly character. On this the first occasion, however, Moses accompanied or introduced him. On their return they both blessed the people. The glory of the Lord then appeared to all the people; and fire came out from the Lord and consumed the sacrifice upon the altar. When the people beheld this gracious manifestation on the part of God, they shouted, fell down, and worshipped (1). But this display of mercy on the part of Jehovah was very quickly followed by a manifestation of wrath, which was called forth by an act of the most guilty wilfulness. *Nadab* and *Abihu*, the eldest sons of Aaron, despised their priestly vocation, and contemptuously violated the rules laid down with regard to it, by bringing strange fire into the presence of Jehovah, which He had not commanded them (2). But fire came forth immediately from the Lord and consumed them. As Aaron and his other two sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, could not touch the corpses without defiling themselves, and thus desecrating and annulling the anointing they had just received, Moses ordered the nearest relations, among those who were not priests, to carry them out of the sanctuary and bury them before the camp. Several new laws were issued in consequence of this event (3).

(1.) The FIRE FROM HEAVEN, which consumed *Aaron's first sacrifice*, was a sign that God was pleased with the sacrifice, as well as with the priest by whom it was offered (*vid.* Gen. iv. 4). The very same thing occurred in connection with the first sacrifice which was offered in the temple of Solomon. We shall hardly be wrong, therefore, in connecting this event with Lev. vi. 9, 12, 13, where instructions are given that the fire on the altar is to be kept constantly burning, and never allowed to go out.—The fire, therefore, with which the sacrifices of Israel were now and ever after consumed, was originally not a common earthly fire, but heavenly and divine. According to the Jewish legends, this sacred fire was kept up without interruption till the time of the Babylonian captivity; and, according to 2 Macc. i. 19, till a later period still. The Talmud and most of the Rabbins reckon it as one of the five things which were wanting in the second temple (*Ignis, Arca, Urim et Tummim, Oleum unctiois, Spiritus sanctitatis*). Compare *J. Buxtorf, hist. de igne sacro*, in his *Exercitationes*, p. 229 sqq., and *S. Bochart, de igne cœlitus in sacrificiis delapso*, in his *Hieroz.*, Rosenmüller's edition, i. 375 sqq.

(2.) It is difficult to determine more precisely what was the crime of which the two elder sons of Aaron were guilty. *Hofmann (Weissagung und Erfüllung, i. 144)* is of opinion, that "it consisted in the performance of an act of worship completely at variance with the law, and entirely distinct from the offering of incense upon the golden altar." But this does not touch the account. We can by no means agree with the same writer when, in a subsequent work (*Schriftbeweis, ii. 1, p. 360*), he explains the crime as consisting in the fact, that without authority they carried their incense into the Holy of Holies, instead of the Holy Place alone. "When Nadab and Abihu," he says, "came into the Holy of Holies, without bringing anything with them but their incense, and without any further reason than their own supposed piety of will, God punished them by a violent death in the sanctuary itself." But in the words, "they offered strange fire before Jehovah," there is not the slightest hint that they carried their incense behind the veil (as in Lev. xvi. 12). The crime consisted simply and solely in the fact that they offered *strange* fire before the Lord,—fire, that is, "which He had not commanded." There are two ways in which this may be inter-

puted. The explanation which most naturally suggests itself, after reading the account, which immediately precedes, of the sacred fire that came down from heaven, and also when we compare Lev. xvi. 12, where the high-priest was directed to kindle the incense with this sacred fire when he went into the Holy of Holies on the great day of atonement, is, that instead of taking the fire from the altar, they kindled their incense with other (common) fire. For it is very probable that this precept had reference to the daily priestly incense, as well as to the yearly incense which the high-priest offered. No doubt, if this view be adopted, it is somewhat strange that among the laws that have hitherto been issued, there was no command relating to this point at all. For this reason it would, perhaps, be better to interpret the expression, "strange fire," as relating to the incense which was burned (an interpretation which the context will certainly allow), and to regard the crime of Aaron's sons as consisting in the violation of the law already given, which forbade the offering of strange incense upon the altar of incense.

(3.) The commandments which follow were based upon the foregoing event. The command to the priests not to uncover their heads or tear their clothes (both signs of mourning) was based upon the fact that their clothes and head-dress formed part of their official costume, and therefore, by laying aside or tearing them, their priestly vocation and character would be affected. As the heads of the priests had been anointed with holy oil, the uncovering of the head, which was required by custom in times of mourning (Lev. xiii. 45), would have been an act of profanation. But whilst it cannot be denied, that there was a connection between the prohibition to partake of strong drink before entering the sanctuary, and the event which had just occurred, it would be going too far to infer from this, that Nadab and Abihu committed the crime in a state of intoxication. "There is a connection, however," as *Baumgarten* says, "between the state of mind in which Nadab and Abihu forced their way into the sanctuary, and a state of intoxication, for it was an act of presumptuous audacity, which was altogether at variance with calmness and moderation;" and in the juxtaposition of the prohibition to drink wine and the command to abstain from the signs of mourning, it was distinctly intimated, as *O. von Gerlach* says, that "whilst nothing from without should depress the

priest, he was not to allow his senses to be taken away by unnatural excitement. His whole attention was to be fixed upon the sacred acts which he was commanded to perform.

CONTINUATION AND CONCLUSION OF THE SINAITIC LEGISLATION.

§ 19. (Lev. xi.-xxvii.)—After the priests had been consecrated and had entered upon their office, the theocratic legislation was still further continued, and several groups of laws were issued respecting Levitical impurity, marriage, festivals, etc. (1). In the midst of these laws (Lev. xxiv. 10-23) we find an account of the punishment of a blasphemer (2). A man whose father was an Egyptian, and whose mother was an Israelitish woman, named Shelomith, of the tribe of Dan, quarrelled with an Israelite; and whilst they were contending, the former cursed the name of Jehovah. The witnesses of the crime brought the guilty man to Moses, who detained him in custody till he had learned the will of Jehovah with regard to this extraordinary occurrence. Eventually, the blasphemer was led out of the camp in accordance with the Divine command; and after the witnesses had laid their hands upon his head, he was stoned by the whole congregation (4). The anniversary of the Exodus from Egypt occurred at this period, and was celebrated in the manner already prescribed, namely, by the feast of the passover (Ex. xii.). This was the first passover which was kept in commemoration of the redemption of Israel (Num. ix. 1-3).

(1.) The Sinaitic legislation, regarded as a whole, terminates with the promises and threats contained in chap. xxvi., and is closed by the formula in chap. xxvi. 46. But as the law, throughout, bears unmistakeable proofs of having been delivered at successive periods, since it is not arranged systematically, but consists of smaller or larger groups of commandments related to one another, and arranged according to the requirements of the time or of peculiar circumstances, there is nothing to occasion surprise in the fact that, notwithstanding this termination, from

some cause which it was not thought worth while to mention, a further *supplement* was necessary, even during the stay of the Israelites at Sinai. Such, for example, are the legal provisions contained in chap. xxvii., with regard to the performance of voluntary vows. Hence we find the same formula in ver. 34 of this chapter as in chap. xxvi. 46: "These are the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in Mount Sinai." There is also a proof of the supplementary character of the chapter in the contents themselves, seeing that it merely includes "the free movements of the spirit beyond the limits of the law," in the order of things with which God is well pleased.

(2.) *Bertheau* (Sieben Gruppen, p. 220 sqq.) has attacked the book, on the ground that nothing but misapprehension and the want of skill could have led the author to introduce *the account of the blasphemer*, and, in fact, the whole of the 24th chapter, in so unsuitable a place. But the absolute impossibility of finding even the most remote connection between the laws and narrative contained in chap. xxiv. and the context on either side, or of tracing any progress of thought from one to the other, is the very thing which compels us to seek the reason for this arrangement in the historical order of events alone, and to regard the introduction of chap. xxiv. (ver. 1-9: laws relating to the candlestick and the table of shew-bread; ver. 10-23: account of the blasphemer, and laws to which the occurrence gave rise) between chap. xxiii., which contains laws concerning the festivals, and chap. xxv., which relates to the Sabbath year and year of jubilee, as occasioned by purely historical circumstances. The writer thought it worth while to notice the incident which gave rise to the laws in vers. 15-22, but we are not informed what it was that occasioned the laws relating to the oil of the candlestick and the shew-bread;—probably because there was nothing in the circumstances that seemed likely to interest the future reader.

(3.) The repetition of the statement, that the blasphemer was the son of an EGYPTIAN father and an Israelitish mother, shows clearly the design of the author to direct attention to the dangers incident to such mixed marriages as these. He leaves us in ignorance as to the inducement to take the name of God in vain. It is probable that the adversary of the half-Israelite

had charged the latter with his Egyptian descent as a disgrace, adding, it may be, that he had no part in the God of Israel and the covenant with Him; and if this were the case, the latter might easily have been carried away by his passion to speak contemptuously of Jehovah, especially if his birth on the father's side had not been without its effect upon the state of his heart in relation to the highest blessings enjoyed by Israel.—We have already observed (vol. ii. § 20, 6) that it was from this passage that the Rabbins derived their prohibition even to utter the name of Jehovah.

(4.) The proper place for treating more minutely of the IMPOSITION OF HANDS will be in connection with the laws of sacrifice, which will come under our notice by and by. At present, therefore, we shall say no more than is necessary to enable us to understand this particular occurrence.—A precisely analogous instance of the imposition of hands we find in the History of Susannah, ver. 34. From this it is evident that the custom was, or became, a very general one in such cases as these.—*Bähr* (*Symbolik* ii. 342) regards it as, on the one hand, “an intimation of the relation in which the hearers stood to the blasphemer, and on the other, a sign of his being given up, or consecrated to death.” There is truth undoubtedly in the former, though it ought to have been more fully explained and demonstrated. But we are at a loss to perceive in what way the imposition of hands could have denoted dedication to death. *Hofmann* has overlooked this passage in his discussion of the general meaning of the practice (*Schriftbeweis* ii. 1, p. 155 seq.). At the proper place I intend to show, that his explanation of this symbolical act is no more applicable to the case before us, than to the custom of laying hands upon the head of the sacrificial victim. With reference to the latter, he says, “The meaning of the act is this: he shows that he intends to make use of his power over the life of the animal, and therefore puts it to death as a payment to God.” I still hold essentially the same opinion as I have expressed in my *Mosaïches Opfer*, with which *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 280) also agrees. I may be allowed to quote his successful explanation: “According to the sentence of Jehovah,” he says, “the whole congregation was to be regarded as participating in the crime of the individual, because every one was a living member of the whole. For this

reason the punishment was committed to the whole congregation. By this punishment, for example, the congregation was to give back to the criminal its share of the guilt, and, having led him out of the camp and put him to death, to wipe off the sin from Israel. That this was the light in which the punishment was viewed is especially apparent, from the fact that the witnesses who heard the blasphemy, and therefore were more immediately concerned than the rest of the congregation (Lev. v. 1), were required to lay their hands upon the head of the sinner, and thus, by their own act and deed, to cast off the guilt which they had involuntarily contracted, and transfer it to the head of the sinner. In this way the outward punishment became a moral act, performed by the whole congregation, and entered into such an inward relation to the crime, that it could really be regarded as an extermination of the sin." In other cases, the elders stood in the breach, as the actual representatives of the congregation. But in circumstances such as the present, it is easy to see why this representation, which would otherwise be so perfectly natural, should be set aside. A sin of this description, whose destructive character was such that it violated or set at nought the very foundation of the entire theocratical commonwealth, involved the whole congregation in the guilt of the criminal with whom it was vitally connected; until, indeed, the sin itself, which proceeded from within itself and infected the whole body, had been rendered nugatory and entirely removed by the destruction of the sinner who was the source of the infection. For all infection, which from its very nature is communicated, and not spontaneous, becomes spontaneous; in other words, assumes the character of participation in guilt, whenever it is tolerated, instead of being most strenuously resisted. But the eye and ear-witnesses are the most directly and most deeply involved in this infection, and the guilt to which it leads; and, therefore, the duty of resistance is primarily and principally binding upon them, and it is they who have to stand in the breach on such an occasion as representatives of the whole congregation. By laying their hands upon the head of the sinner, then, they give back the infection which they have received, to the man from whom it first proceeded. Henceforth he alone has to bear the entire sin, and this is expiated by his death.

The mode of execution which was here employed, namely, that of *stoning*, was one of great importance, seeing that this was the only mode of capital punishment, in which the whole nation could participate in the execution of the sentence.

PREPARATIONS FOR LEAVING SINAI.

§ 20. (Num. i.–vi.)—The design of the encampment at Sinai was now fulfilled. The covenant was concluded ; the law had been given ; the sanctuary was erected ; the priests were consecrated ; the worship had been arranged ; and Jehovah dwelt in the midst of His chosen people. It was now time to think of departing, in order that the purpose to which the Israelites had been set apart might be accomplished. The immediate object was to take possession of the promised land. But this could not be done in a peaceable manner, for Canaan was inhabited by powerful and warlike tribes (Ex. xxiii. 23, xxxiv. 11). It must be conquered, therefore; and the conquest of the land was to be connected with the extermination of the inhabitants, for the iniquity of the Amorites was now full (Gen. xv. 16). They had become ripe for judgment, and Israel was to execute it in the name and by the command of Jehovah. It was necessary, therefore, that the Israelites should be organised as an army of Jehovah. To this end a census was taken of those who were fit for war, viz., all the men of twenty years old and upward. The tribe of Levi alone was omitted. For this tribe, which had changed the curse of the patriarch Jacob into a blessing, through its zeal for the honour of God (§ 13, 8), was to be set apart from the rest of the tribes, and spend its life in the service of the sanctuary. Through this separation of an entire tribe, the significant number, twelve, which had been disturbed by the adoption of Joseph's sons (Gen. xlviii.), was once more restored. As the numbering of the tribes was so closely related to the vocation of Israel, it was carried out with fitting pomp and ceremony. Moses and Aaron performed the task themselves, attended by one of the princes from each of the twelve tribes. The result of

the census was the following:—*Reuben*, 46,500; *Simeon*, 59,300; *Gad*, 46,650; *Judah*, 74,600; *Issachar*, 54,400; *Zebulun*, 57,400; *Ephraim*, 40,500; *Manasseh*, 32,200; *Benjamin*, 35,400; *Dan*, 62,700; *Asher*, 41,500; and *Naphtali*, 53,400: in all, 603,550 fighting men (1). Judah was the strongest and most numerous, therefore, of all the tribes. This was to be regarded as the first-fruits of the blessing which the patriarch had pronounced upon the founder of this tribe (Gen. xlix. 8–12); and in accordance with the prophecy, Judah was placed at the head of all the tribes, and the prince of the tribe of Judah, named Nahshon (Nacheshon), was the first of all the princes of Israel.

After this the *Levites* also were numbered. In this tribe there were in all 22,000 males, including the boys of a month old and upwards, and 8580 between thirty and fifty years of age, the period of service (2). Further arrangements were now made, for the purpose of carrying out the instructions already given with reference to the sanctification of all the first-born (vol. ii. § 35, 5). The Levites were to take the place of the first-born of all the tribes,—to be set apart to the service of the sanctuary, as the Lord's own; and their cattle was to be substituted for the first-born of the cattle of the whole congregation. But when the first-born of the whole congregation had been counted, they numbered 22,273. To equalise the two, it was determined that the 273, the number by which the first-born exceeded the Levites, should be redeemed at five shekels each, and the redemption money paid over to the priests (3). As the whole community was to be organised as an army of Jehovah, it was necessary that the order of march and of encampment should be precisely determined. The tabernacle was to stand in the midst of the camp, that the dwelling-place of Jehovah might be literally in the midst of the people. Next to the tabernacle stood the tents of the tribe of *Levi*: those of Moses, and Aaron, and the priests, the sons of the latter, on the east side, immediately before the entrance to the sanctuary; those of the family of the *Kohathites* to the south; those of the *Gershonites* on the west;

and those of the *Merarites* on the north. Three tribes were then stationed on each of the four sides. The principal tribe of the three occupied the centre, and had a banner which was common to all the three. *Judah* was encamped on the front or east side, along with *Issachar* and *Zebulon*; *Reuben* on the south, with *Simeon* and *Gad*; *Ephraim* on the west, with *Manasseh* and *Benjamin*; and *Dan* on the north, with *Asher* and *Naphtali* (4). The order of *march* was to be similar to this (5). *Judah's* banner led the way; then followed *Reuben*; after this the *Levites* with the tent; *Ephraim* came next; and *Dan* brought up the rear (6). These arrangements were accompanied by a series of laws (chaps v. and vi.), which principally related to the preservation of the holiness of the camp by the removal of material and spiritual impurities (7).

(1.) There is something striking in the fact, that the *census* which was taken now, gave precisely the same result as the poll-tax, which was levied at the commencement of the erection of the tabernacle about half-a-year before (Ex. xxxviii. 24-28, compare § 16). *J. D. Michaelis*, in his *Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte*, solves the difficulty in the following manner: In Ex. xxxviii., he says, there is no account of an actual numbering, but every one who was more than twenty years old paid his tax, and was registered accordingly. But on the present occasion Moses received instructions to arrange the lists and sum them up (chap. i., ii.). The names had been given in before, though the actual counting took place now; and therefore Moses did not hesitate, when recording the account of the tax, to insert what were afterwards found to be the actual numbers.—But there is no intimation whatever of the names being registered when the tax was levied, and in itself it does not appear to be at all a probable thing. If the numbers in both instances are founded upon one and the same census, which we also regard as probably the case, we must look for the census in question, not to Ex. xxxviii., but to Num. i. We are shut up to this by the solemnity and formality with which the census in Num. i. was commanded, organised, and carried out. In Ex. xxxviii. we have simply the raising of a tax, and no numbering at all. And as the increase or decrease in the number of the people must

have been very trifling in the brief space of six or seven months, the result might be employed without hesitation in giving the amount which the poll-tax yielded.

We are also struck with the fact, that the amount is given in round hundreds in the case of every tribe excepting Gad, and that in this instance the fifty is inserted. The thought is hereby suggested, that the numbers were taken by tens, if not by fifties. The judicial classification proposed by Jethro (Ex. xviii. 21) was probably taken as the basis; and if so, it would be only in the case of the chiefs that the numbers would be carried beyond fifty. In any case, we prefer the conjecture that there was some such want of precision as this, to the notion expressed by *Baumgarten*, who regards the fact, that in the case of every tribe the result yielded such round numbers as these, as a proof of the special providence of God. In his opinion, since the supposition of any such inaccuracy as this is incompatible with the care and completeness which are apparent throughout, and as it could not possibly apply to the case of the Levites, whose numbers must of necessity be given with precision, "it must be acknowledged that in this natural harmony (*Concinnität*) in the numbers of the Israelites, we have the evident seal of the care with which the increase of the nation was superintended by Jehovah."

(2.) The numbers contained in the various families into which the Levites were divided were as follows:—In the family of *Kohath* there were, in all, 8600 males, of whom 2750 were fit for service; in that of *Gershon* 7500 males, with 2630 fit for service; and in that of *Merari* 6200 males, of whom 3200 were fit for service. If we add these figures together, we shall find that they amount to 22,300, whereas, according to chap. iii. 39, there were not more than 22,000. The simplest solution of the difficulty is to assume that, through the fault of a copyist, an error has crept into one of the numbers. *J. D. Michaelis* (*Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte*) is of opinion that there is an error in the number of the Kohathites in ver. 28; that the original letters were $\psi\psi$ instead of $\psi\psi$; and therefore that the Kohathites numbered not 8600, but 8300. A still more natural explanation is, that the error was caused by some change in the numeral letters, such, for example, as the substitution of $\beth = 600$ for $\psi = 300$, or of $\gamma = 500$ for $\gamma = 200$, or, again, of $\iota = 6$ for $\beth = 3$. The careful and valuable investigations of *Reinke* into

the statement of numbers in the Old Testament (in his *Beiträgen zur Erklärung des Alten Testaments*, Münster, 1851), has shown still more convincingly that changes of this kind in the numeral letters, both in the text of the Old Testament and also in the ancient versions, have given rise to a considerable number of errors.

The favourite solution with most of the Rabbins and many modern writers, *viz.*, that the three hundred deducted were the first-born, and therefore could not be reckoned with the rest, is inadmissible. For if the first-born were not to be counted along with the rest, the rule would apply to the particular amounts as well as to the sum total. *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 263) endeavours to commend this hypothesis still further, by the remark that "the silent omission of the 300 first-born was intended in this particular instance to conceal the fact, that there were limits to the assumed holiness of Levi, which were manifested in the inability to redeem Israel, in order that the relation between Levi and Israel might not be disturbed." But such a procedure as this would have produced the very opposite result from that which was designed; for the omission of the first-born from the sum total, whilst they were included in the smaller amounts, would have brought to light the very thing which it was desired to conceal.—Moreover, the disproportion is too great between 300 first-born and the entire number, 22,300; this would give only *one* first-born to *seventy-four* males.

If we compare the number of the tribe of Levi with that of the other tribes, we find a very striking disproportion here. In Manasseh, the smallest of all the tribes, there were 32,200 males above twenty years of age. The entire number of the males contained in this tribe must have amounted, therefore, to about 50,000; whereas in Levi there were not more than 22,000. We accept this as a simple fact, without looking further for the historical causes or design. *Baumgarten's* remark, that "the importance of this tribe rested upon that which was within, and not upon anything outward," really explains nothing. We should be rather inclined to think of the curse in Gen. xlix., were it not that this was altogether precluded by the population of Simeon, on which the same curse had been pronounced.

(3.) It had been already commanded (Ex. xiii.), that all the first-born both of men and cattle should be consecrated to Jehovah.

From the night in which the destroying angel of Jehovah had passed over the houses of the Israelites, all the first-born of men and cattle had been holy to the Lord, and His peculiar property (Num. iii. 12, 13). The former could only become *sui juris*, and the latter the disposable property of their possessors, after Jehovah had appointed a redemption, and the redemption had been paid. This was what took place on the present occasion (ver. 45). In the place of the first-born of men, God chose the Levites, and in the place of the first-born of cattle, the cattle of the Levites. Aaron and his sons did not belong to the Levites; for they had already been separated from their tribe and consecrated to the priesthood. In fact, the Levites were now given to them for a possession, to be their servants in the tabernacle (Num. iii. 6-9, and viii. 19). It is very evident from this that the sanctification of the first-born commanded in Ex. xiii. had nothing whatever to do with the priesthood (vol. ii., § 35, 5). The Levites were not priests, but the property of the priests; and the priests were not appointed in the place of the first-born, but in the stead of the whole nation, which was called, according to Ex. xix. 6, to be a kingdom of priests, but did not feel itself to be ripe and thoroughly qualified (Ex. xx. 19).—In the substitution of the cattle of the Levites for the first-born cattle of the whole congregation, it was not required that the numbers on either side should exactly correspond. But this *was* required in the substitution of the Levites for the first-born sons. The excess of 273, therefore, on the side of the latter, had to be redeemed by the payment of five shekels each, which were handed over to the priests in the sanctuary (ver. 50). But it was not merely the first-born then living who were to be holy to the Lord; all that should be afterwards born were to be the same. Hence the obligation to redeem the first-born continued even after the substitution of the Levites. The necessary instructions with reference to these are given in Num. xviii. 14-18.

It may appear strange, that in a nation containing 603,550 fighting men, there should be only 22,273 first-born. For if there were 600,000 males of twenty years old and upwards, the whole number of males may be estimated at 900,000 at least; in which case there would be only *one* first-born to *forty-two* males. At the first glance this appears thoroughly incredible; for the conclusion to which it seems to lead is, that the number

of boys in every family must have been, on an average, forty-two. *J. D. Michaelis* (*Mosaisches Recht* ii., § 94) adheres firmly to this, and endeavours to account for it from the prevalence of polygamy among the Israelites!!! But even if we could make up our minds to believe anything so incredible, the difficulty would not be removed; for it is beyond all question that it is not the first-begotten of the fathers, but the first-born of the mothers, who are referred to here (chap. iii. 12). In this case, the existence of polygamy, as may easily be conceived, would only serve to render the difficulty perfectly colossal.—We must inquire, therefore, whether there are no other means of explaining the fact, that on an average there was only one first-born to forty-two males. There are plenty. The *first* is the rarity of polygamy, which lessened the proportion of the first-born. A *second*, the large number of children to whom the Israelitish mothers gave birth. Again, the constantly recurring expression, “Every first-born that openeth the womb,” which we find even in Num. iii. 12, warrants the conclusion that the first-born of the father was not reckoned, unless it was at the same time the first-born of the mother, and also to the still more important assumption, that if the first-born was a daughter, any son that might be born afterwards would not be reckoned at all. Now, statistical tables show that the first-born is more frequently a female than a male.—*Lastly*, such of the first-born, as were themselves heads of families, were not reckoned at all as first-born who had to be redeemed, but only their first-born sons. If we carry out the last argument, and bear in mind the early age at which marriage is usually contracted in the East, we shall have to seek the first-born exclusively among those who were under fifteen or sixteen years of age. In this case, the proportion is essentially altered. With a population of 600,000 men above twenty years of age, we may assume that there would be 200,000 under fifteen; if so, the number of the first-born (22,273), in proportion to the whole number of males, would be one in nine. But for the reason mentioned under No. 3, this ratio must be reduced by a half; and the average number of children in a family would be nine, of whom four or five would be sons,—by no means an extravagant number, when we consider how prolific the Hebrew women were.—*M. Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 264) has suggested a totally different and very

peculiar method of solving the difficulty. In his opinion, we are warranted in inferring from Lev. xxvii. 6, that in this instance only such of the first-born were counted, as had been born within the last six years. The passage referred to determines the redemption fee, to be paid by those who have made voluntary personal vows; and the sum to be paid for a boy from a month to five years old is the same as that required here in the case of all the first-born, viz., five shekels, whereas a man between twenty and sixty years old was required to pay fifty shekels. But the command in Num. iii. 40 ran thus: "Number all the first-born of the males *from a month old and upward.*" If there had been any age, then, beyond which the numbering was not to go, it would undoubtedly have been mentioned here. But there is nothing of the kind. And on what could an arbitrary and unmeaning limitation of this kind possibly be founded? The argument adduced by *Baumgarten* in support of his view, namely, that all the first-born of the Israelites who partook of the passover in Egypt had been already redeemed by so doing, has no foundation in anything contained in the Bible. And if this were the case, why should not the boys of three or four years old have eaten of the passover, and thus have been already redeemed?

The reason why the numbering was to commence with the boys of a *month* old is to be found in the fact that, according to the directions contained in the law, the redemption was to take place at the end of the second month.

(4.) In the plan of the camp, care was taken that two things should be secured—first, that the dwelling-place of Jehovah should be as nearly as possible in the *centre* of the camp, and secondly, that the tribes should form themselves into a *square*, the priests and Levites being nearest to the tabernacle, and the others surrounding them. There was evidently a symbolical meaning in both cases. The former represented the presence of Jehovah in the midst of His people; the latter, by pointing to the four quarters of the heavens, as well as from its quadrate form, exhibited the camp as a microcosm. Of course, a perfect square could not be secured in every place of encampment; the nature of the ground would frequently render this impossible. In such cases, all that could be done was to come as near to the plan laid down as the ground would allow.

It was only upon a broad level that the form enjoined could be fully secured.

(5.) When the camp was broken up, the work of the *priests* was to wrap up the furniture of the sanctuary carefully in cloths, and prepare them for being carried away,—a task which they alone could perform, seeing that no one else was allowed to enter the tabernacle, or to look upon the things contained therein. The family of the *Kohathites*, to which Moses and Aaron belonged, and of which Eleazar, the son of Aaron, had been appointed prince, was the most holy; and to his family, therefore, was allotted the duty of bearing upon their shoulders the sacred vessels of the sanctuary. The *Gershonites* attended to the furniture, the curtains, the covering, the carpets, and so forth; and the *Merarites* to the boards, the bolts, and the pillars (compare § 24, 1).

(6.) According to Num. ii. 17 and x. 21, the dwelling-place and its furniture were carried by the Kohathites in the midst of the procession. But it is evident from Num. x. 33 (compare Josh. iii. 3–6), that the *ark of the covenant* was separated from the sanctuary, and carried at the head of the entire procession. This was occasioned by the connection between the ark of the covenant and the pillar of cloud and fire. The lid of the ark, the *Capporeth*, was the throne of Jehovah, who was represented by the pillar of cloud. But the latter went in front as the leader and guide; and this determined the place of the ark.

(7.) On the position of the commands contained in Num. v., vi. see *Ranke's Untersuchungen*, iii. 138 sqq.

§ 21. (Num. vii., viii.)—The princes of the tribes then brought their offerings for the sanctuary, viz., every man an ox; a carriage for every two, to carry the sanctuary on the march that was before them; every man a silver dish worth 130 shekels, and a silver bowl worth 70 shekels, for the altar of burnt-offering, both full of flour mingled with oil for a meat-offering; a golden cup, weighing ten shekels, full of incense; and, lastly, an ox, a ram, and a lamb for a burnt-offering, a goat for a sin-offering, also two bullocks, five he-goats, five rams, and five lambs for a thank-offering. They all brought their offerings on separate days. Nahesson, the prince of the tribe of Judah,

was the first in the series (1). They were free-will offerings, by which the princes of the community displayed their zeal for the dwelling-place of Jehovah, and also, as the representatives of the congregation, consecrated the place, which had already been consecrated by Moses and Aaron as the representatives of God. With this was connected the appointment of the Levites to the service of the sanctuary in place of the whole congregation (§ 20, 3). To this end the Levites were ordered to shave their whole body, to wash their clothes, and to offer sacrifices as their atonement. The elders then laid their hands upon them, as a sign that they were given to the sanctuary as substitutes for the congregation, and they were "waved" before Jehovah, probably in the fore-court of the sanctuary; that is to say, they were conducted backwards and forwards to the four quarters of the heavens, to show that they belonged to the place, to the service of which their life was to be henceforward entirely dedicated (2).

(1). The word *בַּיּוֹם* (*on the day*) in vers. 1 and 10, has led critics to the conclusion that the tenth chapter of Numbers is not in its proper place, but should stand immediately after the account of the erection and dedication of the sanctuary, which we find in Ex. xl. 16. On this *Ranke* observes (ii. 146): "This would be very unfortunate in the case of a section which presents so fine a view of the Sinaitic history. After such extraordinary acts on the part of Jehovah, which might almost all be immediately recognised as acts of mercy, it would naturally be expected that there should be some mark of grateful acknowledgment and cheerful submission on the part of the people. It had been to a very great extent with free-will offerings that the sanctuary had been erected. But what progress the revelation of God had made since then! It affords a peculiar satisfaction to witness in the present section the abundance of the gifts presented to the sanctuary by the whole of the princes of the tribes. For twelve days in succession the princes brought, each on his own appointed day, gifts and sacrifices, and in every case precisely the same; as if each tribe was desirous of showing that it had the same part in the sanctuary as all the rest. By being recorded in the book of the law, these gifts became at the same

time an encouragement to subsequent generations, to imitate the fathers in rendering voluntary service to the house of Jehovah."—At an earlier period, no doubt, the congregation had brought their voluntary offerings in great abundance for erecting and furnishing the dwelling-place of Jehovah (§ 16), but they had done this in consequence of the appeal of Moses and the command of Jehovah (Ex. xxv. 2, xxxv. 5); and even if no one was compelled to contribute, the voluntary character of the offering was still affected by the appeal. But after such displays of mercy on the part of Jehovah, we certainly look for an expression of gratitude in the shape of a perfectly voluntary offering, for which no appeals or instructions were necessary, but which would be the simple impulse of the heart of the giver. We are not deceived in our expectation. This was done by the princes of the congregation. That the expression of gratitude was in its proper place is a fact which no one can deny. It would never have occurred to them to offer carriages and beasts of burden, had it not been for their anticipated departure. And even the twelve days' sacrifices, and gifts for the consecration of the altar, were in their proper place here. On any previous occasion such an offering as this would have been regarded as an officious and reprehensible work of supererogation. So long as Jehovah was issuing instructions and commands respecting the erection of the sanctuary, and the worship to be performed within it, it would have been an act of unseemly haste and forwardness for them to anticipate His instructions by any act of their own.—So far as the expression בְּיָדָם is concerned, there is not much force in the argument which has been based upon it; for the very fact that twelve entire days were so occupied, is a proof that the expression cannot be taken literally. We can subscribe to *Baumgarten's* opinion, therefore, when he says: "The relation in which בְּיָדָם stands to the account which follows is this: in its inner ground the offering originated in the day of the dedication (by Moses), inasmuch as the sanctuary, when consecrated and filled with the glory of Jehovah, had given pleasure to the Israelites, and excited a disposition to do it honour." With regard to the consecration on the part of the nation, as well as on the part of God, the same commentator writes: "The first consecration which the altar received, when it was anointed by Moses, excited a desire on the part of Israel

to consecrate the place, and the thought was carried into execution as soon as the congregation was organised into a camp of God." The laudable self-restraint and modesty, which we pointed out in the fact that the princes waited for all the instructions of Jehovah with regard to the sanctuary to be completed before they brought their gifts, is apparent also in a manner equally worthy of recognition, in the fact that they confined themselves altogether to a consecration of the altar of burnt-offering, and did not presume to consecrate the furniture of the inner sanctuary, the latter belonging exclusively to the priestly worship, whereas the former was the place where every member of the congregation could offer his gifts to Jehovah.

The six carriages with the twelve oxen were naturally assigned to the Levites, since they were intended for the conveyance of the sanctuary, and were allotted to them according to the service which they had to perform. The Kohathites received none, therefore, because the articles which they had to remove were required to be carried upon their shoulders, on account of their superior holiness. The Gershonites received two wagons and four oxen; and the Merarites, who had to convey the heaviest and most bulky of the articles, received four wagons and eight oxen (compare § 20, 5).

(2.) We shall enter more minutely into the ceremonies that were performed in connection with the substitution and dedication of the Levites, in our systematic treatment of the general question of the worship of God.—On the injunctions contained in Num. viii. 1–4, see *Ranke*, ii. 153 sqq.—Also with regard to the apparent discrepancy between Num. viii. 24 sqq. and Num. iv. 3, from the one of which the Levitical age of service appears to have been between twenty-five and fifty years of age, and from the other between thirty and fifty, I must refer the reader to a later portion of this work. In the meantime see *Ranke*, *Untersuchungen*, ii. 158 sqq.; *Hengstenberg*, *Pentateuch*, ii. 321 sqq.; and *Keil*, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung*, p. 91.

§ 22. (Num. ix. 1–x. 10.)—In the midst of these proceedings, the anniversary of the departure from Egypt arrived. In accordance with the instructions of Moses, therefore, the congregation celebrated, for the first time, the memorial festival

of the passover, in the manner prescribed by the law (1). But there were certain men in the congregation, who, just at this time, had been defiled by the dead body of a man, and were, therefore, disqualified for partaking of the paschal lamb; and they complained bitterly to Moses that they should be excluded when they had not been to blame. This circumstance furnished the occasion for a legal provision, that any who might be prevented from taking part in the regular passover, by causes which left them free from blame, should be allowed to keep a supplementary feast on the fourteenth day of the *second* month.—Lastly, we have an account of the signals which were to regulate the march through the desert (2).

(1.) It is by no means an easy matter to picture to one's mind the *plan* pursued, in the celebration of this the first memorial-feast of the passover. The difficulty arises from the *small number of priests who could be employed*. There were only three left after the death of Nadab and Abihu, namely, Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar. Now, if we assume that all the lambs were slain at the sanctuary, according to the injunction contained in Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6 (*cf.* Ex. xxiii. 17), and consider further that but a very few hours were set apart for the slaughter of the lambs (vol. ii., § 34, 3), whilst, according to the laws of sacrifice which were then in force, the sprinkling of the blood was, at all events, to be performed by the priests, it might be thought that the number of priests whose services could be obtained would hardly suffice for the work to be done. For if we suppose the people to have numbered about two million souls, and reckon, on an average, one lamb to every fifteen or twenty persons (the proportion laid down in Ex. xii. 4), there must have been from a hundred thousand to a hundred and forty thousand lambs slain, and the blood sprinkled on the altar,—a process for which neither the time allowed, nor the number of the priests, can by any possibility have sufficed.—But are we justified in making such an assumption? It is nowhere stated that, on the occasion of this first festival in commemoration of the Exodus, the lambs were slaughtered at the sanctuary, or that their blood either was, or was to be, sprinkled upon the

altar ; nor is there any notice of the services of the priests being required. But does this silence give us a right altogether to deny that the work in question was performed by the priests ? In Ex. xxiii. 17 it is commanded, that at the annual feast of the passover, all the men in Israel are to appear before the *face* of Jehovah. In Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6, it is expressly forbidden to slay the paschal lambs anywhere else, than at “the *place*, which the Lord shall choose to place His name there.” And according to 2 Chr. xxx. 16, and xxxv. 11 (though it is nowhere expressly commanded in the Pentateuch), the blood of all the paschal lambs was sprinkled on the altar by the *priests*. At the same time, there is certainly good ground for questioning, whether the same course was adopted in all respects in connection with the passover at Sinai. Ex. xxiii. 17, and Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6, relate particularly to the time, when the Israelites *would be* scattered in the various cities of the promised land, and far removed from the sanctuary ; and the passages in the Chronicles refer to the reigns of the last kings, just before the destruction of the kingdom of Judah. These facts might lead us to suppose that the slaughter of the lambs did not take place at the sanctuary till after the Israelites had taken possession of the Holy Land ; and the sprinkling of the blood on the part of the priests was probably first introduced at a still later period. To such a supposition, however, there are by no means unimportant objections. For if the slaughter of the lambs was to take place at the sanctuary in the time of Joshua, it is difficult to see why this should not also have been the case in the time of Moses, seeing that the tabernacle was already erected, and the services in connection with it were regularly performed ; and if the slaughter of the lamb was necessarily associated with the sanctuary, the sprinkling of the blood appears to have been associated with it as a matter of course, for this alone could give significance to all the rest (and, according to all analogy, it must be done by priestly hands).

Let us look again, however, and a little more closely, at the 16th chapter of Deuteronomy. We have been led away by recent custom, and in what we have already written, have interpreted it as commanding the paschal lamb to be slain in the forecourt of the tabernacle. But there is not a word to that effect. The passage is worded thus : “Thou mayest not sacri-

fice the passover *in one of thy cities*, which Jehovah will give thee; but *at the place* which Jehovah shall choose to place His name in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even." This place is *not* the tabernacle, nor the forecourt of the tabernacle, but the city (or the camp) in the midst of which the tabernacle was erected. The pilgrimage to this place, which is here enjoined, was required by the distance of the cities of the land in which Israel dwelt. By means of this pilgrimage on the part of all the Israelitish men to the city of the sanctuary, the same state of things, which existed when all Israel lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the sanctuary, was to be restored at least three times a-year. Hence it was no violation of the precept in Deut xvi., if every family killed its own lamb in its own house or tent; for, even in this case, the lamb was slain *at the sanctuary*, seeing that the camp, which surrounded the tabernacle on all sides in the same manner as the forecourt (though with a much wider circumference), or the city in the midst of which the tabernacle was erected, was, as it were, a second and larger forecourt, which was also holy, though not in the same degree. It was commanded, it must be remembered, that everything unclean should be removed from the camp.—The large number of lambs to be slain, imperatively demanded that this second and more extensive forecourt should be provided for the slaughter of the paschal lambs; for how could more than a hundred thousand lambs by any possibility be killed in a short space of time within an area of about 4600 square yards, which was the utmost extent of the actual forecourt? We are brought to the conclusion, therefore, that the Mosaic law permitted the lambs to be killed in private houses, provided the houses were within the camp or city, in which the tabernacle was erected. The circumstance which first led to this ceased after the erection of the temple; as the forecourt was then of an incomparably greater extent, and the custom of slaying all the lambs at the temple, which we meet with in 2 Chr. xxx. and xxxv., may have been introduced as soon as the temple was built.

A far greater difficulty presents itself in the supposed sprinkling of the blood by the priests. But what were the actual facts of the case?—When the tabernacle was first instituted, it was commanded that the blood of the lambs should be

smear'd on the door-posts of the respective houses (Ex. xii. 7). This command is nowhere expressly revoked or changed. We are of opinion, nevertheless, that the altered circumstances led, as a matter of course, after the erection of the sanctuary, to the sprinkling of the blood on the altar, in the place of smearing it upon the door-posts; and the book of Chronicles shows that this actually was the custom. But the exceptional character of the passover warrants the assumption, that on every occasion, just as on the first celebration, the sprinkling of the blood might be performed by the head of the household himself. If this had not been the case, we should most likely have found some intimation in the passage before us (Num. ix.) of the co-operation of the priests. We are warranted, therefore, in adopting the conclusion, to which many other circumstances point, that on the celebration of the passover the priestly vocation which, according to Ex. xix. 6, originally belonged to all the Israelites, retained its validity as an exceptional case, *for the purpose of keeping in mind the calling* which they had voluntarily declined from a consciousness of their weakness (Ex. xx. 19), the realisation of which was merely postponed, and not suspended altogether, and to the full possession of which they would certainly eventually attain. The outward warrant for the discharge of this exceptional priestly function, on the occasion of the passover, might possibly be found in the fact that the words of Ex. xx. 19 had not been spoken,—that is to say, the suspension of the priestly calling had not been solicited, or granted, at the time when the passover was first instituted.—It is true that the passages already quoted from the Chronicles prove that, at a later period, it was the custom for the blood to be sprinkled by the priests, even on the occasion of the passover; but this may have been one of the very numerous modifications which were introduced into the worship, in consequence of the erection of the temple.

(2.) The *signals* which regulated the breaking up of the camp, and the march itself, were of two kinds—namely, those which proceeded from Jehovah, and those which were given by Moses or the priests. The former were made by means of the different positions assumed by *the pillar of cloud and fire*. It had come down upon the sanctuary on the occasion of its consecration (Ex. xl. 34 sqq.). When it rose up from the tent, this

was the signal on the part of Jehovah that the camp was to be broken up; and whenever it came down upon any spot, the Israelites saw in this a sign that they were to encamp upon that spot. But as this signal only presented itself to the eye, and could therefore be easily overlooked by many, another signal was added by Moses or the priests, as the mediators between the Shechinali and the nation, which appealed to the ear as well. For this purpose Moses had provided, at the command of Jehovah, two silver trumpets (צֹנֹטֹת). When both trumpets were blown (תִּקַּע), this was a sign for the whole congregation (*i.e.*, probably all the elders) to assemble at the tabernacle. If only one was blown, it was a summons to the (twelve) princes of the congregation to come to the tabernacle. When a blast was blown with both the trumpets (תִּקַּע תְּרִיבָעָה), this was the signal for the whole congregation to break up the encampment. At the first blast, the tents on the eastern side were struck; at the second, those on the south side, and so forth (§ 20).

SECTION II.

ISRAEL IN THE DESERT OF PARAN.

VIDE *J. Rowland's* appendix to *G. Williams' "Holy City,"* p. 488 sqq.—*Fr. Tuch Bemerkungen zu Gen. xiv.,* in the "Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. i. Heft. ii., p. 160 sqq. (especially p. 169 sqq.)—*W. Fries,* "über die Lage von Kades und den hiemit zusammenhängenden Theil der Geschichte Israels in der Wüste:," in the "Theologische Studien und Kritiken," 1854, i. p. 50–90.—*Rabbi J. Schwarz* (of Jerusalem), "das heilige Land," Frankfort 1852, p. 347 sqq.—Also the works of *K. v. Raumer, Robinson, Laborde,* and *K. Ritter,* mentioned at the commencement of § 1. The last-named author has also published a small treatise in *Piper's "Evangelischer Kalender,"* 1854, p. 41–55, entitled "die Wandrung des Volkes Israel durch die Wüste zum Jordan."

GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

§ 23. The *borders of the biblical desert of Paran* correspond, on the whole, to the boundaries assigned by the modern Bedouins to the *desert of et-Tih* (vol. ii. § 12). It embraces the tract of desert between Egypt, Palestine, and the mountains of Seir, which is separated from the Sinaitic peninsula (in the strictest sense) by the border mountains of et-Tih. This broad, desert tract of table-land is completely surrounded by a fringe of desert on a lower level. The desert of Jifar (or Shur) divides it *on the west* from the Egyptian territory (§ 2, 5), *on the south-west* be-

yond the mountains of er-Rahah, from the Heroopolitan gulf, and *on the north-west* from the Mediterranean. *On the north* it is separated from the mountains of the Amorites, the southern slope of the table-land of Palestine, by the broad valley of Murreh (or the desert of Sin, § 26, 1). *On the east* it falls abruptly into the Arabah, which divides it from the mountains of the Edomites; and *on the south*, on the other side of the mountains of et-Tih, stretches the sandy desert-plain of er-Ranleh, out of which the promontories of the mountains of Serbal and Sinai immediately rise. The old Testament furnishes indisputable proofs that the desert of Paran was quite as extensive as this.

(1.) To *Tuch* belongs the merit of having been the first to throw light upon what is meant in the Old Testament by the *desert of Paran* (see his excellent treatise mentioned above).—Such was the nature of the desert between Egypt, Palestine, and Edom, that it could hardly fail to be regarded as one desert, and called by a common name. This was really the case, then, in ancient as well as modern times. That it was situated between Edom, Midian, and Egypt, is evident from 1 Kings xi. 18. A number of passages may be brought to show that on the north it touched the southern boundary of Palestine (*e.g.* Gen. xxi. 21, compare ver 14; Num. xiii. 4, 18, 27, etc.). That it reached as far as the Elanitic gulf on the south-east, is evident from Gen. xiv. 6, where Chedorlaomer is represented as marching through the mountains of Seir on the eastern side from north to south as far as El-Paran (אֶל-פָּרָאן), and then turning round and proceeding in a northerly direction along the western side of the mountains of Seir to Kadesh (on the southern borders of Palestine). This *El-Paran* (= Terebinth-grove of Paran), as *Tuch* has shown (p. 170), cannot be any other than the ancient *Elath* or *Aileh*, at the northern extremity of the Elanitic gulf to which it has given the name. Elath formed the actual gate of Arabia Petræa, and as such is distinguished here by the cognomen *Paran*. It is for this very reason that it is described as situated “at the entrance to the desert” (עַל-הַמְּדִבְרָה). The march of the Israelites from Sinai to the southern borders of Palestine, which brought them into the desert of Paran at the end of three

days (Num. x. 12, 33), though they were still in the desert of Paran when they had reached their destination (Num. xiii. 1, 4, 27), confirms the statement as to its extent from north to south. The mountains of et-Tih (which commence immediately at the western shores of the Elanitic gulf, with the promontory of Ras Um Haiyeh, and continue in an uninterrupted curve to the vicinity of the gulf of Suez), along with the mountain chain Jebel er-Rahah, which joins them here and runs parallel to the coast of that gulf, form the southern and south-western boundary of the desert of Paran; and this is rendered the more indisputable by the fact that the table-land enclosed by this mountain chain has just the same character throughout. The desert of et-Tih is certainly divided into two halves by the Jebel el-Oejmeh and the large Wady of el-Arish, which run directly across it from north to south; but that the western half was formerly regarded as belonging to the desert of Paran, just as it does now to that of et-Tih, is evident from the relation in which the desert of Paran stood to the desert of Shur and to Egypt (Gen. xvi. 14, xx. 1, xxi. 21, xxv. 18), as well as to the country of the Amalekites. It is obvious from Gen. xiv. 6, and Deut. i. 1, that the Arabah formed its eastern boundary.

(2.) Notwithstanding the fact that the desert of et-Tih is so completely shut in towards the south by the mountains of et-Tih, it is still questionable whether the ancient desert of Paran did not extend still further southwards, viz., to the promontories of Sinai and Serbal, so as to include the present desert of er-Ramleh. Two things might be adduced in support of this. First, the name of the Wady *Feiran*, which passes round the mountains of Serbal in a northerly direction (§ 5, 3). In this exceedingly fertile valley there are still to be seen the ruins of a city called *Pharan*, which was once a place of some importance. But in spite of the similarity in the names, with so clearly defined a natural boundary as the Jebel et-Tih, we are not at liberty to place the boundaries of the desert of Paran so far south as this; still less can we follow *Raumer* (*Zug der Israeliten*, p. 38), who supposes that two deserts of the same name occur in Scripture, the one on the one side and the other on the other side of the mountains of et-Tih. It should be mentioned, however, that he has retracted this opinion in the third edition of his *Geography of Palestine*.

(3.) The second argument which might be adduced to prove that the desert of Paran extended further towards the south, is founded upon Num. x. 12, "the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai, and the cloud descended in the desert of Paran." According to this, the first halting-place after leaving Sinai (the "place of burning," or "graves of lust"), which was reached in *three* days (Num. x. 33), was in the desert of Paran. But if we turn to Num. xii. 16 ("the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran"), the *third* station from Sinai appears to have been the first which was situated in the desert of Paran. *Tuch* (p. 177) reconciles the two statements in this way. He assigns them to two different authors, both of whom had the same point in their mind (namely, the northern boundary of the desert of Paran), but "the earlier of whom passed over a series of halting-places, whilst the later supplemented chap. xii. 16, and mentioned the fact that the Israelites reached Paran from Chazeroth by crossing the ridge of the mountain." *Ranke* (ii. 198 seq.) and *Hengstenberg* (Balaam) adopt the same view, except that they maintain the unity of authorship notwithstanding. "Before entering more minutely into the details of the march," says *Ranke*, "which he does from chap. x. 33 onwards, the author mentions at the very outset (chap. x. 12) the ultimate destination, viz., Paran on the borders of the promised land." *Hengstenberg* also writes to the same effect: "After the *terminus a quo* (Sinai) and the *terminus ad quem* (Paran) have been given, there follow the particulars of the march: the place of burning, the graves of lust, Chazeroth, and the desert of Paran." But this solution appears to us a forced one. The natural course of the narrative in chap. x. compels us to refer ver. 12 to the first place of encampment. The statement contained in ver. 12 is repeated in ver. 33, after a few parenthetical remarks, and carried out still further. We adhere, therefore, to the view already expressed, that, according to Num. x. 12, the first station was situated within the limits of the desert of Paran. Chapter x. 12 gives us the most southerly, and chap. xiii. 1 the most northerly station in that desert. In this case the desert of Paran must undoubtedly have extended farther towards the south, than the principal chain of the mountains of et-Tih. For, according to Deut. i. 2, the entire distance from Sinai to Kadesh (to which we are brought in Num. xiii. 1, compare ver. 27) was

eleven days' journey; and if we divide the road from Sinai to Kadesh (on the southern border of Canaan) into eleven equal parts, the end of the third day's journey (chap. x. 33) will fall at any rate to the south of the Jebel et-Tih. But this need not astonish us, for it is well known that, in addition to the principal chain of these mountains (which runs close up to the sea in the vicinity of Ras Um Haiyeh), there is a side branch towards the south, which not only bears the same name, et-Tih, but which also runs in a south-easterly direction, and approaches the sea-coast. The end of the third day's journey falls within the triangle formed by the two branches of the Jebel et-Tih and the coast (according to the measurement afforded by Deut. i. 2), and we have no hesitation in reckoning this triangle as a portion of the desert of Paran, on the ground of the passage before us (chap. x. 12), for the very same reason that the southern branch of the mountain range is still called Jebel et-Tih.

§ 24. The large tract of desert which, as we have seen, is called in the Old Testament by the common name of the *Desert of Paran*, slopes generally downwards in the direction from south to north, and rises from west to east, until it falls abruptly into the Arabah. In Deut. i. 19 it is most appropriately designated a "great and terrible desert." In general, it consists of table-land, on which bare limestone and sandstone rocks, dazzling chalk and red sand-hills, are almost the sole relief from the parched and barren tracts of sand, interspersed with gravel and black flint-stones. At the same time, so much water falls in the wadys during the rainy season, that a scanty supply of grass and herbs may be found for the support of passing herds. There are also a few wells and fountains with a constant supply of water. The desert is divided into two halves, an eastern and a western, by the *Wady el-Arish* (called in the Old Testament "brook of Egypt," by the Greeks, "Rhinokolura") which runs completely from north to south. Although there are several by no means inconsiderable mountains in the western half, it is distinguished from the eastern by a far greater regularity and flatness in the soil. We need not enter into any minute de-

scription of the western half, as the sojourn of the Israelites was confined exclusively to the eastern. In the latter a large mountain-range, the *Jebel el-Oejmeh*, branches off from the *Jebel et-Tih*, near to the mouth of the *Wady el-Arish*, and runs parallel to the latter. The southern portion of this eastern half (about two-thirds of the whole) has throughout a similar character to the western. It consists of barren, sandy table-land, the surface of which is broken by but a very small number of isolated mountains. Its slope towards the north-east is indicated by the large *Wady el-Jerâfeh*, which commences at the foot of the *Jebel et-Tih*, and runs in a north-easterly direction to the *Arabah*, where it opens into the *Wady el-Jib*, through which it pours the waters of the desert into the *Dead Sea*.—But the last part, the northern third of this eastern half, has a totally different character. There suddenly rises from the plain a strong mountain fastness, of a rhomboid shape and of the same breadth as the *Wady el-Jerâfeh*, at the point where it joins the *Arabah*; and this mountain covers the whole of the northern portion of the eastern half of the desert. At the present day it is called, after its inhabitants, the *mountain country of the Azâzimah*, or simply the *Azâzimat*.

§ 25. The interior of the mountain district of the *Azâzimah*, which covers an area of about forty square miles, is still almost entirely a *terra incognita*. The inhospitable character of the district and the rapacity of its dreaded inhabitants have deterred travellers from penetrating further; and it is only quite recently that *Rowlands* has prepared the way for a more thorough investigation of this land, which is so important for biblical geography.—The *Azâzimat* forms a square, or, to speak more exactly, a rhomboid mountain fastness, which rises precipitously, almost perpendicularly, from the surrounding valleys or plains on the south, the east, and the north; and it is only on the western side that it slopes off more gradually towards the *Wady el-Arish*. As it is completely detached on

every side, and forms a compact mass with its gigantic mountain groups, it presents the most striking contrast to the desert by which it is surrounded, and would be altogether isolated, "were it not that, towards the north-west, instead of terminating abruptly in a corner column, a line of mountains intervenes, and thus prevents entire separation from the Amorite mountains." The *southern boundary wall* of this mountain fortress is formed by a range which rises steeply and in an imposing manner from the desert, and runs in a straight line from west to east, and which towers up to an immense height at both the eastern and western ends. The corner column towards the east, quite close to the Arabah, is called *Jebel el-Mekrah*, and that towards the west *Jebel Araif en-Nakah*. The eastern wall rises with equal abruptness from the Arabah, but is intersected by several defiles, which furnish approaches of more or less difficulty into our mountain fortress. The *northern boundary wall*, *Jebel Halal*, which had remained altogether unknown until very recently, is cut off almost vertically by a broad defile, the *Wady Murreh*, which runs from east to west, and opens into the Arabah. On the other side of this valley, the plateau *er-Rakmah*, the southern rampart of the Palestinian mountains of the Amorites, rises perpendicularly. The *Wady Murreh* is as much as ten or fifteen miles broad. At the eastern extremity the solitary *mountain of Madurah* (Moddera) rises in the very midst of the valley. To the south of this mountain the principal valley bends in a south-easterly direction towards the Arabah, still bearing the name of *Wady Murreh*, and to the north of the *Madurah* a side branch of the valley leads through el-Ghor to the Dead Sea, under the name of *Wady Fikreh*.—When passing through the *Wady Murreh*, the ascent is constant from the lowest level of the Arabah, and therefore the relative height of the mountain walls, by which it is enclosed on the north and south, is continually diminishing. You proceed westwards, and arrive at length at the *link*, already referred to, by which the south-western corner of the Amoritish pla-

teau of Rakmah is connected with the north-western corner of the Azâzimat. This link is formed by an eminence to the east of Eboda (el-Abdeh), "from which the *Jebel Garrah* and *Jebel Gamar* emerge, the former towards the north-west, and the latter to the south-west, and encircle Eboda in the form of an amphitheatre." The *western wall* of the mountain fortress runs in a straight line from its south-eastern corner (Jebel Araif en-Nakah) to the north-eastern heights, which unite it with the Rakmah, and bears the names of *Jebel Yaled* and *Moyleh* (or Moilahi). It is a lofty mountain range, from three to four hundred feet high, which is intersected by numerous wadys, running parallel to one another from north to south, and all opening into the Wady 'el-Arish. The road from Sinai to Hebron passes at the foot of this western wall of the Azâzimat, and through the undulating tract of desert land which lies between it and the Wady el-Arish.

(1.) The reason why the northern boundary of the mountain land of the Azâzimeh remained for so long a period unexplored has been satisfactorily explained by *Fries* (p. 66). "So long," he says, "as the plateau of the Amorites was either ascended on the south-eastern side, *viz.*, from the Arabah through the passes near es-Sufah, or skirted on the western side by the road to Hebron above Eboda and Elusa, the whole district from *Jebel Madurah* westwards towards the Hebron road could only be given hypothetically in the maps; and it was made to appear that the modern mountain-land of Azâzimat was a broad and uninterrupted continuation of the Amoritish mountains, extending as far as the mountains of Araif and Mekrah. But our views have necessarily been changed, since *G. Williams* and *J. Rowlands*, instead of proceeding towards the south-east to the pass of es-Sufah, set out from Arar, and, after travelling to the south-west along hitherto untrodden roads, and crossing several lofty *plateaux*, at length reached a point on the edge of the tableland of Rakmah (the last of the Amoritish mountains towards the south-west), which left no room for doubt as to the northern slope of the Azâzimat, and the fact that the division between this mountain land and the Amoritish mountains

was carried to a very great distance in the direction from east to west."

In October 1842 (according to the account given by *Williams* in his "Holy City," p. 487 sqq.), the two friends made an excursion beyond Hebron, for the purpose of putting to the test on the very spot, the accounts which still wavered as to the southern boundary of Palestine. They went from Arar (Ararah, Aroer) towards the south-west, and ascended from the table-land of Arar, the first mountain rampart, by which it is bounded on the south. They now found themselves upon a still higher plateau, which stretches from east to west, and is called the Wady Rakmah. It answers to the district of the Dhullam and Saidiyeh on Robinson's map. After going still farther south, they ascended a second mountain-range, from the summit of which a scene presented itself to the view of the most magnificent character. (From statements made by *Williams* elsewhere, the point at which they now stood was somewhere about the longitude of Beersheba, twenty miles to the south of this place, near 31° north latitude, $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ longitude.) A gigantic mountain towered above them in savage grandeur, with masses of naked rock, resembling the bastions of some Cyclopean architecture, the end of which it was impossible for the eye to reach towards either the west or the east. It extended also a long way towards the south; and with its rugged, broken, and dazzling masses of chalk, which reflected the burning rays of the sun, it looked like an unapproachable furnace, a most fearful desert without the slightest trace of vegetation. A broad defile, called *Wady Murreh*, ran at the foot of this bulwark towards the east, and after a course of several miles, on reaching the strangely formed mountain of Moddera (Madurah), it divided into two parts, the southern branch still retaining the same name and running eastwards to the Arabah, whilst the other was called Wady Fikreh, and ran in a north-easterly direction to the Dead Sea. "This mountain barrier," says *Williams*, "proved to us beyond a doubt, that we were now standing on the southern boundary of the promised land." They were confirmed in their opinion by the statement of the guide, that a few hours' journey towards the south-west would bring them to *Kadesh*.

§ 26. As you pass along the ordinary road to Hebron, on the

western side of the mountainous district of the Azazimeh, the whole of the mountain-slopes between Jebel Araif and Jebel Khalil (or the heights of Hebron) appear to form a continued and unbroken range. But just as the separation of the mountains of the Amorites from the northern wall of the Azazimat, by the Wady Murreh, is concealed by the link which connects the two together to the east of Eboda; so do the projecting ranges of the western wall of the Azazimat keep out of sight an extended desert plain, which runs for many miles into the heart of the Azazimat on the other side of the Jebel Moyleh, and into which several wadys open from the eastern side of the mountain (*e.g.* the Wady Kesaimeh, the Wady Muweilih [Moilahi], and the Wady Retemat). "In the remote background, surrounded by the wilderness, there stands in a state of remarkable isolation the strong rock with its copious spring,—the spot which still bears the ancient name of Kadesh (*Ain Kudés*) (1), and of which *Rowlands* was the discoverer." That this is the *wilderness of Kadesh*, which plays so important a part in the history of the sojourn of the Israelites, is apparently no longer open to dispute (3). From the peculiar configuration of the soil, we may easily understand why this plain, which has a distinct name of its own (*viz.*, Kadés), should sometimes be regarded as a part of the desert of Paran (et-Tih), and at other times as belonging to that of Zin (the plain of Murreh) (2).

(1.) When *Rowlands* was standing with *Williams* on the southern slope of the table-land of Rakmah, he learned from the Sheikh who acted as their guide, that Kadesh lay towards the south-west on the other side of the plain of Murreh. Circumstances did not permit the travellers to follow up at the time the clue which they had so unexpectedly found to the situation of this important place. But on a second excursion *Rowlands* determined to seek out the spot; and not only succeeded in his immediate object, but was fortunate enough to discover several other important localities. He started from Gaza; and following the road to Khalasa, at the end of the first three hours' journey towards the S.S.E. he came upon the site of

the ancient *Gerar*, in the present Jurf (Torrent) el Jerâr (vol. i. § 63, 1). The next point at which he arrived was *Khalasa* (according to *Robinson*, the same as *Elusa*), in which he recognised the *Chesil* of the Bible. After a further journey of two hours and a half in a south-westerly direction, he found some ruins, which the Arabs called *Zepâta*. (*Robinson* also visited this spot, but could not discover the name of the ruins.) *Rowlands* could not for a moment doubt that this was the site of the ancient *Zephath* (or *Hormah*, *vid.* Josh. xv. 30 and Judg. i. 17). A few hours' journey to the east of *Zepâta*, the Sheikh informed him that there was an ancient place called *Asluj* or *Kasluj*, and the pronunciation of the word reminded him of *Ziklag* (which was somewhere in the neighbourhood, according to Josh. xv. 31). They proceeded from *Zepâta* to the south-west, and in a quarter of an hour reached the ancient *Bir Ruhaibeh* (the *Rehoboth* of the Bible; *vid.* vol. i. § 71, 3). Ten hours' journey farther south, five hours to the south of *Eboda*, they reached *Moyleh*, the chief place of encampment for the caravans; from which the *Moyleh*, a mountain in the immediate neighbourhood, takes its name, and in which there was a spring (§ 25). This spring is called *Muwecilih* by *Robinson*; but the Arabs called it *Moilahhi Kadesah*, and pointed out at no great distance the *Beit Hajar* (House of *Hagar*), a rock in which there were chambers excavated. In this rock *Rowlands* discovered *Hagar's* well (*Beer-Lachai*), the modern name of which is almost the same as the ancient one, since *Moi* (water) could very easily take the place of *Beer* (a well).¹ It is worthy of note, that *Rabbi Schwarz* (*das heilige Land*, p. 80) also came to the conclusion, quite independently of *Rowlands*, that *Moilahhi* was *Hagar's* well.

The name, *Moilahhi Kadesah*, and the expression in Gen. xvi. 14, "between *Kadesh* and *Bered*," both pointed to the fact that the *Kadesh* in question was in the immediate neighbourhood; and the rock and spring were soon discovered in the plain which stretches far to the east, but had hitherto been concealed by the mountain-range of the *Jebel Moyle*. This plain, which we may confidently set down as the ancient desert of *Kadesh*, embraces a superficial area of about nine or ten English miles in

¹ It will be seen from this, that we retract the observations which we made rather hastily in vol. i. § 57, 1.

length, and five or six in breadth. The rock with the *Ain Kades* is situated at the north-east of the plain, where it presents the appearance of a solitary promontory of the Jebel Halal (§ 25). It is a bare rock, at the foot of which there issues a copious spring, which falls in beautiful cascades into the bed of a mountain torrent, and after flowing about four hundred paces in a westerly direction, is lost in the sand. "I have discovered Kadesh at last," writes *Rowlands* to *Williams*. "I look with amazement upon the stream from the rock which Moses smote (Num. xx. 11), and the lovely waterfalls in which it descends into the bed of the brook below." According to the data furnished by *Rowlands* (which might, by the by, be more minute), the site of *Ain Kades* is about twelve English miles to the E.S.E. of *Moilahhi*, almost due south of *Khalasah*, near the point at which the longitude of *Khalasah* intersects the latitude of *Ain el-Weibeh* (in the *Arabah*). *Ritter's* account is decidedly calculated to mislead. He says at xiv. 1085, "The site of Kadesh, therefore, must be on the western slope of the table-land of *er-Rakmah*, that is to say, near the point at which the names of the *Saidiyeh* and the *Azazimeh* meet on *Robinson's* map;" and again at p. 1082, "somewhere near 31° north lat., and 32½ long." But this was very nearly the spot upon which *Rowlands* and *Williams* were standing when they discovered the southern boundary of Palestine from the slope of the *Rakmah* (§ 25, 1).—There is also an irreconcilable discrepancy between this statement and another of *Ritter's* (xiv. 1088), to the effect that it was "in the neighbourhood of the double well of *Birein* on *Robinson's* map," though the latter is also quite erroneous. *Raumer* (Pal. 448), *Tuch* (186), *Winer* (Real-lexicon, 1, 642), and *Fries*, all agree with the account given above of *Rowlands' Ain Kades*. To the west of *Kadesh*, *Rowlands* found the two wells *Adeirat* and *Aseimeh*, which were also called *Kadeirat* and *Kaseimeh* (in *Robinson's* map: *Ain el-Küdeirat* and *Wady el-Küseimeh*). In these he detected the names of the two border towns *Addar* and *Azmon* (Num. xxxiv. 4). The correctness of this conclusion is attested by the fact that *Jonathan* calls the *Azmon* of Num. xxxiv. 4 and Josh. xv. 4, *Kesam*.—Even *Zimmermann's* map, which was not published till 1850, does not contain a single one of the many important discoveries made by *Rowlands*.

(2.) It is greatly to be lamented that *Rowlands* did not carry out his extraordinarily successful researches still more minutely, and to a greater extent. For, however much light the results already obtained have unexpectedly thrown upon this *terra incognita*, there are many questions that force themselves upon us, and which still remain unanswered. For example, he omitted to inquire whether there were not, perhaps, some ruins in the neighbourhood of the Kadesh rock, which might indicate the site of the town mentioned in Num. xx. 14. The country surrounding the plain of Kadesh is also still involved in great obscurity. But what is especially desirable, for the sake of the Biblical history, is a more minute investigation of the plain of Murreh throughout its whole extent, including both the road towards the east, which leads through the Arabah and the mountains of Scir to the country beyond the Jordan, and also the road towards the north to the table-land of Rakmah. For by this means the question might have been definitively settled, as to the relation in which the *wilderness of Zin* stood to that of Kadesh, the way taken by the spies (Num. xiii.), the road by which the Israelites ascended the mountains of the Amorites (Num. xiv. 44), and lastly the route referred to in Num. xx. 17 sqq.

In general, it is true, there can hardly be any question as to the position and extent of the DESERT OF ZIN (יִזְרְעֵל). We commend especially the remarks of *Tuch*, who says (p. 181 sqq.): "According to Num. xiii. 26, Kadesh was within the limits of the desert of Paran; but according to chap. xx. 1, and xxvii. 14, it was in the desert of Zin; and in chap. xxxiii. 36 the Israelites are said to have pitched in 'the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh.' From this it clearly follows, that Zin must have formed a part of the still more extensive desert of Paran; and if the spies, who were sent from the desert of Paran (Num. xiii. 3), surveyed the land 'from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob' (ver. 21), it must have lain close to the southern border of Canaan. But the relative position of the various localities may be seen still more clearly from Num. xxxiv. 3 sqq. and Josh xv. 1 sqq., where the southern boundary of Judah from the Dead Sea to the brook of Egypt on the Mediterranean—that is, from east to west—is said to have started from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, skirted the Scorpion Steps (Maaleh Akrabbim; that is, as *Robin-*

son correctly observes, the row of cliffs which runs diagonally across the el-Ghor in the form of an irregular curve, and constitutes the boundary between this valley and the more elevated Arabah), whence it passed along to *Zin* (זִין), and then upwards to the south of Kadesh-Barnea. If we take this according to the literal signification of the words, it is evident that *Zin* comprehended the tract of desert which runs from the Ghor in a westerly direction, winding round the steep walls of the mountains of the Amorites, and is bounded on the south by a range which runs parallel to the northern mountain rampart." Hence it consisted chiefly of the broad valley of Murreh, including the Wady Fikreh and the Delta enclosed within the two. It may also have been used in a still wider sense, namely, as including the plain of Kadesh also, since the rampart which separated this plain from the Wady Murreh cannot have been very high, and the desert has very much the same character as the plain.

In the absence of positive *data*, *Fries* has shown, by acute and happy combinations, that it is at least probable that the road taken by the spies, and also by the Israelites when invading the country of the Amorites (Num. xiii. 22 and xiv. 44),—namely, in a diagonal direction across the valley of Murreh, and thence probably over the connecting link (on the east of Eboda) to the plateau er-Rakmah,—cannot have been one of extraordinary difficulty. "If we bear in mind," he says, "on the one hand, that the Wady Murreh, which at its Madurah stage is already considerably higher than the Arabah, must reach a very high level as it approaches the longitude of Kadesh, and on the other hand, that the plain of Kadesh, judging from the analogy of the neighbouring wadys, must be one stage higher than Moilahhi, which *Russegger* found by actual measurement to be 1012 feet above the level of the sea, and if we add to this, that the mountain-ranges of the district in question, when seen from Hebron, do not appear to be very lofty; we may certainly assume, without risking very much, that even if there was *no* valley at all which led in a diagonal direction from the Wady Murreh into the plain of Kadesh, the passage across the plateau itself, which is lower here than it is elsewhere, would not be a very arduous one." But even if, contrary to all expectation, the mountain rampart between the plain of Kadesh and the Wady Murreh should be proved to be too difficult a passage, there is nothing in the way

of the assumption, that the spies and the Israelites in Num. xiv. 44 reached the Hebron road through one of the western approaches to the plain of Kadesh, and thus went up to Canaan.

(3.) The positive arguments which may be adduced in favour of the identity of Rowlands' Ain Kades and the Biblical Kadesh, will appear as we proceed further with our researches. They are to a great extent so clear and conclusive in their character, that even before the discoveries of *Rowlands* were published, several scholars (e.g. *Rabbi Schwarz*, *Ewald*, and *K. Ritter*), with more or less assurance, placed Kadesh to the west of the Arabah, in very nearly the same locality in which *Rowlands* actually found it. Since then, *Ewald*, *Tuch*, *Winer*, and *Fries* have taken *Rowlands*' side; whilst *Ritter*, who could only refer to the discoveries of *Rowlands* in a supplement to his work (xiv. 1083 sqq.), seems to have been afterwards in perplexity as to the side he should take. *Robinson*, on the contrary, and *K. v. Raumer* adhere to their former opinion, that Kadesh was situated in the Arabah. The former has taken the trouble to enter into a very elaborate refutation of *Rowlands*' views, in his *Notes on Biblical Geography* (May 1849, p. 377 sqq.), and *Raumer* repeats *Robinson's* arguments with approval in his *Palestina*, p. 447 sqq. But *Fries* has most conclusively demonstrated the weakness of the refutation, in his excellent treatise on the question before us (p. 73 sqq.). See also *Rabbi Schwarz*, p. 380 sqq.

Robinson's first argument is cited by *Raumer* in the following words: "The Israelites were to avoid the land of the Philistines on their way from Egypt to Canaan; but if they had taken the route which *Rowlands* thinks they did, they would have arrived at Beersheba, which was on the borders of Philistia." This objection rests upon nothing but the following unfounded assumptions: (1.) That the reason assigned in Ex. xiii. 17 ("And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt") was still in force, notwithstanding the fact, that since their passage through the Red Sea (Ex. xv. 14), the nations had been shaken and the Philistines were seized with fear; that Israel was now accustomed to war and victory (Ex. xvii. 8 sqq.), and

had received its highest consecration at Sinai; and that it was now being led, in the second year of its journey through the desert, to make war upon the tribes of Canaan;—(2.) That it was the Philistines alone who were to be dreaded both then and now, and not the Amorites also, who were at least equally strong and quite as used to war;—(3.) That the south-western slope of the mountains of the Amorites belonged to the Philistines, along with the neighbourhood of Beersheba, which was decidedly not the case;—and (4.) That the Israelites, after leaving Kadesh, *must* of necessity pass by Beersheba, whereas, in fact, if they went up from the plain of Murreh (or desert of Zin) they would leave it to the west.

Raumer says still further: “When the Israelites reached Kadesh, Moses addressed them thus: ‘Ye are come to the mountain of the Amorites.’ But Rowlands’ Kadesh is about fifty miles from the mountains of Southern Judea, which begin to rise between Beersheba and Hebron. When *Russegger* went from Sinai to Jerusalem, he caught sight of these mountains for the first time when he was in the Wady Ruhaibeh, and they were then a considerable distance off, though he was not half so far away from them as Rowlands’ Kadesh is.” But there is no reference whatever to these “mountains of Southern Judea,” that is to say, to the heights of Hebron. We need only look at either *Raumer’s* and *Robinson’s* own maps, on both of which the south-western slope of the mountains of the Amorites reaches as far as the Azazimat, and the only fault is, that there is no space left for the Wady Murreh, which runs between the two. When *Russegger* was at Ruhaibeh, and saw the mountains of Khalil (Hebron) a long way off towards the north, if he could have looked to the east he would have seen the south-western slope of the mountains of the Amorites (the table-land of Rakmah) at no greater distance than an hour and a half’s journey.

The appeal to *Jerome* (*Onomasticon*, on *En-Mishpat*, Gen. xiv. 7) is still weaker. *Jerome* says: “Significat locum apud Petram, qui fons judicii nominatur;” “and therefore,” says *Raumer*, “Kadesh must be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of Petra, whereas Rowlands’ Kadesh is about fifty (?) miles away.” But if this passage is to be taken as conclusive, it follows that *Robinson*, who fixes upon Ain el-Weibeh, and

Raumer, who places Kadesh at Ain el-Hasb, are both wrong; for these places are neither of them near enough to Petra for the expression *apud Petram* to be applied to them. But *Jerome's* statement is worth nothing. He knew just as little about the situation of Kadesh as the learned men who have followed him, down to the time of Rowlands. He merely adopted, without any further examination, the rabbinical notion, that En-Zadekeh (En-Zodokatah), four hours' journey to the south-east of Petra, was the same as En-Mishpat. In the next section we shall show that this is quite a mistake.

We have one more argument to answer, which is, apparently at least, of some importance. *Raumer* says, that "Kadesh was close upon the borders of the land of Edom, whereas Rowlands' Kadesh was twenty-five or thirty miles away from the border." At first sight this appears to be a conclusive argument; but when we look close, it is nothing but arguing in a circle. It is pretty generally admitted, that the Arabah, from one end to the other, formed the western boundary of the land of Edom. But on what is this notion founded? Chiefly upon the very assumption which it is now adduced to prove, namely, that Kadesh was situated in the Arabah. But as Kadesh has now been discovered on the west of the Azazimat, it necessarily follows that the boundary of Edom was outside these mountains. Even before the discovery made by Rowlands, several men of note (*e.g. Seetzen, Ewald, and Ritter*) had emancipated themselves from the yoke of this preconceived opinion, that the Arabah throughout was the boundary of Edom. *Seetzen* found the name *Seir* so common on the *et-Tih plateau*, that he could not resist the temptation to apply this name to the whole of the desert table-land to the west of the Arabah (*Ritter*, xiv. 840); and *Rowlands* found that even to the present day the border plateau by the Wady Murreh is still called "*Serr*." The only ground which can be assigned for excluding the mountainous district of the Azazimeh from the territory of Edom, is the fact that the two are so completely separated by the Arabah. But this mountainous district is quite as completely separated from the country of the Amorites by the Wady Murreh. "If we bear in mind the remarkable and, politically considered, extremely important position which the strong mountain fortress of the Azazimeh occupied, standing out as it does in sharp contrast with the

desert of Petræa,¹ at the northern extremity of which it was situated ; and being, therefore, brought into all the closer connection with Canaan and Edom, it cannot but appear to us an inconceivable thing that neither the one nor the other of the two opposing powers, which met together there, should have taken possession of so important a tract of table-land. Of Canaan it certainly never formed a part. In the time of the Amoritish supremacy it did not, as we may infer from Judges i. 36, and also from Num. xxi. 1 ; nor during the history of Israel, a fact which can only be explained from Deut. ii. 5. And if the Israelites did hold it at a later period, it was in consequence of the splendid victories which they gained, especially over Edom. There is no mention anywhere of a third contemporaneous power, which held the country from the southern tract of desert to the frontier of Canaan, and therefore had resisted the power of Edom ; and if we should think of filling up the gap with the Ishmaelitish nomads, or, what would be still more plausible, the predatory hordes of the Amalekites, the question would arise, Why should Edom be always mentioned as the neighbouring country, and never Amalek ?” (*Fries*, p. 79 sqq.). The former is the case in every instance in which the southern boundary of Canaan is accurately given (Num. xxxiv. 3, 4 ; Josh. xv. 1, 2, and 21). The whole of the data given here are absolutely irreconcilable with the supposition that the boundaries of Canaan and Edom did not coincide anywhere else, than at the single point where the north-west corner of Edom touches the south-east corner of Canaan. “More minute details are prefaced by a statement of the common characteristic of the whole of the southern boundary line, *viz.*, that it extended to the borders of Edom (אֶל-בְּגִיל אֵדוֹם), or along Edom (עַל-יְרֵי אֵדוֹם).”—The boundary line between Edom and Judah is more precisely described in Josh. xv. 3, where we are told, that after compassing the cliffs of the Scorpions (*Akrabbim*), which cross the Arabah in a diagonal direction, it passed along to the desert of *Zin* : the

¹ “Apart altogether from the question before us, *Robinson* felt obliged to separate the mountains of the Azazimeh, which he has left without a name, from the Tih plateau ; and *K. Ritter* also, without any reference to this question, and before he knew anything of Rowlands’ discovery, described the *Jebel Moyle* of the Azazimeh as the ‘boundary stone of the dispersion of the nations.’” (*Fries*, p. 81.)

latter, therefore, which unquestionably corresponds to our *Wady Murreh*, formed a boundary line between Canaan and Edom to the west of the Arabah, extending as far as to Kadesh. The same conclusion is forced upon us by Josh. xv. 21 sqq.; “for in this case it is stated of all the separate cities of the tribe of Judah, that the boundary line of Edom lay towards the south.” And when Joshua’s conquests on this side of the Jordan are described in Josh. xi. 17 and xii. 7, as the whole country “from the bald mountain that goeth up towards Seir, even unto Baal-Gad in the valley of Lebanon, at the foot of Hermon,”—what in the world can “the bald mountain that goeth up to Seir” mean, but the northern mountain rampart of the Azazimat? How thoroughly appropriate, too, is the expression “the bald mountain” to the “gigantic mountain, with its bare masses of rock or chalk,” which *Williams* and *Rowlands* saw from the Rakmah plateau (§ 25, 1)! Hitherto the commentators have not known what to do with this “bald mountain.” *Keil* (on Josh. xi. 17) supposes it to be the cliffs of Akrabbim; but how inapplicable would the term אֲרָבִים be to such cliffs as these, and how little are they adapted, from their geographical situation, to show the southern limits of the country on this side of the Jordan!

Raumer observes still further, “When Edom refused a passage to the Israelites, they turned aside and went to Mount Hor. But if Kadesh was situated where *Rowlands* imagines that he found it, and was also on the western border of Edom, the Israelites, as a single glance at the map will show, must have marched for several days in an easterly direction through the land of Edom, before they could reach Mount Hor.” This argument would have some force, if the whole of the desert of et-Tih to the south of the Azazimat, from which it is as completely separated as it possibly can be, must of necessity have formed part of the territory of Edom. But if the dominion of Edom on this side of the Arabah was restricted to the north-eastern mountain fortress (and we can hardly imagine it to have been otherwise), there is no force whatever in *Raumer’s* objection. The Israelites retreated through the Wady Retemât, thus leaving the country of Edom altogether, and reached Mount Hor by going round the south-east of the Azazimat.

But another objection to *Rowlands’s* discovery may possibly

be founded upon Num. xx. 14 sqq. The Israelites request the king of Edom to allow them a *free passage through his land*; but this is at once refused. By what road did the Israelites think of passing through? *Tuch* supposes the Wady Murreh and Wady Fikreh; but this solution is inadmissible, since both these wadys merely led by the border of Edom, *between* Edom and the Amorites, and therefore could not possibly have led *through* the land. According to the distinct and unequivocal statement of the Bedouins who accompanied *Rowlands*, there was an easy road through broad wadys, which led direct from Kadesh to Mount Hor. The point at which this road enters the Arabah is probably to be looked for opposite to the broad *Wady Ghuweir* of the es-Sherah mountains, in the neighbourhood of Ain el-Weibeh, where the eastern wall of the Azazimat is intersected by numerous wadys, and where *Robinson* went up a very accessible pass called Mirzabah. . . . This broad road, which leads through the heart of the Azazimat, and is continued on the other side of the Arabah in the broad *Wady Ghuweir* of Eastern Edom, passing across Tafileh to Moab, was most probably the route which the Israelites wished to take, and for which they required the consent of Edom. (Compare § 45, 1.)

§ 27. In *Berghaus's* map, Kadesh is placed in the vicinity of Eziongeber, on the Elanitic Gulf, probably on the ground of Num. xxxiii. 35, 36. *L. de Laborde* (Comment. p. 127 sqq.) includes the mountainous district of the Azazimeh in the territory of the Amorites, and transfers Kadesh into the Wady Jerafeh, a day's journey to the north of Eziongeber, and about the same distance to the south-east of Hor. *Robinson*, on the other hand, is convinced that Kadesh is to be sought in Ain el-Weibeh, in the north of the Arabah (1); and *K. v. Raumer* maintains that it must be looked for in a still more northerly part of the Arabah, somewhere near Ain El-Hasb (2). But in opposition to all these views, it can be demonstrated most conclusively, that Kadesh was not situated in the Arabah at all (3). The rabbinical tradition, which connects it with Petra, must be at once rejected (4).

(1) *Robinson* (ii. 582, 610) has employed all his eloquence

to convince his readers that *Ain el-Weibeh* and the ancient Kadesh are one and the same. He says: "We were much struck, while at el-Weibeh, with the entire adaptedness of its position to the scriptural account of the proceedings of the Israelites on their second arrival at Kadesh (Num. xx.). There was at Kadesh a fountain, called also En-Mishpat (Gen. xiv. 7): this was then either partially dried up or exhausted by the multitude; so that there was no water for the congregation. By a miracle, water was brought forth abundantly out of the rock. Moses now sent messengers to the king of Edom, informing him that they were in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of his border, and asking leave to pass through his country, so as to continue their course around Moab, and approach Palestine from the east. This Edom refused; and the Israelites accordingly marched to Mount Hor, where Aaron died; and then along the Arabah to the Red Sea (Num. xx. 14 sqq.). Here, at el-Weibeh, all these scenes were before our eyes. Here was the fountain, even to this day the most frequented watering-place in all the Arabah. On the north-west is the mountain by which the Israelites had formerly assayed to ascend to the land of Palestine, and were driven back. Over against us lay the land of Edom; we were in its uttermost border; and the great Wady el-Ghuweir, affording a direct and easy passage through the mountains to the table-land above, was directly before us; while farther in the south Mount Hor formed a prominent and striking object, at the distance of two good days' journey for such a host. . . . Yet the surrounding desert has long since resumed its rights; and all traces of the city and of its very name have disappeared."

(2.) *K. v. Raumer* (Pal. 444), on the contrary, is of opinion that "this fact appears to be irreconcilable with *Robinson's* hypothesis. The Arabs, who acted as his guides, were not acquainted with any direct road from *Ain el-Weibeh* to the pass of es-Sufah, but were accustomed to proceed along the Arabah as far north as the Wady el-Khurar, and ascend the pass from that point. Should we not seek Kadesh itself also to the north of *Ain el-Weibeh*—namely, where the road ascends through the Wady el-Khurar to the pass of es-Sufah? Must it not have been situated at a point at which the Israelites would be nearer to this pass than at *Ain el-Weibeh*, and where the pass itself

would be in sight? Is not *Ain Hasb*, which is near *Ain el-Khurar*, most likely to have been *Kadesh*? It is only twelve miles from the pass of *Sufah*, whereas *Ain el-Weibeh* is more than twenty miles off. There are no ruins in the latter; and is it not probable that the ruins at *Ain Hasb* are the remains of *Kadesh*? The water in the pond there evidently indicates the existence of a spring."

(3.) For a refutation of the hypotheses of *Raumer* and *Robinson* (that of *Laborde* does not stand in need of any), we need only appeal to the two admirable treatises of *Tuch* and *Fries* (especially the latter). There are many passages of the Bible which compel us to look for *Kadesh* a long way to the west of the *Arabah*. (1.) The very first passage in which *Kadesh* is mentioned (*Gen. xiv. 7*, *En-Mishpat*, which is *Kadesh*), is a case in point. "For if we assume," says *Fries*, "that *En-Mishpat* was situated in the northern part of the *Arabah*, *Chedorlaomer* must have been close to the very entrance of the vale of *Siddim*, and would not have required first of all to pass through the country of the *Amorites* by *Engedi* in order to reach the territory of the four kings; still less through the whole of the plain of the *Amalekites*, which was far away to the west of the *Arabah*, and to which he is said to have proceeded direct from *En-Mishpat*. If, in addition to this, we bear in mind the political motives for this expedition, the leading features of which are noticed in *Gen. xiv.*, and which have been discussed in a masterly way by *Dr Tuch*, supposing *En-Mishpat* to have been either *Ain Hasb* or *Ain el-Weibeh*, it would not have been of sufficient importance to be mentioned as the point which *Chedor* had in view when he left *El-Paran* (*Elath*)."—(2.) "Such a supposition is not less at variance with *Gen. xvi. 14* (comp. ver. 7), where the situation of the well of *Lachai Roi* is described. For, whilst the western point mentioned is *Bared*, which was certainly close by, and is identical with *Shur* (*i.e.* *Jifar*), the eastern point selected would be a spot in the *Arabah* lying far away, and separated from the road to *Shur* by the whole of the mountainous district of the *Azazimat*, which is about eighty miles broad."—(3.) "In *Gen. xx. 1* we are either met with precisely the same difficulty, or (considering the distance between *Gerar* and *Ain Hasb*) a much greater one; not to mention the fact, that the connection between *Gen. xix.* and *xx. 1*

would lead us to expect Abraham to fix upon a spot considerably farther removed from the Dead Sea than Ain Hasb, as the eastern boundary of his place of sojourn.”—(4.) “If we turn to the passages in which Kadesh is given as one of the points determining the southern boundary of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 2-5, Josh. xv. 2-4, Ezek. xlvii. 19), it is absolutely impossible, especially in the case of Ezek. xlvii. 19, where only three points are given, to suppose that the middle point of the three, *viz.* Kadesh, instead of being in the middle of the line, is to be looked for at Ain el-Hasb or Ain el-Weibeh, in the immediate neighbourhood of Tamar, the most easterly point of the three. And in the other passages also, the disproportion would be immense, if three points were named in a small line drawn diagonally across the Arabah from Akrabbim to Ain Hasb, of not more than ten or twelve miles long; whereas in all the rest of the southern boundary to the opening of the Wady el-Arish, which is about 120 miles, only three, or at the most five points are named.”—(5.) “Judg. i. 36 is also a case in point. עֲבָרָה (*viz.* the rock, which had acquired importance from the circumstance recorded in Num. xx. 8;—*Petra*, which bore the same name, 2 Kings xiv. 7, cannot for a moment be thought of here) answers to our Kadesh, and must of necessity have been situated at a great distance to the west of Akrabbim; since otherwise the boundary line of the Amorites, which is given in this passage, would not be really indicated at all.”—(6.) In Num. xx. 23 and xxxiii. 37, where the Israelites start from Kadesh and pass round the territory of the Edomites, Mount Hor is called the border of Edom. But if the whole line from Ain el-Hasb (or Ain el-Weibeh) to Eziongeber formed the western boundary of Edom, it would be an inexplicable, and in fact an unmeaning thing, that this one point should be singled out, when every point in the whole line had just the same claim, and that this alone should be called *the* boundary of Edom. But if Kadesh was situated to the west of the Arabah, so that the whole of the mountainous district to the north-east was included in the territory of Edom, Mount Hor, which stood just at the point where the Arabah first began to form part of the territory of Edom, and where two of the boundary lines of the Edomitish territory met in a right angle, would undoubtedly be a marked and distinguished point in the boundary of the country, forming as it were a strong rocky watch-

tower, which commanded these two boundary lines.—(7.) If the mountainous district of the Azazimeh belonged to the territory of Edom—and this can be proved independently of the Kadesh question (§ 26, 3)—it follows, as a matter of course, that Kadesh could not be situated in the northern Arabah.—(8.) “If, in addition to this, we take into consideration the form of the valley of the Arabah, which runs between lofty mountain walls, and in the northern half especially is hedged in by high and perpendicular walls of rock, and at the north-western extremity leads to the wildest precipice and most inaccessible passes of the Amoritic mountains, it is perfectly incredible that Moses should have contemplated making his attack upon Canaan from this point, and we cannot imagine it possible that the myriads of Israel should have maintained themselves for a whole generation crowded together in such a contracted space, between the elevated desert of Paran and the rocky walls of Eastern Edom, and wandering backwards and forwards between the Dead and Red Seas.” (*Fries*, 62 seq.) Since the time of Robinson, indeed, it has become a very common custom to fix upon the pass of *es-Safah*, the very name of which is supposed to be a relic of the ancient name *Zephath* (*i.e.* *Hormah*, Judg. i. 17 and Num. xiv. 45, xxi. 3), as the point at which Moses intended to enter Canaan, and where the people afterwards made the attempt (Num. xiv. 40 sq.). But if we consider the unanimous testimony of travellers with regard to this narrow, steep, and most difficult pass, we cannot but pronounce this an impossibility. It was with the greatest toil that *Robinson* himself ascended it (ii. 588). *Schubert* looks upon it as one of the most painful tasks he ever performed (ii. 447), and says, “The pass was so steep, that I frequently felt as if I was gasping for breath in the midst of a furnace.” *Tuch* adds to this (p. 184), “*Robinson* (ii. 590) had a similar description given to him of the more easterly pass of *es-Sufei*; and the steep and dangerous ascents from the Dead Sea to the land of Canaan are still better known. And even if these difficult passes do not present insuperable obstacles in the way of peaceful commerce (the Romans not only placed garrisons in the pass of *es-Safah*, the direct road to Petra, for the purpose of defence, but made steps which rendered it both easier and safer), we have still good ground for asking whether they were also adapted for a warlike expedition, as

points from which to enter upon the conquest of the land ;—these passes, I say, which were not only inaccessible even with the utmost exertions, but which the smallest force would have been sufficient to defend. On this side, Canaan was naturally impregnable; and if Moses had conducted the people hither, and then urged them to commence the conquest of the land from this point, he would have deserved the charges which pusillanimity unjustly brought against him.”—Lastly, (9.) With the Arabah so well known as it is, it does at least appear extremely strange, that if a town of such celebrity, as Kadesh has had from the very earliest times, was really situated there, and if the Israelites wandered about in it for thirty-eight years, there should not be the slightest trace left of either the name Kadesh, or the names of the other stations mentioned in Num. xxxiii., with the single exception of Mount Ilor.

(4.) The mere fact of the *Rabbinical tradition* with regard to the situation of Kadesh, which *Robinson* has involved in greater obscurity, instead of clearing it up, and which *Rabbi Schwarz* (p. 376 seq., cf. § 30, 2) has entirely misunderstood, has been fully explained by *Tuch* (p. 179 seq. note). In the Targums, the Peshito, and the Talmud, Kadesh is always rendered *Rekam*; and Kadesh-Barnea (Deut. i. 2, 19, etc.) *Rekam Geia* (רַקַּם גֵּיאָה). This *Geia*, which is placed in apposition (answering to Barnea), is undoubtedly the same as *el-Ji*, in the neighbourhood of Petra, in the Wady Musa, which is still an important village. *Jerome* refers to this in the *Onomasticon* as follows: “*Gai* in solitudine usque hodie *Gaia* urbs juxta civitatem *Petra*.” From this it is evident that *Rekam* was understood to be Petra, as *Josephus* states in his *Antiquities* iv. 4, 7; vii. 1; and in consequence of this, the Jewish tradition identified Kadesh with Petra. All the reasons which we have adduced to show that Kadesh cannot have been situated in the Arabah, apply with tenfold force to the notion that it was situated in the Wady Musa.

§ 28. There were three ways open to the Israelites from Sinai to the southern boundary of Canaan, so far as the nature of the ground was concerned; and from these they had to choose. The most easterly led them along the western shore of the *l.* Elanitic Gulf to the Arabah, and then through the Arabah to

- the south-eastern border of Canaan. This road is regarded by *Robinson* as the most probable. But, however well adapted the road through the broad valley of the Arabah may appear, the narrow way along the shore of the Elanitic Gulf appears to be quite as little adapted for a mass of people, comprising no less than two million souls. And, in addition to this, as *Raumer* has correctly observed (Palestine, 446), such a supposition is inconsistent with Deut. i. 19, where the Israelites are said to have traversed "the whole of the great and terrible desert," by which we can only understand the desert of et-Tih; and this they would never have touched at all if they had taken the road indicated by *Robinson*.
2. *Raumer* himself, who is obliged to bring them to the pass of es-Safah, as *Robinson* has done, supposes them to have crossed the border mountain of et-Tih, and then to have passed through the Wady el-Jerafeh, at the mouth of which they first entered the Arabah. But, according to our previous investigations, this road cannot possibly have been the one selected by Moses. The fact that Canaan was so inaccessible from this side (through the pass of es-Safah), is sufficient to stamp both these views as inadmissible (§ 27, 3). And if Kadesh, the immediate object of their journey, was situated where *Rowlands* discovered its well-preserved names (§ 26), the Israelites will not have gone near the Arabah on this march. It is true that the procession might have turned round from the most northerly part of the Arabah into the Wady Murreh, and so have reached the plain of Kadesh; but, apart altogether from the fact that this would have been a very round-about way, it would have led them through the heart of the territory of the Edomites (*i. e.*, through the northern part of the Arabah, § 26, 3), and, according to Num. xx. 14 sqq., this was shut against them. There is left, therefore, only the *third* (the most westerly) road, which leads from Horeb to Hebron across the mountains of et-Tih and the large tract of table-land of the same name, by the western foot of the Jebel el-Araif, and which is taken by most of the travellers to Sinai even at the present day. *Ewald*, *Tuch*, *Winer*, *R. Schwarz*, and *Fries* are all agreed in this.
- 3.

§ 29. A tolerably complete catalogue of the resting-places of Israel in the desert is given in Num. xxxiii. The first two, reckoning from Sinai, are *the graves of lust* (Kibroth-Taavah) (1), and *Chazeroth* (2). The former of these was reached after a *three days' march* (Num. x. 33); and, according to Num. x. 12, it was situated in the desert of Paran, probably on the other side of the south-eastern arm of the mountains of et-Tih (*vide* § 23, 3). The passing remark in Dent. i. 2, where the journey from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea is said to take eleven days, is of great importance when taken in connection with Num. x. 33; for the route (to Kadesh) taken by the Israelites being known, and the character of the ground being taken into consideration, we are able to determine the situation of Kibroth-Taavah with tolerable certainty. There can be no doubt that the road ran from the plain of er-Rahah (§ 6, 2), through the Wady es-Sheikh (§ 5, 5), to the most northerly point of the arc which it describes, and then turned towards the north-east through the *Wady ez-Zalazah*, which enters it at that point. The latter wady intersects the south-eastern arm of the Jebel et-Tih, and so leads within the limits of the desert of Paran. The end of the first three days' journey, and therefore the site of the graves of lust, must be sought on the other side of this range of mountains, somewhere in the neighbourhood of *el-Ain*. From this point the Hebron road runs almost in a straight line, from south to north, across the principal arm of the Jebel et-Tih, and the table-land of the same name. And, judging from the analogy of the three days' march to the first station, Chazeroth (which was the second resting-place from Sinai) would be somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Bir et-Themed*.

(1.) Even *Raumer* admits (Pal. 442) that, according to Dent. i. 2, the most natural supposition is, that the Israelites took the nearest road to Kadesh, which leads through Wady Zalazah to el-Ain, and takes eleven days. "There are objections, however," he says, "to this supposition. For example, the Israelites left Sinai, and journeyed three days to the resting-place at the *graves*

of lust. When there, the wind brought them quails *from the sea* (Num. xi. 31). Does not this seem to indicate a place of encampment by the sea-shore? And so again, when Jehovah promised to give the people flesh in superfluous abundance, Moses exclaimed, 'Shall all the fish *of the sea* be gathered together for them, to suffice them?'—a question which would have sounded very strange in the midst of the desert, at a great distance from the sea, but would be natural enough by the sea-shore." Now, in Deut. i. 1, *Di Zahab* is mentioned along with Chazeroth, as one of the places where Moses spoke to the people; and therefore it must have been one of the resting-places of the Israelites. But *Di Zahab* is probably the modern *Dahab*, on the western shore of the Elanitic Gulf, in pretty nearly the same latitude as Sinai; consequently, *v. Raumer* thinks himself warranted in fixing upon this place on the sea-coast as identical with "the graves of lust," and *Lengerke* (i. 558) agrees with him. But this is certainly by no means a happy combination. What in the world could induce the Israelites to go directly east, instead of directly north? *Raumer* replies: Possibly to avoid a *second* conflict with the Amalekites, who might have attacked them on their road through the Wady es-Sheikh. But it is not only by no means certain, but extremely improbable, that the Amalekites had their seat in the Sheikh valley; and we cannot help thinking, that after the complete victory which the Israelites gained over Amalek (Ex. xvii. 13), they would not have much to fear from that quarter. But even assuming the correctness of both suppositions, the problem is still not solved; for there would have been no occasion to go so far out of the road as the sea-coast.—The fact that the quails came "from the sea," however, is certainly no proof that the Israelites must necessarily have encamped on the sea-shore; and the question put by Moses (Shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?) would not be so very much out of place, if the graves of lust were in the neighbourhood of el-Ain, *i. e.*, not more than twenty miles from the sea, especially if we bear in mind that, according to Num. xi. 5, the lusting of the people was directly and expressly for *fish*. But lastly, the basis upon which this hypothesis rests is purely imaginary, and therefore the hypothesis itself vanishes altogether. However we may interpret Deut. i. 1, which is certainly difficult and obscure (see

Hengstenberg, Dissertation on Balaam, p. 515 sqq. translation, and *Fries*, p. 87 sqq.), in any case, it is not affirmed that Moses addressed the people *in* Di Zahab, and therefore it is not stated that he encamped there with the people. On the contrary, certain prominent points are selected, *between* which the Israelites were encamped, for the purpose of indicating the locality of either the first or second giving of the law.

(2.) The majority of commentators regard it as indisputable that the second resting-place, *Chazeroth*, was the modern *Ain el-Hadherah*, about ten miles from the Gulf. But notwithstanding the great similarity between the two names, we must nevertheless reject the conclusion as inadmissible. We repeat our former question: Why go so far round? The road by Hadherah would lead them direct to the Arabah, but not to the Wady el-Jerafeh, and still less to the Hebron road. And what becomes of the eleven days' journey of Deut. i. 2? When the Israelites reached the graves of lust, they had travelled three of these, and at Chazeroth possibly three more; hence *Chazeroth* would be about half-way from Sinai to Kadesh. But *Ain el-Hadherah* is about forty miles from Sinai in a north-easterly direction; whereas *Raumer's Kadesh* (*Ain el-Hasb*) is about 165 miles from Hadherah, and *Rowlands'* about 150.—The next halting-place was *Ritmah*. Now there is a wady called *Retemât* close in the vicinity of *Rowlands' Kadesh*: and certainly there is as close a resemblance between the two names, if not a much closer one, than between the names *Chazeroth* and *Hadherah*. But reckoning the distance, it is absolutely certain that *Retemât* cannot be *Ritmah*, if *Chazeroth* is *Hadherah*, and *vice versa*. One of the two resemblances must be given up as deceptive; and the question is simply, which? We reply: Undoubtedly the latter. For, whatever force there may be in the similarity between the names *Chazeroth* and *Hadherah*, it is weakened by the fact that there are no other circumstances to support it; whereas in the case of *Retemath* and *Ritmah*, all the circumstances lead to the same conclusion.—*Rabbi Schwarz* was led so far astray by a perfectly analogous resemblance between *Chazeroth* and *Ain el-Chuteiroth* (called *Ain el-Kadeirat* by *Robinson*), that he set them down as one and the same. The supposition was confirmed in his opinion by the fact, that rather more than twenty miles to the S.S.E. of this spring, there was another called

Ain el-Shahawah, the name of which was evidently identical with Kibroth-Hataavah (the graves of lust). But the fountain of Kadeirat is in the immediate neighbourhood of Wady Retemât (or Ritmah), and therefore cannot possibly be the same as Chazeroth, which must have been several days' journey from Ritmah.

§ 30. In the *list of stations* given in Num. xxxiii., *Kadesh* is the twenty-first name from Sinai, and therefore there were seventeen stations between Chazeroth and Kadesh. Yet the very next station after Chazeroth, the Wady Retemât or Ritmah, is in the immediate neighbourhood of Kadesh; and in the historical account of the march in Num. xiii., Kadesh is the very next station after Chazeroth (vid. ver. 27). This apparent discrepancy has long ago been reconciled by nearly every writer in a very simple manner,—namely, by appealing to the fact, which is clear enough from other passages, that Israel encamped at *Kadesh twice*—the first time on the way from Sinai to the southern border of Canaan (Num. xiii.), the second time after wandering about for thirty-seven years in the desert of Tih (Num. xx.). This renders the supposition that there were *two places* called Kadesh, as unnecessary as it is inadmissible (2). It is equally erroneous to suppose that the Kadesh, mentioned in the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. 36, refers to the first sojourn at Kadesh (Num. xiii.) (3): the reference is rather to the second encampment there, of which we have an account in Num. xx. But the question arises, Which of the stations named in Num. xxxiii. are we to connect with the first encampment at Kadesh, and what can have given rise to the substitution of another name, in this particular instance, for so current and celebrated a name as Kadesh? *K. v. Raumer* fixes upon *Tachath* (Num. xxxiii. 26), and *Hengstenberg* speaks of *Bne-Jaakan* (Num. xxxiii. 31), as absolutely certain; but both conjectures are equally arbitrary and untenable (4). The correct view undoubtedly is that of *Fries*, that *Rithmah* denotes the first halt at Kadesh. For the Wady Retemât, which answers exactly to the ancient Rithmah, forms the entrance to the plain of Kadesh, which

Rowlands has so recently discovered. The spies probably set out from this wady (Num. xiii. 2), whilst the rest of the people, who awaited their return, spread themselves out in the plain of Kadesh, where they were both protected and concealed (5).

(1.) The assertion that Israel encamped *twice in Kadesh*, is pronounced by *Ewald* (ii. 207) "a perfectly arbitrary assumption, which cannot be defended by a single argument of any worth."—This may be easily explained, when, first of all, with the usual caprice of the critics when dealing with Biblical accounts, everything has been turned upside down, and every argument of any worth has been swept away (*car tel est mon bon plaisir*).

The fact that the Israelites encamped twice at Kadesh, has been proved by *K. v. Raumer* (*Zug der Israeliten*, p. 39, and *Palästina*, p. 446), *Robinson* (ii. 611), and *Fries* (pp. 53–60). The following are the proofs:—(1.) On the twentieth day of the second month (early in May), in the second year of the Exodus, the people departed from *Sinai* (Num. x. 11). On their arrival at the desert of *Paran*, they sent out spies to Palestine (from *Kadesh-Barnea*, Num. xxxii. 8; Deut. i. 19 sqq.; Josh. xiv. 7) at the time of the first grapes (Num. xiii. 21), that is, in August. Forty days afterwards, the spies returned to the camp at *Kadesh* (Num. xiii. 27). The people murmured at the report of the spies; and Jehovah pronounced the sentence upon them, that not they, but their children only, should enter the promised land, and that only after wandering about for forty years in the desert (Num. xiv. 29 sqq.). At the same time they were ordered to turn back, and go into the desert to the Red Sea (Num. xiv. 25; Deut. i. 40). A departure from Kadesh, therefore, evidently did take place. Thirty-seven years and a half elapsed after this, which are passed over by the historian in perfect silence. But in the first month (of the fortieth year, compare Num. xx. 28 with Num. xxxiii. 38) the whole congregation *came—evidently the second time* therefore—to *Kadesh* (Num. xx. 1).—(2.) That there were two arrivals at the southern border of Palestine (*i. e.*, at Kadesh), is apparent from a comparison of the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. with Deut. x. 6, 7. In the latter we have an account of a march of the Israelites, in which the stations *Bne-Jaakan*, *Moserah*, *Gul-*

godah, *Jothbatah*, follow in succession. The object of this list is simply to show the spot where Aaron died, *viz.*, at *Moserah*. But, according to Num. xx. 22 sqq., and Num. xxxiii. 38, Aaron died upon Mount *Hor*. This *Moserah*, therefore, must have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mount *Hor*. Now, if we turn to Num. xxxiii., we find that the third station from Sinai was *Rithmah*, or *Retemath*, at the northern extremity of the desert. The twelfth station from this is *Moseroth*, which is evidently the same as *Moserah*; and then follow *Bne-Jaakan*, *Gidgad*, *Jothbatah*, *Abronah*, *Eziongeber* (at the extreme end of the Elanitic Gulf), *Kadesh*, and *Hor*, where Aaron died. This is the place, therefore, at which the stations mentioned in Deut. x. 6, 7 must be inserted. But as we have already found the same stations, *Bne-Jaakan*, *Moserah*, *Gudgod*, *Jothbatah*, in Num. xxxiii., it follows that the Israelites must have traversed the whole desert from north to south twice, and must have come on two separate occasions to the southern boundary of Palestine.

But what does *Ewald* do to banish these weighty reasons from the sphere of reality into that of non-existence? "*Nothing further*," he says, "is required, than to remove the encampment at *Kadesh* and the following one by Mount *Hor*, recorded in Num. xxxiii. 36-39, a little further back, and place them after vers. 30, 31, because they do not harmonize with *Eziongeber*."!! — Moreover, he looks upon the coming to *Kadesh*, of which an account is given in Num. xx. 1, as a repetition of the previous account in Num. xiii. of the first and only arrival at *Kadesh*, - - - in spite of all the express and unanswerable testimonies to the contrary! (Comp. § 41, 1.)

(2.) The hypothesis, that there were *two different places* with the same name, may be proved on every ground to be untenable. Some, for example, suppose the *Kadesh* in the desert of *Paran* (Num. xiii. 27) to be the same as the *Kadesh-Barnea* in Num. xxxii. 8, and Deut. i. 2, 19; and that in the desert of *Zin* (Num. xx. 1) to be equivalent to the *Me-Meribah*, or waters of strife (Num. xx. 13),—of which the former was situated in the south of *Canaan*, the latter in the south of *Edom*. But "there is one passage in *Ezekiel* (chap. xlvii. 19) which so completely overthrows this hypothesis, when compared with Num. xxxiv. 4, that it would be quite superfluous to refer to Num.

xiii. 22 compared with chap. xx. 1, or to Deut. x. 6, 7 compared with Num. xxxiii. 30-35, or, lastly, to Num. xxi. 4 compared with Deut. ii. 8, from which passages it evidently follows that the deserts of Zin and Paran were connected, and that on their last departure from Kadesh the Israelites went towards the south, to Eziongeber" (*Fries*, p. 54). Nevertheless, this obsolete view has been reproduced quite lately by Rabbi *Schwarz* (p. 170 seq. 375 sqq.); who seeks to strengthen it by adducing Gen. xiv. 7 and the Rabbinical tradition (*vid.* § 27, 4). In his opinion "En-Mishpat, that is Kadesh," in Gen. xiv. 7, is the same as the waters of Meribah (Num. xx. 13), and the two are identical with *Kadesh in the desert of Zin* (Num. xx. 1), and with the modern Ain el-Sedakah (called by Robinson, Ain el-Udakah or Zodikathia), which is about ten or twelve miles to the south of Petra. He finds a proof of this in the fact that the names מריבא, מרשבא and צדקה are synonymous. The second *Kadesh*, or *Kadesh-Barnea*, which was situated in the *desert of Paran*, he removes, on the authority of the Rabbinical tradition, which connects Kadesh-Barnea with Rekam Gaia, into the Wady el-Abyad (to the north-west of the mountainous district of the Azazimeh), to which it is said to have given the name Wady Gaian. But there is not the slightest foundation for any of these combinations. They are at variance with Ezek. xlvi. 19. They are irreconcilable with Gen. xiv. 6, 7; for it was not till the whole of the mountains of Seir had been conquered that Chedorlaomer proceeded from El-Paran (Elath, Ailah) to En-Mishpat, for the purpose of invading the country of the Amorites and Amalekites, whereas the modern Ain el-Zedakah was in the heart of the mountains of Seir. Again, the Rabbinical tradition with regard to Rekam-Gaia has been entirely misunderstood (§ 27, 4); and, lastly, Rithmah, which even *Schwarz* identifies with Retemath, and which he regards as the corresponding station to Kadesh-Barnea in the list of stations in Num. xxxiii., is too far from Wady Abyad to be used interchangeably with it as the name of one and the same station.

(3.) *O. v. Gerlach*, who differs from *Laborde* and agrees with Robinson, with reference to the situation of Kadesh, follows *Laborde* in this, that in his *Erklärung der heiligen Schrift* (i. 509) he speaks of it as the most natural supposition, "that the stations in the desert, which are given in Num. xxxiii. 16-36,

all belong to the period, anterior to the return of the spies and the events which occurred at *Kadesh-Barnea*. Like the modern Arabs, the people passed quickly (!) from one fountain and oasis to another, and halted at twenty-one places, before they reached *Kadesh* on the southern border of *Canaan*, where they met the spies. From this time forth the sacred history is completely silent with regard to the wanderings in the desert, not even the halting-places being given; and after thirty-eight years we find the people at *Kadesh* again." It is really inexplicable that a commentator, who is generally so very circumspect, should have been able to adhere to so unfortunate a supposition, which is expressly contradicted on all hands by the Biblical narrative, and even in itself is inconceivable. But our astonishment increases, when we find that *K. Ritter* has also adopted it. In the *Evangelischer Kalender*, 1854, p. 49 seq., he says: "In the meantime (after the spies had been sent out) the people left their camp at *Hazeroth* (*i.e.*, *Ain el-Hadherah*), and proceeded northward towards *Canaan*." They went first of all past seventeen intermediate stations to *Eziongaber*, at the northern extremity of the *Elanitic Gulf*, and proceeded thence to *Kadesh*, "the border station at the northern edge of the desert." The latter portion of the journey "is particularly referred to in *Num. xxxiii. 36*, but no intermediate encampments are mentioned." . . . "That it cannot have been accomplished in a short space of time, is evident from the fact, that the spies who were sent to *Canaan* had completed their journey throughout the whole length of *Canaan*, even beyond the *Lebanon* to *Hamath* on the river *Orontes*, when they met with the *Israelites* in the eventful camp at *Kadesh* or *Kadesh-Barnea*."

We have met with nothing for a long time which has caused us so much astonishment as this hypothesis. (1.) Why should the list in *Num. xxxiii.* contain the names of so many stations in the short space between *Chazeroth* (*i.e.*, *Ain el-Hadherah*) and *Eziongaber*, and only one single station between *Eziongaber* and *Kadesh*, which was twice as far, whether *Kadesh* was situated on the eastern or western side of the *Azazimch*?—(2.) The spies returned in forty days. And are we to understand that these forty days embrace not merely the eighteen stations between *Chazeroth* and *Eziongaber*, but the stations whose names are not given in the far longer journey from *Eziongaber* to

Kadesh?! As the Israelites were waiting for the return of the spies, and therefore there was no necessity for their hastening to reach the southern border of Canaan, we should not be surprised to find the eighteen stages between el-Hadherah and Eziongeber (a distance of about seventy miles) reduced to the very minimum. What we really find is a want of time. The people pitched their tents eighteen times before they reached Eziongeber; and even if they passed much more quickly over the longer piece of ground between Eziongeber and Kadesh (though we are not acquainted with any good ground for such a supposition), there must have been in all thirty or forty stages between el-Hadherah and Kadesh—and consequently the number of encampments would be almost as great as the number of days which were occupied in the journey. Now, consider for a moment how much time must have been required to pitch all the tents, erect the tabernacle, and perform the numerous other things connected with an encampment. Neither *Gerlach* nor *Ritter* would call a halt for the night a *station*. We believe that at every station at least three days' rest must have been required.—(3.) A comparison of Num. xxxiii. with Deut. x. 6, 7, proves incontrovertibly (*vid.* note 1) that the procession was at Mount Hior (*i.e.*, Moseroth) before it reached Eziongeber; and it is well known that Mount Hior is not situated between el-Hadherah and Eziongeber. . . . Lastly, (4.) *It is stated expressly and repeatedly in the Scriptures themselves* (Num. xxxii. 8; Deut. i. 19 sq.; Josh. xiv. 7), *that Moses did not send out the spies till AFTER the arrival of the Israelites at Kadesh-Barnea!!!*

(4.) *K. v. Raumer* (*Zug der Israeliten*, p. 41) conjectures that the first halt at Kadesh coincided with the station marked *Tachath*, in the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. In his opinion, this is rendered probable by the fact that *Tachath* signifies a lower place (and this would answer to the situation of el-Hasb); and still more so by Deut. i. 2 (“there are eleven days' journey from Hiorcb to Kadesh-Barnea”), since *Tachath* is exactly the eleventh station from Sinai. But is it necessary to remind the learned author, with what zeal, and certainly with what justice, he opposed the favourite hypothesis that the days' marches and the stations correspond? However, *Raumer* laid no stress upon this conjecture, and, so far as we know, never brought it forward again.—*Hengstenberg* claims a great deal more credit

for his discovery that *Bne-Jaakan* is the station in question. This is said to be no mere conjecture or hypothesis, but a well established and unanswerable result of close investigation, which may be held up with triumph, *instar omnium*, in the face of any who take pleasure in foisting contradictions upon the Pentateuch. But on what is this confidence based? On a comparison of Deut. x. 6, 7, and Num. xxxiii. 30-33. In Deut., where there is not the slightest room to doubt that the direction taken by the procession is from north to south, the order in which the names occur is, Bne-Jaakan, Moseroth, Gudgod, and Jotbathah. In the second passage the order is changed into Moseroth, Bne-Jaakan, Gidgad, Jotbathah. This apparent discrepancy can only be explained on the supposition, that on the occasion referred to in Num. xxxiii. 21, the procession turned round; and this completely removes the difficulty. The people, on starting from Sinai, travelled from south to north till they came to Moseroth, and thence to Bne-Jaakan, at which point they turned from north to south again, and naturally arrived first of all at Moseroth (which is omitted on principle, as it had been mentioned before), and then passed on to Gidgad, Jotbathah, etc. Now, we find from the historical account in Num. xiv. 25, that the place at which the procession turned was Kadesh; consequently Bne-Jaakan and Kadesh are one and the same.—This is *Hengstenberg's* account. But he does not touch upon the main difficulty, namely, the reason why the author in Num. xxxiii. should speak of the very same station, first of all (ver. 31), as Bne-Jaakan, and then immediately afterwards (ver. 36) as Kadesh, and why the author of Deuteronomy, who so constantly uses the name Kadesh-Barnea, should employ another name in chap. x. 6. And so long as this is not explained, we can attach no weight whatever to the argument as a whole. The transposition of the names Moseroth and Bne-Jaakan, which is certainly striking, by no means compels us to regard the latter as another name, employed to denote the first halt at Kadesh (*cf.* § 31, 2).

(5.) We append a few remarks in relation to the names of the most northerly station. Beside the simple name *Kadesh*, we find in Num. xxxii. 8, and constantly throughout Deuteronomy, as well as in other parts of the Old Testament, the compound name *Kadesh-Barnea*. According to Num. xx. 13, the place

also received the name *Me-Meribah* (Strife-water), and in Gen. xiv. 7, it occurs under the name of *En-Mishpat* (fountain of judgment or decision). From the last-mentioned name, *Ewald* concludes that in olden time there was an oracle here—a supposition which we have no desire either to contest or defend. The explanatory words, “*that is Kadesh,*” which occur in Gen. xiv. 7, are of more importance to us. They seem to imply that *En-Mishpat* was the original name, and *Kadesh* a more recent one, which was not in existence in the time of Abraham. [*Lengerke*, on the other hand, explains the names, *En-Mishpat* and *Me-Meribah* (erroneously we believe) as synonymous, and therefore regards the use of the former, in Gen. xiv. 7, as a *prolepsis*.] But if the *Kadesh* in Gen. xiv. 7 is a *prolepsis*, the conjecture is a very natural one, that the place referred to received the name for the first time when the Israelites were sojourning there, as being the place where the holiness of *Jehovah* was manifested to the people (Num. xviii. 22 sq.), or to *Moses* and *Aaron* (Num. xx. 13 וַיִּקְרָא בְּמִשְׁפַּחַת יְהוָה), by an act of judgment. Possibly this may furnish another explanation of the fact, that in Num. xxxiii. 18 the place is called *Ritmah*, and not *Kadesh*; whereas in Num. xxxiii. 36, after the infliction of the judgment, it is not called *Ritmah*, but *Kadesh*. The name *Kadesh-Barnea* we regard as a more precise definition of the situation, by the addition of the name of the Edomitish town alluded to in the message sent to the Edomites (Num. xx. 16): “We have come to *Kadesh*, to the town in thy uttermost border.”

§ 31. *The stations, whose names occur between Ritmah and Kadesh* (Num. xxxiii. 19–36), undoubtedly refer to the principal quarters occupied by the Israelites (with the tabernacle, the ark of the covenant, and the pillar of cloud) during their thirty-seven years’ wandering in the desert. But of all these places, *Ezion-geber* (at the northern end of the *Elanitic Gulf*) and *Mount Hor* (or *Mount Seir*, to the west of *Petra*) are the only two which can be set down upon the map with any degree of certainty (1). The apparent discrepancy between Deut. x. 6, 7, and Num. xxxiii. 30–33—in the former of which the Israelites are said to have come first of all to *Beeroth-Bne-Jaakan*, and after this to

Moserah, Gudgod, and Jotbathah; whereas, according to the other, they came first of all to Moseroth, and thence to Bne-Jaakan, Chor-Gidgad, and Jotbathah,—can be very easily explained, if we simply bear in mind the fact that the journeys described in the two passages are very different in their character (2).

(1.) It is true, there are two other names to be met with in the modern geography of the desert, which strikingly remind us of names which occur in the Bible. Fifteen miles to the south of Wady Retemat, we find a wady *Muzeirah* marked upon the maps, and thirty miles to the south of the latter a Wady *el-Gudhagidh*. But, however unmistakable the correspondence between these names and the Biblical stations *Moserah* and *Chorha-Gidgad* (Gudgod) may be, yet, so far as the situation of these wadys is at present determined, it is impossible that they should coincide with the names in the Bible. When we compare Deut. x. 6 with Num. xx. 22 sqq. and xxxiii. 38, it is evident that Moserah must have been situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Hor, probably in the Arabah, at the foot of the mountain.—In that case, the stations between Moserah and Eziongeber would have to be sought for in the Arabah also. *Hengstenberg* is undoubtedly correct in calling attention, in connection with the name Bne-Jaakan, to the fact, that we find an *Akan* (Gen. xxxvi. 27), or *Jaakan* (1 Chr. i. 42), mentioned among the descendants of Seir the Horite, whose land was taken by the Edomites. The station called Bne-Jaakan, therefore, probably denotes the former possessions of this branch of the Horites, but it does not follow that it *must* of necessity have been situated in the Arabah. If we bear in mind (§ 26, 3) that the territory of the Edomites extended far away beyond the Arabah towards the west, it is very conceivable that the “well of the sons of Jaakan” (*Beeroth Bne-Jaakan*) may have been on this side of the Arabah.

(2.) If we look at the difference between the journey described in Num. xxxiii. 30–33, and the one referred to in Deut. x. 6, 7, there is no difficulty in untying the knot, which seems to be formed by a comparison of these two passages. The journey mentioned in Deut. x. 6, 7, was undertaken with a definite object, namely, to pass round Mount Seir, for the purpose of

entering the promised land. On this occasion, therefore, an unnecessarily circuitous route will have been avoided, and the shortest possible way selected. The order in which the stations occur, therefore, in Deut. x. 6, 7, is to be regarded as answering to their geographical situation, so that Bne-Jaakan must be sought for on the north, or west, or north-west of Moserah. The journey described in Num. xxxiii. 30-33 was of a totally different character. At this time—that is, during the thirty-seven years' rejection—the Israelites had dispersed themselves in larger or smaller parties over the entire desert, and settled down by any meadows and springs which they could find (we shall enter more fully into this question, and prove our assertion, at § 41). On the other hand, the stations whose names occur in Num. xxxiii. 19-36, are the head-quarters, where Moses encamped with the tabernacle, which made a circuit of the whole desert, to visit the various sections of the nation which were scattered over it, and remained some time with each of them. There was no end to be served by always going in a *straight* line; but when circumstances rendered it advisable, the course might be turned towards the east or west, the north or south, without the slightest hesitation. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact, that on one occasion a zigzag course was taken, *viz.*, from Kadesh to Moseroth, and thence to Bne-Jaakan, and that on another occasion, when it was a matter of importance to take the most direct route to a certain point, Bne-Jaakan should come before Moseroth. There is even less difficulty in adopting this explanation, if we assume, as we are certainly warranted in doing, that one or other of the names in question may have been used to denote a wady *in its entire length*, and that the point at which the procession touched the wady may not have been the same on both occasions.

THE PLACE OF BURNING, AND THE GRAVES OF LUST.

§ 32. (Num. x. 11-xi. 3.)—On the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year after the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, the cloud ascended (§ 22, 2), and the Israelites left *Sinai*, where they had been encamped for almost an entire year (a year all but ten days, *cf.* § 4, 5). They set out in the order (1) already prescribed (*vid.* § 20). The pillar

of cloud was really the guide of the people, as a whole ; but this by no means precluded the employment of human counsel and assistance, or even rendered them unnecessary. Hence Moses invited *Hobab*, his brother-in-law (vol. ii. § 19, 7), to accompany them and give his advice, which could not fail to be of great advantage, on account of his accurate acquaintance with the country through which they were about to pass (2).—After a three days' journey, the Israelites reached the desert of Paran, and pitched their tents there, with the prospect of a longer halt. The people, who had been spoiled by their long and comparatively agreeable sojourn at Sinai, no sooner entered the inhospitable desert than they lost all patience, and gave utterance to their discontent. But the fire of the wrath of Jehovah broke forth and consumed the uttermost parts of the camp. Moses immediately interceded with God, and the fire (3) was stayed. In consequence of this circumstance, the place was called *Tabérah* (תַּבְעָרָה), or *place of burning* (4).

(1.) According to Num. ii. 17, when the camp broke up, Judah was to lead the van, Reuben was to follow, and after him the Levites with the tent of assembly (§ 20). This was a general and temporary arrangement. Nothing further could be said at that time with reference to the precise manner in which the Levites were to be linked into the procession, since it is only in the chapters which follow (chap. iii. and iv.) that an account is given of the numbering and organisation of the tribe of Levi. But now, on the breaking up of the camp for the first time, the general notice is more fully explained in the account of the arrangements actually made. The ark of the covenant led the way, carried by the Kohathites (§ 20, 6), and the tribe of Judah followed. After Judah came the Gershonites and Merarites, with the external portions of the tabernacle ; then the tribe of Reuben ; and behind them the rest of the Kohathites, with the sacred vessels (as the real sanctuary ; *cf.* § 20, 5). This order of march may possibly at first sight appear strange ; but, on a closer inspection, we find it to be very simple and natural. The ark of the covenant, as the abode of the Shechinah, which had undertaken the guidance of the whole procession, necessarily led

the way. But in all other respects, on the march as well as in the camp, the place for the tabernacle was in the midst of the people. The reason why the bearers of the various portions of the building were separated from the bearers of the furniture by the tribe of Reuben, is explained in Num. x. 21 to have been in order that, when they arrived at a new place of encampment, the tabernacle might be erected before the sacred vessels arrived, so that the latter might be put into their places without further delay.

(2.) How HOBAB (vol. ii. § 19, 7) came to meet with Moses here, we are not informed. The assumption, that when his father Reguel (Jethro) visited Moses at Replhidim (Ex. xviii.) Hobab was with him, and had since that time remained with Moses, is certainly by no means a probable one. It is a much more likely supposition, that at the close of their three days' journey, the Israelites came near to the spot where the friendly Midianitish tribe was feeding its flocks (vol. ii. § 19, 6), and that *Hobab*, whose father *Reguel* had probably died in the mean time, paid a visit to Moses, his brother-in-law, or *vice versa*. At first, Hobab declined the invitation of Moses, to join company with the Israelites; and, so far as prudential considerations were concerned, he had certainly good grounds for his refusal. He would have to give up his free, unfettered, nomad life, by which he secured an ample provision for himself and his flocks, and join an immense multitude in a journey through the barren and inhospitable desert, where he would have to endure all sorts of hardships and privations. There can be no doubt, however, that eventually he yielded to the solicitations of Moses. The scriptural account leaves very little room to doubt of this; for, otherwise, the renewed and earnest entreaty on the part of Moses (in vers. 31, 32) would certainly be followed by a second refusal. In fact, it is fully proved by Judg. i. 16, iv. 11, and 1 Sam. xv. 6, where the descendants of Hobab, who are called children of the *Kenite*, the name by which they were distinguished from the rest of the Midianites, are said to have gone up with the Israelites into Canaan, and to have settled among them there, probably without relinquishing their nomadic mode of life.—We may see what it was which ultimately prevailed upon Hobab to yield to the persuasion of Moses, from the words of the latter in vers. 29, 32: "We are journeying to the place of

which Jehovah said, I will give it you : come thou with us, and we will do thee good ; for Jehovah hath spoken good concerning Israel." It was faith in the God of Israel which induced him to consent, and a hope of participating in the blessings which had been promised to Israel.—The advantage which Moses hoped to derive from the company of Hobab is explained by himself in ver. 31 : "Leave us not, I pray thee ; for thou knowest where we should encamp in the desert, and therefore be *our eye!*" That an accurate knowledge of the country to be traversed, with its mountains, valleys, and wadys, its pasturage, springs, etc., might be very advantageous, and was by no means rendered superfluous by the pillar of cloud, is at once apparent. The pillar of cloud would undoubtedly determine the route to be taken, and the place of encampment (§ 22, 2) ; but both on the march and when encamping, many difficulties would arise, which could be set at rest at once by one who was well acquainted with the ground.

(3.) At Sinai the Israelites had been sealed as the nation of God, and the covenant of their fathers with Jehovah had been renewed and confirmed. In the law, the nation had received a fresh armament and defence against everything of an ungodly and heathenish character, which might threaten to interfere with its vocation either from without or within ; but in spite of this defence, the ungodly elements of their nature very soon broke forth again in the national life. The people had hardly entered the "great and terrible desert," Deut. i. 19, which it had to cross before it could reach the land of promise, the land flowing with milk and honey, when they broke out again with unbelieving complaints. "The fact that no cause or occasion is mentioned, undoubtedly indicates that that state of general inward discontent is intended, which secretly quarrels with everything that occurs. But whilst the murmuring proceeded from the nature of Israel, and therefore was merely the repetition of similar complaints into which the people had broken out before, Jehovah now presented Himself in a totally different light. On the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, He had borne with great long-suffering and patience the frequent manifestations of the weakness of Israel : now, however, not merely did He hear the first slight whisperings of complaint, but the fire of His wrath broke out immediately, and destroyed the people who thus in-

wardly rebelled. The reason for this difference is evidently to be found in the fact, that the Israelites had now been placed under the law of Jehovah, and had the dwelling-place of Jehovah in the midst of them. It was Moses again who remained faithful and firm; and the stiffnecked nation came so far to its senses, that when the punishment came upon it, it turned to him as the mediator. And the result of the intercession of Moses proved that he still retained his mediatorial character. The fact that the first place in the desert of Paran, at which Israel halted on its journey from Sinai to Canaan, received its name from the destructive *burning* of the wrath of God, was certainly a very bad omen of the future.”—(*Baumgarten.*)

As the “fire of Jehovah,” which burned among the people, destroyed their outermost tents, we have not to think of the fire as issuing from Jehovah—that is to say, from the dwelling-place of His holiness—in the same sense as in Lev. x. 2. We adopt, on the contrary, the interpretation given by *Rosenmüller*: “The simple meaning appears to be, that the fire commenced among the tents on the outside, no doubt to the terror of the rest. But the flame seems to have burned up the shrubs and bushes, which are very abundant in this part of the desert, and in the midst of which the Israelites had encamped. Such a fire would be difficult to extinguish; and spreading, as it quickly would, in all directions, many tents might be destroyed in a short space of time.” This was the first commencement of the fulfilment of the threat contained in Ex. xxxii. 34 (§ 14, 2), which had been hanging over the heads of the people ever since the apostasy at Sinai: “In the time of My visitation I will visit their sin.”

(4.) On the probable site of Tabeérah, compare § 29, and § 33, 5.

§ 33. (Num. xi. 4–35.)—Notwithstanding the consecration which the people had received at Sinai, the extent to which the ungodly elements of nature still retained their hold was soon apparent, and that in a most fearful manner. The fire, which had destroyed their outermost tents as a punishment for their discontent, was no sooner extinguished at the intercession of

Moses, than the discontent of the people, which was repressed but not overcome, broke forth again in bitter and reckless murmuring. The lead was taken this time by the multitude of foreigners, who had joined the Israelites when they set out from Egypt (vol. ii. § 35, 7). They no sooner entered the barren desert, than they began to lust after the enjoyments of Egypt, which they had missed so long; and with loud murmurings and lamentations they began to complain of the impossibility of satisfying their wants. The Israelites were influenced by their example, and carried away by the same desires; so that in a very short time there were no bounds to the weeping and lamentation throughout all the tents (1). The anger of Jehovah was kindled once more. *Moses*, with the wrath of God pressing on the one side, and the violence of the people on the other, and called by his mediatorial office to appease them both, was utterly at a loss to know what to do. He was to conduct the Israelites through the desert to the promised land. But it was only as the people of God, only by remaining faithful to their God and the covenant with Him, that they could ever obtain possession. Hence *Moses* had to uphold the fidelity and obedience of the whole nation to Jehovah; and his experience of the nation, thus far, was enough to convince him that he was unequal to the task. Here, at the very commencement of the great and terrible desert which they had to cross, the whole nation was refractory and in utter confusion. What, then, was the future likely to produce, seeing that the difficulty would be sure to increase? Where could he find flesh enough to satisfy so great a multitude, and appease, if only for a time, the violent longings of the people? How could *he* alone sustain the burden of such a nation as this? He poured out all these complaints to his God; and such was his despondency, that he would gladly have been relieved, by an early death, of the burden he could not sustain (2).—For the twofold complaint of His servant, Jehovah had also a twofold consolation and aid. *Moses* was directed to select seventy men from the elders and *Shoterim* (vol. ii. § 16),

and to bring them to the tabernacle. Jehovah would then take of the Spirit which was in Moses, and put it upon *them*, that *they* might help him to bear the burden of the people (3). As the desires of the *people* were the source of trouble and anxiety to Moses, they were also to be satisfied. The people were directed to sanctify themselves by the morrow; for Jehovah would then give them flesh, not for one day, nor for two, nor for five, nor for ten, nor for twenty, but for a whole month, until they became disgusted with it (4). Moses, who thought more of the two million eaters than of the omnipotence of God, exclaimed: "Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them? Or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?" But Jehovah replied: "Is the hand of Jehovah too short, then? Thou shalt see now whether My word shall come to pass or not."

When Moses brought the elders whom he had chosen to the tabernacle, Jehovah came down in the cloud, and took of the Spirit which was upon Moses and gave it also to them; and when the Spirit came upon them they prophesied. But two of the seventy who had been selected, *Eldad* and *Medad*, had by some accident or other remained in the camp. Nevertheless the Spirit came upon them, and they also prophesied in the camp. This striking phenomenon was at once made known to Moses; and Joshua, in his zeal for the honour of Moses, thought that it ought to be forbidden. But Moses was of a different opinion. "Art thou zealous for *my sake*?" he said: "Would God that all people of Jehovah prophesied, and that Jehovah had put His Spirit upon them!" (3).

As soon as Moses returned with the elders into the camp, the second promise was fulfilled. A wind came forth from Jehovah, and brought *quails* from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, a day's journey on every side, and lying two cubits deep upon the ground. The people immediately set to work to collect them, and continued gathering quails all that day, and throughout the night, and the whole of the following day.

The people had complied but badly with the injunction to sanctify themselves for this gift of God. Greedy and un sanctified as they were, they rushed upon them at once. And the flesh was still between their teeth, when the wrath of Jehovah was kindled against them, and smote the people with very great destruction (4). In consequence of this occurrence, the place was called *Kibroth-Taavah* (קִבְרוֹת הַתַּאֲוָה, *i.e.*, graves of lust), for there they buried the people that lusted (5).

(1.) THE LUSTING OF THE PEOPLE was more especially for animal food. This may appear somewhat surprising, as they had brought their flocks with them from Egypt. But it must be borne in mind, that their flocks were very unequally divided. According to Num. xxxii., it appears to have been only the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, which possessed any considerable quantity. The other tribes may possibly have exchanged their nomad mode of life for agricultural pursuits, even before leaving Egypt (vol. ii. § 15), and therefore have scarcely possessed any flocks at all. Moreover, the consumption of animal food in the desert may have exceeded the supply; and therefore there may have been reason enough for confining it within the narrowest possible limits.—Again, in their desire for animal food, they thought chiefly of the excellent fish which they had formerly obtained in such abundance from the Nile. They complained to Moses: “Who gives us *flesh* to eat? For we remember the *fish* which we did eat in Egypt freely, the *cucumbers* and the *melons*, and the *leeks* (*grass*), and the *onions*, and the *garlic*; but now our palate is dry; there is nothing at all, and our eyes fall upon this *manna* alone.”—The articles of produce here mentioned are suggestive of horticulture and agriculture, rather than of the rearing of cattle. It is well known that they are of superior quality in Egypt, and may be obtained even by the poorest in great abundance (*vid. Hengstenberg: Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 208 sqq., and *Laborde, Comment.*, p. 116 sqq.). The only thing at all surprising is the fact that *grass* (חֲצִיר) should be mentioned as an object of desire. As reference is made to the food of man alone, and not to that of cattle, of course it cannot be common grass that is meant. In the Septuagint and Aquila’s version, the word is rendered *πρῶσα*

(leek); in the Vulgate *porri*, and the latter is the rendering adopted by Onkelos and Saadias, and in the Syriac version. *Rosenmüller* (on this passage), *Gesenius* (Thesaurus), and most of the modern expositors, abide by this rendering; but *Hengstenberg* and *Laborde* have departed from it. The former says: “הַצִּיר has etymologically the meaning of food for cattle: its primary signification is not grass, but pasturage, fodder. The first criterion of the correctness of any interpretation, therefore, is that the article of food with which הַצִּיר is identified, be, from its very nature, a food of beasts; so that man, as it were, sits down to dinner with them. Now, one of the curiosities of natural history in connection with Egypt, of which travellers make mention, is this, that the common people eat with peculiar relish a kind of fodder resembling clover. This is the so-called *Helleh* (*Trigonella fœnum Græcum*, *Linnaeus*), of which the modern Egyptians of the lower classes are very fond, and which they regard as a specific for strengthening the stomach, and as a preservative from many diseases.” . . . But as the grass-like form of the leek would very naturally lead to its being called הַצִּיר, and as it is quite in place by the side of the garlic and the onions, as being a vegetable of a similarly piquant character, and as *all* the ancient translators, who were so well acquainted with the customs of the country, have, without exception, fixed upon the leek, it certainly appears advisable to give the preference to so strongly attested a rendering, rather than to that of *Hengstenberg*.

The longing for the juicy and pungent vegetables of Egypt, is connected with a contemptuous allusion to the heavenly food of the manna, which God had bestowed upon the nation. On this *Baumgarten* has forcibly remarked (i. 2, p. 297): “It was the gift of Jehovah from heaven, with which the Israelites were satiated, and which they treated with contempt, preferring the meat and spices of Egypt. Such is the perversity of human nature, which cannot be content with the quiet enjoyment of what is pure and unmingled, but, from its disorganised state within, longs for the additional charm of something pungent or sour.” He then points out the analogy which we find, when we turn to the spirit’s food. The sinful nature of man is soon satiated with the pure food of the word of God, and turns with longing desires to the more exciting pleasures of the world.

(2.) "Moses heard the people weep, every one in the door of his tent. And the anger of Jehovah was kindled greatly, and it was evil in the eyes of Moses." It appears to us that those who refer the displeasure of Moses exclusively to the murmuring of the people, and those who refer it to the wrath of Jehovah alone, are equally in the wrong. The whole attitude of Moses shows that his displeasure was excited, not merely by the unrestrained rebellion of the people against Jehovah, but also by the unrestrained wrath of Jehovah against the nation. For the wrath of Jehovah appeared to him to be too regardless of the weakness of the people, and too regardless of himself, the mediator of the people. "Wherefore dost Thou afflict Thy servant," he exclaims, "that Thou layest the burden of all this people upon me? Have I conceived this whole nation, have I brought it forth, that Thou sayest to me, Carry it in thy bosom, as the nurse carries the sucking child, into the land which Thou swearest unto their fathers?" We cannot agree with *Baumgarten*, therefore, who thinks that it was only a spirit of love, and not a spirit of discontent or ill-will, which dictated the words of Moses. Discontent is unmistakably indicated by his words, and discontent is the offspring of evil. But the wrath of Jehovah did not burn against the evil, which prompted the words of Moses, as it burned against the evil apparent in the words of the people; the discontent of the people being essentially different from that of Moses, and not merely differing in degree. The *ground* of his complaint was a just one; for the shoulders of one man were really not sufficient to bear the burden of the whole nation. Jehovah acknowledged this, by giving him seventy assistants to help him to sustain the burden. The *impulse* was also a laudable one; for it proceeded from his vocation of mediator: Moses had not merely the right, it was also his duty, to make such representations to Jehovah. Nor was there anything essentially evil in the *substance* and *form* of his complaint. He had a right to appeal from the wrath to the mercy of Jehovah. He had also a right to represent to Jehovah that the people had claims upon His mercy, since it was He Himself who had given them such claims. It was not Moses but Jehovah who had conceived and brought forth, and not Moses but Jehovah who had sworn to carry the people as upon eagles' wings to the land of their fathers. At the same time,

Moses neither could, nor wished to dispute the justice of the wrath of God: on the contrary, his whole complaint rested upon an admission of its justice. It was precisely because the wrath of God was just and well-deserved, that he felt himself unequal to the claims of an office which required of him that he should watch over the people, and take care that they did not excite the anger of Jehovah by their obstinacy and rebellion. Still, he did not wish to be entirely released from the office. He merely desired to have the burden lightened, and to be assisted in sustaining it. For his own part, he felt that his office had become so much a part of himself, that office and life were identical. Hence he entreated of Jehovah that He would rather take him away by a sudden death, than suffer him to sink and perish beneath the heavy and undivided burden of his office. "I am not able," he said, "to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy 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, that I may not see my wretchedness!" His language was bold, as we perceive, but not wanting in the humility which sets forth the boldness of prayer, as a golden setting a costly jewel. At the same time, his language was enveloped in the mist of discontent; it was characterised by impatience, which had not yet learned to be still and quietly wait, and by self-will, which would determine the time and method of the help required according to its own ideas.

That Moses was a *real* mediator and leader of the people, was evident from all he said. The burden of the people was his burden. The wrath which was kindled against the people was felt by him. His office was identical with his life. But it was also evident that *the true* Mediator and perfect Head of the people of God had not yet come. The burden of the people was too heavy for him: he was unable to bear it, and sank beneath the weight. He was not the man who gave utterance to no murmuring under the weight of the mediatorial office, in whose mouth there was no complaint, but who was like a sheep dumb before its shearers.

(3.) Most incredible things have been done by the critics (*e.g.*, *Vater*, *De Wette*, *Hartmann*), in connection with the account of the incorporation of a body of seventy elders. In the first place, the institution alluded to here, is said to be identical

with the judicial organisation which was introduced by the advice of Jethro (Ex. xviii.; *vid.* § 4, 5); and, consequently, the accounts are both set aside as incredible, on account of the discrepancies which they contain. A second discovery, on the other hand, is, that the company of seventy elders, which the account before us states to have been organised for the first time now, is proved by Ex. xxiv. 1, 9 to have been really in existence from time immemorial. With reference to the first discovery of the critics, *Ranke* has written as follows, and much more forcibly than we are able:—"This is excellent! Moses was overwhelmed with business when Jethro came forward with his advice. From morning till evening he was surrounded by a crowd, waiting for him to settle their legal disputes. To lighten this pressure of business, six hundred chiliarchs, six thousand heptakontarchs, twelve thousand pentekontarchs, and sixty thousand dekadarchs were chosen. But of what use was this army of overseers and judges at the graves of lust? In this case, it was no question of petty disputes among the people. The whole of them, not excepting the leaders, were in a state of rebellion against Jehovah and against Moses; and when the latter, in the bitterness of his disappointment, desired to die, it was not the pressure of business which overwhelmed him, but the unfaithfulness of the redeemed and chosen people. He anticipated the disastrous issue. He felt unable to preserve the people in a state of fidelity towards Jehovah, and therefore, unable to lead them into the promised land. Jehovah now came to his help with the institution, consisting of seventy elders filled with the spirit of prophecy, who could stand side by side with Moses as the chosen servants of Jehovah,—a Divine institution, which confirmed afresh both the election of Moses and the law communicated through him. It was another attempt on the part of Jehovah, to lead His people to their destination, notwithstanding their present display of unbelief; and consequently there is nothing to support the hypothesis, that there is some connection between the account before us and the one narrated before. There is also another question: Whom did the seventy elders represent?—the six hundred chiliarchs?—the sixty thousand dekadarchs?—or the whole of the seventy-eight thousand six hundred leaders? There would certainly be differences enough between these two forms of the same tradi-

tion, and differences of such magnitude, that we should be overwhelmed with astonishment at the sagacity of the critics who discovered the secret identity beneath so thick a covering of complete diversity."

According to Ex. xxiv. 1, 9, Moses chose seventy of the elders of Israel, as he had been directed by God, and conducted them, along with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, to the mountain of the law, where they saw the God of Israel, and partook of the sacrificial meal connected with the covenant-sacrifice. A year later, Moses again selected seventy men from the elders and *Shoterim*, according to instructions received from God, and brought them to the tabernacle, that the Spirit which was in Moses might be communicated to them also, and that they might be qualified for assisting him in the task of leading, watching, and admonishing the people. Are we warranted (not to say compelled) in regarding the two as identical? Certainly not. In the first instance, a temporary representation was all that was required, under circumstances in which it was impossible that the whole of the elders should be brought together, amounting as they did to several thousands. On the occasion referred to here, a permanent institution was to be organised, and that for a totally different purpose. But, we are told in reply, seventy elders were appointed then, and there are seventy elders here. No doubt. But is it inconceivable that a certain number of elders should have been chosen as a committee for merely temporary purposes, and that a permanent committee should afterwards have been formed, consisting of the same number? Can anything further be reasonably inferred from this, than that in both instances the number seventy possessed either a real or a symbolical importance?

Our first inquiry, therefore, is, why was the number of elders to be chosen fixed at seventy, and that on both occasions? In the eyes of the ancient Hebrews, the number undoubtedly possessed a symbolical worth. Ten was the number which denoted perfection; seven, the seal of the covenant with Jehovah. Seventy, therefore, was the number which combined the two ideas. How suitable, then, was this number on both occasions, if, as we have not the slightest doubt, the symbolical meaning helped to determine the selection! But in addition to the symbolical importance of the number itself, the circum-

stances may have also determined the selection—just as the number of the tribes was determined by the number of the sons of Jacob—and yet retained its symbolical importance (as the arrangement of the camp clearly showed, *vid.* § 38, 5). *Jahn* (*Archäologie*, ii. 1, p. 59) calculates, from Num. xxvi., that the number of *Mishpachoth* was seventy-one, and infers that one elder was chosen for every *Mishpachah*. His calculation, it is true, is not correct; for, in cases where a *Mishpachah* was so strong that several subdivisions were formed, each possessing the rights of an independent *Mishpachah*, he has also reckoned the original *Mishpachah*, which is certainly inadmissible. But notwithstanding this, the numbers very nearly agree, and nothing further was required (*vid.* vol. ii. § 1, 3).

The *purpose* of this college of elders was to support Moses in his office, as the chief and leader of Israel. We may therefore safely assume, that it continued in existence till the conquest of the promised land, but hardly longer. There is, at any rate, no foundation whatever for the boast of the later Jews, that their Sanhedrim (which was certainly an imitation of the college of elders) was founded by Moses, and continued without interruption, with the sole exception of the time of the Captivity.

We are not informed in what way the *communication of the Spirit* to the seventy elders took place,—possibly in a manner somewhat analogous to that described in Acts ii. When it is stated that Jehovah took of the Spirit, which was upon Moses, and put it upon the seventy, it is not meant that the fulness of the Spirit in Moses was diminished thereby. As one candle can kindle many others without losing any of its own light in consequence, so did the Spirit pass from Moses to those who were destined to be his helpers, without involving the slightest loss to Moses himself.

Whether *Eldad* and *Medad* remained in the camp from feelings of modesty, because they did not think themselves worthy of so great an honour, as Jonathan and Jerome suppose, or whether there was some other reason for their absence, it is impossible to determine. Their names were contained in the list of those who had been selected (ver. 26 : *וְהָיָה בְּפָתוּיִם*); and as a proof that the selection which Moses had made was the right one, the same gift was bestowed upon them as upon all

the rest. Joshua, who thought there was something very disorderly in their prophesying, and imagined that the authority of Moses would be weakened in consequence—probably because they had received the gift without any visible intervention on the part of Moses—wanted to prohibit them from exercising it, like the Apostle John in Mark ix. 38. But Moses made just the same reply to Joshua, as Christ to John: “Forbid them not.”

The *prophesying* of the elders is not to be regarded as merely a prediction of future events (this by no means exhausts the idea of *הִתְנַבֵּא*), but as a divinely-inspired utterance in the widest sense of the term, in which a more elevated tone in the language itself, as well as the outward demeanour of the speaker, proved that he forgot himself, was raised above himself, and spoke words of Divine and not merely of human wisdom. It is worthy of remark, that it is expressly stated, that this prophesying only occurred once, and was never repeated again (ver. 25: *לֹא יִסְפֹּךְ אֲלֵיכֶם אֲנִי שֵׁנִי*, which is erroneously rendered in the Vulgate *nec ultra cessaverunt*; also by Luther, “*Sie hörten nicht auf*;¹” but which is correctly given in the Septuagint, *καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσέθευρο*). We see at once that their speaking was of an *ecstatic* character,—like the speaking with tongues, which generally followed immediately upon the communication of the Spirit in the apostolic times, and in most instances probably occurred only once, as in the case before us.—Of course, it cannot be inferred from the expression *לֹא יִסְפֹּךְ אֲנִי שֵׁנִי*, that the Spirit departed from them after this first striking proof of His presence.

(4.) On the *quails*, see § 3, 1, and Bochart, *Hieroz. ed. Rosenmüller*, ii. 648–676. There is nothing surprising in the fact, that the critics should have pronounced this gift of quails as identical with that described in Ex. xvi., and only separated in consequence of the want of critical acumen on the part of the compiler of the Pentateuch records. On the first occasion it was an act of mercy alone: here, it met the heightened murmuring of the people in thirtyfold greater abundance, but was the instrument of judicial punishment as well. So greatly, however, did mercy preponderate even here, that if the people had but sanctified themselves beforehand, as they were expressly instructed to do (ver. 18), they might have averted the

¹ “They did not cease.” Our English Version gives the same rendering.

judgment.—The quails fell in such abundance, that those who gathered only a few had *ten omers* full. According to *Bertheau* (*Abhandlung zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, p. 73), an omer was not less than two cubic feet,—a quantity which might certainly be made to suffice for a whole month. The birds were spread out in the camp to dry, for the purpose of preserving them,—of course, after having undergone some previous preparation to prevent decomposition.

In the paragraph above, we have described the fall of quails in the words of the Biblical account. It is difficult, however, to determine what the author meant by the expression “*two cubits above the ground*” (וַיִּזְרֹק עֲלֵיפְנֵי הָאָרֶץ). The verb is זָרַק: the wind *strewed, cast* them (*Sept.*: ἐπέβαλεν) upon the camp two cubits high. This may be understood as meaning that the quails, which were brought by the force of the wind and wearied with flight, fell upon the ground in such immense numbers, that for a whole day’s journey round the camp they were lying two cubits deep upon the ground. But it may also mean, that the wind compelled them to fly two cubits above the ground. This meaning may certainly be implied in the Septuagint rendering, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; but, to prevent any misunderstanding, the *Vulgate* supplies *volabantque*; and *Jonathan, Philo*, and others have done the same. The Psalmist, however, appears to have understood the passage in the former sense (and this certainly is the most natural interpretation); for he describes the miracle in these terms: “He caused an east wind to blow in the heaven, and by His power He brought in the south wind; He rained flesh also upon them as dust, and feathered fowls like as the sand of the sea, and He let it fall in the midst of their camp, round about their habitations.” If we give the preference to this explanation, of course the words are not to be interpreted with strict literality, as meaning that a circle, the diameter of which was two days’ journey, was covered with quails, to a uniform depth of two cubits. Such a colossal absurdity as this, none but the most ignorant could think of attributing to our author. The כִּי in כִּימֵתִים is in itself a sufficient proof that this is not his meaning. We have simply to imagine the quails lying about in such quantities, that in many places they were two cubits deep.

(5.) As only one halting-place is mentioned between the

desert of Sinai and Chazeroth, in the exact list of stations contained in Num. xxxiii., *viz.*, the *graves of lust*, and as no allusion is made in the account before us to any removal from the *place of burning* to the *graves of lust*, there can be no doubt that they are different names of the same station. The name Tabeérali applies to one particular part of the place of encampment, Kibroth-Taavah to the whole locality.

OCCURRENCES AT CHAZEROTH.

§ 34. (Num. xii.)—The Israelites departed from the graves of lust, and proceeded to Chazeroth (§ 29, 2). A new trial awaited Moses here, and one in which his patience and meekness (1) were once more displayed in a most distinguished manner. Even those who were most closely related to him, and who were connected with him not only by the ties of nature, but also by their appointment as his colleagues in office,—even his sister *Miriam*, and, through her persuasion, his brother Aaron (2), turned against him. They despised him on account of his marriage with a Cushite woman, and maintained that he was not superior to them, since Jehovah spoke through them as well as through him. Moses endured in silence. But Jehovah was not silent; and Miriam and Aaron were summoned to the tabernacle. The pillar of cloud entered into the door of the tabernacle, and Jehovah declared from within that His servant Moses was entrusted with all His house, and that not one of all the prophets was equal to him (4). The cloud then left the tent, and Miriam became leprous, as snow. Aaron, who was greatly alarmed at this judgment of God, and deeply repented of the sin which had occasioned it, entreated Moses to intercede for their sister. Moses cried to the Lord, “O God, heal her!” His prayer was heard; but Miriam was to be shut out for seven days from all intercourse with the people as one unclean, and to pass the time in a solitary place outside the camp. The people remained at Chazeroth till Miriam was restored (5).

(1.) The historian, when relating the glorious manner in which Moses sustained this fresh trial of his patience, breaks out into the laudatory words: "The man Moses was very *meek*, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth." As the *self-praise* involved in these words presents considerable difficulties,—on the assumption, that is, that Moses was the author of the entire Pentateuch in its present form,—critics have not been backward in founding an argument upon it against the authenticity of the Pentateuch; and *Hengstenberg* has attempted an elaborate refutation of the argument on psychological grounds (*vid.* Dissertations on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 141 sq.). His argument amounts essentially to this, that it is only within the limits of Phariseism or Pelagianism that a man looks upon his actions as implying something meritorious on his own part, and that self-praise is a result of sinful vanity; but where there is a lively consciousness of the grace of God, which enables a man to accomplish great things, an expression of this kind is rather a proof of genuine humility and thorough sincerity. We fully admit the soundness of this argument, and maintain, with *Hengstenberg*, that a humility which, *of necessity*, durst not gratefully and joyfully acknowledge and make known whatever of a great and remarkable character it may have been enabled by God to perform, through peculiar gifts, whether of nature or of grace, is at the best not sure of itself, and in most cases is nothing but vanity in disguise. At the same time, we must confess that *Hengstenberg's* arguments have not set all our difficulties and doubts at rest in this particular instance. We have still the impression, after all, that the words were not written by Moses himself.

Hengstenberg says (vol. ii. p. 141): "It is remarkable, at the outset, that in the whole work (namely, the Pentateuch) there is only this one passage which can by any possibility be interpreted as self-praise; for the other passage which is cited, Deut. xxxiv. 10, belongs to the author of the supplement, and not to Moses. The proof, therefore, is changed into the very opposite. It is inconceivable, that in the case of a later author, there should not have been more striking indications of the influence of the reverential love of the nation to its lawgiver. We may see from the supplement, what the entire work would have been under such circumstances as these."—But just because, on the one hand, the

passage in the supplement (Deut. xxxiv. 10 sqq.) was evidently and indisputably not written by Moses, and, on the other hand, the passage before us (Num. xii. 3 sqq.) is perfectly analogous in the style of its praise, we are warranted in conjecturing that it was also the production of some other pen. The rarity of such laudatory passages cannot be adduced, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, as a proof that the Pentateuch was not partially written by another hand. This absence of praise, which is certainly characteristic, is to be accounted for on totally different grounds, which no one has explained so thoroughly and satisfactorily as *Hengstenberg* himself. This is in fact, throughout, the distinctive feature of sacred history, especially of that of the Old Testament, that it never goes out of its way to praise, extol, or glorify the most celebrated of the fathers, the greatest benefactors, or the most splendid heroes. It has continually but one object in view, namely, to praise God, in the record of the sins and transgressions, as well as in that of the more renowned performances, of the men of God. But when we meet with direct commendation, as in the passage before us, and Deut. xxxiv. 10 sqq., it is simply an exception from the rule; the writer having been so completely overpowered by the impression made upon him by the grandeur and rarity of the events recorded, that he was unable to suppress his admiration. This was the case here (Num. xii.), where the meekness of Moses was more strikingly displayed than on any other occasion; and also in Deut. xxxiv., where the historian was taking one more look at the entire and now finished course of this wonderful man. In our opinion, both expressions (the one in Num. xii., as well as that in Deut. xxxiv.) would come well from the mouth of a contemporary of Moses, who survived the great man of God, and still retained the impression made upon him by actions which he himself had witnessed.—That the authorship of every portion of the Pentateuch must be assigned either to Moses himself, or to (younger) contemporaries, has been already maintained (*vid.* vol. i. § 20, 1).

The examples cited by *Hengstenberg*, of analogies to this supposed self-praise, appear to us to bear no resemblance. The passages from the book of Daniel, which are adduced in a similar manner as proofs that it was not the work of Daniel himself (*e.g.* ch. i. 19, 20, v. 11, 12, ix. 23, x. 11), we could very well conceive to have

been written by Daniel himself ; just as we believe that Num. xii. 6-8 (considered as the objective testimony of *Jehovah* with regard to him) might very well have proceeded from the pen of Moses.—The words of Christ, “I am meek and lowly in heart,” which are cited as analogous, are not to the point, as every one must admit. Christ could say, “Which of you convinceth Me of sin?” without the slightest symptom of vanity or pride, of excitement or passion, being apparent in *His* heart. But Moses was a sinful son of man, like every other ; and his patience and meekness, which were certainly wonderful, were not entirely and under all circumstances free from the rust of sinful impatience, excitement, and passion. I will not refer to the incident narrated in Ex. ii. 11 sqq. ; but a few days before, he had manifested something like impatience or discontent (§ 26, 2), and on a subsequent occasion his dissatisfaction broke out into evident passion (Num. xx. 11-13, and Ps. cvi. 32, cf. § 44, 4). Notwithstanding all this, it is still true, that the man Moses was meek above all the men that were upon the face of the earth ; but what I mean is, that he would hardly have thought or said this of himself, since he could not blind his eyes to the fact, that even his meekness was imperfect. I should have thought it a very proper thing, if he had met the presumptuous conduct of Miriam and Aaron, by asserting in the strongest terms that he had accomplished infinitely more than they, through the mercy and call of God ; for that would have been something purely objective : just as I regard it as a very natural thing, that *Paul* should have declared, in reply to those who impeached his apostolic call, “I have laboured more than all the other apostles.” But to exalt his own meekness, as unparalleled in the history of the world, would be a totally different matter, and would at least be so liable to misinterpretation on his own part and that of his readers, that some precaution would be needed to prevent it. *Paul* would hardly have said of himself, even when provoked to do so by unjust accusations, that he exceeded all other Christian men on the face of the earth in the holiness of his heart. But in the case before us there was nothing at all to provoke Moses to appeal to his *meekness* ; for it was not his meekness that Miriam had disputed, but his claim to superiority over them on the ground of his prophetic call.

(2.) That MIRIAM is to be regarded as the leader in the

opposition, is evident from the fact, that her name stands first (before that of Aaron) in ver. 1, as well as from the feminine form of the common predicate וַיִּדְבַר (and she said); and it is still further confirmed by the subsequent punishment. Miriam and Aaron do not appear here exclusively, or even primarily, as the brother and sister of Moses, but as his assistants in the guidance of Israel. Aaron, at the very outset, was called the "mouth" and "prophet" of Moses, who was to be Aaron's "god" in return (vol. ii. § 20, 8). *Miriam's* part in the duty assigned to Moses is not so clearly stated. That she had some share is evident from Ex. xv. 20, where she stands at the head of the women, and is expressly described as a *prophetess*. In Micah vi. 4, also, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are classed together as the leaders of Israel through the desert.

(3.) The occasion, or rather the excuse for the opposition, offered by the brother and sister, to their brother who was placed above them, was furnished by his marriage with a *Cushite woman*. As we have no account of any such marriage, the most probable conjecture is, that Zipporah, the Midianite, is referred to (vol. ii. § 19, 7). *Cush*, when used as a geographical name, was a very comprehensive term. According to Gen. x., it embraced the countries of the southern zone; that is, all the lands to the south, which fell within the horizon of the Israelites, and which were bounded towards the east by the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, and towards the west by the Nile and the almost unexplored deserts to the west of the Nile. The land of Cush had no boundary towards the south (*Bertheau, Paradis*, p. 17). These being the limits within which the use of the name was confined, Miriam and Aaron might have intentionally confounded together the genealogical and geographical application of the word, and so have called their sister-in-law a Cushite or Hamite, for the purpose of giving the strongest possible expression to their contempt. But this view is at variance with the fact, that it is expressly stated in the Biblical account that "he had taken a Cushite woman." This statement compels us to understand the name Cushite in the strict sense of the word. In this case, two things are conceivable,—either that Moses had married the Cushite woman previous to his flight from Egypt (this appears to be the idea embodied in the legend of his marriage with an Ethiopian princess: cf. vol. ii. § 19, 4), or, that he had marrie

her but a short time before, namely, during the sojourn in the wilderness. As the contemptuous speech of Miriam and Aaron seem more in accordance with the latter view, we are inclined to give it the preference. We are consequently disposed to proceed, with the majority of commentators, to the further assumption, that Zipporah had died in the meantime,—for, though the Mosaic law tolerated polygamy, it by no means favoured it. Among the mixed population collected together from foreign nations, which accompanied the Israelites on their departure from Egypt, there might possibly have been some Cushites; or, if this hypothesis be thought objectionable, there is still another left open, viz., that there was a Cushite tribe leading a nomad life in the desert, with which Moses came into contact.

Many interpreters give to this marriage with a Cushite woman a symbolical or typical signification. *Baumgarten*, for example, says (i. 2, p. 303): “Since the marriage of Joseph with the Egyptian woman, and the first marriage of Moses with the Midianitish woman, were not without a meaning, so far as the relation of Israel to the Gentiles was concerned; there is the more reason to believe that the second marriage of Moses with a foreign woman, especially one contracted by him as lawgiver, and under the law, must have had some important design. By his marriage with the Hamite, Moses set forth the fellowship between Israel and the Gentiles, so far as it could possibly take place under the law, and thus actually exemplified in his own person that equality of foreigners with Israel, which the law so constantly demands. But this was a liberty of the spirit which Miriam and Aaron could not comprehend, not to mention the inability of the people to understand it.” *O. v. Gerlach* also regards the marriage as typical. He says: “Moses had probably taken a wife from a Cushite tribe, for the purpose of setting forth, by this example, the union of Israel with the most distant heathen at some future day.” The latter view, if it be held at all, must at least be differently expressed; for, in its present shape, it is liable to the charge of arbitrary and unhistorical spiritualizing.

At any rate, we see in the reproaches of the brother and sister, a striking example of that carnal exaggeration of the worth of the Israelitish nationality, by which the people have so universally been characterised, and which is the more reprehensible, on

account of its resting simply upon a natural basis, and not upon the spiritual call of Israel. Miriam and Aaron fancied that their family was disgraced by the marriage; and the circumstance also furnished an opportunity for the display of the envy and discontent at their subordinate position, which had probably for a very long time been secretly cherished within their hearts. Jealous as they were for the honour of their family, and attaching so much importance as they did to its purity of blood, they imagined that, now that their brother, of whom they were already envious, had so thoroughly forgotten himself, they had a perfect right to refuse any longer to be subordinate to him.

(4.) In explanation of the proofs which are given by God Himself, of the *superiority and unique character of the prophetic gift possessed by Moses* (ver. 6-8 compared with Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11), we have but little to add to what has already been stated in § 15, 1. The words of Jehovah are as follows: "If there is a prophet among you, I make Myself known to him in vision (בִּפְרוֹזָה); I speak to him in a *dream*. Not so My servant Moses: he is entrusted with My whole house; with him I speak *mouth to mouth*; I cause him to see, and *that not in pictures* (בְּקִירוֹת, lit. in riddles; it is very well paraphrased by *Luther*, "through dark words or parables"); he sees the *form* of Jehovah (תְּמוּנַת יְהוָה). Why then are ye not afraid to speak against My servant Moses?" Thus Jehovah makes a difference between the prophetic character of Moses, and that of all the rest of the Israelitish prophets. With the latter, the reception of Divine revelations was something extraordinary. Before they were in a condition to receive them, it was necessary that they should pass out of the sphere of the senses, and that of intelligent consciousness, into a state of supersensual perception. It was only in dreams and (ecstatic) visions that a revelation was made to them; and for that very reason, whatever was revealed—being in the form of imagery, symbols, and parables, and not brought within the range of ordinary perception and thought—needed to be translated into different language before it could be submitted to the senses and the understanding. It was different with Moses. He was in constant communication with Jehovah; he saw the *Temunah* of Jehovah (§ 15, 1); Jehovah spoke to him *mouth to mouth* ("as a man to his friend," Ex. xxxiii. 11); he received the Divine revelations in clear, intelligent consciousness; and they were made, not in

the imagery of dreams or visions,—not in parables, symbols, and riddles,—but in direct, clear, and intelligible words.

However great, therefore, the difference may have been, between Moses and the other prophets of his nation; it was not an essential difference, but simply one of degree. For even Moses did not see the unveiled glory of Jehovah: he did not look upon His face as it is in itself; he merely saw *הַמַּוֶּבֶה הַיְהוָה* and not *כְּלִי-טִיב* (§ 15, 1). The revelation in the *Temunah* was indeed a far higher manifestation of God, than the revelation in dreams and visions, through obscure words and parables; but even the former was very far from being the absolute glory of God,—was merely a personal representation of the absolute glory. Hence even this was not the thing itself, but merely a resemblance. The *Temunah* bore the same relation to the actual and absolute form of God, as the *הִירֹת* to clear and intelligible words.

The further distinction between Moses and all the other prophets of his nation was, that he was entrusted with Jehovah's *whole* house; *i.e.*, he was the sole head of the Israelitish commonwealth, and therefore the visible representative, mediator, and interpreter of the invisible God-King; and all others, whatever the part they performed, and whatever the powers with which they were endowed by God, were subordinate to him. This is the essential point in the Divine declaration, for it was this which had been disputed by Miriam and Aaron; and all that is said respecting the superiority of Moses as a prophet, merely served to establish this conclusion.

The passage before us is usually understood as contrasting Moses, not only with contemporaneous prophets, but with those of future ages as well, at least under the Old Testament. This view, however, is not absolutely correct. The occasion, and the form of the expression, simply warrant us in thinking of *contemporaneous* prophets. They do not expressly affirm that it could never by any possibility happen, that prophets should arise in the subsequent stages of the covenant-history, equal, or perhaps even superior, to Moses in the points alluded to. When the editor of the Pentateuch states, in chap. xxxiv. 10, that "there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses," etc., his words apply simply to the period which had already elapsed, and not at all to the future. So far as it had already been made apparent, or so far at least as subsequent events

proved, that the one thing which distinguished Moses above all his contemporaries (namely, that he was entrusted with the *whole* house of Jehovah), was never to be met with in any single individual again, throughout the whole course of the covenant-history until its completion and close; but that in all its subsequent stages, the government of the theocracy was to be distributed among several *co-ordinate* offices and classes (judges, kings, prophets, and priests):—so far, we say, as this had already been made apparent, it was perfectly justifiable to extend the declaration to the future also. But even if the ancient Israelite was well assured, that previous to the fulfilment of all prophecy no second Moses would arise, who would be one and all in the house of Jehovah; it was nowhere stated that the particular functions, which were combined in Moses, but which were afterwards separated, would never be manifested again in so exalted a form, or even in one more exalted still. If Divine revelation, instead of remaining stationary, was to continue to progress after the time of Moses, the latter was absolutely necessary. A *David* was *superior* to Moses, as the political head of Israel, and an *Isaiah*, as the herald of the word of God to Israel; but both David and Isaiah were *inferior* to Moses, inasmuch as neither of them either did or could combine the two.

We cannot infer from this passage, therefore, that what is stated here of contemporaneous prophets is equally applicable to all the prophets of subsequent ages. At this particular time Moses was the only prophet who saw Jehovah in His *תְּמוּנָה*, the only one to whom Jehovah did not reveal Himself *בְּתַיִדוֹת*; but after his death there may have been others upon whom the same gift was conferred.

(5.) As the laws relating to the purification of lepers (Lev. xiv.) had already been promulgated, there can be no doubt that Miriam submitted to the rites of purification which are there prescribed. This will explain the seven days, during which she was to be excluded from associating with her people (*vid.* Lev. xiv. 9, 10).

THE SPIES SENT INTO THE PROMISED LAND.

§ 35. (Num. xiii. ; Deut. i. 19–25.)—From Chazeroth the people proceeded to *Ritmah* (in the Wady *Retemáth*, which

leads into the plain of *Kadésh*; *vid.* § 26), and encamped there. They were now at the very gates of the promised land. Another step taken in faith, and the end of all their wanderings would be attained. Moses called upon the people to take the final step (Deut. i. 20). They did not positively refuse; but they desired that spies should first of all be sent, to obtain more definite information respecting the land and its inhabitants. Moses had no objection to offer to this (Deut. i. 23); and by the command of Jehovah (Num. xiii. 2 sqq.), he chose twelve distinguished men, one from each tribe, to carry out this measure of prudence (1). The spies went through the whole land, and returned, after forty days, to the camp at Kadesh. From a valley named *Eshcol*, in the neighbourhood of Hebron, they brought a bunch of grapes, and some specimens of pomegranates and figs, to show the fertility of the country. In the account which they brought back, they spoke highly of the fruitfulness of the land they had explored, and described it as a land flowing with milk and honey; but they laid far greater stress upon the strong fortifications, the warlike inhabitants, the gigantic children of Anak, by the side of whom they felt like grasshoppers. Moreover, it was a land which ate up its inhabitants. Thus they brought back an evil report of the land which they had explored, and declared, "We cannot go up against the people of the land, for they are stronger than we" (2). Two only of the spies—namely, *Joshua*, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and *Caleb*, the Kenizzite, of the tribe of Judah (3)—were of a different opinion. They did all they could to keep up the courage of the people, and advised that they should proceed at once to take possession of the land, trusting in the promises of Jehovah, which were stronger than the children of Anak, with all their fortresses.

(1.) Even *v. Lengerke* admits that there is no discrepancy between the account in Numbers, where the sending of the spies is attributed to a command of God, and that in Deuteronomy, in which it is said to have originated in the wish of the people.—We cannot trace this desire immediately and without reserve, as

is too frequently done, to unbelief, or weakness of faith in the promises of God, with regard to the possession of the land, and in His assurance of its excellence. We have here a perfectly analogous case to the request of Moses to Hobab (§ 32, 2). As in that case, notwithstanding the guidance of God afforded through the pillar of cloud and fire, important service could be rendered by a man acquainted with the different localities in the desert, and the wish to secure that assistance was not weakness of faith, much less unbelief;—so here, a survey of the land to be conquered would afford advantages, from the worth of which the Divine promise did not detract, and of which, in fact, it was their duty to avail themselves; inasmuch as the help of God demands, rather than excludes, the thoughtful, circumspect, and zealous employment of all human resources and powers. *In itself*, therefore, the sending of the spies might have been a proof of strong, quite as well as of weak, faith; but *the issue* undoubtedly laid bare the feelings which generally prevailed. Since the wish of the people, therefore, was certainly justifiable in itself, it “pleased” Moses (Deut. i. 23); and Jehovah also adopted it into his own plans, for which reason it is represented in Numbers as the command of Jehovah. But the pleasure which Moses took in the request was human and short-sighted; and therefore his expectations were disappointed. On the other hand, *Jehovah*, the Searcher of hearts, detected the hidden motive, of which the people themselves were possibly still unconscious, and approved of their desire, as calculated to bring to light this hidden motive, that it might be overcome or judged. If we consider of what importance it was, that the people should not proceed to take possession of the land, in such a state of mind as was brought out in a most fearful degree by the report of the spies; that such a work, to be successful, must be one of cheerful faith; and that the disgrace of failure would fall upon Jehovah and His covenant in the eyes of the heathen: we shall understand at once how it is that the act of Jehovah is described in Num. x. 2 seq., not as an indifferent consent to the wishes of the people, but as a *command*, in the strictest sense of the word.

The reason why *the tribe of Levi* did not send a spy, was, evidently, that the duties and prospects of this tribe were totally different from those of all the rest. Levi was not to receive a share of the promised land in the same manner as the other

tribes, and therefore had not to take part in the conquest. The inheritance of Levi was Jehovah (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. x. 9, xii. 12, xiv. 27, 29), and the sanctuary of Jehovah was the sphere of his labours. We may see, from the incident narrated here, that the reorganisation of the tribes had already been fully effected, so as to restore the significant number twelve, which the separation of the tribe of Levi had interfered with, but which was restored through the division of the tribe of Joseph into two separate tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh (*vid.* Gen. xlvi.).

(2.) *Robinson* (i. 316) passed through the valley which is commonly, and with very good reason, regarded as the **ESHCOL** of the Old Testament, on his road from Hebron to Jerusalem. "The road passes between the walls of vineyards and olive-yards, the former chiefly in the valley, and the latter on the slopes of the hills, which are in many parts built up in terraces. These vineyards are very fine, and *produce the largest and best grapes in all the country.* The character of the fruit still corresponds to its ancient celebrity; and pomegranates and figs, as well as apricots, quinces, and the like, still grow there in abundance."

The situation of the valley of Eshcol is not minutely described in the passage before us, but the context evidently points to the neighbourhood of Hebron; and in Gen. xiv. 24 we read, that when Abraham started from Hebron in pursuit of the four kings, he was accompanied by his friends Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre. Now, *Mamre* gave the name to the Terebinth-grove at Hebron (Gen. xiii. 18), and it is not improbable that the name of the valley is to be traced in the same way to Eshcol.

The **BUNCH OF GRAPES**, which the spies brought as a specimen of the fruit, was carried by two of them upon a pole. This is generally supposed to have been in consequence of the enormous size of the bunch, which was too large and heavy for one to carry; and this idea has given rise to most absurd exaggerations. The peculiar mode of transport was evidently adopted, not because the bunch of grapes was more than one man could carry on account of its size and weight, but from a wish to bring it to the camp without receiving any injury from pressure.

When the spies reported that the land was flowing with **MILK AND HONEY**, this was evidently an Oriental and poetical form of expression, meaning nothing more than that the fertility of the

land was such, as to present a most promising field for agriculture, and the rearing of cattle.

The warlike nations by whom the spies reported that the Israelites would be opposed in their efforts to conquer the country, were the *Amalekites*, who dwelt towards the south,—that is, on the southern slope of the highlands of Judæa; the *Hitites*, *Jebusites*, and *Amorites*, who lived on the mountains of Judah themselves; the *Canaanites* (a collective name), who dwelt in the low country by the sea, and in the plain of the Jordan; and also the *Anakim*, the last remains of the aboriginal inhabitants of the land (*vid.* vol. i. § 45, 1). The unbelieving spies were especially terrified by the aspect of the last named, on account of their gigantic stature.

It is not easy to determine exactly what the spies meant by saying, "The land eateth up the inhabitants thereof." *O. v. Gerlach* paraphrases it in this way: "All the inhabitants of the land are obliged to go constantly armed, on account of their being exposed to incessant attacks from their neighbours, whom they are, nevertheless, unable to resist." *Baumgarten* explains it in a similar manner: "Allusion," he says, "is probably made to the self-exhaustive conflicts of the different tribes by whom the land was inhabited, *viz.*, the aborigines, the Canaanites, and the Philistines; but it is also possible that they had in view the destruction of the beautiful valley of Siddim (Gen. xix.);" The latter event, however, which took place more than 600 years before, can hardly have been intended; and the former does not suit the words. We should be more inclined to think of some general plague, which had pressed heavily upon the country a short time before, and was still fresh in the memory of the people.

(3.) The fact that *Hosea* (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), who now, for the first time, received from Moses the name *JOSHUA* (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ) (according to ver. 16 (17)), is called by the latter name in Ex. xvii. 9, xxiv. 13, and Num. xi. 28, has presented great difficulties to the critics. *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 323 sqq. transl.) mentions three ways in which the difficulty may be solved: (1) By supposing a *prolepsis*, of which we have so many examples in the Pentateuch; (2) by assuming that Moses merely renewed the name Joshua on this occasion, on which he was once more to attest his fidelity; and (3) by the hypothesis, that we have something narrated here which occurred a long

time before, either when Hosca first entered the service of Moses, or before the engagement with the Amalekites (Ex. xvii.). *Hengstenberg* himself decides in favour of the third, and *Ranke* (ii. 202) agrees with him. In our opinion, the first is correct. For even if, according to the rules of grammar, the *Vav consec.* in וַיִּקְרָא (ver. 17), may be referred to the order of thought (instead of the order of time), it is more natural, looking to both the grammatical construction and the circumstances of the case, to refer it to the order of time. In *Hengstenberg's* opinion, on the other hand, it is an objection to our explanation, that there was nothing in the occasion before us, to lead even to a renewal of the sacred name of Joshua, much less, then, to lead to its being given him for the first time. And it can hardly be thought probable, he says, that Moses should have waited (?) till now, before changing the name; when the victory gained by Joshua over the Amalekites had already furnished so good an opportunity. . . . That Moses should have "waited" so long, would certainly have been strange enough. But he did not wait; for it was only now that he first thought of giving Joshua another name. The appointment of the spies, of whom *Joshua* undoubtedly stood at the head (*vid.* Ex. xvii. 9, xxiv. 13), both as being the most distinguished of the whole, and also as the servant of Moses (his *alter ego*), furnished just the occasion required. The alteration in Joshua's name was a *God speed!* which he gave to the spies on their departure. There was something apparently significant in the fact that they had a *Hosea* among them: Moses not only brought this to mind, but strengthened it, by connecting the name of *Jehovah*, which brings salvation, with that of *Hosea*, which promised salvation, whilst his previous life was a pledge that "Jehovah is salvation."

CALEB, of the tribe of Judah, is called the KENIZZITE (קִנִּזִּי) both here and in Josh. xiv. 6, 14. *Bertheau* (*zur Gesch.* p. 16, and *Comm. on Judges*, i. 13), *Ewald* (i. 298), and *v. Lengerke* (i. 204), are of opinion that we have here one of the Kenizzites, who are spoken of in Gen. xv. 19 as belonging to the original inhabitants of Palestine. *Ewald* says: "Of these Kenizzites (Kenizzäern), one portion was scattered over the southern districts of the land at the time of the conquest of Canaan by Israel, most probably in a few leading families. When, for example, 'Othniel, the

younger brother of Kenaz, who was also his daughter's husband, is called a son of Kenaz (Josh. xv. 17 ; Judg. i. 13, iii. 9), whilst Caleb himself, the son of Jephunneh, bears the cognomen of the Kenizzean, this evidently means nothing more than that Caleb with his retinue had entered into alliance with the Kenizzians, who were settled in the southern part of Canaan, and was recognised as a member of the tribe, possessing equal rights with the rest. But if these Kenizzians were subsequently obliged to enter into a dependent relation to his descendants, Kenaz might also be called his grandson (1 Chr. iv. 15). But another part dwelt in Edom, and is introduced there as one of the grandsons of Esau through Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42). It must have sacrificed its independence, therefore, and entered into connection with the kingdom of the Idumeans, just as these Caleb-allies had united with that of the Israelites."—*Sic!* This is the way, then, in which all traditional history is to be turned upside down, and history may be constructed at pleasure. In reply to this, see *Keil on Joshua*, p. 356 transl. The name Kenizzite in Gen. xv. 19, is the name of a tribe ; in the other passages it is a patronymic ; and the similarity in the names is simply an accident. The name קנז was a frequently recurring one in the family of Caleb (on the frequent recurrence of the same names among the Arabs, see *Kosegarten* in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* i. 3, p. 212). Caleb's younger brother, the father of Othniel, was called by this name, and so was also the grandson of Caleb. Judging from appearance, the name, which was peculiarly appropriate in the case of such a family of heroes, had been a very common one even before this time. And the name (from a verb signifying to hunt) was equally suitable to the family of Edom, which was well known as a race of hunters. It cannot surprise us, therefore, that we find it among them.

REBELLION OF THE PEOPLE AND JUDGMENT OF GOD AT
KADESII.

§ 36. (Num. xiv. 1-38 ; Dent. i. 26-39.)—The report of the spies threw the people into a state of utter despair. They wept the whole night, complained, murmured, and were on the

point of breaking out into open mutiny, and choosing another leader to conduct them back to Egypt. The cheering words of Joshua and Caleb only tended to excite them still further. The prospect of death was all that awaited these heroic men, along with Moses and Aaron; for the people talked of stoning them all. But at this moment the glory of Jehovah appeared in the tabernacle before all the people. Jehovah declared to Moses that He would smite the people with pestilence, and destroy them as one man, and make of him a great nation. But even in this hour of distress, Moses did not forget the duties and privileges of his office. He reminded the Lord of all His promises; appealed to His former manifestations of mercy; called to mind what Jehovah Himself had formerly declared concerning the name of Jehovah (Ex. xxxiv. 6, *cf.* § 15), that He was long-suffering, of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression. He spoke of the rejoicing of Egypt and heathen Canaan, when it should come to their ears; and prayed for mercy and forgiveness for the nation. His request was granted, but only within such limits as the unbelief of the people, which had thus come to a head, imperatively required (*vid.* § 14, 2). The nation, as a nation, was to be preserved; but the individuals were all to suffer the punishment they deserved. The time had now arrived of which Jehovah had spoken, when He said (Ex. xxxii. 34), "At the time of My visitation I will visit their sin." Hence the sentence of rejection on the part of Jehovah did not reach the nation, did not fall upon the seed of Abraham, with which the covenant and the promise still remained; but it embraced all the individuals who had despised and rejected Jehovah and His promises. The sentence ran thus: "All those men, of twenty years old and upwards, who have seen My glory and My miracles which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and who have tempted Me now *ten times* (1), not one of them shall see the land, which I swore unto their fathers: their bodies shall fall in the desert, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, who have followed Me faithfully. After the

number of the days in which ye searched the land, shall ye bear your iniquities, even *forty* years. But your children, which ye said should be a prey, shall enter in and know the land which ye have despised. Therefore, to-morrow turn you, and get you into the desert by the way of the Red Sea." And as a proof how earnestly the threat was meant, the ten spies, whose unbelief had been the primary cause of the unbelief of the people, were smitten with sudden death.

(1.) When it is stated in ver. 22 that the people had *tempted* Jehovah "now TEN TIMES," the most natural supposition is, that ten is merely a round and symbolical number, intended to intimate that the measure of iniquity was now full,—*ten* being the number of completion and termination. We adhere to this opinion; for the various attempts that have been made to reckon up exactly *ten* temptations in the course of their history, have never attained their object without force. *Ranke* cites the following passages: 1. Ex. v. 20, 21 (for even then Jehovah had already given signs: *vid.* Ex. iv. 29–31); 2. Ex. xiv. 11, 12; 3. Ex. xv. 22–27; 4. Ex. xvi. 2, 3; 5. Ex. xvi. 20; 6. Ex. xvii. 1–7; 7. Ex. xxxii.; 8. Num. xi. 1–4; 9. Num. xi. 4–35; 10. Num. xiv. But Ex. v. 20, 21 can hardly be thought suitable. *O. v. Gerlach*, therefore, omits this passage. But he substitutes Ex. xvi. 27, a passage which creates even greater difficulties than the one which he has erased.

(2.) The decision, that of those who were *twenty* years old and upwards at the time of the departure from Egypt, not one should enter the promised land, was evidently founded upon the fact, that they had not only been witnesses of all the wonders of God in Egypt and the desert, but were so at a time when they had fully arrived at years of discretion, and therefore their unbelief was the less excusable. When the census was taken in the last year of the wanderings in the desert, it was found, according to Num. xxvi. 64, that with the exception of Caleb and Joshua, every member of this generation was already dead. It appears doubtful, however, whether this was literally the case, both because *Ileazar* and *Ithamar*, the sons of Aaron, were invested with the priesthood at the commencement of the second year after the *Exodus* (Lev. x. 6, 7, *vid.* chap. viii.), and

yet Eleazar retained the priesthood, at all events till after the conquest of the Holy Land (Josh. xiv. 1, xvii. 4, 5, etc.); and also from Josh. xxiv. 7, where a great number of eye-witnesses of the works of God in Egypt are said to have been still alive. But this exception in the case of the sons of Aaron, if such an exception was really made, might possibly be explained on the supposition that the tribe of Levi was not included at all in this sentence of rejection (Num. xiv.). Since the time when this tribe was set apart to the service of the sanctuary, it had ceased to be on an equality with the rest. Levi was no longer *one* of the twelve tribes; and, as we have seen, there was no representative of the house of Levi among the twelve spies. Levi, again, was *not* included in the census mentioned in Num. i.; and it was precisely *this* census which was to determine on whom the sentence of rejection should fall; for it is stated expressly in Num. xiv. 29: "All of you, who have been numbered according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward." Now we may very well suppose that to this exceptional position, which was purely objective, one of a subjective character corresponded. For we may safely assume, that since the worship of the golden calf, when the tribe of Levi distinguished itself so remarkably by its zeal for the glory of Jehovah (§ 13, 8), this tribe, regarded as a whole, had always been found on the side of Jehovah and Moses.—At the same time, we are under no necessity to rely upon the correctness of these remarks. The thing admits of a much more simple explanation. It is true that the period of service prescribed for the *Levites* was from thirty years old to fifty, according to Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 47; from twenty-five to fifty, according to Deut. viii. 32–36; but there is no rule laid down in any single passage in the Pentateuch with reference to the age of the priests (the first definite rule which we meet with is in 2 Chr. xxxi. 17; and according to this, they were not to be under twenty years of age). Now, we have certainly no right to apply the laws relating to the age of service of the Levites, without reserve, to that of the priests. For the service of the Levites, which included all the laborious work connected with the tabernacle, it was absolutely necessary that they should be full-grown men: this was not so requisite for the infinitely lighter work of the priests. Eleazar therefore may have been only twenty or twenty-two years of age, when

he received his priestly consecration, and not quite twenty when he left Egypt. This assumption is also favoured by Ex. xxiv. 1, where Nadab and Abihu alone are said to have gone up the holy mountain, and not Eleazar and Ithamar. For otherwise the latter would have had equal rights, and would in all respects have been on an equality, with the former.

The second passage, *viz.*, Josh. xxiv. 7, proves nothing at all. To show this, it would probably be sufficient to point to the unity of the nation, regarded as a species; but since we find in Num. xiv. all who were under twenty years of age at the time of the Exodus, expressly exempted from the sentence of rejection, and since these had certainly *eyes* to see, there may have been many *eye-witnesses* of the miracles in Egypt still alive at the period referred to in Josh. xxiv. 7.

(3.) That the number of years of their compulsory sojourn in the desert should have been made to correspond to the number of days, during which the spies remained in the promised land, can only appear strange or trifling to one who has lost all that susceptibility which would enable him to comprehend and appreciate the history of the kingdom of God, as a history, the most minute and outward details of which have all a meaning and are all according to plan; and who forgets that one who has the education of children, must act as a child himself. The Oriental nations of antiquity, including the Israelites, stood upon a very childlike, concrete stand-point in this respect. They looked upon the outward events of life with very different eyes from those with which we, abstract moderns of the West, regard them, and attached an importance to any harmony or discord in their arrangement, for which *we* have no sense whatever. In the present instance, however, the connection between the forty years' wanderings and the forty days spent by the spies in the land, was important and instructive from various points of view. How vividly must it have presented to their minds the contrast between the life in the promised land, which they had despised, and the life in the desert which was inflicted as a punishment!—how forcibly must it have impressed upon them the connection between cause and effect, sin and punishment! Every year that passed, and was deducted from the years of punishment, was a new and solemn appeal to repentance, calling to mind, as it did, the original cause of rejection.

§ 37. (Num. xiv. 39-45; Deut. i. 40-46.)—The announcement of the sentence made a deep impression upon the people. The magnitude of the loss, which they had sustained through their unbelieving obduracy, now flashed upon them for the first time. So close to the goal, and yet for ever excluded from the possession of the dear and promised land! Sent back, and condemned to pass their whole life in the barren and inhospitable wilderness—their only prospect a grave in the sand! Gladly would they have retrieved their error. In fact, they declared themselves ready to advance, and even persisted in doing so, notwithstanding the earnest prohibition of Moses. “You will not succeed,” he said. “Go not up, for Jehovah is not among you” (1). The pillar of cloud did not move, and Moses remained in the camp. But they went up, notwithstanding; and the *Amalekites* and *Amorites* (2) came down from the mountains, and drove them back to *Hormah* (3).

(1.) In their *unbelief* in the force of the Divine promises, the Israelites had refused to enter upon a war with the inhabitants of Canaan, and attack their impregnable fortresses; and in their *unbelief* in the seriousness of the Divine sentence, which had been pronounced upon them in consequence, they now resolved to make up for their neglect, and recover what they had lost by their folly. In the one case, they had too little confidence in God; in the other, too much confidence in themselves. In both instances, they despised and overlooked the truth, that everything depended upon the blessing of God. In the first instance, they contemned God; in the second, they tempted Him. They said, it is true, “We have sinned: behold, here we are!” But this change of mind was no improvement of mind. Their remorse was no repentance. Their hearts remained the same: the only difference being, that instead of showing the one ungodly side, *viz.*, that of unbelieving obstinacy, they showed the other, of proud and insolent self-exaltation. “Such is the superficial character of the old man, that when his sin is pointed out, instead of looking deeply into it and finding out its dark ground, he regards it as an accidental phenomenon; and therefore, although he remains in precisely the same

condition, he immediately sets about reforming his sins.”—*(M. Baumgarten.)*

(2.) The critics have lighted upon another discrepancy here: “In Deut. i. 44 the *Amorites* are mentioned, and in Num. xiv. 45, in the very same connection, the *Amalekites*.” But there is no necessity to expose the deception practised here, in order to bring out the futility of the objection. In Num. xiv., *Amalekites and Canaanites* are mentioned; in Deut. i., *Amorites* alone. Now, it is well known that the *Amorites* were the most powerful of the *Canaanitish* tribes; and for this reason the two names are used promiscuously in innumerable passages of the Old Testament. The whole difference resolves itself into this, that in the passage in which the historical facts are narrated with greater precision, *Amalekites* are spoken of along with the *Amorites or Canaanites*, whereas in Deuteronomy the *Amorites (i.e., Canaanites)*, who were incomparably the more important, are mentioned alone.

(3.) On *Hormah*, see § 26, 1, and § 27, 3; but more especially § 45, 2.

§ 38. (Num. xv.)—The sentence of rejection was pronounced on the existing generation of the people; but the covenant was not dissolved, nor was the history of the nation at an end. For, even if the history remained precisely at the same point, so far as the present generation was concerned, yet, for the rising generation, the first step in its onward progress was guaranteed, namely, the possession of the promised land.—That the sentence pronounced upon the existing generation was an irrevocable one, had been made apparent by the futile attempt to penetrate, in spite of it, into the land. And even the promise associated with this rejection was not left without Divine attestation, though it applied to the rising generation. An assurance was given to those who had been rejected, that the rejection was not an absolute one, but was restricted to their exclusion from the promised land, of which they had themselves refused to take possession. This was also implied in the fact, that immediately after the announcement of the sentence, the giving of the law was continued, just as if no further disturbance had arisen from what

had just occurred (1). And whilst, by thus continuing the course of legislation, Jehovah gave to the people a proof that His relation to them was still the same as before, a circumstance which occurred just at this time (2) was sufficient to prove, not only that He was not disposed to relax the severity of His demands, although the course of the nation's history had been interrupted, but also that the people perceived and acknowledged the obligation.

(1.) The fact that Jehovah continued to give the people laws, was a sufficient proof that the rejection was not an absolute one. This becomes still more apparent, if we look at the *form and substance of the laws which were issued now*. The two principal groups are introduced by the words: "When ye be come into the land of your habitations, which I give unto you" (ver. 2); and, "When ye come into the land, whither I bring you" (ver. 18). It is also not without significance, that these laws have reference to the *sacrificial worship*. The theocratic worship was so far from being abolished by the sentence of rejection, that additions were made to it at this very time. The third group, on the other hand (ver. 37 sqq.), contained injunctions which were to be carried out immediately, and not merely after they had taken possession of the land. Every Israelite was to wear tassels on his clothes, the object of which is said to have been, to remind him of his duty in relation to the commandments of God. The tassels, with their various shades of blue, hanging from a single knob, by which they were bound together and made one, were to be a symbol of the Divine law, which consisted of many members, but was essentially one. The solemn words with which this group concludes are full of meaning: "I am Jehovah, your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am Jehovah, your God."

(2.) The incident mentioned is the stoning of the *Sabbath-breaker*. An Israelitish man was found gathering sticks on the Sabbath. The persons who had seen him informed Moses, who received a command from Jehovah to have the culprit stoned by the whole congregation. In the circumstance itself, and the punishment inflicted, there is an analogy between this occurrence and the history of the blasphemers (§ 19).

REBELLION OF THE KORAH FACTION, AND CONFIRMATION OF
THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD.

§ 39. (Num. xvi.)—Whilst the Israelites were still at Kadesh, a new rebellion broke out. *Korah* the Levite, of the tribe of the Kohathites, combined with the Reubenites, *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *On*, to overthrow the existing order of things. On the ground that the whole congregation of Jehovah was holy, and therefore Moses and Aaron had no right to assume any superiority over the others, they wanted to set up a new constitution, and restore the rights of the people, which, they pretended, had been suppressed by the supremacy of Moses. The especial object was, no doubt, to place Korah at the head of a priesthood chosen by a popular election from the various tribes; and possibly also to restore the tribe of Reuben to the rights of the firstborn, of which it had been deprived. The rebels, first of all, succeeded in gaining over two hundred and fifty of the most distinguished men of the congregation to their views. Moses summoned the conspirators to appear the next day at the sanctuary, with censers in their hands, that they might put the common priesthood, to which they laid claim, to an immediate proof, by discharging the priestly function of offering incense. Jehovah could then decide for Himself, who was henceforth to come before Him with priestly authority. It was in vain that he urged upon Korah and the Levites of his party the distinction which had been conferred upon them, their ingratitude, and consequently the magnitude of their guilt. When Dathan and Abiram received the summons, they positively refused to obey, and sent back contemptuous answers and insolent accusations. "Is it not enough," they said, "that thou hast brought us *out of* the land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, that thou makest thyself a ruler over us? Is this bringing us *into* a land flowing with milk and honey, and giving us fruitful fields and vineyards for a possession?"

The day of decision arrived. Korah came, with his attendants, to the sanctuary to offer incense. The whole congregation,

which was already beginning to take his side, also assembled there. And the glory of Jehovah appeared before the eyes of all; but, through the intercession of Moses and Aaron, the wrath and judgment were confined to the leaders and most determined of the rebels. The whole congregation went away to a distance from the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in accordance with the instructions of Moses. "Hereby," said he, "ye shall know whether Jehovah hath sent me: If these men die as every man dieth, Jehovah hath *not* sent me. But if Jehovah perform a miracle, and the earth open her mouth and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them, ye shall understand that they have rejected, not me, but Jehovah." He had hardly finished speaking when his words were fulfilled. The earth swallowed up the ringleaders, with everything belonging to them (2); and at the same moment fire issued from Jehovah and consumed the two hundred and fifty men, who had taken upon themselves to offer incense in the sanctuary (3). As a warning for future generations, the copper censers of the sinners were beaten out, and the altar (of burnt-offering) covered with the plates.

(1.) That all this occurred at Kadesh may be inferred with tolerable certainty, not only from the fact that there is no account of their removing first, but still more from the character of the entire narrative. There can be no doubt that, according to the author's plan, all the events which occurred during the thirty-seven years, which intervened between the first and second visits to Kadesh, were to be passed over in silence. When the congregation arrived at Kadesh, it was at the very gate of the promised land, the point to which it was journeying; and when it assembled once more at Kadesh, thirty-seven years afterwards, neither the congregation itself nor the course of its history had made the slightest progress. In the view of the author, therefore, there was no history at all between Kadesh and Kadesh (vid. § 42).—No doubt Jehovah had commanded in Num. xiv. 25: "To-morrow turn you, and get you into the wilderness, to the Red Sea." But instead of obeying this command, they had gone up of their own accord, and made an attempt to invade the

land from which they were now excluded (Num. xiv. 40 sqq.). And we are expressly told in Deut. i. 46, that they remained at Kadesh *a long time*.

(2.) To picture the scene clearly to our minds, it is essential that we should bear in mind, that the family of the Kohathites, to which Korah belonged, had its place in the camp immediately in front of the entrance to the sanctuary, and that the tents of the tribe of Reuben, to which the rest of the ringleaders belonged, were just behind those of the Kohathites. The tents of Korah the Levite, therefore, and of Dathan and Abiram the Reubenites, may have been close together, and neither of them at any great distance from the sanctuary.—Nothing further is said about the third Reubenite, On; possibly, we may infer from this that he repented in time, and so was saved.—In Num. xxvi. 11, we are expressly told that the *sons of Korah* were not smitten by the judgment which fell upon their father. Their descendants (among whom were *Samuel*, and his grandson *Heman* the singer) are mentioned in 1 Chr. vi. 22–28. This exemption cannot be regarded as inexplicable, after what is stated in ver. 27.

(3.) *Stähelin* (*Kritische Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, Berlin 1843, p. 33 sqq.) has made the discovery, that the compiler has mixed up two different legends here in a most unskilful manner. In the original document there was simply an account of the rebellion of the Korahites; but the compiler had also heard of a rebellion of the Reubenites, and here he has confounded the two together. *Stähelin* is not a little proud that *he* has “succeeded in restoring the original account;” and believes that by so doing he has rendered it “very easy to explain the *contradictions*, which we find in the account as we have received it: for example, in ver. 19, Korah is at the tabernacle with incense, whereas, according to ver. 27, he was in his own tent along with the rebels at the very same time; and in ver. 12, they are said to have refused to come to Moses, and to have been swallowed up by the earth in consequence, whereas in vers. 35, 39, 40, they are said to have been destroyed by fire.” Whether the “original document” contained merely an account of Korah’s mutiny, and said nothing about Dathan and Abiram participating in it, we shall not stop to inquire. But that the “compiler” introduced contradictions into the account in consequence of his “compilations,” and that it was any good fortune which enabled

our critic to make the discovery, we most firmly deny. It is *not* stated in ver. 19 that Korah had come to the tabernacle *with incense*. Moreover, it is *not true* that, according to ver. 27, he was *in his own home at the same time*. And *still less* is it true that, in ver. 32, he is said to have been swallowed up by the earth, and in ver. 35, to have been consumed by fire. In ver. 35, Korah is not named at all. It is merely stated that the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense were consumed by fire. In ver. 27, it is simply the tent of Korah that is alluded to; and not only is it not stated that he was in the tent at the time, but, from what follows, it is pretty evident that this was not the case. Korah is *certainly* to be distinguished from the two hundred and fifty men who formed his party. It was the latter alone who came with censers to the sanctuary. Korah himself was the soul of the entire rebellion, and therefore had to be present wherever there was anything of a decisive character to be done. When Moses and Aaron came to the tabernacle, he was there, and excited the whole congregation against them (ver. 19). When Moses went away from the tabernacle to the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, Korah will certainly have followed him thither; and as he would be the last to pay any heed to the summons of Moses to the congregation to keep away from their tents, there is good reason to suppose that he was involved in the fatal catastrophe. This supposition is expressly confirmed by Num. xxvi. 10 (a passage to which *Stähelin* has never once referred). We wonder, too, how any man could make so reckless an assertion, as that vers. 19 and 27 are contemporaneous, when ver. 25 comes between.

§ 40. (Num. xvii.)—The judgment on the rebels had filled the people, who were looking on, with horror and alarm. But it had *not* produced horror and alarm at the sin which had led to the punishment. This explains the fact, that discontent and murmuring soon took possession of the hearts of the people, on account of the stroke which had fallen upon the congregation. Moses and Aaron were looked upon as the sole authors of the calamity. “Ye have killed the people of Jehovah,” they exclaim. The whole nation was on the point of rising in a fresh and general mutiny; and Moses and Aaron took refuge in the

sanctuary. The glory of Jehovah appeared once more, threatening destruction. "Get you up from among this congregation," said Jehovah to Moses, "that I may consume them as in a moment." The plague immediately broke out. Moses now urged upon Aaron that he should perform as quickly as possible the duties of his office. Aaron ran into the midst of the congregation, and, standing between the living and the dead, offered incense and made an atonement for the people. The plague was stayed immediately; but fourteen thousand seven hundred men had already been carried off.

The true priesthood had thus been attested, not only by the fidelity, but also by the power, of the office. The priesthood, which the Korah faction had assumed in so ungodly a manner, had brought death and destruction upon itself by offering incense; but the divinely ordained priesthood of Aaron averted death and destruction from the congregation by offering incense, and stayed the well-merited judgment which had broken out upon them. But Jehovah did something more than this, for the purpose of attesting the genuineness of the priesthood which He had chosen in the eyes of future generations also. As the censers of the Korah faction were covered by those of the altar of burnt-offering, in the forecourt of the tabernacle (a *negative* proof of the legitimacy of the Aaronic priesthood), so was there now to be placed a *positive* and permanent proof in the sanctuary itself. To this end, every one of the twelve tribes brought a rod of almond-wood, with the name of the prince of the tribe inscribed upon it (1). These rods were deposited in the Holy of Holies, before the ark of the covenant, that Jehovah might show, by a miracle, which of the twelve tribes He had called and fitted for the priesthood. When the rods were taken out on the following day, behold, the rod of the tribe of Levi, on which the name of Aaron was inscribed, had "brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds;" whilst the rest of the eleven rods, on the contrary, had continued barren as before (2). Aaron's rod was then

taken into the Holy of Holies, to remain there before the ark of the covenant, as a permanent memorial of the event (3).

After this occurrence, the supplementary legislation was still further continued (Num. xviii. xix.); in fact, we have first of all a group of laws in chap. xix. respecting the rights and duties of the priesthood, which come in very appropriately in connection with the renewal and confirmation of the previous appointment. The group which follows in chap. xix., with regard to defilement caused by contact with a corpse, is also closely connected with these events; for the plague, which carried off in so sudden a manner no less than fourteen thousand persons, had caused a large number of the living to defile themselves by contact with the corpses.

(1.) The question has frequently been asked, whether twelve or thirteen rods were placed in the Holy of Holies (*vid. Buddei hist. eccl. V. T. i., p. 508 seq., Ed. iv.*). It is true that *twelve* rods are expressly and repeatedly mentioned, but in a connection which leaves room to suppose that Aaron's rod was not reckoned as one of the twelve. But we must call in question the correctness of such a supposition; for the words, "twelve rods, and the rod of Aaron was among them" (ver. 6), are certainly more naturally interpreted as meaning that Aaron's was the twelfth rod. No one would ever have thought of inferring from the words of Scripture that there were thirteen rods, if the existing division of the tribe of Joseph into two tribes (Ephraim and Manassch) had not suggested the idea. But this point of view is not a correct one. The fact of Levi being reckoned as one of the tribes, and the division of Joseph into two tribes, exclude each other. Whenever Levi was numbered with the rest, Joseph was taken as one tribe. The importance of retaining the number twelve, under all circumstances, rendered this absolutely necessary.

(2.) That the miracle of the budding and blooming rod was a *σημείον*, *i.e.*, a miracle representing symbolically the things it was to prove, is at once apparent. The *rod*, severed from the root of the tree, and therefore prevented from deriving a fresh supply of sap from its natural source, could not possibly blossom and bear fruit in a natural way. But this result was produced,

notwithstanding, by means of an extraordinary and supernatural supply of sap. In this there was a clear and expressive symbol of the position and essential character of the priesthood in Israel; both of the priesthood to which the *whole* nation was called (§ 9), but for which it had declared itself as yet unqualified (§ 10, 1), and also of the special (Levitical) priesthood, which took the place of the hitherto undeveloped universal priesthood. That which took place in the priestly rod was the very thing to which Israel had been set apart, and still continued to be set apart. Israel was naturally a nation like all the rest,—cut off along with all the rest of the human family, from the Eternal Fountain of life by the universality of sin,—torn out by the roots from the soil, in which alone a true national life can blossom and bear fruit. But from the saving counsel of God, who chose it out of all nations to be a holy people and a kingdom of priests, and from a fostering revelation by which it was nourished and matured, it constantly received fresh sap of a supernatural kind, by virtue of which it sprouted, flourished, and bore fruit. The relation in which the family of Aaron stood to the other families of Israel, and the priestly character of Aaron to the un priestly character of the priestly nation, was the same as that in which the nation of Israel stood to the other nations of the earth. Aaron and his sons were no more qualified by nature for the true priesthood than the rest of the nation; but, from the call and election of Jehovah, they received those streams of life by which they were fully qualified. As Israel, through the full enjoyment of Divine revelation, was (or at least could and ought to have been) *the* fruitful nation among the barren nations of the earth;—so was the family of Aaron the one fruitful family among the comparatively barren families of Israel,—not, however, by any merit of its own, but by the call and grace of Jehovah.—It was not without significance that the rods were of *almond-wood*. W. Neumann has the following excellent remarks on the subject: “שֶׁקֶד is the almond-tree; so called as being the waking tree (Ezra viii. 29; Prov. viii. 34; Is. xxix. 20), which blossoms in January, and the fruit of which is ripe by March (*Pliny* Nat. hist. 46, 25); the tree *which is awake* when the rest of nature is still deeply sunk in the sleep of death, and which seems to shout to all the rest the call of God, ‘Awake’” (Jeremias v. Anathoth, i. 134 sqq., Leipzig 1854).

(3.) It is nowhere affirmed that Aaron's rod, which was carried back into the Holy of Holies, budding and blossoming, to be preserved there as a memorial of the election of Jehovah, continued henceforth to bud and blossom; and we are not warranted in looking for miracles in the Scriptures, where they themselves do not expressly furnish either the warrant or obligation.

THE THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS' BAN.

§ 41. (Num. xxxiii. 19-36.)—We left the Israelites at *Kadesh* towards the end of the second year; and at *Kadesh* we find them in the first month of the fortieth year (Num. xx. 1). As *Rithmah* (Num. xxxiii. 18) coincides geographically with *Kadesh* (*vid.* § 30), the seventeen stations whose names occur in Num. xxxiii. 19-36, must have lain between the first and second visits to *Kadesh*. And as these seventeen stations, the last of which, *Eziongeber*, is situated at the northern extremity of the Elanitic Gulf, intersect the desert from north to south, we may reckon pretty nearly the same number of intermediate stations, consisting for the most part of the very same places, on the road back from *Eziongeber* to *Kadesh*, although no stations at all are named between the two; and the silence of the author must be attributed to the fact that, as the circumstances continued precisely the same, it was not in accordance with his plan to repeat the names of stations which had been visited before. In this case, the number of stations would correspond very nearly to the number of years spent in the desert, and the average stay at each station would be a year. Now, if we call to mind the necessities and circumstances of the people during the period of the thirty-seven years' ban, which rested upon them, we shall soon see that it must have been utterly impossible, even during *this* period, for a close connection to be maintained throughout the *whole* congregation. It was only here and there that the general barrenness of the desert was broken by fertile and watered oases, and *nowhere* did it present a *sufficiently extensive* tract of meadow-land to meet the wants of the cattle of the *whole* congregation. We are therefore forced to the conclusion (to

which many allusions throughout the Bible would otherwise have brought us), that shortly after the sentence of rejection was pronounced, the congregation dispersed, in larger or smaller parties, over the entire desert, and settled down in the oases which presented themselves, until the time arrived when Moses summoned them, at the end of the thirty-seven years of punishment, to meet again at Kadesh. The stations mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 19-36 would in this case be merely the places selected in succession as the head-quarters, in the midst of which were Moses and the sanctuary. It is not difficult to understand the reason, why the head-quarters did not remain in the same place throughout; for it was absolutely necessary that the scattered parties should be visited by Moses and the sanctuary, to prevent their connection with one another, and more especially their connection with Moses and the sanctuary, from being entirely dissolved during so long a period as thirty-seven years. Hence the stations named in Num. xxxiii. 19-36 must be regarded in the light of a circuit, which was made through the desert by Moses and the tabernacle.

(1.) It will be sufficient simply to record *Mitzig's* opinion, that the sojourn of Israel in the desert did not last longer than four years (*Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philister*, p. 172 sqq.). He arrives at this result by observing, that forty is a round number, and that the length of their stay at the eighteen stations mentioned in the catalogue (Num. xxxiii. 19-35), which are passed over in the history, must be measured by the stay made at the other twenty-five stations. This gives a period of not less than *one* year, and not more than *two*. But the stay in the desert closed altogether before chap. xx. 1, and terminated with the year itself; it embraced the whole of this year, therefore, and what yet remained of the second year, when the Israelites left Hazeroth, that is, not quite ten months. We should thus have four years in all. But in a popular legend *four* could easily become *forty*. That the myth has "violently" exaggerated, is confirmed by the fact, that "in this desert the amount of space is inconsiderable (?!), and that it was to some extent already occupied, so that it could not possibly afford nourishment to a tenth part of the number" (in answer to this, see § i. 3);

“consequently the natural impulse to self-support would very early have excited a desire, and even made it a necessity, to escape from the desert at any cost.” Another proof of the exaggerated character of the myth is the fact, that the giants, “who lived at Hebron in the second year of the journey (Num. xiii. 22), are said to have been all three found there (Josh. xv. 14; Judg. i. 10) no less than forty-five years afterwards (Josh. xiv. 7, 10).” Such empty arguments as these are truly not worth refuting.

GÖTTE, however, has acted more foolishly still (*West-östlicher Divan*: “*Israel in der Wüste*”). The compilation of the Pentateuch is “extremely sad, confused, and incomprehensible,” “aiming, as it evidently does, in so trivial a manner to multiply the quantity of religious ceremonies.” The journey through the desert, he says, did not occupy quite so long as *two* years; the eighteen stations in Num. xxxiii. 19–35 are pure inventions, intended to give some colour to the fable, which is served up, of a forty years’ sojourn in the desert.—The reader would probably like to see a brief sketch of the leading ideas of this remarkable treatise. Any further criticism we must beg to be spared.—According to *Goethe*, Moses was of a wild character, shut up in himself, muddy in his brains, extremely contracted, quite unable to think; and the careful training which he received at the Egyptian court was entirely thrown away upon him. Under all circumstances, he continued just what he was—boorish, powerful, reserved, incapable of sympathy, not born for thought and meditation, unable to project a sensible plan, unskilful in everything he took in hand, etc., etc. When Pharaoh had refused the application of Moses that he would let the people go, some land plagues accidentally came in to favour his enterprise, and he and his people immediately broke through all their obligations. “Under the pretence of celebrating a general festival, they obtained vessels of gold and silver from their neighbours; and at the very moment, when the Egyptians believed the Israelites to be partaking of a harmless meal, an inverted Sicilian vesper was in hand. The foreigner murdered the native, the guest the host; and, under the influence of a cruel policy, they slew none but the first-born, in order that, in a country where primogeniture has so many privileges, the selfish feelings of the younger might be excited, and their immediate revenge avoided

by a rapid flight. The scheme was successful; the murderers were thrust out instead of being punished. It was not till some time afterwards that the king collected an army; but his horsemen and scythe-chariots fought at a great disadvantage on a marshy soil with the light-armed rear." Under the difficulties of a journey through the desert, Moses was always at a loss how to satisfy his discontented followers. He felt that he was "born to act and govern, but nature had refused him the necessary materials for so dangerous an occupation." He imagined that, as ruler, he ought to trouble himself about the smallest trifles. "It was Jethro who first suggested the plan, which he ought to have thought of himself, of classifying the people and appointing inferior officers." The only road that any reasonable man would have thought of taking from Sinai to Palestine, was the one which goes along the east of the land of the Edomites, and passes through the cultivated country of the Midianites and Moabites to the Jordan. But Moses was blockhead enough to listen to the crafty Midianite, who persuaded him to lead the people right across the desert, from one corner to the other. "Unfortunately, Moses possessed even less military than administrative talent." Hence he was altogether at a loss what to do, when there was a division of opinion at Kadesh. He first of all gave orders for the attack; and then afterwards, even he discovered that there were dangers in an attack from this side. He then applied for a free passage through the Edomites' country; but the Edomites were too wise for this, and gave him a direct refusal. The Israelites were now compelled to turn back, and take the route which a very little reflection would have induced their leader to decide upon when first they set out from Sinai. Henceforth everything went well. "In the meantime Miriam had died, and Aaron had disappeared, shortly after their opposition to Moses." The Midianites were exterminated, and the country to the east of the Jordan conquered. But instead of hurrying forwards in their course of victory, laws were given and fresh arrangements made, in precisely the old style. "In the midst of all this work, Moses himself disappeared, just in the same way in which Aaron had disappeared before; and we are very much mistaken if Joshua and Caleb were not glad to see the government of a man of contracted mind, which they had borne for so many years, brought to an end, and to send him after the many whom he had been

the means of sending before him, in order that they might put an end to the whole matter, and go seriously to work to take possession of the whole of the right bank of the Jordan, and the country which it bounded." Two years are amply sufficient for everything that the historical account contains. And the artificial chronology of the Old Testament is sufficient to explain how it was that, in the hands of a confused compiler, the two grew into forty. It was necessary that the whole should admit of being divided into definite periods of forty-nine years each (or jubilee periods); and, in order to bring out these mystical epochs, many historical numbers had to be altered. "And where would it be possible to find a better opportunity for interpolating the thirty-eight years, which were wanting in one of the cycles, than in an epoch involved in such deep obscurity?" "Moreover, forty is a round and sacred number, for which the editor had, no doubt, a peculiar liking. But, in order that the interpolated years might not appear to be altogether visionary, he drew from his own resources a whole series of stations, as the last of which he gave Eziongeber, on the Red Sea, from a misinterpretation of Num. xiv. 25 ('To-morrow turn you, and get you into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea')."

In Josh. v. 6 the forty years are altered into two-and-forty in the Vatican codex of the Septuagint, evidently from an idea that the forty years were to be reckoned from the sentence pronounced at Kadesh, and not from the exodus from Egypt.

(2.) We have already proved, in opposition to *Ewald*, that there were *two* separate encampments at Kadesh (*vid.* § 30, 1). —As we observed before, he will not admit that the Israelites came more than once to Kadesh. Yet even he acknowledges that the places, which are mentioned in the catalogue, between Rithmah (*i.e.*, Kadesh) and Kadesh, have reference to the thirty-seven years during which the ban rested upon Israel. But, according to his explanation, these seventeen stations merely point out the southern line of the space over which the people scattered themselves, whilst Moses remained at Kadesh with the sanctuary and a small portion of the people. But this explanation is as wide of the mark as it possibly can be. It was not by the separate parties which were scattered over the desert in search of pasture, that the Israel who was condemned to wander in the desert was represented, but by Moses and the sanctuary ;

and "the constantly recurring expressions, 'they broke up,' and 'they encamped,' are inseparably connected with the pillar of cloud and the tabernacle."

This question has been most fully discussed in all its bearings by Tuch (in the treatise already referred to at § 23). He says: "There is doubtless some difficulty connected with the statement, that in the last year of the wanderings of the Israelites, when they had made up their minds to cross the Jordan and enter Canaan from the east, they were summoned back from *Eziongeber* to the southern border of Canaan, which they had left thirty-seven years before; especially as the only result was, that after the failure of negotiations with the king of Edom, which might have been carried on from a point much farther to the south, they were led southwards once more, into the neighbourhood of *Eziongeber*, and eventually started thence on their journey to the land on the east of the Jordan. But we shall not find anything to astonish us, if we consider, in the first place, that Israel did not come twice from the south to Kadesh in full marching order—that, in fact, in a certain sense it had never left Kadesh, and during the thirty-seven years this place had formed the northern boundary, and principal point in that portion of the desert over which it was scattered, the southern boundary being on the Elanitic Gulf; and, secondly, that it was a matter of great importance, in connection with the general training of the Israelites, that at the close of the period of the curse inflicted by God, they should assemble together in the very same spot in which the sentence was first pronounced."

We shall reserve any further discussion of this second reason till § 44, 1; but, in the meantime, we may add, that when the Israelites resolved to pass through the land of the Edomites, they could not have had any ground for doubting the success of their negotiations, seeing that they could hardly have expected from a brother-nation so unbrotherly a refusal as they actually received. If they had had any reason to fear, that they might possibly receive a negative reply to their modest request; then, and then only, it might have been advisable to carry on the negotiations from *Eziongeber*, when they would have been in a position, in case of refusal, to skirt the country of the Edomites without going very far round, or even with very little difficulty to force a passage through the country on the eastern side of the

mountains; whereas from Kadesh it would be impossible to force a passage, and to skirt the country would take them an enormous way round. If, on the other hand, the Israelites had every reason to anticipate an affirmative reply from the Edomites; then, from a regard to the Edomites themselves, they would prefer to commence the march from Kadesh rather than from Eziongeber, as a line drawn through the country from the former (from west to east) would be much shorter than from the latter (from south to north).

There is nothing irreconcilable in the two statements, that, on the one hand, Israel had never left Kadesh, and on the other, came to Kadesh a second time. The great mass of the people scattered themselves in smaller or larger groups about the peninsula, for the purpose of seeking sustenance; but if any considerable portion of the nation remained at Kadesh, after the dispersion of the others, then Kadesh would still be to a certain extent the place of encampment and rendezvous. At the same time, repeated departures and encampments might be spoken of, as in Num. xxxiii. 19-36, if the head-quarters, with Moses at the head and the sanctuary in the midst, made the circuit of the desert in the thirty-seven years, for the purpose of visiting the different parties which were dispersed about in search of food, and making with each a certain stay.

With this explanation, all the separate notices, which are scattered throughout the Pentateuch, become clear and intelligible. And there is also no difficulty in explaining how it is, that in the historical account in Num. xiii.-xx., there is no notice of any formal departure from Kadesh, as in the case of all the previous stations, for no departure ever took place in the same sense as before.—This will also explain the otherwise singular expression in Deut. i. 46, "So ye abode in Kadesh many days, according unto the days that ye abode there," as well as the words which immediately follow in Deut. ii. 1, "Then *we* turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea." The change of subject does not appear to be merely accidental and unmeaning. In Deut. i. 46, the second person ("ye") is employed, because only a portion of the congregation continued the whole time in Kadesh, and Moses and the tabernacle did not remain constantly there. In chap. ii. 1, the first person ("we") is used, on account of the whole congregation

being now assembled once more at Kadesh, and departing thence *as a body* to the Red Sea, for the purpose of proceeding round the mountains of Scir.—Moreover, “the commencement and close of this intermediate period are brought into connection with each other, by the characteristic expression בְּלִהְעֵרָה (“all the congregation,” Num. xiii. 26, and xx. 1). This express reference, which we meet with nowhere else, to the fact that the *whole* congregation was at Kadesh on these two occasions, appears to lead to the conclusion, that the congregation was dispersed during the intermediate period. “In precisely the same manner we find the same expression בְּלִהְעֵרָה (all the congregation) employed in Num. xx. 22, for the purpose of distinguishing the later visit to Mount Hior from the earlier one mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 30 (Moseroth, *i.e.*, Hor; *vid.* § 30, 1), and of showing that the *whole* nation had now for the first time taken its departure from Kadesh” (*Fries*, p. 53).—Lastly, no other view than this—namely, that the people were scattered over the whole desert, and therefore did not continue in uninterrupted communication with Moses and the sanctuary—will explain the statement made in Ex. xx. 25, 26, where the description given of the idolatrous practices of the Israelites cannot possibly be understood as referring to any other period than to these thirty-seven years (*vid.* § 43, 2).

We close these remarks with a passing quotation of the words of the excellent author, whose thorough investigation has so essentially, and in so many respects, facilitated the solution of the difficult question respecting Kadesh. “As the Israelites knew that they were to remain in the desert for the period of an entire generation, the thought forces itself upon us, that a nation containing three (? two) millions of men, possessing considerable flocks and herds, and limited to an area of about 130 miles long and 50 miles broad, would not be likely to prepare for perpetually travelling about, but would rather distribute itself about the district assigned it, and make arrangements for temporary settlements, in which to wait for the period when it would again assemble as a body in one spot, and proceed to its final destination. But we can easily understand why, at this point of time, when there was no reason for anticipating a refusal on the part of Edom, instead of that portion of the nation, which was in Kadesh and the northern district, proceeding to Eziongeber, the

other portion which was in Eziongeber and the southern district, should proceed to Kadesh, in which, as K. Ritter says, all the desert roads meet together" (*vid. Fries*, p. 56).

§ 42.—The period of the thirty-seven years' ban, which lies between the first and second encampments at Kadesh, has *not* been included in the formal history of the theocracy (Num. 13 sqq.). The cause of this omission is hardly to be sought in the fact, that nothing occurred, during the whole of these thirty-seven years, either worth recording, or that would have been recorded under other circumstances. Nor is it to be discovered merely in the fact, that the existing generation was under the ban of rejection; for the rejection was not an absolute one, but merely relative: even the *rejected* generation was only excluded from the possession of the land, and *not* from the covenant with Jehovah, and the blessings of His salvation. How far the rejection was from being the sole ground of the silence, is evident from the fact, that the history does not break off immediately after the rejection, but embraces several events, as well as several groups of laws, which belong to the period subsequent to the rejection. Moreover, the period of rejection was *not* completed, when the whole congregation assembled once more at Kadesh, in the first month of the fortieth year; and yet the thread of the history is resumed at this point (Num. xx. 1). It is apparent, therefore, that there must have been other considerations, which determined what should be omitted from the sacred records, and how much they should preserve. So far as the sacred records were concerned, there was *no history* between the first and second encampments at Kadesh. But, whatever happened *while* the first encampment lasted, and whatever occurred *after* the second encampment had taken place, was regarded as forming part of the history to be recorded. If we endeavour to ascertain the causes, of what appears at first sight to be a somewhat strange and arbitrary limitation of the history, there are two points of view from which it admits of explanation. *In the first place*, so far as the wanderings in the desert are concerned, nothing of

a stationary (or retrograde) character was regarded as forming part of the history to be recorded, but only that which was *progressive*. (Allusion has already been made to this in § 39, 1.) From Sinai to Kadesh the Israelites were moving forwards. At Kadesh they were on the very borders of Canaan : only one step further, and their feet would stand upon the holy land of the pilgrimage of their fathers, which was destined to be their own inheritance. But during the thirty-seven years, about which the scriptural records are silent, the history of Israel did not advance a single step towards its immediate object, the conquest of the promised land. On the contrary, for thirty-seven years it remained perfectly still. It was very different in the fortieth year, when they were journeying from Kadesh to the plains of Moab. The events which took place during this year were not of a stationary character, but steadily progressive, and brought them nearer and nearer to the end in view. Under the unfavourable circumstances of the times, their *nearest* way from Kadesh to Canaan was round Mount Seir, through the plains of Moab, and across the Jordan. Even the journey from Kadesh to the Red Sea, which was a retrograde movement geographically considered, was a progressive movement so far as the history was concerned.—*In the second place*, the thirty-seven years were not only stationary in their character—years of detention, and therefore without a history,—but they were also years of dispersion. The congregation had lost its unity, had ceased to be one compact body ; its organisation was broken up, and its members were isolated the one from the other. In order to procure its daily sustenance, Israel had been obliged to scatter itself far and wide in the desert, one family settling here, and another there. But it was only Israel as a *whole*, the combination of all the component parts, the *whole congregation*, with the ark of the covenant and the pillar of cloud in the midst, which came within the scope of the sacred records ;—not the scattered and isolated fragments, the solitary and disconnected members.

§ 43. (Deut. viii. 2-6; Josh. v. 4-9; Ezek. xx. 10-26; Amos v. 25, 26.)—But even if the direct history is silent respecting these thirty-seven years, there are occasional allusions in other portions of the Holy Scriptures, which throw a few rays of light upon the obscurity of this period. In the exhortations of the Deuteronomist, for example (particularly in Deut. viii.), reference is repeatedly made to it; and even the later prophets make very instructive remarks with regard to it. The Deuteronomist addresses the Israelites, who are now arrived in the plains of Moab, in such words as these: “Remember *all* the way which Jehovah, thy God, hath led you these forty years in the desert; to humble thee, to prove thee, to know what was in thy heart, whether thou wouldest keep His commandment, or no. And so He humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna. . . . Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years (1). See, therefore, that as a man traineth up his son, so Jehovah traineth thee.” According to this, the whole forty years, including the thirty-seven years of detention, may be regarded in the same light, as years of training and temptation, of humiliation and blessing, of natural wants and supernatural assistance. And here again we also see, that we are not warranted in making so broad a distinction throughout, as is commonly made, between the three years of progress and the thirty-seven years of detention. The relation in which Jehovah stood to the nation was not altered by the sentence of detention; and the people continued essentially the same in their relation to Jehovah, always ready to despair, constantly murmuring, easily excited to rebellion; but always rising again after their fall, and penitent after their sin. And the prophet *Jeremiah* could just as truly say, with reference to one side of the national character at this time, “Thus saith Jehovah: I remember the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, how thou wentest after Me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown; Israel was holiness unto Jehovah, the first-fruits of His increase” (chap. ii. 2, 3), as the

prophet *Ezekiel*, with regard to the other side, "But the house of Israel rebelled against Me in the wilderness. . . . Then I said that I would pour out My fury upon them in the wilderness to consume them ; nevertheless I withdrew My hand, and wrought for My name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth. I lifted up my Mine hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land which I had given them ; . . . because they despised My judgments, and walked not in My statutes, but polluted My Sabbaths, for their eyes were after their fathers' idols" (chap. xx.).—This is how the prophet speaks of the whole forty years in the desert, and therefore of the generation of the fathers as well as of that of the sons (2).—On the other hand, what the prophet *Amos* says with reference to star-worship, on the part of the Israelites, does not relate to Israel in the desert. It is true the passage in question appears to say, that the sacrificial rites prescribed by the law were 'not maintained in their full extent—and, in fact, they could hardly have been carried out under the peculiar circumstances of the life in the desert, especially during the period of the thirty-seven years' dispersion. But *Amos* does not charge Israel with any sin. On the contrary, he simply calls attention to the fact, that notwithstanding all this, the time of their sojourn in the desert was richer than any other in glorious manifestations of the grace of Jehovah (3).—That the *circumcision* of those who were born in the desert was frequently neglected, is evident from *Josh. v. 4-9* ; and it stands to reason that the annual celebration of the *Pasover* cannot have taken place (4).

(1.) The history of the exposition of *Deut. viii. 4* and *xxix. 5* (*cf. Neh. ix. 21*) furnishes one of the most striking examples, of the extent to which a merely literal exegesis of the Scriptures may go astray. A whole series of both Jewish and Christian commentators interpret these passages, without the least hesitation, as meaning that the clothes and shoes of the Israelitish children grew with their growth, and remained for the whole of

the forty years not in the least the worse for wear. Thus, for example, *Justin* says (*Dial. c. Tryph. c. 131*): "The strings of whose sandals never broke; nor did the sandals themselves get old, nor their clothes wear out, *but those of the children grew with their growth (συνῆξανε).*" In *A. Pfeiffer (dub. vexata, p. 305)* the *Decisio* runs as follows: "By a remarkable miracle, not only did the clothes of the Israelites in desert never get old, but they grew with the growth of the Israelites themselves, so as to fit both boys and men in succession." *Pfeiffer* also quotes a Rabbinical saying with approbation: "Go and learn from the snail, whose shell grows with its body." Other Rabbins suppose the angels of God to have acted as tailors to the Israelites, while they were in the desert; and interpret *Ezek. xvi. 10–13* as containing a literal allusion to the fact.—Without going to such an absurd length as this, *Augustine, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Grotius*, and even *Deyling (De miraculosa vestium Israel. conservatione in deserto; Obs. ii. 242 sqq.)*, abide by the literal explanation, that through the blessing of God, the clothes and shoes never wore out; so that those who grew to manhood were able to hand them over, as good as new, to the rising generation. By thus assuming a succession of wearers, these commentators, at least, escaped the fatal notion that the clothes and shoes grew with the bodies of the wearers.—When first *Is. Peyrerius*, the "infelicissimus fabulae Præadamiticæ auctor," denied that the clothes and shoes of the Israelites were miraculously preserved for forty years, and maintained, that "the meaning of the Mosaic account was nothing more than this, that the Jews were never in want of anything during the whole of the forty years that they were in the desert, but had so abundant a supply of everything, especially of wool from their flocks, of cloth, of skins, and of leather, that they were never without materials from which to make their clothes,"—*Deyling*, who is usually so very temperate, protested most vehemently against such "*petulantia et impietas.*" Nevertheless, the opinion expressed by *Peyrerius* became gradually the prevailing one. We find it advocated, for example, by *Clericus, Buddeus*, and *Lilienthal (ix. 260 sqq.)*. The last of the three, however, thinks it necessary to point, not only to the flocks possessed by the Israelites, from which they could obtain both wool and leather in great abundance, but also to the fact, that every Israelite

must certainly have brought some clothes and shoes with him out of Egypt; that they asked the Egyptians for clothes, and obtained them (Ex. iii. 22, xii. 35); that they would no doubt take off the clothes of the Egyptians who were drowned in the Red Sea, and afterwards washed on shore (Ex. xiv. 30); and lastly, that they took the booty of the conquered Amalekites, including, according to Josephus, a quantity of clothes.

(2.) *Ezekiel* (chap. xx. 10–26) makes a distinction between the two generations in the desert, the fathers and the children, though only so far as the time is concerned; for all that he says in vers. 10–17 of the generation of the fathers, he repeats almost word for word, in vers. 18–26, of the generation of the children. The prophet makes no allusion whatever to the fact, that in the children there had grown up a race, of strong and living faith, and differing essentially from the generation of their fathers. And even the Pentateuch does not say that this was the case. According to the Pentateuch, the Israel of the fortieth year, as Num. xx. 2 sqq. and xxi. 5 plainly show, was in general the same discontented, murmuring, God-tempting race, as the Israel of the first and second years.

The greatest difficulty arises from the words of the prophet in vers. 23–26. After saying of the *fathers* in ver. 15, "I lifted up My hand unto them in the wilderness" (because they walked not in My statutes, and polluted My Sabbaths, and their heart went after their idols), "that I might not bring them into the land which I had given them, flowing with milk and honey;" He speaks of the sons in such terms as these: "I lifted up Mine hand unto them in the wilderness, to scatter them among the nations, and disperse them among the lands; because they had not executed My judgments, but had despised My statutes, and had polluted My Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols. . . . *And I also gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments, whereby they (should) not live; and I polluted them through their gifts, in that they offered all the first-born, that I might destroy them, that they might know that I am Jehovah.*"

The majority of commentators understand ver. 23 to be a prediction and threat of their *future* banishment from the promised land (in the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities). I must however regard this explanation as inadmissible. If ver.

15, with its threatening to the fathers, undoubtedly relates to their exclusion from possessing the promised land, which took effect immediately, the threatening contained in ver. 23 must also be understood as relating to the immediate future, that is, to the years of their sojourn in the desert. This is placed beyond all doubt by the words of Jehovah: "I lifted up My hand unto them *in the wilderness,*" etc. And this explanation is in perfect harmony with the history given in the Pentateuch, which, as we have shown above, presupposes the splitting up of the congregation into a number of smaller parties, and their dispersion over the great desert. Undoubtedly there is something striking in the expression which the prophet employs: "I will scatter them among the nations, and disperse them among the lands,"—an expression which immediately suggests the thought of the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, to which it is much more applicable than to the sojourn in the desert. But undoubtedly the prophet wishes to recall the latter to mind. It is evidently his intention, to represent the thirty-seven years' dispersion in the desert, as a type of the Assyrian and Babylonian dispersion. And, in fact, they may both be looked at from precisely the same point of view. In both we have punishment for the unbelief and disobedience of the nation; in both, exclusion from the land of promise; and in both, division and dispersion. The expressions, "among the lands," and "among the nations," are more applicable to the Assyrio-Babylonian exile, and it was from this that the prophet borrowed them; but in order that he might show how unmistakeable a parallel existed between the two periods, he transferred them to the exile in the desert. And they may be appropriately used, even with reference to this, though possibly in not quite so natural a way; for the large and wide-spread desert, to the uttermost ends of which the people dispersed themselves, was not altogether uninhabited. There were certain Amalekitish, Midianitish, and possibly other tribes, who led a nomad life in the desert itself; and it was surrounded by the most diverse nations—Egyptians, Philistines, Amalekites, Amorites, Edomites, and Midianites.

But confessedly the most difficult passage of all is vers. 25, 26: "*But I also gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments, whereby they (should) not live; and I polluted them through their own gifts,*" etc. (See the commentaries on this

passage; also *S. Deyling, De statutis non bonis*, in his *Obs. ss. ii. 300 sqq.*; *Vitringa, Obs. ss. i. 261 sqq.*; *Hacspan, Notæ philol., ii. 837 sqq.*; *Lilienthal, gute Suche*, iii. § 111–119; and others.)—The Manicheans made use of this passage to justify their rejection of the Old Testament. The following explanations have been given of the “statutes that were not good.” (i.) *Human traditions*, to which God gave them up. *Jerome*, for example, says there were “the commentaries of men; a large mass of errors and superstitions, in which there was no light, no life, and no salvation: possibly the constitutions of the Talmud and other similar trifles, which prevailed among the later Jews, and by which they were blinded and led astray.” *Hacspan, Grotius, J. II. Michaelis, Maurer*, and others, give a similar explanation. But there is not the slightest indication of anything of this kind previous to the captivity.—(ii.) *The laws*, which they were to receive from their enemies, into whose hands God subsequently gave them up. This is *D. Kimchi's* explanation.—(iii.) *The threats and denunciations of punishment*, which were announced to them by Moses in the name of God, and which took effect immediately. *Glassius, Lilienthal, Rosenmüller*, and others, adopt this interpretation. But *threats* are one thing; statutes and judgments are something very different.—(iv.) *The law generally*, as contrasted with the *Gospel*; or else the *ceremonial law*, as contrasted with the *moral law*. *Ambrosius, Augustine*, and others, adopt the former view; *Marsham, Spencer*, and others, the latter. *Spencer's* interpretation is the following: “I gave laws to the Israelites, who had recently been delivered from their bondage in Egypt—laws adapted not for slaves, but for freeborn men; such as were commended by their own native goodness, and would promote the well-being of those who obeyed them. But because they transgressed these laws, on account of their being new, and not in harmony with their previous habits, and were perpetually turning to idolatry; at length I gave them other laws, which, though not essentially good, acted as a yoke to break the stiffneckedness of the people, and take away from them every opportunity and all possibility of returning to the manners and customs of Egypt.” But both of these explanations must be most decidedly rejected. The prophet, in this case, would not only be at variance with the Pentateuch (*vid. Deut. xxxii. 47*, “For it is not a vain word for you, but it is your life”),

but he would most thoroughly contradict himself; for in vers. 11, 13, and 21, he speaks distinctly of the statutes and judgments of the Mosaic law, as being of such a character that the man who did them would *live by them*. And to think of only the moral law in this connection, would be perfectly absurd, apart from all other considerations, for the simple reason, that in every instance the desecration of the Sabbath is distinctly mentioned. And it shows just as grievous a misapprehension to appeal, as some do, in confirmation of this opinion, to the remarks made by the Apostle Paul as to the obligation to observe the ceremonial law.—(v.) *Heathen*, or *idolatrous customs*, to which Jehovah gave them up as a punishment for their sins,—in the sense of Rom. i. 24, 25. This is the view entertained by *Calvin*, *Vitringa*, *Hävernick*, and others.—(vi.) The *laws of worship*, which were given by *Jehovah*, but misinterpreted and perverted by the people in a godless and heathen manner. This is *Umbreit's* explanation. The last two are essentially one, seeing that they both of them bring against the Israelites the charge of carrying on heathen worship in the desert, and both perceive in this a proof of the judicial will of God. *Hävernick* traces an analogy between the expression, “I gave them statutes,” and two expressions in the New Testament, *viz.*, Acts vii. 42, “God gave them up to worship the host of heaven,” and Rom. i. 26, “God also gave them up unto vile affections.” But *Hitzig* has very properly objected to this, that the passages would be parallel, if the words of Ezekiel were, “*I gave them up to such statutes*,” and not otherwise; for in that case some other than Jehovah might have given them the statutes. But the same objection does not apply to the third passage adduced by *Hävernick* as analogous, *viz.*, 2 Thess. ii. 11, “For this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie;” to which we might add Ps. cix. 17, “As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him; as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him.” But these analogies may be appealed to, as favouring *Umbreit's* explanation quite as much as *Hävernick's*. And we prefer *Umbreit's*; in the first place, because the analogy of the calf-worship at Sinai shows, that at this time the idolatrous tendencies of the Israelites did not lead them to give themselves up directly to heathenism, but rather to retain the name and forms of the worship of Jehovah, whilst they gave it a heathenish nature;

and, *in the second place*, because the prophet himself explains what he says by citing an example, which evidently points to a law of the theocracy (Ex. xiii. 12, 13), namely, the untheocratical offering of the first-born. The offering of all the first-born of man and beast was commanded by Jehovah Himself. It was good in itself, and subservient to the well-being of the citizen of the theocracy, whenever he carried it out in the sense and manner required by God. But it was not good, and instead of promoting life and salvation, it polluted and corrupted him, when it was practised in a heathen sense and in a heathen manner. Now the prophet distinctly tells us that the latter was the case in the desert. But even when abused in this ungodly manner, the statute itself still continued to be one given by Jehovah; and, still more than this, even the fact that it was misinterpreted and abused, and that it afterwards polluted and corrupted, was to be traced to Jehovah, so far as it was a realisation of His determination to punish Israel.

The information which we obtain from the prophet's words, respecting the religious condition of Israel in the desert, is in general this, that they either despised the statutes of Jehovah, or else abused them, so as to render them heathenish in their character. Two special examples are given: viz., *first*, the desecration of the Sabbath of Jehovah—a neglect of the times appointed for the Sabbath and for religious worship, which could hardly take place without the whole of the worship of the theocracy being neglected; and *secondly*, a false and ungodly, that is, heathenish observance, of the command to sanctify all the first-born. With regard to the latter, it is still questionable, *how far* this abuse to heathenish ends proceeded. The prophet says that Israel was polluted, through offering *all* the first-born. The law, in Ex. xiii. 12, 13, did not command that *all* the first-born should be sacrificed, but only the first-born of clean beasts: those of men were to be redeemed, and those of unclean beasts either put to death (without sacrificing) or redeemed. The crime of the Israelites probably consisted in the fact, that they actually sacrificed the first-born, as was the case in connection with heathen worship. In fact, the dedication of the first-born, in the manner practised in connection with the worship of Moloch, is as good as expressly mentioned, seeing that the word employed by the prophet (הַעֲבִיר, *i. e.*, to cause to pass through, *sc.* the fire;

cf. ver. 31) was a technical term peculiar to the Moloch worship.¹

It is by no means incredible, or improbable, that during the time when the Israelites were scattered about in the desert, and isolated from the sanctuary, particular instances may have occurred of human sacrifices (the offering of the first-born). If we only consider the magic power of the Nature-worship of that time, the tendency of the Israelites to give way to it, the deep religious element which pervaded a worship characterised by human sacrifices, notwithstanding the fearful cruelty connected with it (vol. i. § 65, 1), the force of temptation, and the example of the heathen round about (think of Serbal, for instance, § 5, 4) —we shall not think it incomprehensible, that there should have been so thorough a perversion of the religious feeling on the part of the Israelites; especially if we bear in mind, that the greater part of the nation was scattered about and left to itself, and not only isolated from the tabernacle, but deprived, in consequence, of the instructions, warnings, and exhortations of Moses, the revelations and chastisements of Jehovah, and, in fact, of the whole spiritual support furnished by the worship of the sanctuary.

But the words of the prophet are not to be strained unreasonably, so as to be made to mean that the evils referred to were usually, and in fact invariably, associated with the religious worship of this period. Ample justice will be done to the words of the prophet, if we merely suppose him to mean that there were cases of this kind, of more or less frequent occurrence, not that they were by any means universal, or even the general rule. The tone of the prophet's address is that of denunciation; and, under such circumstances, it is neither expected nor required that the state of things on all sides should be fully described, and that if there was anything good, anything noble, any fidelity or truth at all, it should be carefully recorded side by side with the moral

¹ This is certainly incorrect. The term מִנְחָה is no doubt employed on many occasions in connection with the dedication of children to Moloch, and in two or three instances מִנְחָה is added, to show that children so dedicated passed through the fire. But the word מִנְחָה occurs as early as Ex. xiii. 12, in connection, not with the worship of Moloch, but the worship of Jehovah ("And thou shalt set apart—מִנְחָה, cause to pass over—to the Lord all that openeth the matrix, etc.").—*Tr.*

and religious transgressions and sins. From an address, the purport of which is to administer only a severe rebuke, we naturally expect to obtain merely a one-sided, faulty picture of the period to which it refers. And we repeat what we have already said, that the love-song of Jeremiah, with reference to the bridal condition of Israel in the desert (Jer. ii. 2, 3), may stand side by side with the denunciations of Ezekiel (*vid.* § 1, 2).

(3.) For the interpretation of the very difficult passage, AMOS v. 25-27, of which the excellent and learned *Selden* was obliged to admit, "in loco isto Amos prophetæ obscuro me tam œ cœcutire sentio, ut nihil omnino videam," consult not only the commentators, such as *Rosenmüller*, *Hitzig*, *Maurer*, *Ewald*, *Umbreit*, and *G. Baur*, but also *Braun* (*Selecta ss.*, p. 477 sqq.), *Vötringa* (*Observv. ss.*, 1, 241 sqq.), *Witsius* (*Miscellanea ss.*, 1, 608 sqq.), *Deyling* (*Observv. ss.*, ii. 444 sqq.), *Lilienthal* (*Gute Sache*, iii. 327 sqq.), *Spencer* (*de legg. Hebr.*, iii. c. 3, 1), *N. G. Schröder* (*de tabernaculo Mosis et stellæ Dei Rempha*, Marp. 1745), *Jablonsky* (*Remphan Ægyptiorum Deus*, Opusc. ii. p. 1 sqq.), *J. D. Michaelis* (*Supplem. ad Lex.* p. 1226 sqq.), *Gesenius* (*Thesaurus*, p. 669), *Vatke* (*bibl. Theol.* i. 190 sqq.), *Mengstenberg* (*Beitr.* ii. 108 sqq.), *Movers* (*Phönizier*, i. 289 sqq.), *Winer* (*Reallex. s. v. Saturn*), *E. Meier* (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1843, p. 1030 sqq.), *Fr. Düsterdieck* (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1849, p. 908 sqq.).

This passage has recently acquired even greater importance than it possessed before, from the fact that *Vatke* and others have taken it as the basis of an entirely new religious history of the Israelitish nation. *Vatke*, for example, seeks to prove that the Pentateuch contains the priests' legend, in which the early history is altered to suit private ends. In the prophets, on the other hand, there is another stream of tradition, which has preserved the early history of the nation in a pure and unadulterated form, and to which we must therefore look for means to rectify the myth of the priests. From the passage in Amos (in connection with that in Ezekiel xx.) *Vatke* then proceeds to demonstrate, that the Israelitish nation was at first addicted to the worship of Nature, which prevailed among the Canaanites and Phœnicians; and that it was only at a later period, and very slowly, that, under the influence of the prophets, the worship of Jehovah prevailed over that of Nature. *Daumer* calls the passage

in Amos "a monstrous assertion, which destroys the whole of our traditional theology with one blow" (*Feuer-und Molochs-dienst der alten Isr.*, p. 47).

In vers. 21–24, the prophet declares to the people that Jehovah takes no pleasure in the *outward, hypocritical* observance of feasts, sacrifices, and prayers, without the corresponding feeling, without purity of heart and uprightness of life. He then proceeds to say in ver. 25: "Have ye offered unto Me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? (Ver. 26.) And now ye carry (? then ye carried) the tabernacle of your King, and the stand of your images (אֵת סִבּוֹת מַלְכֵיכֶם וְאֵת סִבּוֹת מִלְכֵיכֶם), the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves. (Ver. 27.) Therefore I lead you captive beyond Damascus, saith Jehovah, whose name is the God of hosts."

That the ה in הִזְבַּחְתֶּם (ver. 25) is neither the article, nor the demonstrative pronoun, as *Maurer* and others suppose, but the interrogative particle, is admitted by nearly all modern commentators. But if the verse is to read as a question, which it certainly is, it still remains doubtful whether an affirmative or a negative reply is expected; in other words, whether the prophet intended to affirm that the Israelites had, or that they had not, offered sacrifices and offerings during the forty years spent in the desert. *Umbreit* supports the former view, the majority of commentators the latter. It is equally difficult to decide whether ver. 26 (וְנִשְׂאֲתֶם אֵת סִבּוֹת) is to be understood as referring to the past, *i.e.*, to the forty years' sojourn in the desert, as *Hitzig*, *Baur*, and the majority of commentators of both ancient and modern times suppose, or to the prophet's own days, as *Rückert*, *Umbreit*, and *Düsterdieck* think, or whether *Ewald* is right in regarding it as a prediction of the future. And whichever we select, a still further question arises: In what relation does ver. 25 stand to ver. 26?—There can be no doubt whatever that ver. 27 refers to the future.

Umbreit gives this exposition: "What a miserable inconsistency you children of Israel are guilty of! You first sacrifice for forty years to the one holy God, and then carry about the images of strange and false gods." But, assuming that an affirmative answer is implied in ver. 25, it would perhaps be more in harmony with the context, both before and afterwards, to interpret it thus: "During your forty years' sojourn in the

desert you offered sacrifices to Me; yet (ver. 26) at the same time you practised idolatry."—The connection between ver. 25 and the preceding and following verses is variously explained, by those who are of opinion that the answer should be in the negative. *Jerome*, for example, laid the emphasis upon the ל, "not to Me, but to idols ye offered sacrifices." *Ewald* interprets the passage in this way: "At one time the Israelites offered no sacrifices to Jehovah for forty years" (for in the wretched, barren desert, they could not offer them; at least, as individuals, they had no means of doing so, even if it were the case that at times there was offered in the name of the congregation a miserable sacrifice, not worthy to be named by the side of the fat beasts which were afterwards sacrificed even by private individuals; cf. Hos. ii. 5-16; Jer. vii. 22, 23); "and yet this was the golden age of Israel, with which Jehovah was so well pleased. So little does it depend upon such sacrifices as these!" He then connects vers. 26, 27 with vers. 21-24, in the following manner: "If they (*viz.*, the Israelites of the prophet's own days) are such infatuated traitors to the true religion, they will be suddenly overpowered and put to flight by the enemy, as a proper punishment; and, taking upon their backs the wretched idols of every kind, which their own hands have made, to see if they might possibly help them, they will be carried far away to the north into captivity by the true God whom they despise."

In our opinion, there can be no doubt that the question in ver. 26 should receive a negative reply. This is more in harmony, not only with the Pentateuch, but also with the context of the passage itself. It is true that, according to the account contained in the Pentateuch, the period spent in the desert was by no means altogether without sacrifices. In fact, it was to this period that the fundamental sacrifices connected with the conclusion of the covenant, the first consecration of the priesthood, the dedication of the sanctuary, and other things, belonged. But notwithstanding this, the prophet could very well say: "Did ye then offer Me sacrifices in the desert?"—for he was thinking of the number, the universality, and the variety of the sacrifices offered in his own day. In the context of the passage, especially in vers. 21-24, he refers not to an absolute, but merely to a relative want of sacrifices in the desert. In contrast with the requirements of the fully developed laws of the Pentateuch, as

well as with the practice of the prophet's own times, the period spent in the desert was apparently without sacrifice. The rare, and comparatively insignificant sacrifices which were offered in the desert, were lost in the general barrenness of the period. It was just as if there were no offerings presented at all. To give effect to all the laws of sacrifice which were laid down by the great lawgiver, and actually carried out by a later age, was an absolute impossibility under the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed. From the very nature of the case, and therefore according to the expectation and intention of Moses himself, the ceremonial law could not be carried out in its full extent, till after the settlement of the nation in the promised land. Hence the omission of sacrifice in the desert would not of itself preclude the favour of God from resting upon the youthful community. And this is just the point of the prophet's argument. The fact that feasts and sacrifices are not sufficient of themselves, apart from the proper state of mind, and merely regarded as an *opus operatum*, to ensure the favour and good pleasure of Jehovah, is established by a reference to this period, in which the feasts and sacrifices were interrupted to such an extent, and were so meagre and imperfect, that they might be regarded as having no existence at all, though it was nevertheless a period more highly distinguished for manifestations of the grace of God than any succeeding age (*cf.* chap. ii. 10).

Moreover, with regard to ver. 26 itself, we are thoroughly convinced that the only admissible explanation is that which refers it to the prophet's own times. If the idolatry alluded to in ver. 26 belonged to a past age, then ver. 27, with its threats of punishment, has nothing whatever to rest upon. The captivity predicted can only be regarded as a direct punishment for the sins of the existing generation, certainly not for the idolatry practised in the earliest period of the nation's history; yet it is upon the statement made in ver. 26 that the threat in ver. 27 apparently rests. It is quite as much out of the question to refer ver. 26 to the future, as *Ewald* has done. The close connection between ver. 25 and ver. 26, and the progress of thought from the one to the other, prohibit this. Nor is it only the want of a basis for ver. 27, which compels us to interpret ver. 26 as alluding to the prophet's own times. We are equally shut up

to this by the connection between the latter and ver. 25, as well as by its relation to vers. 21–24. The three verses set before us the past, the present, and the future. In the period of its youth, which was so rich in manifestations of the grace of Jehovah, the Israelites offered hardly any sacrifices at all. In the prophet's day they offered sacrifices in rich abundance, and fancied that by so doing they had fully satisfied Jehovah. But it was all vain hypocrisy, a religion of works; for, whilst outwardly sacrificing to Jehovah with all conceivable pomp, they tolerated and practised at the same time every possible abomination of idolatry. But the judgment of Jehovah was already hanging over it for such hypocrisy and doublefacedness.

G. Bauer objects to the supposition that ver. 26 relates to the prophet's own times, on the ground that there is no evidence of the existence of any such idolatry as is here depicted, in the time of Amos. But we know far too little of the idolatrous tendencies of the Israelites in the time of Amos, for such an objection to have any force. That the star-worship alluded to is only conceivable in the desert, and then again in the Assyrian age, is a thoroughly groundless assumption. There is much more weight in the argument based upon the words of the protomartyr Stephen, in Acts vii. 42, 43; but these words are merely quoted from the Septuagint, the renderings of which are not to be unconditionally adopted.

Having arrived at this result, that ver. 26 relates to the prophet's own times, we may, in fact must, decline entering into any more minute examination of the special difficulties connected with the verse in question. We simply content ourselves with the remark, that we agree with *Gesenius*, *Hengstenberg*, *Movers*, *Ewald*, *Hitzig*, *Umbreit*, *Düsterdieck*, and others, in regarding פֶּדֶס as a common noun, meaning *pedestal* (*Gestell*, stand), and reject the notion supported by *Winer*, *Baur*, *E. Meier*, and others, that it is to *Saturn* that the prophet refers. In this case the word is pointed פֶּדֶס or פֶּדֶס, and regarded as identical with the Perso-Arabic name of *Saturn*—*viz.*, *Kaiwan*, which the Egyptians are said to have called *Raiphān* or *Remphan*, the rendering adopted by the Septuagint.

(4.) In *JOSHUA* v. 4–9, we are told, that when the Israelites left Egypt, all the men and male children were circumcised, but that the rite had been omitted in the case of those who were

born in the desert, and was not performed till after their entrance into the holy land, when Joshua commanded it, preparatory to the celebration of the second Passover. It is not merely from the period of the rejection, but from the Exodus itself, that the book of Joshua dates the suspension of circumcision. Thus in ver. 5 we read: "All the people that were born in the wilderness *by the way as they came forth out of Egypt*, they had not circumcised." The reason assigned for the omission in ver. 7 is this: "Because they had not circumcised them *by the way (auf dem Wege, on the road)*. It is evident from this, that the ordinary opinion is incorrect, namely, that it was not till *after* the rejection at Kadesh—in fact, *in consequence* of the rejection, which is regarded as a suspension of the covenant—that circumcision was omitted. We have already shown (§ 42) that the rejection was limited to the postponement for forty years of their possession of the land, and did not involve a suspension of the covenant. And there is all the less reason for the supposition, that the presumed suspension of the covenant was the cause of the omission of circumcision, from the fact that the rising generation was expressly exempted from the sentence of rejection. According to the representation contained in the book of Joshua, the following is the correct view:—The circumcision of the new-born was omitted from the time of the departure from Egypt,—at first, no doubt, on account of the difficulty of the journey; for when the camp was broken up, and the orders were given to advance, it was impossible to make any allowance for any of the families which might require longer rest, on account of the new-born infants being ill at the time with the fever which followed circumcision. On the other hand, they could not be left behind; and therefore nothing remained but to suspend the circumcision altogether. The whole period of the journey through the desert was one of affliction, which fully warranted the omission. It was undoubtedly their intention at the time to repair the omission on reaching the holy land. And this continued to be the case even after the sentence of rejection, by which the entrance into the promised land was postponed for thirty-eight years.

THE SECOND HALT AT KADESH.

§ 44. (Num. xx. 1-13.)—At the beginning of the fortieth year from the time of the Exodus, we find the whole of the people assembled once more at Kadesh (1). There *Miriam* died. The want of water caused the people to murmur; and though the old generation had now for the most part passed away, the same presumptuous speeches against Moses and Aaron were heard again: “Why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there? Why have ye brought us out of the fruitful and well-watered land of Egypt into the waste and barren desert? Would that we had perished when our brethren perished before Jehovah!” (Num. xiv. 36).—Moses and Aaron received from God the same command, as formerly at Rephidim (§ 4, 1), to bring water out of the rock with their staff (3). But Moses was so excited by the hard-hearted, impenitent, and rebellious disposition of the nation, which proved to be as little subdued, after all the punishment, as it was before, that he lost the calm, temperate, and firm bearing which had hitherto been sustained by the self-reliance of his faith. In the height of his passion, and overpowered by his ill-will, he abused the people, and smote the rock twice in an angry and impatient manner (4). The firmness of his faith, and his fidelity as a mediator, which had been maintained thus far, had given way at last; and as it is right that judgment should begin at the house of God (1 Pet. iv. 17), the Divine sentence was pronounced upon him, that he should not bring the congregation into the promised land. The sentence also included his brother Aaron, who stood by his side, and was involved in the wavering of his faith. On account of what occurred here, the well was called *Me-Meribah* (strife-waters) (5); *vid.* § 30, 5.

(1.) “That it was of great importance, that at the close of the thirty-seven years Israel should assemble once more in the

very same *Kadesh* in which the sentence had been first pronounced, must be intuitively evident, from the simple fact that this would be the most impressive mode in which the termination of the period of curse could be pointed out. But it was a matter of intense significance, that Israel should a second time turn what was meant for a blessing into a curse, and, through its sin against God, should make *Kadesh* once more what it had formerly been, the scene of a tragical catastrophe. That the Israelites, though remembering what had taken place on this very spot thirty-seven years before, instead of earnestly repenting, should only commit fresh sin, is a sufficient explanation of the extreme indignation of Moses and Aaron. The first and last sojourn at *Kadesh* came under precisely the same category, as distinguished by a tragical catastrophe, and under this character they were both deeply impressed upon the minds of the Israelites" (*Fries*, pp. 58, 59).

(2.) As it is stated in ver. 9 that Moses took the rod מִלְּפָנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, *i.e.*, out of the sanctuary, some commentators have supposed that the rod intended must have been Aaron's rod of almond-wood which budded, since this rod was laid up in the sanctuary. But in ver. 11 it is expressly called "his (*i.e.* *Moses'*) rod." The same rod undoubtedly is meant, with which Moses performed all the miracles in Egypt, and brought water out of the rock at *Rephidim*; and we learn from the passage before us, that this rod was also laid up in the sanctuary (probably immediately after the erection of the tabernacle).

(3.) As the article in אֶלֶּיָּהּ in ver. 8 points to some well-known ROCK, that has been already mentioned, several Rabbins have imagined that the rock alluded to must be the rock at *Rephidim* (§ 4, 1), which had constantly followed Israel through the desert, and hitherto had provided it with water. Others, to whom such a miracle appeared to be something by far too monstrous, were of opinion that the stream which flowed from the rock at *Rephidim* continued to follow the camp; and in *Deut. ix. 21*, and *Ps. lxxviii. 16-20* and *cv. 41*, they found this view confirmed. But the most that could possibly be inferred from these passages would be, that the fountain, which was opened by Moses' rod, still continued to flow. In *1 Cor. x. 4* ("And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was

Christ 'y) the Apostle Paul evidently alludes to the Rabbinical fable, with which he was well acquainted, and shows that what was fictitious in the Rabbinical traditions, was really true in a spiritual sense. *Abarbanel*, however, was also acute enough to give a spiritual interpretation to the Rabbinical legend. His words are: "But the true meaning of the passage is this, that the waters which issued in Horeb were a gift of God, bestowed upon the Israelites, and continued throughout the desert, like the manna. For, wherever they went, sources of living water were opened to them according to their need. And *for this reason* the rock in Kadesh was the same rock as that in Horeb; that is to say, the water of the rock in Kadesh was the same water as that which issued from the rock in Horeb, inasmuch as it came from a miraculous source, which followed them through all the desert" (*cf. J. Buxtorf; Hist. Petræ in deserto, in his Exercitt. p. 422 seq.*).

(4.) The question is not altogether without difficulty, what was *the sin of Moses*, which drew down so severe a sentence? And a great variety of answers have been given (*vid. Buxtorf, p. 426 sqq.*). It is very obvious that we must seek for it in the want of harmony between the instructions given by God and the execution of these instructions on the part of Moses. At the very outset, however, we must express our agreement with *Hengstenberg* (*Pentateuch, vol. ii., pp. 349, 350*), and pronounce the opinion entertained by the majority of commentators altogether erroneous, *viz.*, that Moses' sin consisted in the fact, that instead of *speaking* to the rock, as Jehovah expressly commanded, he *smote* it. Why should he have taken the rod, if he was not to use it? The command, "Take the rod," involved a command to use it; and the manner in which it was to be used, did not require to be more fully explained, but followed as a matter of course, from the similar miracle that had been performed at Rephidim (*Ex. xvii. 5, 6*). On the other hand, we do regard the fact that he *smote the rock impetuously, and smote it twice*, as a part of the sin, inasmuch as this was the unmistakable effect of excitement caused by impatience and ill-will. At the same time, it is evident from *Ps. cvi. 32, 33*, "They angered him also at the waters of strife, so that it went ill with Moses for their sakes: because they provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips,"—that the sin was not

confined to the two passionate strokes, but embraced also his passionate words. According to the account before us, Moses said to the people: "Hear now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock?" And in the Divine sentence pronounced on both Moses and Aaron, the fact is distinctly expressed, that the actions and words of the former evinced a temporary wavering of his faith: "Because, said Jehovah, ye believed Me not (or did not place confidence in Me, לֹא אֱמַנְתֶּם בַּיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם), to sanctify Me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not," etc. According to these words, the sin of Moses is to be found in the fact, that although he had no doubt as to the power of God, he had not in this instance the true and absolute confidence which, as mediator, he should have had in the mercy of God; that he was overpowered by the manifestation of discontent on the part of the Israelites, which led them, now that they had been brought a second time to the borders of the promised land, a land flowing with milk and honey, to declare that it would have been better to remain in Egypt, the slaves of a heathen king, than to endure, as the people of God, a brief and by no means intolerable inconvenience in the desert. The discovery of this sin, on the part of the Israelites, produced such an effect upon his mind, that he lost sight of the mercy of Jehovah; whereas it was his duty, and his special vocation as the mediator between the two, to keep both before his eyes with equal distinctness, and not to suffer the one in any way to intercept his view of the other. The sin of Moses bears more the aspect of an *official*, than of a personal sin; and this would explain the severity of the punishment by which it was followed.—As *Hengstenberg* has aptly said (p. 349), we have here a proof of *exhaustion*, such as is only conceivable after the temptations of many long years. Moses had never forgotten himself before the people until now.

(5.) On the relation in which the account before us stands to the similar account in Ex. xvii., of the miraculous gift of water at Rephidim, see *Kanne, Untersuchungen*, ii. 103 sqq.; *Haevernick, Einleitung*, i. 2, pp. 438, 495; and *Ranke*, ii. 225 sqq.; but especially *Hengstenberg, Pentateuch*, vol. ii., p. 310 sqq.—Rationalistic critics maintain that the two accounts are based upon one and the same event, which has been dressed up in the legends in two different ways. In both cases there is the same

want of water; in both, discontent and murmuring on the part of the people; in both, relief is afforded in precisely the same manner; and the names of the two places are very nearly the same (*Me-Meribah* is the name of the one, *Massah* and *Meribah* that of the other). But is it absolutely impossible that the congregation should have suffered *twice* from want of water in the thirsty desert? And if this is not impossible, it cannot certainly appear strange that the discontent of the people should be expressed, and the help of Jehovah afforded, in precisely the same way on two separate occasions. So far as the names are concerned, they are not the same, but simply related. Identity was avoided, that the two names might be kept distinct. A connection between the two was intended, that the two events might thus be brought together under the same point of view.—And when we look at the essential character of the two occurrences, what a radical difference we find between them! In the former case, the murmuring of the people and the help of Jehovah are placed most decidedly in the foreground; in the latter, although they are both present in precisely the same form, they are placed completely in the background. And such prominence is given to the sin committed by the two leaders of the nation, and to the judicial sentence pronounced by Jehovah, that the interest of the reader not only *is* absorbed, but is *intended to be* absorbed by these alone. In fact, it is upon this that all the rest (*viz.*, the death of Aaron, the consecration of a new high priest, the parting words of Moses, the election of Joshua to be his successor, and so forth) is based.—(Consult *Hengstenberg, ut supra*.)

§ 45. (Num. xx. 14–21, xxi. 1–3.)—Notwithstanding the sentence passed upon *Moses*, that he was not to enter into the promised land, there was no diminution of the zeal and energy with which he sought, at any rate, to prepare the way for the nation to enter. It is probable that ever since that unfortunate attempt, which was made thirty-seven years before, in opposition to his own directions and the will of God (§ 37), he had given up the idea of effecting the conquest of Canaan from the south, on account of the nature of the ground. At any rate, his present plan was to cross the Jordan, and enter the country from

the east. The most direct road from Kadesh lay through the heart of the territory of the Edomites and Moabites. He sent delegates to both nations, to request a free passage. The delegates related the manner in which the strong arm of Jehovah, their God, had rescued them from Egypt, and led them thus far through the wilderness; they pleaded the close relationship which existed between the two nations; and promised that they would neither trample upon their fields and vineyards, nor drink the water out of their wells, but would purchase of the inhabitants whatever water they might drink, and whatever other necessaries they might require. But, contrary to expectation, both nations gave a most decided refusal; and, to make the refusal still more emphatic, the Edomites placed strong forces to guard all the approaches to the country (1). Thus the main body of the Edomites placed themselves in the same position of heathen hostility to Israel, which the Edomitish branch of the Amalekites had displayed twice before (§ 4, 2; 75, 2). But the Israelites were prohibited from engaging in hostilities with the kindred tribe of Edom (Deut. ii. 4, xxiii. 7), so long as the latter did not carry out their hostile disposition into an actual attack. For the present, Edom did not allow its hatred to Israel to carry it *so far as this*. But an *Amoritish* tribe, which inhabited the southern slope of the Canaanitish highlands, did so. The king of *Arad* made an unexpected attack upon the Israelites, and took some of them prisoners. The Israelites were stirred up by this. Mindful of the duty imposed upon them, to put all the Canaanites under the ban, they vowed a vow to Jehovah that they would make an attack upon the territory of the king of Arad, and put all the cities which they might be able to conquer under the ban. The attempt was successful. Several cities on the southern slope of the mountains were taken and destroyed. In commemoration of this event, the place was henceforth called *Hormah* (2).

(1.) On the NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EDMITES we have a few further explanations to add. We have already spoken

about the road which Moses thought of taking through the Edomitic territory (*vid.* § 26, 3). It was undoubtedly the broad road leading to the Arabah, through the heart of the highlands of Azazimat, of which Rowlands was told by his Bedouin attendants. This road, as we have already seen, is supposed to enter the Arabah at Ain-el-Weibeh, and is continued on the other side of the Arabah in the Wady *Ghuweir* (Ghoeir). According to the invariable testimony of travellers, this large and broad wady furnishes a good road, suited even for large bodies of troops, through the heart of the Edomitic territory, which is otherwise inaccessible from the Arabah, on account of its steep mountain ranges (*vide* *Leake's* preface to Burckhardt, pp. 21, 22, and *Robinson*, iii. 140). The messengers sent by Moses describe this road as מַלְכֵי הַדָּרָב, *the king's road*. "*Movers*," says *v. Lengerke* (i. 570), "is wrong in supposing that the road referred to is the Moloch's road (*vid.* *Phönizien* i. 155). Highways, of which there were not so many, and which were not so well maintained, before the times of the Persians and Greeks, as in the Roman Empire and in modern Europe, were chiefly made by kings and princes for their own convenience. Solomon, for example, made roads to Jerusalem (*Josephus*, *Antiquities* 8, 7, 1). Hence the name, king's road." *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 340) cites examples from *Grinn's deutsch. Reichsalterthum*, p. 552, and *Haltan's* Gloss. p. 1115, to prove that even among the Germans the public highway was called the king's road; and *Ewald* (i. 77) shows from *Isenberg's* Dictionary, pp. 33, 102, that the same expression is met with in Amharic.

In Numbers, there is simply an account of a message to the Edomites. But according to *Judg.* xi. 17, messengers were despatched at the same time to present a similar request to the *Moabites*. "The refusal of the Moabitic king, however, was of no importance; and therefore the whole account of the embassy might very properly be passed over in silence in the passage before us. For if the Israelites could not pass through Edom, the permission of the Moabites would have been of no use whatever. The request was only made conditionally. And no allusion is made to it till the book of Judges, where other circumstances are recorded which gave it an importance that did not originally belong to it." (*Hengstenberg*, *Pentateuch*, vol. ii., p. 233.)

There is more *plausibility*, at any rate, in another difference which has been adduced as a discrepancy by rationalistic critics. In Num. xx., the Edomites (and, according to Judg. xi., the Moabites also) are said to have refused the petition of the Israelites for a free passage, and their offer to pay for bread and water; but in Deut. ii. 29, on occasion of a message sent to Sihon, king of the Amorites, the Edomites and Moabites are praised for having provided the Israelites with food and water for money, when they passed through the land. But a very simple solution of this apparent discrepancy is furnished by the old rule, "distingue tempora et concordabit Scriptura." This has been pointed out by *Leake* in his preface to *Burckhardt* (vol. i., p. 23). "The same people," he says, "who successfully resisted the attempt of the Israelites to cross the strongly fortified western frontier, were terrified when they saw that they had gone completely round, and reached the weakly defended (eastern) border." On the western side, the mountains of Edom rise abruptly from the Arabah. There are only a few passes which are at all accessible from this side, and these can easily be occupied. But on the east, the mountains slope gently off into a desert tract of table-land, which is still at least a hundred feet higher than the desert of et-Tih. On this side, therefore, the land was open; and they were not very likely to assume a hostile attitude towards the 600,000 fighting men of Israel. And the very fact that they had offended the Israelites, by opposing them on the western border, would make them the more eager to avoid everything that could give occasion for anger or revenge, now that they had come round to the eastern side. *Vide Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, vol. ii., pp. 231, 232; *Ranke*, ii. 278; *Welte*, Nachmosaisches, pp. 130, 131; *Raumer*, Zug der Israeliten, pp. 44, 45.

(2.) With reference to the BATTLE BETWEEN THE ISRAELITES AND THE PEOPLE OF ARAD, the *time of its occurrence* has furnished occasion for dispute. If the Biblical arrangement is to be regarded as exactly true to the order in which the events occurred, the attack made by the king of Arad, and the invasion of his territory by the Israelites, cannot have taken place till after Aaron's death. In this case, the Israelites would have left Kadesh, and gone *at least* as far as Mount Hor before the battle was fought. But in itself it is a very improbable thing,

that the king of Arad should have waited till the Israelites had left his borders and marched so far away, before he made his attack; and it is still more improbable, that the Israelites should have turned back from Mount Hor (or possibly from a point still farther south), and gone northwards beyond Kadesh, for the purpose of avenging the wrong, when they would very soon have been engaged in the conquest of the whole land, and the king of Arad would have been attacked in his turn. Moreover, this view is *expressly* excluded by the passage itself, in which it is stated that "the king of Arad heard that Israel CAME by the road to Atarim (? by the road of the spies), and he fought against Israel," etc. The time is given clearly enough here: Israel *came*, and the king *fought*. It was when the Israelites *approached* his borders, therefore, not when they went away, that he made the attack.¹ Consequently, the event occurred before the departure from Kadesh, probably during the period in which the Israelites were awaiting the return of their messengers from Edom and Moab.—The arrangement, therefore, is not strictly chronological, but determined by a train of thought which it is by no means difficult to understand. The historian mentions the departure of the messengers to Edom, and very naturally proceeds at once to the reply with which they returned. But if the war with the Aradites

¹ *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 179) gives a different explanation of the ספן in Num. xxi. 1 (*cf.* Num. xxxiii. 40). The king of Arad, he says, looked upon the *marching away* from Kadesh as an actual *coming*; because the intention of this departure (*viz.*, to enter Canaan from the east) was not concealed from him. In this case, undoubtedly, Num. xxi. 1-3 may be in its right place, from a chronological point of view; and it must be admitted, that with this explanation, Num. xxxiii. 40, 41 accords much better with the context. At the same time, I cannot make up my mind to give the preference to this explanation. For the supposition, that the king of Arad guessed what were the intentions of the Israelites in departing from Kadesh is not very probable, if we consider that they had already been wandering about in the desert for thirty-nine years, without either purpose or plan. Moreover, such a use of the word "*come*" would be too artificial, I might say, too much in the modern style of thought, for the simple, straightforward character of the narrative before us: and I should still see the same improbability in what would be a necessary conclusion, *viz.*, that Israel went all this way back after reaching Mount Hor. There is only one thing that could lead me to the determination to adopt *Hengstenberg's* view, *viz.*, if the unexpected discovery should be made, that the enigmatical ספן בדרך, in Num. xxi. 1, meant the road *round Mount Seir*.

(or only the first half of it, namely, the attack made by the king of Arad) occurred, as it probably did, between the departure of the messengers and their return, the strict chronological order would be interrupted already. How much more reason would there be for his relating the departure from Kadesh, which was most closely connected with Edom's reply—in fact, determined by it—before he felt called upon to resume the chronological thread of his narrative!—*Fries* (pp. 53, 54, note) goes still further back. He says: "Two occurrences, which were most intimately connected with the sin of Moses and Aaron, and Edom's refusal,—namely, the retreat from Kadesh, and Aaron's death upon Mount Hor,—were placed by the sacred historian in immediate juxtaposition with these events; and when once the twentieth chapter had been commenced with an account of these tragical occurrences, there was no opportunity for introducing the conflict with Arad. By the side of this combination of memorable events, which filled up the interval between the death of Miriam and that of Aaron, the conflict with Arad properly falls into the second rank. As examples of this arrangement, which regards the subject-matter alone at the cost of chronology, the first which suggest themselves are Deut. x. 6, 7, and Deut. i. 37." A perfectly analogous example we have already pointed out in § 4, 4.

It is also a disputed point, what we are to understand by the *דַרְךְ הַאֲתָרִים*, by which the Israelites are said to have come to the borders of the king of Arad. *Onkelos*, the *Syriac* and *Vulgate* translators, and also *Luther*, regard *אֲתָרִים* as equivalent to *אֲתָרִים* (with Aleph prosthetic) in Num. xiv. 6; and render it "by the way of the spies," i.e., by the same road by which the twelve Israelitish spies had travelled thirty-seven years before. But this is at variance with the history; for the way of the spies could only be the road which led northwards from Kadesh, whereas Israel was *not* to the north of Kadesh now. We feel bound, therefore, to follow the *Septuagint* and *Arabic*, and regard *Atarim* as the name of a town or district, whence the road to Kadesh, by which Israel travelled, derived its name.

ARAD, which was afterwards allotted to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xii. 14), and which, according to Judg. i. 16, is to be sought for at the north of the desert of Judah, is said by *Eusebius* (s. v. *Ἀραμὰ*) and *Jerome* (s. v. *Arath*) to have been situ-

ated about twenty miles to the south of Hebron. On his road from Hebron to the Wady Musa (near Petra), after travelling on a camel for eight hours, *Robinson* saw a hill towards the west, which his guides called *Tell-Arâd*. They knew nothing of ruins in the neighbourhood, however, but simply of a cave. Yet, notwithstanding this, the fact that the distance from Hebron is the same, renders it very probable that this was the site of the ancient Arad, especially as the absence of ruins is not fully established by the simple assertion of the Bedouins.

HORMAH was already mentioned in connection with the first sojourn at Kadesh (*viz.* § 37). According to Josh. xii. 14, Joshua defeated the king of *Hormah* and the king of Arad. But, according to Judg. i. 17, it was not till after the death of Joshua that the tribe of Judah, along with that of Simeon, conquered the city of *Zephath*, laid it under the ban, and gave it the name of *Hormah*. In these different accounts a mass of contradictions has been found. The discrepancy between Josh. xii. 14 and Judg. i. 17 is easily removed, if we bear in mind that in Josh. xii. 14 the *king* of Hormah is said to have been defeated, whilst there is no mention of the conquest of his city, and therefore the city might have been left standing, notwithstanding the defeat of the king. It is possible also that Hormah may have been conquered by Joshua, and recovered by the Canaanites, and only definitively conquered and placed under the ban at the time alluded to in Judg. i. 17.—That the city is called *Hormah* in Num. xiv. 45 (in connection with the first encampment at Kadesh), whereas, according to Num. xxi. 3, it was during the second encampment that the name was given to it for the first time, is nothing more than a simple *prolepsis*, of which we have a hundred examples in the Old Testament. “But it is an intentional and most significant *prolepsis*, pointing to the fact, that the two events involved the very same idea, that the place was sanctified by the judgment on the house of God, long before it derived its name from the judgment on the world. The nominal *prolepsis* was indicative of a real one” (*Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 191).—On comparing Num. xxi. 3 with Josh. xii. 14, *Reland* (*Palest.* p. 721) has detected a discrepancy, which, in his opinion, can only be solved on the supposition that “the victory appears to have taken place at the time when, with Joshua as their leader, and after crossing the

Jordan, they celebrated their triumph over king Arad (Josh. xii. 14), and to have been narrated *per prolepsin* in Num. xxi. 3. For why should they have gone out of the land in which they were already triumphant?" Bertheau (on Judg. i. 17) adopts this solution, except that he refers the *prolepsis* to Judg. i. 17 instead of Josh. xii. 14. But there is one thing which is necessarily required, namely, that we should admit that the Pentateuch was either written *after* the period of the Judges, or at all events that Num. xxi. 1-3 (and xiv. 45) was interpolated by a later hand.—Hengstenberg has shown that such a solution is not only unnecessary, but inadmissible (Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 180 sqq. See also Keil on Joshua, p. 312, English translation). No proof whatever is required, that in Num. xxi. 3 the proscription of the Aradite towns is represented as taking place immediately, and not as being reserved for some future time.—But Reland's question, "Why did they ever leave the country if they gained such a triumph as this?" still demands a satisfactory reply. And it is by no means difficult to find one. It is *not* stated in Num. xxi. that Israel conquered the whole of the country of the king of Arad, and laid it under the ban, at so early a period as this. And even if several proscribed cities are mentioned, it is beyond all doubt that Arad, the capital, was *not* among them; for in ver. 3 we are told that "they called the name of the place *Hormah*." But, from Judg. i. 17, we find that the former name of this place was *Zephath*; and if Arad had been taken and destroyed, they would no doubt have given the name *Hormah* to it, and not to a subordinate place like *Zephath*. *Zephath* was, no doubt, by far the most important of the cities that were laid under the ban. That it was not situated on the mountains themselves, but on the southern slope, is evident from Num. xiv. 45: "The Amalekites and Canaanites who dwelt in the mountains *came down* and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto *Hormah*." Robinson thought that he had discovered a relic of the ancient *Zephath* in the pass of *es-Safah*. This would suit our present purpose very well; at the same time there are other reasons for rejecting his conclusion (*vid.* § 27, 3). We would refer, on the other hand, to Rowlands, who discovered the ruins of *Zepâta* at a distance of about seven miles to the south-west of Khalasa (Chesil); for we have no more doubt than he has, that this is the site of the ancient *Zephath* (§ 26, 1). In

any case Hormah was on this side of the mountains; and even if Zephath was conquered, along with the rest of the cities on this side, during the second sojourn in Kadesh, nothing would be gained in consequence towards the conquest of Canaan. The mountains, which were impassable to such a procession as that of the Israelites, were still before them; and the strongholds of the king of Arad *on the* mountains themselves were not yet taken. "And if this were the case, it would follow as a matter of course, that when the Israelites left the neighbourhood, Hormah would soon become Zephath again, and at a later period they would have to perform the task of turning it into Hormah once more" (*Hengstenberg*).

THE MARCH ROUND THE COUNTRY OF THE EDMITES.

§ 46. (Num. xx. 22–29.)—The Israelites were prevented from attempting to force a passage, not only by the nature of the soil, but also by their relation to the Edomites themselves (1). Hence there was no other alternative left, than to yield to necessity, and, notwithstanding the enormous circuit they would have to make, to go round the land of the Edomites. The road led them round the Azazimat and through the Arabah to the Red Sea, after which they turned to the north, and passed along the eastern side of the mountains of Seir, and thus eventually reached the Jordan. When they arrived at the Arabah, they encamped at the foot of the Edomitish mountain *Hor* (2). The hour had now arrived when *Aaron*, the high priest, was to die on account of his sin at the Waters of Strife. But the office, which he had held for the good of Israel, was not to terminate with his life, but to be transferred to his eldest son, *Eleazar*. To this end, it was necessary that Aaron should be divested of his high-priestly dress, and that it should be put upon Eleazar. But neither the investiture of Eleazar, nor the death of Aaron, was to take place amidst the bustle of the crowd in the camp below. Moses went up with both of them to the summit of the mountain; and there Aaron died, after the office of high priest had been transferred to his son in the manner prescribed. The

whole congregation mourned for him thirty days,—and mourned at the same time for its own sin, which had been the occasion of Aaron's fall, and of the consequent punishment which had just been inflicted upon him. The death of Aaron was also a pledge and foreboding of a still more bitter loss, because an irreparable one, which the Israelites were soon to be called to suffer (§ 44).

1. Of all the Terahite nations, there were none that were so closely allied to the Israelites as the EDOMITES were; for the progenitors of the two nations, Esau and Jacob, were not only full brothers, the sons of one mother, but were born at one birth. It is true that the hostile relation in which the two nations stood to each other, both from their nature and history, not only had its foundation, but was typically exhibited, in the lives of the founders; and consequently, even at that early age, prophecy had cast a glance forward to the hostile relation in which the descendants would stand to each other (vol. i. § 69 sqq.), and especially to the fact, that the elder would serve the younger. This was Edom's appointed destiny; but Israel was not to originate or accelerate this destiny in a forcible manner. On the contrary, it was to discharge all the duties of relationship in an honourable and faithful manner, until Edom, by its increasing hostility, should bring its fate upon itself. At this very time, therefore, when the hostile disposition of Edom had begun to manifest itself, but was not yet fully ripe, Jehovah commanded His people, "Meddle not with them, for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot's breadth, because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession" (Deut. ii. 5); and, "Thou shalt not abhor the Edomite, for he is thy brother" (Deut. xxiii. 7).

On the early HISTORY OF THE EDOMITES, see *B. Michaelis de antiquissima Idumæorum historia*, Hal. 1733 (also in *Pott, Sylloge* vi. 203 sqq.), and *Hengstenberg, Pentateuch*, 222 sqq.—*Esau*, who is introduced in Gen. xxiii. 6 with a warlike retinue of four hundred men, was estranged from his family, and founded a new home for himself on the mountains of Seir. He conquered and expelled the *Horites*, who had dwelt there from time immemorial (Deut. ii. 22); and his descendants, mixing with those that were left behind, grew into a powerful royal state, which was now apparently at the height of its glory and power.—

Even as early as Gen. xxxvi. (*cf.* 1 Chr. i. 35–54) it was possible to give a long list of Edomitish princes (עֲדֹמִי) and kings. But the Pentateuch claims to have been written in the time of Moses, and therefore the history of Edom cannot be brought lower than that in Gen. xxxvi. The last of the eight kings, as *Ewald* has correctly observed, is described as minutely as if the writer was personally acquainted with him (Gen. xxxvi. 39). But critics have disputed the possibility of his being a contemporary of Moses, chiefly on the ground that there was not a sufficient length of time between Esau and Moses for fourteen princes, and eight kings, and then eleven princes more. This objection is said to be confirmed and raised into a certainty, both by the expression employed in Gen. xxxvi. 31, “These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel;*” and also by the fact, that according to 1 Kings xi. 14, Hadad, the fourth king of Edom (in Gen. xxxvi. 35), was a contemporary of Solomon (*vid. v. Bohlen, Genesis, p. 342*).—So far as Gen. xxxvi. 14 is concerned, *Ewald* is of opinion, that, “at the time when the author of the book of Genesis wrote, there was a king in Israel; and we cannot read the historian’s words without feeling that he was inclined to envy Edom, for having enjoyed the advantages of an organised kingdom at so much earlier a period than Israel.” But it has been long and frequently shown, that such a feeling is altogether a deceptive one. *Delitzsch*, who is the last that has written on the subject, observes (Gen., ed. ii., vol. ii., p. 63), “The historian writes from the stand-point of the patriarchal promise; for he (the compiler) is careful to observe that kings are to spring from Abraham and from Jacob (Gen. xvii. 4–6, 16, and xxxv. 11). Unless, then, any one is daring enough to pronounce this promise a *vaticinium post eventum*, which has been introduced without foundation into the patriarchal history, such a remark on the part of a writer of the time of Moses is by no means difficult to explain. That Israel was destined eventually to become a kingdom, governed by native sovereigns, was a hope inherited from the fathers, which the sojourn in Egypt was thoroughly adapted to sustain. And how strange a thing would it appear, that Edom should have become a kingdom so much earlier than Israel,—that the rejected shoot should have attained to such maturity, independence, and consolidation, before the seed

of the promise ! The world appears in this instance, as in so many others, to have outstripped the Church of the Lord ; but eventually it was overtaken, and, according to the promise, the elder served the younger (Gen. xxv. 13). If we would find the indication of any particular feeling in the words of the historian, it is such thoughts as these that arise in his mind."

There is incomparably less force in the argument founded upon 1 Kings xi. 14. *Hengstenberg* has most conclusively demonstrated, that the Hadad mentioned there cannot be the same as the Hadad whose name occurs in Gen. xxxvi. 35 (*vid.* Dissertation on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 235). The Hadad of the book of Kings was a king's son, the other Hadad was not ; but the latter was actually king, whilst the former was only pretender. The Hadad of the Pentateuch smote the Midianites in the fields of Moab ; but the Midianites had vanished from history ever since the time of Gideon. Moreover, the Edomites had kings in the days of Moses (Num. xx. 14). How then could the fourth by any possibility be a contemporary of Solomon ? According to ver. 31, the Edomitish kings mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. all reigned before Israel had kings ; the eighth of the line, therefore, must have reigned before the time of Saul ;—and yet the fourth was a contemporary of Solomon !

So far as the number of the kings and princes is concerned, this difficulty has no force at all, except on the supposition that the whole of the 14 + 8 + 11 persons, whose names are given, ruled one after another over the whole land ; and even then the difficulty is but a small one, for we could certainly find room for thirty-three princes in nearly five hundred years. But the supposition itself may be shown to be erroneous. It is perfectly obvious from Gen. xxxvi., that the Edomitish sovereignty was not hereditary, but *elective* ; for not one of the kings mentioned here is the son of his predecessor, and even the birth-places mentioned are all different. But if the kings were *elective sovereigns*, there must have been *electors* ; and we are warranted in seeking the latter in the princes (עֲבָדָיו) whose names are given here. *Along with* the kings, therefore, but subordinate to them, there were always *Alluphim* or princes of the tribe. This association of *Phylarchi* and kings is also obvious from a comparison of the song of Moses, in Ex. xv. 15, with Num. xx. 14. In the former the dukes of Edom (*Allufe-Edom*) are said to

tremble with fear, yet in the latter the king of Edom is introduced. In Ezek. xxxii. 29, also, princes of Edom are mentioned along with its king.

The mere arrangement of the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis is a sufficient proof that this must have been the relation in which they stood. In vers. 1-8 we have an account of Esau's family *before* his removal to Seir; in vers. 9-14, an account of his family *after* his removal. In vers. 15-19 the tribes of the Edomites are given,—the names being taken, like those of the Israelites, from the immediate descendants of Esau, and each tribe possessing its own *Alluph* or prince. In vers. 20-30 we have the genealogy of Seir the Horite, whose descendants had to give way to the Edomites. Vers. 31-39 contain a list of Edomitish kings; and in vers. 40-43 the *dwelling-places* of the princes of the tribes are given, as we are expressly told in ver. 40. This solution is supported by *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch); but he does not touch upon the difficulty, that in vers. 15-19 there are fourteen *Alluphim* mentioned, and in vers. 40-43 only eleven. In our opinion, the solution of the difficulty is probably the following: In vers. 15-19 the original number of the leaders of the tribes is given,—possibly at the time when the princes created for themselves a centre by the election of a king,—whereas vers. 40-43 refer to the time of the historian himself, *i.e.*, under the last king, *Hadar*. By some circumstance or other, with which we are not acquainted, the number of the leaders of the tribes may easily have been reduced, during the reigns of the eight kings, from fourteen (or thirteen¹) to eleven, or (if the king was chosen from the leaders, which is most probable) to twelve.

The Edomites, who were a warlike people, had a strong bulwark in their mountains, which had all the character of natural fortresses. Their occupations embraced hunting, agriculture, the rearing of cattle, the cultivation of the vine, and trade. The last was greatly facilitated by the situation of the country, which constituted them the carriers between the harbours on the Persian and Arabian Gulf on the one hand, and the sea-

¹ *Delitzsch* is of opinion that the Alluph-Korah, in ver. 16, "has undoubtedly passed over from ver. 18, and should therefore be erased, as it is in the Samaritan version." And, in fact, it is hardly conceivable that in one nation there should have been two tribes of the same name.

port towns of Philistia and Phœnicia on the other (*vid. Heeren's Ideen*, i. 2, p. 107). "The capital of the Edomites," says *Baur* (*Amos*, p. 100), "which was equally important in a mercantile and a military point of view, the impregnable rock-city of *Sela* or *Petra*, in which two caravan roads intersected each other,¹ is a very exact representation of the peculiar life of the Edomites themselves." The next in importance to *Petra* was *Bozrah* (*Sept. Βοσόρ*, now called *Besseyra*—*vid. Robinson*, ii. 570, 571— which must not be confounded with *Bostra*, the capital of *Auranitis*, so frequently referred to in the time of the Romans), whose rocky situation rendered it a strong military support to the Edomitish power. The two sea-port towns, *Elath* and *Eziongeber*, were the leading commercial cities.

On the religion of the *Edomites* we have no precise information. In 2 Chr. xxv. 13, allusion is made to polygamy; and in 1 Kings xi. 1, Edomitish women are mentioned among the foreign wives of Solomon. But even here there is no reference made to any peculiar form of Edomitish worship, at least not apart from the rest (ver. 8). From the frequent recurrence of the name *Hadad*, which belonged to the sun in the Aramæan mythology, *v. Lengerke* infers that the sun was also worshipped by the Edomites (*vid. Kenaan*, i. 298).

(2.) On MOUNT HOR, see *K. Ritter*, xiv. p. 1127 sqq. "Above the mounds of the ruined city of the living, and the rocky burial-place of the dead (*Petra*), there towers high towards the north-west the lofty double horn of Mount Hor, which rises in majesty and solitude into the blue air, with cliffs, steep precipices, jagged edges, and naked peaks of various kinds, and stands there like a strong, monster castle in ruins." *Robinson* (vol. ii. 508) describes the shape of the mountain as that of "a cone, irregularly truncated, having three ragged points or peaks, of which that on the north-east is the highest, and has upon it the Mohammedan Wely or tomb of Aaron (Wely Harûn)." The Arabs still offer animal sacrifices upon the mountain, and call upon Harun.

§ 47. (Num. xxi. 4–9.)—When the Israelites departed from Mount Hor, and marched towards the Red Sea, for the purpose

¹ "Huc convenit utrumque bivium, eorum qui Syriæ Palmyram petiere, et eorum, qui ab Gaza venerunt" (*Pliny Hist. Nat.*, p. 28; *vid. Robinson*, ii. 573).

of passing round the country of the Edomites (1), the thought of the enormous circuit that they had to make, and the difficulty of the march through the sandy desert of the Arabah, made the people so discontented and impatient, that, forgetting all the mercy and discipline of their God, they gave utterance to the wicked exclamations, "Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? For there is no bread, neither is there any water; and our soul loatheth *this* light bread." To punish such wickedness, Jehovah sent *Saraph*-snakes (2), whose fatal bite caused many of the people to die. The people then confessed their sin with penitence, and said to Moses, "We have sinned, for we have spoken against Jehovah and against thee: pray unto the Lord, that He may take away the serpents from us." At the command of Jehovah, Moses made a *copper Saraph*, and set it up in the camp as the standard of salvation. And when any one was bitten by a snake, he looked up at the copper snake and lived (3).

(1.) It is evident, from ver. 4, that this occurrence took place on this side of the Edomitish mountains (in the *Arabah* therefore), though probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of the sea. The precise LOCALITY is not given. But *Lightfoot's* conjecture (*Opp.* 1, 37) is at least worth mentioning: "*Aeneus hic serpens videtur loco nomen Zalmonæ indidisse, i.e., locus imaginis.*" According to Num. xxxiii. 41, Zalmonah was the station immediately following Mount Hor.—*Burckhardt* states that the snakes in the neighbourhood of the Gulf are still very numerous (vol. ii., p. 814): "The sand on the shore showed traces of snakes on every hand. They had crawled there in various directions. Some of the marks appeared to have been made by animals which could not have been less than two inches in diameter. My guide told me that snakes were very common in these regions, and that the fishermen were very much afraid of them, and put out their fires at night before going to sleep, because the light was known to attract them." *Schubert* also states, in his Journey from Akabah to the Hor (ii. 406), that "in the afternoon a large and very mottled snake was brought to us, marked with *fiery* spots and spiral lines, which evidently belonged, from

the formation of its teeth, to one of the most poisonous species. It was dead, and, on account of the heat, decomposition had already commenced. The Bedouins say that these snakes, of which they have great dread, are very numerous in this locality."—That Zalmonah was on the eastern side of the mountains, as *Raumer* conjectures (*Zug der Israeliten*, p. 45: "I imagine that this is the same as Maan, which *Seetzen* calls Alâm-Maan"), is very improbable. The distance of Maan from Mount Hor is so great, that it could not possibly have been the first place at which the Israelites encamped.

(2.) In the scriptural account the snakes are called נחשים אשׁרפים, SARAPH-SNAKES, *i.e.* fire-snakes. The name *Saraph* is given to this species of snake, either because of its fiery, that is, inflammatory bite, or, as seems probable, from the passage just quoted from *Schubert*, on account of the spots of fiery red upon its head.—Isaiah speaks of *flying Saraphs* (Is. xiv. 29, xxx. 6). Snakes of this description are frequently referred to by ancient writers (*vid.* Herod. 2, 75; 3, 109; Aelian. anim. 2, 38; Pomp. Mel. 3, 8, and others); and even modern travellers profess to have seen or heard of them in the East (*vid.* *Oedmann, Sammlungen aus der Naturkunde zur Erklärung der heiligen Schrift*, vi. 71 sqq.). But *Winer* has observed (*Reallex.* ii. 413), and on good ground, that these statements are very uncertain; and as the most trustworthy of those who have written on the subject expressly mention feet, there is reason to conjecture that they confounded snakes with lizards, some species of which have really a kind of wing-skin between the feet (*vid.* *Aken Zoologie*, ii. 310 sqq.). In Isaiah we may assume that we have merely a poetical representation, and not the literal account of a natural historian. *Vid.* *Link, die Urwelt und das Alterthum*, ii. 197 sqq.

Bochart (iii. 211 sqq., ed. *Rosenmüller*) supposes the Saraph to have been the *Hydra* or poisonous water-snake, which lives in the brooks of the desert, and on the land when these are dry. In the latter case it is called χέρσινδρος. Its bite is very inflammatory, and causes a most burning pain, especially during the time that it lives on land.

(3.) A large collection might be made of works that have been written on the BRAZEN SERPENT. See especially *Buxtorf*, hist. serp. æn., in his *Exercitt.*, p. 458 sqq.; *Deyling*, in his Ob-

servv. ss. ii. 207 sqq.; *Vitringa*, Obs. ss. i. 403 sqq.; *Huth*, serpens exaltatus non contritoris sed conterendi imago, Erlangen 1758; *G. Menken*, über die eherne Schlange, Ed. 2, Bremen 1829; *G. C. Kern*, die eherne Schlange, in *Bengel's* theol. Archiv. v. Parts 1-3; *B. Jacobi*, über die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes, Studien und Kritiken 1835, i.; *Sack*, Apologetik, Ed. 2, p. 355 sqq.; *Hofmann*, Weissagung und Erfüllung, ii. 140, 142, 143; *Stier*, Words of the Lord Jesus, vol. iv., p. 444 sqq., translation; *Lücke*, *Olshausen*, *Tholuck*, *Baumgarten-Crusius*, *Meyer*, *De Wette-Brückner* on John iii. 14, 15; *Winer*, Reallex. ii. 414 seq.

A collection of *natural interpretations* is given by *Winer*: "The lovers of natural interpretations of Biblical miracles either pronounced the healing, which resulted from looking at the serpent, a merely psychical process, and extolled the power of faith, that is, of *fancy*, to remove bodily ailments,—though Moses is said, after all, to have contributed to the result by administering appropriate remedies;—or else they came to the conclusion, that the brazen serpent was set up to represent the poisonous snakes, in order that every Israelite might be put upon his guard; and that even in the case of those who had already been bitten, when they came from the fields round about to look at the image, the exercise itself cured them (as is said to be the case with the bite of the tarantula). There were others, who set down the image of the serpent at once as being merely the sign of the military hospital, where all who came found physicians, and remedies, and therefore healing (especially by sucking out the poison)." *Winer* is certainly right in saying that these explanations are all of them more or less ridiculous. We may add another interpretation to those given by *Winer*, *viz.*, that of *Marsham* (Canon. Chron., p. 149), who traces the whole to the art of snake-charming, which Moses had brought with him out of Egypt. It is quite as unnecessary to stop to refute this explanation, as any of the other natural interpretations.

Winer himself supposes the brazen serpent to have been set up as a symbol of the healing power of God. The miraculous cures, which are said to have been effected by merely looking at the serpent, he probably places in the class of *myths*, since he looks upon the idea of a psychical process as something ridiculous. But the recourse to a myth here is a very questionable

procedure. The fact of the erection of the brazen serpent in the desert is fully confirmed by 2 Kings xviii. 4. We are there told that the brazen serpent, which Moses had made, was preserved till the time of Hezekiah, and called *Nehushtan* (נֶחֱשֶׁתַן = brass, copper); that it had become an object of divine worship (through the offering of incense); and that it was destroyed by Hezekiah himself, who broke it to pieces. But if it is fully established as a historical fact, that Moses did erect the serpent; it can hardly be doubted that he set it up, not as a (mere) *symbol* only, but also as a *means* of healing. And if the Israelites preserved it, and subsequently paid it divine honours, *this* is only conceivable on the supposition that they associated with it the historical recollection of the cure that had been wrought, whether it was effected by the psychical power of faith (*i.e.* imagination), or the objective miraculous power of God.

There can be no doubt that the serpent did partake of the character of a *symbol*; but what the precise character may have been is doubtful.—*Hengstenberg* is the only modern theologian who denies this (*vid.* Dissertation on the Pentateuch, Daniel, p. 133): in his opinion, the single point of importance was to select some *outward* sign, it did not matter what, that the idea of a natural cure might be entirely precluded.—The views which have prevailed on this subject divide themselves at the outset into two distinct classes. In the *first* place, there are some who suppose the snake to have been a symbol or representative of the healing power:—either with a typical reference to Christ, who came in the likeness of sinful flesh, was made man for us, and hung upon the accursed tree (*vid.* *Deyling*, *Olshausen*, *Stier*, and most of the fathers and early theologians); or with simply a symbolical reference to the notion prevalent in antiquity, that the snake was the *Agatho-dæmon*, the symbol of health and healing (*vid.* *Winer*, etc.). In the *second* place, others regard the suspended serpent as an image and representation of the poisonous snake, which was rendered harmless by the grace of God,—a sign of its subjugation, *imago non contritoris sed conterendi vel contriti*. Of the latter, some refer to Gen. iii. 15. As the living poisonous snakes called to mind the seed of the serpent which was to pierce the heel of the seed of the woman, so the suspended serpent called to mind the seed of the serpent whose head should be crushed by the seed of the woman (*vid.* *Huth*,

Vitringa, Menken, Bengel, Kern, Sack, M. Baumgarten, etc.). Others, again, deny that there was any allusion to Gen. iii., and suppose the reference to have been solely and exclusively to the plague, from which the Israelites were suffering. Thus *Ewald* (ii. 177) explains it as being "a sign, that just as this snake was bound by the command of Jehovah, and hung harmless in the air, so every one who looked upon it with faith in the redeeming power of Jehovah, would be secure from evil."

Against the *second* explanation (especially if it be assumed that there was a conscious and intentional reference to Satan), the following are conclusive arguments. *First*, a believing look at this *σύμβολον σωτηρίας* (Wisdom xvi. 6) was to save those who had been bitten by the snakes from the effects of the bite, which would otherwise have been irremediable. The symbol was therefore an image and representation of the power from which healing proceeded; of the source of deliverance, not of the source of death.—*Secondly*, the lifting up (exaltation, suspension) of the serpent did not serve to exhibit it as bound and conquered, as slain and crushed, but merely to display it before the eyes of all.—*Thirdly*, looked at in *this* light, the brazen serpent might be a very suitable memorial of the plague and wonderful deliverance, but could not be an appropriate symbol and means of the deliverance to be sought and expected.—*Fourthly*, the idolatrous worship, which was afterwards paid to the brazen serpent, furnishes sufficient evidence that the healing power was supposed to have proceeded from it, that is to say, that it was regarded as representing the possessor of the healing power.

If now we are shut up to the *first* explanation, we must at once reject the old typical view, according to which, the fact that Christ was afterwards to be lifted up upon the cross furnished the sole reason for the selection of this particular symbol. Undoubtedly, the crucifixion of Christ was present to the mind of Him who appointed the symbol (*viz.*, Jehovah), but it was not present to the minds of those to whom the symbol was to be a *σημείον σωτηρίας*. *Moses* did not say to the people then, "As the serpent is lifted up now, so shall the Messiah be one day lifted up;" but *Christ* first said, in the fulness of time, "As *Moses* lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up" (John iii. 14). The occurrence

which took place in the desert was intended as a sign which Israel itself might understand, and not as a riddle which should remain insoluble for thousands of years, and be first rendered intelligible by the words of Jesus Christ.

Let us look first of all, then, altogether away from any typical allusion in the lifting up of the snake, that we may gather from the views entertained *at the time*, what Moses himself and the intelligent portion of the Israelites probably thought of the transaction.

In heathen as well as Israelitish antiquity, the snake was regarded as the bearer and representative of poison. To both, therefore, the snake was an object of fear and terror, of abomination and horror; and to both the enmity was well known which urges man to crush the serpent's head, and the serpent to inflict upon the heel a mortal wound. But notwithstanding this, in the symbolico-religious view of all heathen antiquity, the snake came to be regarded as a beneficent power, promoting health, and healing disease; and, as such, it was an object of religious adoration. "In Egyptian theology, it was regarded from the highest antiquity as a symbol of the healing power. It was worshipped in Thebais (*Herodotus* ii. 74); and it is found upon the monuments in very many connections, sometimes along with the mild beneficent Isis, and at other times with the head of Serapis, as the good Deity" (*vid. Creuzer's Symbolik*, i. 504, 505; ii. 393). Throughout, it is introduced as *Agatho-dæmon*, as a representation of Ich-nuphi (Kneph, Knuph)—that is, the good spirit, the author of all beneficent and propitious events (*Jablonsky, Panth. Ægypt.* i. 4, p. 81 sqq.). Among the Greeks and Romans, the snake was the constant attendant or representative of the gods of healing, and the regular symbol of the medical art (*vid. Panofka, Asklepios und die Asklepiaden*, in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akad.* of the year 1845, *philologische und historische Abhandlungen*, p. 271 sqq.—*C. A. Böttiger, die heilbringenden Götter, Kleine Schriften* collected by *J. Sillig*, i. 93 sqq.), and there can be no doubt that the worship was introduced from the East.

What can have given rise to this striking dualism in the ancient opinion respecting the snake? Whence this strange contradiction, that an animal, which actually causes only death and destruction, and is therefore justly an object of fear and

abomination, should have been so generally selected in the religious symbolism of antiquity to represent the *vis medicatrix*? Of the earlier theologians, some attribute this to the cunning and deceit of the devil. They say that it is a proof of the victory which he achieved in heathenism, that he succeeded in overcoming the innate horror, with which this his type and instrument was regarded by man, and in it secured for himself veneration and religious homage. Others trace it to the *κακοζηλία* of heathenism, heathen mythology being in general merely a mendacious perversion and distortion of the Biblical history, with fantastic additions and embellishments; and, in the case before us, they suppose Asclepius with the snake to have been simply a mythological caricature of Moses and the brazen serpent (*vid. Huët, Demonstr. evang. Propos. iv. c. 7, § 6*). We shall hardly be expected to enter into a refutation of these views.—There are other explanations, but we shall pass them by (*vid. K. Sprengel, Geschichte der Medicin, Ed. 3, i. 190 sqq.*).

It is generally supposed that the worship of the snake, as the representative of the healing power, commenced with snakes which had no poison, and were therefore harmless. There can be no doubt that snake-worship originated in Egypt, where it was probably connected with the magical art of snake-charming, which formed the heart of Egyptian magic. But it hardly admits of dispute, that it was to the power of charming *poisonous* snakes, that the magic of Egypt owed its worth and renown. Moreover, on the assumption that the snakes were harmless, it is difficult to see in what way it can have suggested the idea of the healing power, whereas, if they were *poisonous*, it is easy to imagine such a connection. We should be disposed, in fact, to look for the solution of the problem to the fact, which was obvious even to the medical science of the very earliest times, that the most efficacious remedies in nature are to be found in poisons; that disease, therefore, is cured and eradicated by what would otherwise produce disease,—poison conquered by poison. A very significant clue to this we may find in the Greek word *φάρμακον*, which is used for poison as well as medicine, *healing remedies* as well as *charms*. From this we learn, on the one hand, that magic and medicine sprang from the same source; and, on the other hand, that the earliest medical art must have gone chiefly to poisons for the remedies

it employed ; and even in the present state of medical science, the connection between poison and medicine is very apparent. The fatal effects of poison are generally produced, not by its suspending the vital functions, but by its accelerating their action to so great an extent, that the organism of the body cannot sustain it, and becomes so thoroughly worn out and exhausted that it eventually succumbs. If, however, science becomes so perfectly acquainted with the nature and operation of poison, as well as of its relation to the general organism of the body, that it can administer it with actual certainty of the result, in cases where it is needed and just, to the extent to which the organism of the body at any particular time can sustain and really requires it, the death-bringing poison is changed into medicine, the elixir of life. To a sick man, the very same food is often poison, which gives to a healthy man renewed powers of life and health. The notion of poison is therefore a relative one. If we were to become possessed of absolute health, there would no longer be any poisons in existence ; on the contrary, what we now call poison would probably be the highest and most effectual means of promoting growth, and sustaining vital energy.

But to return to the snake. It is, so to speak, the personification of poison. And as poison is medicine in the hands of an intelligent physician who knows how to use it, the snake was a very appropriate symbol of the healing power, and of the gods of health,—especially when we consider that by means of snake-charming, magic, which originally coincided with the science of medicine, succeeded in taming and subduing the most poisonous snakes, and making them subservient to the will of the magician.

By some such method as this, we might explain and justify the enigmatical contrariety, which we find in the light in which the snake was regarded in ancient times. But whether we are correct in this or not, it is an indisputable fact, that in all antiquity the snake was a symbol of the healing power. And this, we maintain, is the explanation to be given of the brazen serpent, which was set up in the desert.

There are two things which appear to be irreconcilable with this view. *First*, that everywhere else in the Bible the snake is introduced as a symbol, not of health and the healing power, but

of evil and calamity, as the instrument and representative of the devil ; and *secondly*, that by setting up the serpent as the symbol of the healing power of God, Moses would have acted at variance with the command of the decalogue in Ex. xx. 4.

For the reasons just assigned, *Menken*, *Kern*, and *Sack* regard it as impossible that the serpent was set up to represent the healing power. "Such an opinion appears untenable," says *Sack*, "if we bear in mind, that not only in the Bible, but throughout nearly the whole of the religious world (? !), the serpent is a *symbol of Satan*. And in the case before us, this view would the more readily suggest itself, from the fact that it was in the form of serpents, that the hand of God had just caused the destructive powers of nature to appear. If, then, the serpent which Moses set up at the command of God was to be looked at, of course with believing confidence in Jehovah, who was ready to save on this condition, the serpent cannot have ceased to be a symbol of evil ; but the fixing up (?) of the serpent was just a symbol of its subjugation, taming, and crucifixion. The brazen serpent represented the destructive snakes, along with sin and Satan, in whose train they had come by permission of Jehovah. Its erection, whether accompanied with the piercing of the head or not, served to represent its conquest ; and the promise implied that Jehovah either was or would be the conqueror."

First of all, I must most decidedly oppose the theory, that in the brazen serpent there was an allusion to the serpent of paradise (Gen. iii.). The sole allusion was to the existing plague. There is nothing whatever to warrant us in connecting this occurrence with the serpent, or the seed of the serpent, mentioned in Gen. iii. 15. There is quite as much, that is quite as little, ground to think of the devil in this connection, as to associate the fire which consumed the uttermost parts of the camp at Taberah (§ 33) with the fire of hell.—It is true that throughout the whole of the Old Testament we find no further confirmation of the opinion, that the Israelites employed the serpent as a symbol of the healing power ; but, on the other hand, we also find no further confirmation of the opinion, that they regarded it as a symbol of the devil. The account of the temptation of the first man had been handed down as a historical tradition from the primeval age, genuine and unadulterated, but at the same time

unfathomed and obscure. The serpent of paradise was, as it were, a hieroglyphic upon the portal of the sacred history, which the speculative mind of man had to spend thousands of years in the attempt to interpret, and which even to the present day is far from being fully and satisfactorily explained. That this *mysterium iniquitatis* was but little understood in the Old Testament times, is evident enough from the meagre and elementary character of its Satanology. It was not till after the Captivity that any considerable progress was made in its further development, or towards establishing it upon a firmer basis. Another proof is to be found in the fact, that throughout the whole of the Old Testament, there is not one certain allusion to the temptation of the first man by the serpent. The earliest instance of this is to be found in the apocryphal Book of Wisdom (chap. ii. 24). How little, therefore, must the Israelites in the desert have understood of this mystery of iniquity, even supposing that the fact itself was generally known to them and constantly before their minds,—a supposition which we may certainly be allowed to call in question! The Egyptian view of the snake, as a symbol of the healing power, must certainly have been more vividly and more immediately present to their minds. If the image of a snake was set up as *σύμβολον σωτηρίας*, with the promise that whoever looked upon it should recover, it would certainly not be regarded by the people as anything more than a symbol of the healing power, which it was designed to set before them for their immediate appropriation. The thought which occupied their minds, when they looked upon the serpent, could hardly have been any other than this: poison to poison, death to death, through the mercy of Jehovah, who had said, “*I am Jehovah, thy physician*” (Ex. xv. 26); or, as Hosea expresses it, “*O death, I will be a poison to thee; O hell, I will be a pestilence unto thee*” (Hos. xiii. 14). That such antitheses were not alien to the spirit of the law, is evident from the name and institution of the sin-offering. It was called חטאת, *i.e.* *sin*, because it was made sin;—*sin versus sin*, made *sin versus* real sin, as in the case before us an *image* of a serpent *versus* the live serpents. Sin was destroyed by sin, just as here the serpent was rendered harmless by a serpent.

The *second objection* to our view is founded upon the decalogue. If Moses set up an image of the healing power of God,

would he not, it is asked, have been guilty of the very same sin, which he condemned so severely, and punished so remorselessly in the case of Aaron and the Israelites generally (§ 13)? Could Moses have forgotten so quickly the command which was uttered amidst the thunders of Sinai: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything?" And would not Jehovah, in fact, be made to contradict Himself, if He were represented as commanding to-day the very thing which He prohibited yesterday?

If the command in the decalogue is to be interpreted in so contracted a manner, as this objection presupposes; the various symbolical representations in and about the tabernacle would fall under the same sentence of condemnation. In fact, the setting up of the image of a serpent at all, whatever meaning we might attach to it, would then apparently become a reprehensible procedure. But this is by no means the character of the command in the decalogue. (1.) In the first place, stress is certainly to be laid upon the fact, that the command runs thus: "THOU shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything." This does not preclude the possibility of Jehovah Himself prescribing some image or likeness, and causing it to be set up for Israel. On the contrary, He had actually done so already. In the pillar of cloud and fire, in the angel of the Lord, He had given them a visible *Temunah* of Himself; and in the tabernacle, as well as in its vessels and imagery, He had appointed symbolical *Temunoth* of the thoughts and things of God. But in this case it was done *by Himself*. The Israelites, on the other hand, were prohibited from making images and symbols of God and of the things of God, according to their own conceptions, just because such conceptions would be carnal, heathenish, and false. And even the images and likenesses, which had been approved by Jehovah (*e.g.* the vessels and symbols of the tabernacle), were not to be made by the Israelites for themselves; because there was only one place in which Jehovah would cause His name to dwell, and in which He would be worshipped; and inasmuch as private and hole-and-corner worship was sure to degenerate into idolatry, it was an abomination in His esteem. The setting up of the brazen serpent, therefore, was not a violation of this command; for Jehovah Himself directed and enjoined it.—(2.) *Secondly*, the rendering, "*image*

and likeness," does not give the exact meaning of the Hebrew words. לִפְנֵי is a *false deity* or *idol* (§ 10, 3, g.), and it was to this that the command immediately referred. תְּמוּנָה is any *form*, in which God Himself or some attribute of God is embodied and presented to the eye (§ 15, 1). A *Temunah* becomes a *Pesel*, whether it is a symbol or mere human invention, when worship is paid to it, which is due to the personal Deity alone. For this reason the *Temunah* was prohibited as well as the *Pesel*. The brazen serpent was a symbol appointed by God; and, so far, it was not within the range of this command of the decalogue. But when the brazen serpent was perverted to some other use than that which Jehovah designed,—when worship was paid to it, such as was due to the personal, spiritual God alone (which we find, from 2 Kings xviii. 4, to have been actually the case in after ages), it became at once a *Pesel*, and was condemned by this command.—(3.) The last and most important design of the command is to be gathered from the words: "*Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor worship them.*" To make an image or symbol of God, or of any attribute of God, is not a wrong thing in itself, provided the image is worthy of God and really in harmony with His nature. It becomes sinful when there is an intention to set it up as an object of Divine worship. But from educational and precautionary considerations, this rule, however correct, could not be maintained under the Old Testament. Visible representations of the person of God, even when they were appropriate and worthy in themselves, were not to be allowed under any circumstances; for the simple reason, that the jewel of the Israelitish consciousness of God, the idea of a spiritual, holy, transcendent Deity, would thereby be threatened and impaired. Symbols, on the other hand, of Divine thoughts, attributes, and operations were tolerated; but only in the mode and measure prescribed by Jehovah Himself, whether for the regular worship of the tabernacle, or, as in the case of the brazen serpent, under extraordinary circumstances, and therefore for merely passing objects, outside the tabernacle also. But symbols of Divine things were prohibited from being employed in any other way, because such was the liking of the people for Nature-worship and idolatry, that they would be inevitably in danger of being misinterpreted and abused.

It is obvious, therefore, that the prohibition of images con-

tained in the decalogue, was not violated by the setting up of the brazen serpent, in accordance with the command of Jehovah Himself, as a symbol of the healing power that proceeded from Him.—Aaron's golden calf does not bear the slightest comparison in any respect; for the three essential elements of the command in the decalogue, which we have pointed out above, were all violated by the making of the calf, whereas not one of them was touched by the setting up of the brazen serpent. For, *in the first place*, it was not Jehovah but Aaron, who made the image of the calf to gratify the wishes of the people. *Secondly*, the golden calf was a *Pesel* (a graven image), in the strictest sense of the term,—a representation of the *person* of God, and that entirely according to heathen ideas. And *thirdly*, this was done with the intention and for the purpose of bowing down to it and worshipping it.

We have a proof of the manner in which the pious and intelligent Israelite understood and explained the history of the brazen serpent in the Book of Wisdom xvi. 5–8. The writer of this book regarded the image of the serpent as a *σύμβολον σωτηρίας*. He was persuaded that “he that turned himself toward it was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by God the Saviour of all;” and in this he found a positive proof of the faith, “that it is God who delivers from all evil.”

We have still to notice, in conclusion, the *typical meaning* of the occurrence. Such a meaning we admit that it possessed, not merely from the stand-point of the New Testament, but from that of the Old Testament also. We cannot, indeed, persuade ourselves that Moses, and the Israel of his own or of any subsequent period, could possibly have learned, or were intended to learn, from the setting up of the brazen serpent, that as the serpent was here lifted up as a symbol for the salvation of Israel, so the Messiah would one day be lifted up for the salvation of the whole world. But we find a typical intention and fitness in the Divine appointment, in the fact, that an opportunity was thereby afforded to the believing Israelite to become familiar with the idea, that an image of what was repulsive to the natural man, might become in the hand of God a *σύμβολον σωτηρίας*, a sign of salvation, to the spiritual and believing man; in order that when at some future day the Man who was made a curse, and hung as a malefactor upon the cross, was set before

him and proclaimed to be the Redeemer from all curse and the Saviour of the world, he might not be offended:—that is to say, that in the case of the spiritually-minded Israelite, the evil might be prevented, which took place notwithstanding all precautions in the case of those whose minds were carnal (1 Cor. i. 23, “We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block”).

Now, when Christ said to Nicodemus, “As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life” (John iii. 14, 15), we cannot suppose that at first this master in Israel had any fuller or deeper insight into the meaning of the type referred to, than the author of the Book of Wisdom in the passage quoted above. If so, he can only have understood Christ at the time as intending to say, that as the serpent was lifted up in the desert, before the eyes of all, as a *σύμβολον σωτηρίας* for the faith of the fathers of his nation, so Jesus would be lifted up in the sight of the whole world as the promised Messiah, the Saviour and Redeemer of all who should believe. But it was just the same with Nicodemus here as with the disciples of Jesus, in connection with so many of the words of Jesus—namely, that it was not till after His sufferings, death, and resurrection, that their true meaning was fully understood. When he saw Christ afterwards suspended on the cross, a type of the curse and transgression, and when the ascension of Christ had taught him that the lifting up on the cross was the condition and first step of His ascension to the throne of glory, a far different and deeper meaning must have unfolded itself in this saying of Christ to his thoughtful and inquiring mind.

Most certainly all those commentators who regard the brazen serpent as a representation of the plague of serpents, to the injurious effects of which it was lifted up as an antidote, or as an image of Satan who was to be overcome, are bound to protest against any parallel being drawn between Christ and the brazen serpent, for it is self-evident that an image of Satan could not be a type of Christ. Hence, according to their interpretation, the comparison instituted by Christ had reference, not to the serpent, but simply to the lifting up, so far as this was a sign of suffering and conquest in the case of the serpent (the image of Satan), and also in the case of Christ. There is the same *double entendre*, according to this explanation, in the expression

ἵψωθῆναι (lifted up), when applied to the two different subjects, as in the שָׁשׁ (*Angl.* bruise) in Gen. iii. 15, and in the יָסָא פָּרְעָה יִסָּרֵךְ (Pharaoh shall lift up thine head) in Gen. xl. 13 and 19. It is indeed quite correct, that, grammatically, καθώς and οὕτως can only refer to ἵψωθῆναι. But no one can maintain that this precludes any reference in the comparison to the ὄφης as well; and the notion that ἵψωθῆναι is used in two different senses, is shown to be unfounded by the rest of the passage, where the design of the lifting up is referred to, as being in both instances to bring salvation, and where saving effects are attributed to both the serpent and the Son of Man.—*Hofmann* (p. 143) makes two objections to this. He says: “A comparison cannot be instituted between the Son of Man and the brazen serpent, for the simple reason, that the former bore the likeness of the persons who were to obtain deliverance, the latter, on the contrary, the likeness of the animals which had inflicted the evil; and whilst the former was capable of enduring suffering, as possessing the same life with those whom He came to deliver, the latter was altogether incapable of suffering, for it possessed no life at all.” The last objection is a striking failure; for, in any case, the worth of the brazen serpent depended entirely upon its being a symbol, whether we regard it as a representation of the poisonous snakes then present, or as a type of the Son of Man, who was afterwards to come and to be lifted up upon the cross. But it belongs to the very nature and essence of a symbol, that it is without life. The first objection certainly appears to be a forcible one. But it is merely in appearance. The question is, Where does the comparison lie? The point of resemblance between the brazen serpent and the Son of Man was this, that both alike were *media* of salvation—the former symbolically, the latter actually. To the harmless brass there was given the form of the poisonous serpent, by whose bite the Israelites had been mortally wounded, in order that when the Israelite looked with faith, the bite might be rendered harmless, and the death averted. If we pass to the New Testament, we find the same, *mutatis mutandis*, in the crucified Christ. The analogy is expressed most clearly in 2 Cor. v. 21: “For He hath made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.” The serpent, by whose poisonous bite we have been mortally wounded, is *sin*; and Christ, the sinless, has been made

sin for us, that we may be delivered from sin and death through faith in Him. The resemblance, therefore, which is borne by the crucified Christ, *as such*, is not to those who are to obtain deliverance, but, precisely as in the case of the brazen serpent, to the inflictor of the evil, namely, *sin*. If any one is disposed to regard this comparison as forced, unnatural, and artificial, let him throw the first stone at the Apostle Paul, from whom we have borrowed it. But even the Apostle did not invent it. It was taken by him from the typical worship of the Old Testament, where, as is well known, the sacrifice by which sin was to be removed from the congregation of the people of God, is expressly denominated *sin*, חטאת. The sacrificial animal was made sin, when it was brought to the altar as the means of saving from sin; just as Christ was made sin, according to 2 Cor. v. 21, when He offered Himself upon the cross as a sacrifice for our sin.—We refer the reader to Gen. iv. 7, however, as a proof that, according to the Biblical view, sin undoubtedly does bear some resemblance to a serpent, which attacks men with its fatal bite; or to a wild beast, which lies in wait to tear him in pieces.

§ 48. (Deut. ii. 1–8.)—The road taken by the Israelites, with the design of skirting the territory of the Edomites, led them into the immediate neighbourhood of the Gulf, where the Wady *el-Ithm* (Getum) afforded a good opening through the mountains, by which they could cross without interruption to the eastern side. When the Edomites, who had hitherto assumed such an attitude of defiance, saw that the Israelites were really on the eastern side, which was so completely exposed to any hostile attack, they were seized with alarm. But the Israelites were not allowed to attack this brother-tribe; and, in fact, had no reason for doing so, as the Edomites met them now in a most obliging manner (§ 45, 1). The road of the Israelites now turned, without doubt, to the north, and led to the caravan road, which is still in existence, “on a ridge which forms the western boundary of the desert of Arabia, and the eastern boundary of the cultivated country, and leads from the land of Edom to the sources of the Jordan on the eastern side of the Ghor.”

SECTION III.

ISRAEL IN THE ARBOTH MOAB.

GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 49. The deep rocky valley of the *Wady el-Ahsy* (Ahsa), the lower end of which is called *el-Kurahy*, divides the land of the Edomites from the *Moabitish mountains*. In the time of Moses, and also in later periods of the Old Testament history, the country of the Moabites extended northwards as far as the *Wady el-Mojeb*, through whose deep rocky bed, the sides of which are almost perpendicular, the river Arnon flows to the Dead Sea. At present, the whole country is called *Kerek* (Kerak, Karak), from the name of the capital (*vid.* vol. ii. § 13). A little to the south of this city the *Wady Kerek*, which is most probably identical with the *Brook Zered* (זֶרֶד) of the Bible (1), intersects Moabitis, and divides it into two nearly equal halves. Both before and during the Roman occupation—in fact, as long as it received a certain amount of cultivation—Moabitis was an extraordinarily fertile country; but now that all cultivation has been suspended for many centuries, it is barren and waste.—The ancient capital was *Ar* (אֶר equivalent to יֶרִי, the city *κατ' ἐξοχήν*), or *Ar-Moab*, on the left bank of the Arnon. *Rabba*, or *Rabbath-Moab*, which was the second capital, was situated in the heart of the country. The fortified city of *Kir* (כִּיר, *i.e.*, a wall or fortification), or *Kir-Moab*, the modern *Kerek* (2), was in the south, and stood upon a rocky height, not far from the northern declivity of the *Wady Kerek*.

(1.) We follow *K. v. Raumer* in the identification of the

BROOK ZERED with the *Wady Kerek*.—*Robinson, Ewald, and Ritter* (xv. 689), on the other hand, are of opinion that the Zered is the same as the *Wady el-Ahsy*, the boundary between Moabitis and Edomitis. The principal argument adduced in support of this view is, that according to Num. xxi. 12 (*cf.* Deut. ii. 13, 14, 18), it was at the brook Zered that the Israelites approached the territory of the Moabites. But this is a mistake, as may easily be proved. It is an unquestionable fact, that the Israelites had reached the borders of Moab *before* this time, and therefore, in any case, at a more southerly point (*vid.* Num. xxi. 11 and xxxiii. 44). *Ije-Abarim*, the station mentioned here, the last station *before* Sared, is expressly described in chap. xxxiii. 44 as “the border of the land of Moab;” and in chap. xxi. 11 it is said to have been “in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sunrising.” *Ije-Abarim* must, therefore, have been a whole stage to the south of the brook Zered. Consequently, if the latter was the *Wady el-Ahsy*, it must be looked for in the mountains of Jebal; and, apart from every other consideration, the name *Abarim* is sufficient to prove that it could not have been situated there (*vid.* § 51, 2).—There is far more probability in the opinion expressed by *Gesenius* (on *Burckhardt*, ii. 1067), that the *Wady el-Ahsy* is identical with the “*brook of the willows*” of Is. xv. 7.

(2.) From a barbarous attempt to turn the Semitic name AR into Greek, there arose the later name *Areopolis*. *Gesenius, Raumer, Robinson, Rabbi Schwarz*, and others, identify the Biblical Ar-Moab with the modern ruins of *Rabba* or *Rabbath-Moab*. This name is not met with in the Bible; but *Ῥαβᾶθ-μωβᾶ* is mentioned in Ptolemæus as the chief city of the Moabites (and also by *Stephanus Byz.*); and in Christian times this Rabbath-Moab is constantly called *Areopolis*. As *Rabba* (רַבָּרָ = *magna, multa*; i.e., *metropolis, caput regni*, the capital) has just the same meaning as *Ar* (אֲרָ, i.e., *the city, κατ' ἐξοχήν*), the assumption of *Gesenius* and the others appears to be thoroughly warranted, both grammatically and historically. But *geographically* this is not the case; on the contrary, the statements of the Bible with reference to the situation of Ar-Moab, are altogether unsuitable to the position of the ruins of Rabbath-Moab. To *Hengstenberg* belongs the credit of having been the first to demonstrate this conclusively (*vid.* his *Balaam*, p. 525 sqq., trans-

lation; also *K. Ritter*, xiv. 117, 118; xv. 1210, 1211, 1221, 1222). *Rabba* is in the heart of the land, six hours' journey to the south of the Wady Mojob, and about the same distance to the north of the Wady Kerek; *Ar*, on the contrary, is always described in the Bible as a city on the northern border of Moab, and situated in the valley of the Arnon (Wady Mojob; *vid.* Num. xxi. 15, xxii. 36; Deut. ii. 36). It is particularly to be noticed, that in descriptions of the northern border of Moab, *Ar* is frequently connected with *Aroer* (Deut. ii. 36; Josh. xiii. 9, 16):—the latter, which stood on an eminence near the right bank of the Arnon, being given as a point within the boundary line; the former, which was in the valley on the left bank of the Arnon, as a point on the outside (see *Keil on Joshua*, p. 329, translation). A distinct clue to the exact site of *Ar* in the valley of the Arnon is to be found in Num. xxi. 15. We read there of “the stream of the brooks, that goeth down to the dwelling of *Ar*.” These words can only be understood as referring to a spot at which tributary streams unite with the principal river (the Arnon). And such a spot is found, as *Burckhardt* (ii. 636) conjectured, and *Hengstenberg* (*Balaam*, p. 526) has conclusively shown, at the point where the Wady Lejum from the north-east pours its waters into the Arnon, after they have been swollen in their course by several tributary streams. *Burckhardt* makes the following allusion to the spot: “At the confluence of the Lejum and Mojob there is a beautiful tract of meadow land, in the centre of which is a hill with ruins.” These ruins he calls *Mehatet el-Haj*. Not far from these ruins he found the remains of a castle, and of a reservoir.—Some difficulty, however, is created by the fact, that the name *Arcopolis*, which was borne by *Ar* in the time of the Romans, was undoubtedly applied to *Rabbath-Moab* in the Christian era. But since it is impossible, as we have already shown, to regard the two cities as identical, we are shut up to the conclusion, that for some cause or other, with which we are not acquainted, the name *Arcopolis* was transferred from the older capital in the north to the more modern capital in the south. In the absence of distinct and reliable information, *K. Ritter* (xv. 1214) has founded upon the statement of *Jerome* (on Is. xv.)—“*Audivi quendam Arcopoliten, sed et omnis civitas testis est, motu terræ magna in mea infantia, quando totius orbis littus transgressa sunt maria, eadem nocte*

muros urbis istius corruisse,"—the sensible and admissible conclusion, that after the destruction of the northern capital, its (Roman) name was transferred along with its rank to the capital in the south, which had hitherto occupied the second place. *Ritter* (xv. 1221–2) also seeks to prove that Rabba was not originally called Areopolis, but received the name in Christian times, from the inscriptions on several ancient coins belonging to Rabboth-Moab, which have come down to us from the second and third centuries of the Christian era. "Not one of these coins," he says, "bears the name of Ar or Areopolis, which had not been transferred to the city therefore at so early a date as this. They simply bear the inscription, Bathmoba, Rabatmona, or, for the most part, the more correct name Rabathmoba. . . . If the exchange of names with the ancient capital Ar-Moab had already taken place, the Greek name Areopolis would certainly have been found upon the coins, rather than the barbarian name Rabathmoba."

On the city of *Kerek*, the present capital of Moabitis, in which there is a castle, see *Ritter*, xv. 662 sqq. There can be no question as to its identity with *Kir-Moab* (Is. xv. 7).

§ 50. The country beyond the Arnon (*vid.* vol. i. § 42) as far as the river *Jabbok*, now *Wady Zerka*, bears the name of *el-Belka*. The name most frequently given to it in the Old Testament is the *land of Gilead*. In the Roman period it was called *Perea*. The Belka is intersected throughout its entire extent, and divided into two nearly equal parts, by the *Wady Hesban*, which pours its waters into the Jordan (not far from its mouth). The southern half, between Wady Mojeb (Arnon) and Wady Hesban, is again divided in the middle by the *Wady Zerka Maein* (Meon), which flows into the Dead Sea. In the time of Moses the Belka was inhabited and governed by the Amorites; but it had previously been in the possession of the Moabites and Ammonites. The former had been driven southwards across the Arnon, the latter more in an easterly direction (§ 52). This serves to explain the fact, that the broad plain on the left bank of the Jordan is constantly designated in the Pentateuch the *Arboth Moab* (עֲרִבוֹת מוֹאָב) (1). These *Arboth Moab*, the

situation of which is more particularly described as “across the Jordan over against Jericho” (מַעְבַּר לְיַרְדֵּן יְרִיחוֹ), were the headquarters of the Israelitish camp during the last period of its sojourn beyond the Jordan. The chief city of the Amoritish government was *Heshbon*; that of the Ammonitish, *Rabbath-Ammon* (2).—The country to the north of the Jabbok, as far as Mount Hermon, is called in the Bible the land of Bashan (בָּשָׁן); in later times it was called *Hauran*. A little to the south of the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan is joined by the river *Hieromax*, now called *Sheriat el-Mandhur* or *Yarmuk*, the deep and narrow rocky bed of which intersects the mountainous district throughout its entire breadth. The ancient metropolis of Bashan, and the seat of the Amoritish government there, was *Ashtaroth*. *Edrei* was the next city in importance (2).—The high land on the east of the Jordan bears for the most part the character of table-land, with the evenness of its surface broken here and there by lofty hills. From its rich wooded scenery and good pasture land, it is better adapted for grazing than for agriculture.—To the east of this *plateau* there is a desert, which stretches as far as the Euphrates. The *caravan road* from the harbours of the Elanitic Gulf to Damascus runs along a ridge, which forms the western boundary of this desert, and the eastern boundary of the cultivated land.

(1.) The **LOWLANDS** (*Arboth*) OF **MOAB**, Israel's last place of encampment to the east of the Jordan, must not be confounded, as is often the case, with the **FIELD OF MOAB** (שְׂדֵה מוֹאָב) in Num. xxi. 20. *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, 522 sqq. and 530 sqq., translation) has thrown great light upon this subject also, in his lucid and careful exposition of the passages in question. *Arboth Moab* is the name given to that portion of the Ghor which stretches along the eastern bank of the Jordan, from the Jabbok or thereabout to the Dead Sea. It answers to the lowlands of Jericho (*Arboth Jericho*, *vid.* Josh. iv. 13, v. 10), on the other side of the Jordan; and for this reason it is frequently described as being “over against Jericho.” The *Field of Moab*, on the other hand, was undoubtedly the large tract of table-land to the

east of the Jordan, which stretched pretty uniformly from the southern foot of the mountains of Gilead to the Kerek, and was frequently called *the plain kar' ḥṣoḥḡu* (הַמַּישָׁר); *vid.* Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 21). This is evident, *first*, from the fact, that according to Num. xxi. 20, the Israelites encamped in a valley of the *field* of Moab, before they reached the *Arboth* Moab (Num. xxii. 1); *secondly*, from Num. xxi. 20, where *Bamoth*, or more properly *Bamoth-Baal*, the heights of Baal (Num. xxii. 41), which was situated between Dibon and Beth-Baal-Meon (*vid.* § 51, 1), is also described as being in the field of Moab; and *thirdly*, from the fact that the cities of Heshbon, Dibon, Medeba, and others, were in the *plain* (הַמַּישָׁר); *vid.* Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 21).

(2.) The Amoritish capital HESHBON (הֶשְׁבֹּן, *Sept.* Ἑρεβών), which had previously belonged to the Moabites (Num. xxi. 26), was situated upon a hill by the Wady Hesban, where extensive and imposing ruins, which bear the name Hesban, still give testimony to its former glory (*vid.* Ritter, xv. 1169 sqq.).—Of the other cities within the territory of the Amorites, the following are also mentioned in the course of our history. MED'BAH (מֵדְבָח), about four miles to the south of Heshbon, situated upon a hill which is still covered with ruins. Jerome calls it Medaba; the present name is Madebæ (*vid.* Ritter, xv. 1182).—DIBON (דִּבּוֹן), now called Dhiban, an hour's journey to the north of Arnon.—AROER, on the rocky edge of the right bank of the Arnon (Deut. ii. 36), the ruins of which were discovered by Burckhardt, under the name of Araayr.—Beside these we have a long list of cities within the same territory in Num. xxxii. 34 sqq.—The *Ammonitish* capital was named RABBAH (Rabbath-Ammon), afterwards called Philadelphia, and at present Amman, on the two banks of Nahr Amman, a small river which flows into the Jabbok. On the magnificent ruins of this city, which belong for the most part to the Roman age, see Ritter, xv. 1145 sqq.—The residence of the king of Bashan was at Ashtaroth-Karnaim (עִשְׁתָּרוֹת קַרְנַיִם Deut. i. 4). Not far from this there was another, and probably still more ancient capital of Bashan, *viz.*, EDREI (אֲדַרְעִי), afterwards called Adraa, Adratum, now Draa, on a tributary stream of the Sheriat-el-Mandhur (*vid.* K. Ritter, xv. 834 sqq.).—According to the *Onomasticon* (*s. v.* Astaroth), the two places were six miles apart. About an hour and three

quarters' journey to the west of Adraa a hill has been discovered called *Tel Ashtereh*. Both the name and distance answer to Ash-taroth. At the foot of the hill there are old foundation-walls and copious springs.

§ 51. The mountainous district to the east of the Dead Sea was first explored, to some extent, by *Seetzen* and *Burckhardt*. But very little has been done since to confirm or extend the information they obtained. It is particularly to be lamented, that not one of the modern travellers has taken the road leading from Jericho to Heshbon; for several of the most important places in connection with this section of our history must be looked for there, especially the three points from which Balaam delivered his prophecies (*Bamoth-Baal*, Num. xxii. 41; the *Field of the Watchers*, Num. xxiii. 14; and *Mount Peor*, Num. xxiii. 28), and the scene of Moses' death (*Mount Nebo*, Deut. xxxii. 50, xxxiv. 5) (1).—It is difficult to determine exactly the situation of the *Abarim mountains*. As we meet with the name first of all in the extreme south of the Moabitish territory (Num. xxi. 11, xxxiii. 44), and then again much farther to the north, in the neighbourhood of the Arboth Moab (Num. xxxiii. 47; Deut. xxxii. 48), and the name itself (equivalent to *regiones ulteriores*) seems to point to a tract upon the coast, we shall hardly be wrong if we regard the name הַר הַיְעָבְרִים as a general appellation of the Moabitish mountains in the widest sense, that is to say, of the whole of the mountainous district on the eastern side of the Dead Sea (2).

(1.) *Hengstenberg* (*Balaam*, p. 525 sqq. translation) has attempted with great exactness and care to determine the various localities named, according to the Biblical data. His results have all been adopted by *K. Ritter* (xv. 1185 sqq.).—Since the time of *Seetzen* and *Burckhardt*, MOUNT NEBO (נְבוֹ) has generally been supposed to have been found in the *Jebel Attarus*, the loftiest mountain of the land of the Moabites. But *Hengstenberg* (p. 533 sqq.) has most conclusively demonstrated the inadmissibility of such an assumption. The *Jebel Attarus* is on

the southern side of the Wady Zerka Macin, whereas the *Nebo* must be sought considerably more to the north. According to Deut. xxxii. 49 and xxxiv. 1, it was in the neighbourhood of the head-quarters of the Israelites (in the Arboth Moab therefore), and "over against Jericho," a description which does not at all apply to the *Attarus*. The name *Attarus* also points to a locality both very different and at some distance from the *Nebo*. It was no doubt originally derived from the city of *Ataroth* (אֶתְרוֹת, Num. xxxii. 3, 34), which must therefore have been situated either near or upon the mountain. But in Num. xxxii. 3, there are six other names which intervene between *Ataroth* and *Nebo*; and, according to ver. 34, *Ataroth* was allotted to the tribe of *Gad*, whereas *Nebo* was assigned to that of *Reuben* (ver. 38). Both these statements shut us up to the conclusion, that *Ataroth* and *Nebo* were separated from each other by a distance by no means inconsiderable. The true position of *Nebo* has been determined by *Hengstenberg* (p. 534 sqq.)—approximatively, it is true, but with certainty and great acumen—from Num. xxxii. 3 and Num. xxxii. 34–38. In both passages *Nebo* occurs along with the names *Heshbon*, *Elealeh*, *Shebam*, *Kirjathaim* (= *el-Teym*), and *Beon* or *Baal-Meon*, the whole of which are grouped within a circuit of five English miles around *Heshbon*, which opens the list as being the capital (*vid. K. v. Raumer*, *Palästina*, p. 229 sqq.). *Nebo*, therefore, must also be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of the same capital. This is confirmed by the statements of *Eusebius* (s. v. 'Αβαρείμ), who gives the following account of the situation of Mount *Nebo* (*Ναβαῦ*): ἀντικρὺ Ἰεριχῶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἐπὶ κορυφὴν Φασγῶ (*Pisgah*)· καὶ δείκνυται ἀνιόντων ἀπὸ Λιβιάδος (*Livias*) ἐπὶ Ἐσεβοῦν (*Heshbon*), τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον, πλησίον τοῦ Φόγωρ (*Peor*) ὄρους, οὕτω καὶ εἰς δεῦρο χρηματίζοντες, ἕθα καὶ ἡ χώρα εἰς ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζεται Φασγῶ.—See *Reland* (*Pal.* 49 6), and the more minute researches of *Hengstenberg*, who closes with the following words: "The evidence we have adduced, not merely serves to upset the notion of the identity of *Nebo* and *Attarus*, but also to fix the true position of *Nebo*. It has shown us that it must be sought for between *Heshbon* and the *Jordan* near *Jericho*, somewhere about an hour's journey to the west of the former city. A more exact determination of the locality is not at present attainable, from the circumstance that no traveller

has recently taken the route from Jericho to Heshbon. But this much is certain, that, in general, the locality just described admirably suits what is said in Holy Scripture respecting Nebo" (*vid.* Deut. xxxii. 49, and xxxiv. 1, where Moses is said to have seen the whole land of Canaan from the top of Nebo). "The neighbourhood of Heshbon commands extensive views, such as are scarcely to be obtained elsewhere, of the country conquered by the Israelites in the time of Moses. 'The town of Ilhuzbhan,' says *Buckingham* (ii. 106 seq.), 'stands in so commanding a situation, that the view from it extends to at least thirty miles on every side.'" The Dead Sea, the Ghor, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, etc., can be distinctly seen.

BAMOTH-BAAL, in Num. xxii. 41, is evidently identical with the Israelitish encampment, which is called *Bamoth* in Num. xxi. 19, 20. The latter was between Nahaliel and "the valley in the field (that is, upon the table-land, § 50, 1) of Moab, upon the top of Pisgah, which rises above the desert" (*i.e.*, the Arboth Moab). Nahaliel is the modern Wady Lejum (see below, § 53, 2), which enters the Wady Mojeb (Arnon) near Mehatet el-Haj (§ 49, 2). Bamoth, therefore, must have been situated to the north, or rather to the north-west, of this point. The position of Bamoth can be more precisely determined from Josh. xiii. 17. In the list of the cities of Reuben, *Bamoth-Baal* is placed between *Dibon* (the modern Dhiban, in the neighbourhood of the Arnon) and *Beth-Baal-Meon* (about two miles and a half to the south of Heshbon). In exact accordance with this, we find *Bamoth*,¹ in Is. xv. 2 (for with *Hitzig*, *Hengstenberg*, and others, we regard it as indisputable that הבמות is not to be taken as an appellative, but as the name of the well-known city), between *Dibon* and *Bajith* (an abbreviated name of Beth-Baal-Meon). But *Bamoth* is omitted from the catalogue of stations in Num. xxxiii., and *Dibon* inserted (*vid.* § 53, 2); and from this *Hengstenberg* infers, that Bamoth is unquestionably to be looked for somewhere near to Dibon. Now there is a mountain at about half-an-hour's journey to the north of Dibon, on the south of the Wady el-Wahleh, upon the summit of which *Burckhardt* found a very beautiful plain. In *Hengstenberg's* opinion, there is every probability that this table-land is identical with the Bamoth-Baal. We should be perfectly

¹ Rendered "the high places" in our version.

satisfied with this result, if it were not that there is another circumstance which diminishes the probability. According to Num. xxii. 41 (*vid.* § 56, 1), the whole camp of Israel in the Arboth Moab, to the utmost part, could be seen from the Bamoth-Baal. But this would hardly have been possible from the mountain near Dibon. The distance, both to the east and to the south, would apparently be far too great, and the mountains between would certainly hide the Arboth Moab from the view. Moreover, this mountain near Dibon, to judge from the manner in which Burekhardt speaks of it,—for he merely alludes to it in passing,—cannot have been of any very considerable height; and he says nothing whatever about its commanding an extensive prospect.—On the other hand, very much might be said in favour of the conjecture, that the heights of Baal are identical with the *Jebel Attarus*. This is probably the highest point in the whole district, and commands a very extensive view across the Dead Sea and the plain of the Jordan. Its position agrees very well with the account that Bamoth was between Dibon and Beth-Baal-Meon (it stands exactly in the middle between the two places, with but a very slight deviation from the straight line in a westerly direction), and also with the other statement, that Bamoth formed an intermediate station between Nahaliel and the field of Moab upon the Pisgah.

THE FIELD OF THE WATCHERS, on the top of PISGAH (Num. xxiii. 14, שְׂרָה צִפִּים אֶל־רֹאשׁ הַפְּסָגָה), evidently corresponds (we quote *Hengstenberg's* words with approbation) in the main to the “valley which is in the field of Moab, upon the top of Pisgah, and looks towards the desert” (that is, the Arboth Moab), which is given in Num. xxi. 20 as the last halting-place of the Israelites before they entered the Arboth Moab, and also to the place of encampment “in the mountains of Abarim before Nebo,” which is also given in Num. xxxiii. 47 as the last station before the Arboth Moab. Mount Nebo, which is referred to here as one of the peaks of the mountains of Abarim (see below, note 2), is represented in Deut. xxxiv. 1 as being “upon the top of Pisgah.” We have already seen that the *Nebo* is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the city of Heshbon; and upon the heights in the immediate vicinity, if not upon Nebo itself, we must look for the *Field of the Watchers*.

The situation of MOUNT PEOR may be determined with

precision from the description given in Num. xxiii. 27, 28. First of all (like the place just alluded to in Num. xxi. 20), it is said to have "looked over the desert" (עַל-פְּנֵי הַדֶּשֶׁת׃). That we are to understand by the desert in both passages simply the Arboth Moab, where Israel encamped, is placed beyond all question by chap. xxiv. 1, 2, where Balaam is said to have "set his face (from Peor) toward the wilderness," and there to have seen Israel "abiding in his tents according to their tribes." But whereas he could only see "the end" of the camp of Israel from the Field of the Watchers (*Zophim*), and not the whole (Num. xxiii. 13), on account of a large portion of the camp being hidden from the view by Mount Peor, which intervened; from Mount Peor itself he could see the whole camp, and broke out in the words, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy dwelling-places, O Israel!"—*Peor*, therefore, must have been a peak in the immediate neighbourhood of the Arboth Moab; whereas the *Field of the Watchers*, or *Pisgah*, and *Mount Nebo* were both at some considerable distance to the east, and the *Bamoth Baal* far away to the south-east. This conclusion is supported, as *Hengstenberg* (p. 537) has shown, by all the statements in the Onomasticon of Eusebius.

(2.) According to Num. xxxiii. 47, Mount Nebo was in the MOUNTAINS OF ABARIM. In Deut. xxxiv. 1, on the other hand, it is said to have been upon the top of *Pisgah*, over against Jericho. The two statements may easily be reconciled, on the supposition that the Nebo was a peak of the *Pisgah*, and that this again was one portion of the larger range of mountains called *Abarim*. But whilst these two accounts refer us to the geographical latitude of Jericho and the Arboth Moab, we read in Num. xxi. 10 sqq., that the Israelites had already encamped by the mountains of Abarim (*Ije-Abarim*, i.e., the hills of Abarim), when they were to the south of the river Zared, and therefore to the extreme south of the country of the Moabites. Consequently, there must have been the whole length of the Dead Sea between the one point and the other. Compare Num. xxxiii. 45–47 also, where we are told that the Israelites departed from Iim (in the mountains of *Abarim*) and went to Dibon, and thence to Almon. From Almon they proceeded to the mountains of *Abarim*, and pitched *before* (i.e., on the eastern side of) Nebo. Thus they started from Abarim, and, after halting at two

different stations, they arrived at Abarim *again*. *K. v. Raumer* attempts to solve the difficulty in a peculiar, and certainly by no means successful manner. He says in his *Palästina*, p. 62, Ann. 166: "May not the mountains of Abarim have formed a continuous line, the southern extremity of which was first touched by the Israelites, who then turned away from it, and after halting at two stations, touched the line again? This view appears to receive the strongest confirmation from a remark of Burckhardt's (p. 638). There is a chain of low mountains, commencing at the southern side of the Wady Kerek (or Zared, § 49, 1), which first of all forms a curve towards the east, and then bends towards the north. This chain bears different names (*Orokaraye, Tarfuye, Goweithe*). The last may be connected with the Attarus at the sources of the Wady Wale. Now, this range of mountains seems to tally perfectly with the mountains of Abarim. The Israelites touched the south-western extremity of these mountains to the south of the Wady Kerek, then left them, and crossed the Zared to the east near Ar (Deut. ii. 18), and after this the Arnon (Deut. ii. 24). During all this time the chain of mountains and the land of the Moabites were on their left (Judg. xi. 18). It was not till they reached the eastern side of the Nebo that they touched the chain again. Mount Nebo was apparently the extreme point of the mountains of Abarim towards the north."—We confess that we cannot comprehend this argument. A single glance at the map will show that the Israelites, when marching with the country of the Moabites on their left hand (that is, to the west), cannot possibly have touched the *south-western extremity* of the range in question to the south of Zared (Jebel Orokaraye); and *Raumer* himself has set down the line of their journey upon his own map five geographical miles to the east of this point. It is equally impossible to comprehend how they can have touched the northern extremity of the range referred to. (It is only conceivable on the supposition that the Attarus and the Nebo are identical; but *Raumer* himself has given this up a long time ago.) For, although it is certainly possible, though far from being probable, that the range may be connected with the Attarus at the sources of the Wady Wale; yet it cannot for a moment be imagined that the chain stretches as far as Nebo, *i.e.*, into the neighbourhood of Heshbon. Such a fact would

certainly not have escaped the notice of *Seetzen* and *Burckhardt*.

But what do all these forced assumptions and conjectures lead to? Why should not the name "*Mountains of Abarim*" have been common to the whole of the Moabitish range of mountains along the entire eastern coast of the Dead Sea, from the Wady Ahsy to the latitude of Heshbon? This is just as likely as that the name "*Mountains of Seir*" should be given to the whole of the mountainous district of Edom, which covers twice as much ground.—The *Ije-Abarim* (i.e., the hills of *Abarim*) are probably some promontories on the south-eastern border of the Kerek, or the ridge between the cultivated country and the steppe of the Euphrates, along which the caravan road runs (§ 48).

ETHNOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 52. Before the land which was destined for the Israelites came into their possession, the tribes which were most closely related to them—namely, the *Amalekites* (§ 4, 2), the *Edomites* (§ 46, 1), the *Moabites* (1), the *Ammonites* (2), and the *Midianites* (3)—had fixed their settlements to the south, the south-east, and the east of the country. In the sacred Scriptures the territory occupied by the nations generally is represented as determined by the superintending providence of God, with especial reference to the sacred history (Deut. xxxii. 8; Acts xvii. 26); and the Teralhite nations, in particular, are expressly stated to have had their country given to them for a possession by Jehovah Himself (Deut. ii. 5, 9, 19). Israel was to be the heart of the nations, and Canaan the hearth of the countries (vol. i. § 43, 44). Since, then, the providence of God, which has determined for all the families of the earth where they shall dwell and for how long a time, appointed the settlements of these affiliated nations, immediately around the country which was destined to become the dwelling-place of the Israelites; it provided thereby the conditions, opportunities, and materials for a historical reciprocity, which might, and (we believe we may

add) should, have been equally advantageous to both, and of great importance to the sacred history. For whilst, on the one hand, this circle of closely-related nations, by which the Israelites were surrounded, might and should have formed a wall of defence, behind which Israel could devote itself uninterruptedly to the working out of its high vocation; these nations, on the other hand, might have enjoyed, through their pre-eminently favoured situation, the first and largest share in the blessings of that salvation which was coming to maturity in Israel, and with which all the families of the earth were to be blessed. It is true that, as a question of historical fact, the relation in which Israel and the surrounding Terahite nations stood to each other was very different from this, and one of decided hostility; but this was the fault, not of the arrangement, but of the nations themselves, who misunderstood and despised it, and neglected and opposed alike its obligations and blessings.—Whole centuries before, whilst the Israelites were growing into a great nation in Egypt, these nations had fixed themselves in the settlements appointed for them. But not very long before the return of the Israelites to the land of their fathers' pilgrimage, the Moabites and Ammonites, who had previously spread themselves as far as the Jabbok and the Jordan, were driven back by the *Amorites* (4) towards the south and east, and an Amoritish kingdom was established in Gilead. This rendered it possible for the Israelites to take possession of the country to the east of the Jordan, without being obliged to engage in hostilities with any nations that were related to them by birth.

(1.) The MOABITES were descended from *Moab*, the son of Lot (see vol. i. § 62). It is narrated, that after the catastrophe by which the vale of Siddim was overwhelmed, Lot settled first of all in Zoar, on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; but not thinking himself safe in this city, he afterwards took refuge in the mountainous district to the east. This district, the modern Kerek, was inhabited by the giant race of *Emim* (*vid.* vol. i. § 45, 1). The descendants of Moab succeeded in expelling

these aborigines of the land, or at all events in effecting their subjugation and maintaining themselves as the rulers of the country (Deut. ii. 10). They even extended their occupation and rule as far as the Jabbok towards the north, and thus became possessed of all the country on the east of the sea and the Jordan, between the Jabbok and the Edomitish frontier (the Wady el-Ahsy). At the same time their rule was probably not so firmly established to the north as to the south of the Arnon. At all events, not long before the approach of the Israelites, an Amoritish tribe from the west, under King *Sihon*, succeeded in wresting from them the whole country between the Jabbok and the Arnon (see below, note 4), so that henceforth the latter was their northern boundary (Num. xxi. 13, 26; Judges xi. 18). That the recollection of the period, when the Moabites spread beyond the Arnon, must have been very vivid at the date of the composition of the Pentateuch, is evident from the fact that the plain of the Jordan and the mountainous district are both called by their name (*e.g.*, Arboth Moab, S'deh Moab, *vid.* § 50, 1).—The national god of the Moabites was called *Chemosh* (כִּמּוֹשׁ), and therefore the Moabites themselves are sometimes called “the people of Chemosh” (Num. xxi. 29; Jer. xlvi. 46). On the nature of this idol and the mode of its worship, we can gather nothing certain either from the Old Testament or any other source. Even the etymology of the name is doubtful. *Jerome* (on Isa. xv. 2) compares it to the Priapian deity *Baal-Peor*. *Hyde* (de rel. vett. Pers. c. 5) refers to the Arabic *خمش* = *eulex*, which might suggest a resemblance to *Baal-Zebub* (Ζεὺς ἀπόμβιος). *Movers* (Phönizier i. 334 sqq.) recognises in Chemosh the Semitic fire-god, the same deity which the Ammonites worshipped under the name of *Moloch*. He bases his conclusion upon the etymology of כִּמּוֹשׁ (which means to tread to pieces, to devastate), and appeals to the Onomasticon of *Eusebius* (*s. v.* Ἀριὰ, ἢ καὶ Ἀριήλ), where the idol of the inhabitants of *Arceopolis* is said to have been called *Ariel* (the Fire of God). This view is apparently supported by the fact that, on the one hand, Chemosh is introduced in Judges xi. 24 as an Ammonitish deity, whilst, on the other hand, in 2 Kings iii. 27 the king of the Moabites is said to have offered up children as a sacrifice to his god in a time of great distress (though the name of the god is not given).—There can be no doubt that the Moabites also

went to the opposite pole of Nature-worship, by connecting sexual orgies with the worship of Baal-Peor. This is not only confirmed by the name Peor, which was given to one of the mountains in their land (§ 51, 1), but is most decidedly and expressly stated in Num. xxv. 1-3.

(2.) The origin of the AMMONITES is traced to *Ben-Ammi*, the second son of Lot. They dwelt (along with the Moabites, though to the east of them) in the country between the Arnon and the Jabbok, from which they had previously expelled the *Zamzummim*, who are also represented as a race of giants (Deut. ii. 19 sq.). The establishment of the Amoritish kingdom in the country to the east of the Jordan, by which the Moabites were compelled to retreat to the other side of the Arnon, also forced the Ammonites still farther to the east, where their capital Rabbath-Ammon was situated (§ 50, 2). What their former relation to the Moabites on the east of the Jordan was, whether they were intermingled with them, or separated from them by some distinct boundary, it is not easy to determine. From the Pentateuch it appears as though all the land of which the Amorites took possession, between the Jabbok and the Arnon, belonged exclusively to the Moabites (*vid.* Num. xxi. 29). On the other hand, at a later period (Judges xi. 12, 13) the *Ammonites* appealed to their former possession of the country as giving them a claim to it still.—At all events the Israelites did not touch the existing territory of the Ammonites (which had been diminished by the Amorites); and in fact, according to Deut. ii. 19, they were strictly prohibited by Jehovah from inflicting any injury upon the Ammonites, as they had already been from interfering with Edom and Moab.

(3.) We have already spoken of that branch of the MIDIANITES which dwelt on the Elanitic Gulf (see vol. ii. § 19, 6, 7). The principal tribe inhabited the more northerly regions on the eastern border of Moab and the southern border of Ammon. There were five Midianitish chieftains, however, bearing the name of *kings*, who had settled down with their tribes on the Moabitish table-lands (הַמִּישׁוֹרִים Josh. xiii. 21, שֵׁרֵה מוֹאָב Gen. xxxvi. 35, *cf.* § 50, 1). They had already been defeated once by the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 35); and when *Sihon* conquered the country between the Jabbok and the Arnon, they became tributary to him, and on that account are represented in Josh.

xiii. 21 as vassals of Sihon¹ (סִיחֹן). They seduced Israel to idolatry, on which account Moses carried on a war of vengeance against them, destroyed their cities, and put all their men to death (§ 58, 5). The main body of the Midianites, which dwelt to the east, was not affected by this war of extermination; and at a later period it maintained a long-continued and fearfully oppressive tyranny over Israel (Judg. vi.–viii.). The Midianites worshipped Baal-Peor, and connected sexual excesses with the worship (Num. xxv. 17, 18).

(4.) On the AMORITES see vol. i. § 45, 1. At the time of Moses we find *two Amoritish* kingdoms on the other side of the Jordan. The most southerly of the two, between the Jabbok and the Arnon, we have already met with. It was founded by King *Sihon* (סִיחֹן; *vid.* Num. xxi. 26–30), who still resided at Heshbon (Num. xxi. 34; Josh. xiii. 10). The northern kingdom, which covered the whole land of Bashan, was governed by King *Og* (אֹג). His palace was at Ashtaroth (Deut. i. 4; Josh. xiii. 12). The territory of Og is expressly described in Deut. xxxi. 4 as an Amoritish kingdom. According to Deut. iii. 11 and Josh. xiii. 12, Og alone “remained of the remnant of the *Rephaim*,” a race of giants, which had formed part of the aborigines of Canaan. But after the immigration of the Amorites, they soon gained the upper hand over the early inhabitants. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that a descendant of the latter should now be recognised as king of the Amorites. Og himself, who descended from a race of giants, was a man of enormous stature. His *iron bed*, which was kept at Rabbath Ammon, was nine cubits long and four cubits broad (Deut. iii. 11).

We must look a little more closely at the passage just referred to, which has been attacked on various sides (see *Hengstenberg's* admirable vindication in his *Dissertation on the Pentateuch*, vol. 2, p. 198). *Spinoza* and *Peyrerius* were of opinion that Og's bed is spoken of here, as something belonging to a very remote antiquity, and that the Israelites cannot have known anything about the bed until the time of David, when he captured Rabbath Ammon (2 Sam. xii. 30). Following out the same idea, there have been several even of the supporters of the authenticity of the Pentateuch (*e.g.*, *Calmet*, *Dathe*, *Jahn*, and

¹ English Version, “dukes of Sihon.”

Rosenmüller), who have pronounced the passage a gloss by a later hand. But there is really no ground for this. For the remark that one cannot comprehend why the bed of the conquered king, instead of being taken to the camp of the conquerors (the Israelites), should have been carried to the capital of the Ammonites (and that immediately, for Moses died shortly after the defeat of Og), is itself incomprehensible. We are not told that the bed was not taken into the city of the Ammonites till after the death of its owner; and if we were, we could imagine many things which would show the possibility of this having been the case. The most probable supposition, however, appears to us to be, that the bed of Og was at Rabbah, before the Israelites came into the neighbourhood at all, that is, during the lifetime of Og. It may be assumed as certain, that the Terahite nations lived in a state of constant hostility to the Amorites. This being the case, it is not improbable that in a war with Og, or after an invasion of the country and an attack upon Ashtaroth, the Ammonites may have carried off the celebrated bed of Og, and set it up in their capital as a trophy of the victory.—At the same time, even *Hengstenberg* admits that “remarks like these may have been appended by Moses himself at a later period, when he committed his address to writing; and therefore it is right to enclose the verse in brackets, as *De Wette* has done.” In opposition to the notion that the verse has somewhat of a mythical character, *Hengstenberg* observes, that “families of giants, from which kings are chosen, are still to be met with among many savage tribes—in Australia, for example. *Calmet* gives a number of instances of iron beds in use in ancient times.” There is certainly no necessity for assuming, as *Clericus* has done, that Og had his bed made of iron because of the bugs.—“The size of the bed need not astonish us, for the Hebrew cubit was not more than a foot-and-a-half (see *Gesenius*, s. v. אמה). The bedstead is always larger than the man; and in the case before us *Clericus* has conjectured that Og designedly had it made larger than was necessary, in order that posterity might form a more magnificent idea of the stature of the man, from the size of the bed in which he was accustomed to sleep. It is often the case that very tall people have a wish to be thought taller than they really are.” A perfectly analogous account is given by *Diodorus Siculus* (xvii. 95) of Alexander the Great, namely, that whenever

he was obliged to halt on his expedition into India, he left colossal works behind him, "representing a camp of heroes, and furnishing the inhabitants with striking proofs of the gigantic stature of the invaders and their supernatural strength." Thus, amongst other things, he ordered "two apartments to be provided for every foot soldier, each five cubits long; and, in addition to this, two stalls for every cavalry soldier, twice as large as those ordinarily made." There is not the slightest foundation for *Lengerke's* supposition, that Og's enormous bed "must *certainly* have been a sarcophagus; a conclusion which is confirmed by the fact that modern travellers have discovered specimens of *sarcophagi* of basalt in this very locality." Basalt, he says (of which Pliny states that "ferrei coloris atque duritie inde nomen ei dedit"), is probably called iron in Deuteronomy and other places. To this we reply that iron *is* iron, and *is called* iron and not basalt; and that the basaltic sarcophagi, which modern travellers have discovered in this locality, all belong to the Roman age, which was fifteen centuries later than the period here referred to.

CONQUEST OF THE LAND ON THE EAST OF THE JORDAN.

§ 53. (Num. xxi. 10–xxii. 1, *cf.* Deut. ii. iii.)—The Israelites had passed along the eastern border of the Edomites without any hindrance on their part, and were now arrived at Ije-Abarim, the south-eastern border of the Moabites. As they had formerly received a positive refusal from the Moabites, when they sent from Kadesh (Jud. xi. 17, *cf.* Num. xx. 14 sqq.) to request a friendly passage through their land, and as they were prohibited from applying force to the Moabites (Deut. ii. 9), they were obliged to take a circuitous route to the east of their land also, and continued to follow the caravan road to Damascus (§ 50). But the restriction ceased as soon as they crossed the Arnon, and stood on the border of the Amoritish kingdom (1). As they knew nothing at present (Deut. ii. 29) of the fact, that the country to the east of the Jordan was also destined to become their possession, they endeavoured first of all, by means of an embassy to *Sihon*, the king of the

Amorites, to obtain a friendly passage through his country to the Jordan. Sihon, however, not only refused their request, but led a powerful army against them to Jahaz, for the purpose of chasing them away from his borders. The Israelites were no longer bound by any of the restrictions, which had hitherto regulated their conduct towards the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites. They prepared, therefore, immediately to give Sihon battle; and, having thoroughly defeated him at Jahaz, they conquered the whole of his land, and either destroyed or banished the inhabitants (2). As Og, the king of Bashan, saw at once that his own country was endangered by this successful campaign, he also prepared for war. And he met with precisely the same fate. A decisive battle was fought at Edrei, in which the army of Og was utterly annihilated. As the whole of Bashan now came into the possession of the Israelites, they established their head-quarters in the Arboth Moab, within sight of the Jordan, opposite to Jericho, between Beth-Hajshimoth and Abel-Shittim (2). (*Vid.* § 59, 2.)

(1.) On IJE-ABARIM, the first station on the Moabitish frontier, see § 51, 2, and § 49, 1. It is described as "in the wilderness which is to the east of Moab, toward the sunrising." From Ije-Abarim the Israelites proceeded to the *Brook ZARED* (§ 49, 1). The next station was on the other side of the ARNON, on the right bank of this river, by which the territory of Moab was then bounded on the north (§ 49). *Ritter* observes (xv. 1207): "So wild a production of nature as the Arnon fissure, was undoubtedly well adapted in ancient times to form a powerful frontier, before the art of war had succeeded in making roads amongst the most savage rocks, and crossing impetuous streams by bridges instead of fords. . . . It may be difficult to determine how the people of Israel in the time of Moses were able to overcome so powerful a natural and political barrier. It cannot be supposed that a whole nation, migrating with all its possessions, including numerous flocks and herds, would expose itself without necessity to the dangers and enormous difficulties of crossing so fearfully wild and deep a valley, for the purpose of penetrating into an enemy's country. For this reason, *K. v.*

Raumer (*Zug der Israeliten*, pp. 52, 53) has already shown that the Israelites would most probably take the road higher up,—that is, farther to the east,—which is adopted by modern pilgrim-caravans, who keep to the higher ground of the plateau, and thus avoid the deep precipices of the Arnon, and merely have to traverse the level wadys of the desert districts, which distinguish the upper portion of the Arnon, though even these are not without their difficulties.”

(2.) The place from which Moses sent the messengers to King Sihon is called KEDEMOTH in Deut. ii. 26. It will, no doubt, be the same as the station mentioned in Num. xxi. 13 as “on the other side of the Arnon.” This supposition is confirmed by the name, which designates its position as *eastwards*, bordering on the desert. The introduction of a strophe from a war-song in vers. 14, 15, also shows that this is the place in which, according to the strict chronology, the warlike events recorded in ver. 24 sqq. ought properly to be inserted. The stations which follow (vers. 16, 19, 20) can also be proved to have been within the territory of Sihon. Hence it is evident that first of all the list of stations is given consecutively, to the very last before the Arboth Moab, and then follows a detailed account of the events of which they were the scene.

a. The war-song mentioned in ver. 14 is said to have been found in the BOOK OF THE WARS OF JEHOVAH. The destructive critics, from the time of Spinoza, have not failed to turn this passage to account; and the apologetic critics (*Rosenmüller*, for example) have had recourse to the assumption of a gloss. (In answer to both, see *Hengstenberg* on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 182 sqq.) A book, it is argued, describing the wars of Jehovah, cannot have been in existence in the time of Moses; for the wars of the people of God had then only just commenced. *Hengstenberg* replies, that at the time when Moses wrote this, the Amalekites, the king of Arad, King Sihon, Og the king of Bashan, and the Midianites (Num. xxxi.), were already conquered. But, according to the usage of the Pentateuch, the expression, “wars of Jehovah,” is much more comprehensive than this (see Ex. xii. 41, 51, xiv. 14, 25, xv. 3; and Num. xxxiii. 1). All the signs and wonders in Egypt are regarded as a war, on the part of Jehovah, against the Egyptians and their gods. The journey through the desert was the march

of an army, with Jehovah as commander at the head. And all the successes by which Jehovah prepared the way for His army to conquer Canaan, are included in the wars of Jehovah. "If, then," he says, "the wars of Jehovah included all this, instead of there being a dearth of materials for the Book of the Wars, there was the greatest abundance. And if there was such a superabundance of materials, there can be no question that it would be employed. The triumph of the idea over the reality will always call forth poetry. It is quite in accordance with what we learn elsewhere, as to the general culture of the nation, and especially as to the use of writing among them, that poetical productions should not only be committed to writing, but should also be formed into a collection. Hence, by the side of the objective accounts in the Pentateuch, there was the subjective description in the Book of the Wars of the Lord. The relation in which they stood to each other we may gather from the passages already quoted (for vers. 16-18 and 27-30 undoubtedly belong to the book in question), and also from Ex. xv., as compared with the foregoing history."—There is a second argument, upon which still greater stress is laid;—namely, that it is inconceivable, that a book which had only just been written could be cited as confirming the geographical statement contained in the preceding verse. But *Hengstenberg* has shown that the argument rests upon a misapprehension. The passage is not quoted for the purpose of verifying the geographical statement. That the object was a totally different one from this, is sufficiently obvious from the other two poetical quotations in vers. 17, 18, and 27-30. In both these passages, the impression made upon the people by the conduct of Jehovah is reproduced. And this is just the case with vers. 14, 15: "Therefore (namely, because the Israelites had conquered the country on the Arnon, by the help of Jehovah) it is written in the wars of Jehovah :

Vaheb (He took) in the storm,
 And the streams of Arnon,
 And the lowland of the streams,
 Which turneth to the dwelling of Ar,
 And leaneth upon the border of Moab."

(*Vid.* § 49, 2.)

This is *Hengstenberg's* translation, and he defends it in the

following manner: "The words, 'Jehovah took,' which are supplied to complete the sentence, are taken from מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה (the wars of Jehovah). We are warranted in rendering VAHEB as a proper name, if only on account of the form of the word (it is very rarely that a word begins with ו). There is an analogy to בְּסִיפָה ('in the storm') in Nahum i. 3. According to this explanation, the passage is to be regarded as a voice from the congregation, acknowledging what Jehovah had done on its behalf. Under His command it presses uninter- ruptedly forwards. Whatever opposes it, He immediately over- throws. The quotation stands in just the same relation to the historical narrative, as the verses of *Kömer* to an account of the war of Liberty, into which they might be introduced by a historian who had taken part in the war himself. Who would suppose, for a single moment, that when an Arabian historian introduces verses uttered by the heroes in the heat of the battle, he does this for the purpose of supporting his own ques- tionable credibility?"

b. The second place of encampment after crossing the Arnon was called BEER (a well). It must have been between these two stations that Jahzah (Jahaz, ver. 23), the field of battle, was situated, and the town of *Vahab* mentioned in the war-song in ver. 14;—*chronologically* considered, I mean, hardly *geographically*, for according to ver. 18, *Beer* was in *the desert*. It is probable that the army of Israel advanced from the *Arnon* as far as *Jahaz*, to meet the forces of Sihon which were coming against them; and, having defeated them, took the town of *Vahab*, which was in the immediate neighbourhood. In the meantime, the head-quarters of the Israelites, with the rest of the people and their flocks, either remained upon the *Arnon* or moved forward to *Beer*.—*Beer* is also met with in Judg. ix. 21, and is undoubtedly the same as Beer-Elim in Is. xv. 8. The people suffered here for want of water; but Moses gathered the people together at the command of Jehovah, who gave them water again,—not, however, by a miracle in the ordinary sense, but by means of their own exertions in first digging a well. This gave rise to the beautiful WELL-SONG (vers. 17, 18):

Spring up, O well!
Sing to answer it!
Well, which the princes dug,

Which the nobles of the nation bored,
With the sceptre and their staves.

The good-will and activity of the people, which are manifest here, present a glorious contrast to the bitter spirit and murmuring of the ancient Israelites.

c. The direction which the Israelites followed from Beer through the heart of the land of the Amorites, is indicated by the situation of *Bamoth* (§ 51, 1), which was the third station from Beer. The course had hitherto been in a northerly direction, but at this point it made a curve towards the west. The next station, *MATTANAH*, is supposed by *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 527, translation) to have been the same as the *Tedun* mentioned by *Burckhardt* (p. 635), as situated at the sources of the Wady *Lejum*, which runs into the Arnon. *NAHALIEL* (stream of God) is no doubt the Wady *Lejum* itself (*vid. Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 257), the lower portion of which is still called the Wady *Enkheileh* (*vid. Burckhardt*, p. 635).—From Nahaliel the Israelites proceeded to *BAMOTH* (§ 51, 1), and thence to “the VALLEY, WHICH IS IN THE FIELD OF MOAB, upon the top of *Pisgah*.” We have already shown that this station is the same as the “field of the watchers on the top of *Pisgah*” (Num. xxiii. 14), and that it was situated to the west of *Heshbon* (§ 51, 1).—After the whole land of *Sihon* had been conquered by various detachments sent out from the stations already mentioned, the expedition against *Og*, the king of *Bashan*, was undertaken, and the whole camp was moved forward into the *Arboth Moab*.—It was here, after the complete conquest of the land of the Amorites, that the *SONG OF VICTORY* was composed, in which the subjects of *Sihon* and the people of *Moab* are classed together, and spoken of with equal contempt :

Ver. 27. Come home to *Heshbon* !

Let the city of *Sihon* be built up and restored !

Ver. 28. For fire went out of *Heshbon*,

A flame from the fortress of *Sihon* :

It consumed *Ar-Moab*, the lords of the *Arnon*-heights.

Ver. 29. Woe to thee, *Moab* !

Thou art undone, O people of *Chemosh* !

He made his sons fugitives,

And his daughters prisoners

Of *Sihon*, king of the Amorites.

Ver. 30. But we burned them up—Heshbon is gone!—even to Dibon,
 And we laid them waste even to Nophah,
 With fire even to Medebah.

We cannot refrain from giving *Ewald's* admirable exposition of this very beautiful ode, instead of one of our own (*vid. Geschichte der Israeliten*, ii. 212 sqq.). "On closer inspection it becomes more and more obvious, that this song of victory is altogether of a sarcastic character, and is not a song of thanksgiving, like the song of Deborah, for example. *Come home to Heshbon*—to the city, that is, which can now no longer furnish either house or shelter;—*restore* (if you can) *the city*, which is now laid for ever in ruins! In such terms of undisguised contempt do the victors address the vanquished, whom they had driven from their homes, and certainly would not invite to return so soon. But in order that the guilt of the vanquished may be the more loudly proclaimed, a second voice is heard recalling their *earlier* history. This Heshbon is the very same city from which the fire of war once issued forth in its most destructive form against Moab, unfortunate Moab, for whose fall, and the impotence of its god Chemosh (the god who had suffered its sons and daughters—that is, all his worshippers—to be expelled and led captive by Sihon), the most piteous lamentations had been uttered! But at the very moment when these Amorites, who had devastated Moab with fire and sword, were imagining themselves to be in perfect security (the clear voice of the victors now returns to the opening of the song), our fire of war burst forth from Heshbon, as the leading and central place, and burned and devastated the country to its utmost borders. Thus was Moab avenged by Israel. . . . That this ode dates immediately from the period of the conquest, is also obvious from the fact, that shortly afterwards (Num. xxxii. 37) Heshbon was restored by the tribe of Reuben, and that henceforward it was always a place of importance."

d. There is a marked difference between the *two lists of halting-places*, which we find in Num. xxi. and Num. xxxiii. According to the former, the last places of encampment were *Ije-Abarim*, Sared, Arnon, Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, Bamoth, the valley upon the top of Pisgah, and Arboth Moab; whereas the following is the series as given in the latter:—*Ije-Abarim*, Dibon Gad, Almon Diblathaim, Mount Nebo, and Arboth Moab.

It must be observed, however, at the outset, that we are now in a cultivated country, where places with distinct and separate names would be crowded together in far greater number and in greater proximity to one another than had hitherto been the case; and consequently the camping-ground of two million men would be very likely to embrace, or at all events to touch, two or more of such places. This circumstance alone would be a sufficient explanation of the fact, if the same station should be called by various names. Let us proceed, however, to compare the places mentioned in the two lists; and, in doing so, let it be borne in mind, that we have already found (§ 51, 1) that the valley on the top of Pisgah (also called the field of the watchers upon Pisgah) must have been situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Nebo, which was also upon the top of Pisgah. We have, then, two names in Num. xxxiii., which are not to be met with in Num. xxi., namely, Dibon Gad, and Almon Diblathaim, and six names in the latter which are not found in the former, *viz.*, Sared, Arnon, Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, and Bamoth. But for the reason already assigned, the two names which occur in Num. xxi. alone (Dibon Gad, and Almon Diblathaim), may very probably have coincided with two of the six last named. If so, the twenty-first chapter would contain four more names than the thirty-third. This is all the more striking from the fact, that apparently it is quite at variance with all previous analogy; for hitherto, as a rule, the list in Num. xxxiii. has been fuller and more precise than the various notices in the historical account. In this case the order seems to be entirely reversed. Nevertheless, in this apparent irregularity and inconsistency, there may probably be, after all, a consistent observance of the rule hitherto adopted. The list in Num. xxxiii. is purely *statistical*. The purpose of the author was to give a full and particular account of the actual stations—that is, of the places of encampment in which the Israelites prepared for a lengthened stay,—not merely forming a regular encampment, but also erecting the sanctuary. The writer of Num. x.–xxii. does not pretend to give anything like a complete account of the various places of encampment, and therefore many names are wanting in the latter which are to be found in the former. His purpose is purely *historical*, and not in any sense *statistical*. And this is to our mind an explanation of the fact, that he mentions more

places of encampment between Ije-Abarim and Arboth Moab, than we find in Num. xxxiii.; places, that is, in which there was not a complete camp formed, including the erection of the sanctuary. They are all of historical importance, partly as showing that the Israelites intentionally avoided the Moabitish territory, and partly, also, for the reason already mentioned (note c), *viz.*, because it was from the places mentioned that the various expeditions set out, by which the conquest of the whole land of the Amorites was effected.

e. The place of encampment in the wide-spread Arboth Moab is more particularly described in Num. xxxiii. 49, as being "from Beth-Jeshimoth to Abel-Shittim." The name *Jeshimoth* (from עִשׂוֹ = שָׁמַם) shows it to have been a barren and desolate place ("*Edenhausen*," *Ewald*; "domum solitudinis significat," *Onomasticon*). In Ezek. xxv. 9 it is called a city of Moab. In the time of the Romans it was a fortified city (*Josephus*, Wars of the Jews 4, 7, 5). *Abel-Shittim*, or *Shittim* merely (שִׁטִּים; Num. xxv. 1; Josh. ii. 1, iii. 1), is described in the *Onomasticon* as being situated by Mount Peor. *Josephus* calls it *Abila* (Wars of the Jews 2, 13, 2; 4, 7, 5).

(3.) On the supposed DISCREPANCY between Deut. ii. 29 and Deut. xxiii. 4, 5 (iii. 4), see *Hengstenberg* on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 233 sqq. In the one passage it is said to be affirmed that the Edomites and *Moabites* furnished bread and water to the Israelites, whereas in the other it is stated that the Ammonites and *Moabites* refused them both. But Deut. ii. 29 merely relates to a request to sell bread and water to the Israelites. In Deut. xxiii. 5, on the other hand, allusion is made to the justifiable but disappointed expectation, that tribes so nearly related as they were would "meet them" (קָרָם) with bread and water. The meaning is evidently the same as in Is. xxi. 14 ("They prevented with their bread him that fled"), where the same word קָרָם is employed; and Gen. xiv. 18, where Melchizedek is said to have come to meet Abraham with bread and wine. That the Moabites failed to do this, was a proof of their indifference, if not of their hostile feelings towards the Israelites; that they did the former, was simply a manifestation of their selfish and grasping disposition.—On the discrepancy which is thought to exist between Deut. ii. 24 and ver. 26 (compared with Num. xxi. 21 sqq.), see *Hengstenberg* on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., pp. 347, 348; *vid.* also § 45, 1.

BALAAM AND HIS PROPHECIES.

[On the history and prophecies of Balaam, see *Lüderwald* (die Geschichte Bileams deutlich und begreiflich erklärt); *Herder* (Briefe über das Studium der Theologie, zweiter Brief); *B. R. de Geer* (dissertatio de Bileamo, ejus hist. et vatic. 1816); *Steudel* (Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie 1831, ii. 66 sqq.); *Tholuck* (literarischer Anzeiger 1832, No. 78–80, also in his vermischte Schriften, i. 406 sqq.); *Hoffmann* (Hall. Encyclopädie, x. 184 sqq.); and *Hengstenberg* (die Geschichte Bileams und seine Weissagungen, Berlin 1842).]

§ 54. (Num. xxii. 2–21.)—The Israelites, encamped in the Arboth Moab, opposite to Jericho, had now nothing but the Jordan between them and the land of their fathers' pilgrimage. But the conquest of the country to the east of the Jordan rendered it necessary, that this should be the head-quarters for some time to come; and thus the crossing of the Jordan was postponed till a future period. If the conquered country was to be *held*, fortifications must be erected and garrisoned, and such other steps taken, as were necessary to guard against the encroachments of surrounding nations, who might be actuated by a desire to reconquer the country. In the meantime, these nations were also thinking of the best way to rid themselves of their dangerous neighbours. MOAB in particular, which had the most to fear from the revenge of the Israelites, on account of the hostile manner in which they had met them at first, would have been very glad to extend its territory to the Jabbok, which had been its original boundary. *Balak*, the son of *Zippor*, who was then king of Moab, allied himself with the neighbouring *Midianites*. But he had learned from past experience, that nothing could be effected by the power of the sword alone, against a nation so strongly defended by its God. Hence his first wish and endeavour was to deprive it of this protection, and if possible to turn the blessing, which had hitherto borne it as upon eagles'

wings, into a curse. And a prospect presented itself of attaining this end. Far away to the east, at Pethor on the banks of the Euphrates, there dwelt a magician, named *Balaam* the son of *Beor*, who was renowned far and wide for the irresistible power of blessing and cursing which he possessed. The fact that this magician practised his magical arts in the name of *Jehovah*, the very same God who had made Israel strong, was most welcome intelligence under the circumstances; for, if he succeeded in inducing *him* to curse the Israelites, their power, he thought, would be effectually broken. In connection with his allies, therefore, he sent messengers to Pethor with the following message: "Come, and curse me this people; for they are too mighty for me: for I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed." The reward, which was promised him, at once excited the covetous mind of the magician. Yet he did not dare to promise, without first asking God; and the answer of God ran thus: "Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed." He sent the messengers home, therefore, and said to them, "Get you into your land, for *Jehovah* refuseth to give me leave to go with you." But in all probability it did not escape the messengers, that it was with a very reluctant heart that Balaam sent them away,—that in reality ambition and avarice were the ruling passions of his soul. *Balak* therefore sent a second embassy, consisting of still nobler princes, and with still more magnificent promises. It is true that the magician replied to them again this time: "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 little or much." But instead of sending them away at once, he was so dazzled by the splendid offers of glory and gold, that he determined to try once more whether he could not succeed in obtaining the consent of *Jehovah*. And, behold! a reply now came from *Jehovah* to this effect: "Rise up, and go with them; but thou shalt *only* do what I shall tell thee." In the blindness of his passion, Balaam did not ob-

serve, that such a condition as this, instead of securing to him the permission he desired, defeated the very object he had in view, *viz.*, to obtain possession of Balak's honours and gold. He eagerly availed himself of the permission granted, and set out with the messengers of Balak.

(1.) *Gesenius* derives the NAME BALAAM (בַּלְעָם; *Sept. Βαλαάμ*) from בָּ and עַם (non populus, *i.e.*, peregrinus). *Hengstenberg* gives the preference to the ancient derivation from עלָב (to swallow up, destroy, vanquish) and עַם (people), to which we find many analogies in other languages; *e.g.*, Nicolaus, Nicodemus, Leonicus, Andronicus (and many others, even in German, *vid. Simonis Onomast.*, p. 459, note e). *Fürst* (in his smaller dictionary) regards the termination בַּעַ as a terminal syllable; in which case, *Balaam* means simply the destroyer, or conqueror.—All three derivations are admissible, according to the rules of the language. The one adopted by *Hengstenberg* most probably gave rise to the name *Nicolaitans*, which we meet with in the Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 6, *cf. ver. 14*); for this name can hardly be traced to a man named Nicolaus, who was the founder of a sect, but is to be regarded rather as a mystic name applied to the apostolical Gnostics (as being seducers of the people), with distinct allusion to Balaam, their Old Testament type. Even in the case of Balaam himself, the name may very probably have been a significant one;—that is to say, “he may have borne the name as a dreaded conjurer and wizard:—whether it was that he sprang from a family in which the calling was hereditary, and therefore received it at his birth, and merely became, in the course of time and in public opinion, what those, who first gave him the name, anticipated and desired;—or that the name was given him, according to Oriental custom, at a later period of his life, when the thing itself became conspicuous” (*Hengstenberg*). In *Hengstenberg's* opinion, there is a perfectly analogous significance in the father's name *Beor* (בְּעוֹר—*Sept. Βεώρ*, 2 Pet. ii. 15, *Βοσόρ*—from בעַר, to burn up, to graze off, to destroy). He says: “This name was given to the father, on account of the destructive power attributed to his curses.” Thus he supposes that Balaam belonged to a family, in which the prophetic or magical disposition was hereditary; and there is great proba-

bility in such an assumption, if we bear in mind how carefully and emphatically he speaks of himself in his blessings, as *Balaam* the son of *Beor* (Num. xxiv. 3, 15), as though he meant to say in other words, "the celebrated son of a celebrated father."—*Hengstenberg* even goes so far, as to assume that there is some connection between the name of his native town *Pethor*, and the profession which he carried on. פֶּתֶר occurs in Gen. xli. 8 (*cf.* xl. 8, 11, xli. 11) in connection with the interpretation of dreams; and therefore we are possibly warranted in assuming, that "the dwelling-place of Balaam received its name in connection with the possessors of secret arts, of which it was one of the principal seats. That the Babylonian magicians in later times were in the habit of assembling together in particular towns, somewhat after the manner of the Egyptian and Israelitish cities of the priests, is very evident from *Pliny*, *Hist. Nat.* 6, 25, and *Strabo*, 16, 1 (*vid. Münter*, *Religion der Babylonier*, p. 86)."

(2.) Various answers have been given to the question, *how did Balaam come to know and serve Jehovah, the God of Israel?* According to the generally received opinion, which even *Tholuck* has defended, in the Jehovah-worship of Balaam there was a relic of the primeval and purer knowledge of God, which had been preserved in the midst of heathenism, and Balaam presented, to a certain extent, an analogy to Melchizedek. In support of this view, appeal is made to the fact that Balaam's native country was Mesopotamia, the original seat of the family of Abraham, where a considerable branch of the family (the descendants of Bethuel) still remained.—According to another view, which *Hengstenberg* (p. 12 sqq.) has thoroughly established, the knowledge of Jehovah possessed by Balaam is to be traced to the events of his own day: namely, to the fame of the God of Israel, which had spread in the time of Moses over all the heathen nations round about, and to the overpowering effect produced upon all these nations, according to the express testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, by the mighty deeds which God did in the midst of His people. We have already met with an analogous example in the case of *Jethro* (Ex. xviii. 1 sqq.). There is another in the history of *Rahab* (Josh. ii. 9 sqq.). The fraud practised by the *Gibeonites* (Josh. ix.) was based, according to ver. 9, upon the assumption that the fame of the mighty works

of Jehovah must necessarily have spread far and wide throughout all lands, and confirmed the announcement which had already been made with prophetic foresight in the Song of Moses (Ex. xv. 14; vol. ii. § 28, 6). At all events, a mere echo of the earlier knowledge of Jehovah which had existed in the country of Mesopotamia, would not suffice to explain the peculiar position of Balaam and the nature of his prophecies; for the latter indicate a much greater distinctness in his religious consciousness, and a much clearer insight into the position of Israel in relation to both the past and future history of the world, than could possibly have been derived from the period referred to. At the same time, we cannot go so far as *Hengstenberg*, who denies that there was any connection whatever between the knowledge of God possessed by Balaam, and the reminiscences of the purer light which was formerly enjoyed by his ancestors. However deeply the descendants of Bethuel and Laban may have been by this time immersed in heathenism, it is nevertheless possible that religious reminiscences of earlier times may have been still in existence, and may have been revived in Balaam's mind by the tidings of the mighty works which Jehovah had done in Egypt and the desert.

(3.) The question as to the precise nature of BALAAM'S CALLING AND PROPHETIC GIFT, is one of far greater difficulty. From the very earliest times the most contradictory opinions have been entertained. On the one hand, he has been regarded as a thoroughly godless and idolatrous wizard and false prophet,—a prophet of the devil, whom the Lord God compelled to bless instead of cursing, for the glory of His name and the good of His people Israel (*vid. Philo, Ambrose, Augustine, etc.*). On the other hand, it has also been maintained, that he was a true prophet of God, who fell through covetousness and ambition (*vid. Tertullian, Jerome, Deyling, Budde, and others*). In both views there are certain elements of truth; but in their partiality and exclusiveness, they are both erroneous. The truth is to be found between the two. The position of Balaam at this particular time was that of both a heathen magician and a Jehovistic seer. He was still standing upon the boundary line between two spheres, which touch each other, but from their very nature are thoroughly opposed, and cannot co-exist. He stood, as it were, with one foot upon the soil of heathen magic

and soothsaying, and with the other upon the soil of Jehovistic religion and prophecy. *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 340 translation) was the first to perceive this clearly and explain it fully.

On the one hand, we find Balaam still unquestionably involved in the ungodliness and absurdities of heathen witchcraft. He is called מְסֻיָּמ, *the soothsayer κατ' ἐξοχήν* (Josh. xiii. 22); and in connection with his prophecies, he resorted to ways and means which constitute the characteristic difference between ungodly, heathen soothsaying, and godly, theocratic prophecy. *Kesem* (קָסֵם) or soothsaying was unconditionally prohibited by the law in Israel. In Deut. xviii. 10 it is commanded, "There shall not be found among you a *Kosem*;" for "all that do these things are an abomination to the Lord" (ver. 12). *Kesem* is represented as a grievous sin in 1 Sam. xv. 23; Ezek. xiii. 23; and 2 Kings xvii. 17; and as a characteristic of false prophets in Ezek. xiii. 9, xxii. 28; and Jer. xiv. 14. Soothsaying is placed in the same opposition to true prophecy in Is. iii. 2, 3; for when it is stated there, that Jehovah will take away from Jerusalem and Judah all their supports, and among others the prophets (נְבִיאִים) and the soothsayers (מְסֻיָּמִים),—the meaning evidently is, that the state is to be deprived both of its real and imaginary oracles,—of those that have been appointed by God, as well as of those that have been chosen by itself in opposition to the will of God. In perfect accordance with the character and practice of heathen magic and prophecy (*Mantik*), Balaam resorts to augury, and hopes in this way to be able to find materials and a basis for a prophecy after Balak's own mind (Num. xxiv. 1, xxiii. 3, 15). Augury appears to have been the peculiar and ordinary means employed by him in his prophetic operations. "That he availed himself of such extremely uncertain means as augury, the inefficacy of which even heathenism admitted (*Nägelsbach* homerische Theol., p. 154 sqq.), and which was never employed by a true prophet in Israel, is a proof that his religious and prophetic stand-point was a low one, and can only be explained from the insufficiency of the excitement which he received from the Spirit of God. Where the Spirit of God works *with power*, a man has no need to look round about for signs in nature, in order to arrive at certainty respecting the will of God" (*Hengstenberg*,

p. 345).—To this we have also to add the character of his prophetic inspiration, into which we shall enter more particularly below.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that he possessed a certain amount of the true knowledge of God, of genuine prophetic inspiration, of subjective fear of God, and of objective *Theopneustia*; but in his case there was no depth in all this, it was neither well-founded nor tried. He knew and sought Jehovah; confessed Him openly and freely before men, inquired of Him as to His counsel and will, and was ready to yield to them, though possibly not without resistance, and with only half a heart. So also there was a real connection between him and Jehovah; though probably this also was weak and fluctuating. Jehovah allowed him to find Him, came to meet him, answered him, and made known to him His purpose and His will. His prophecies, too, were really uttered in a state of mind produced and controlled by the Spirit of God.

We must hold both together then. He was a heathen soothsayer and a prophet of Jehovah at the same time; a syncretist, who thought and hoped that he might be able to combine the two upon his peculiar stand-point, and hold them both with equal firmness. He was in a transition state from one to the other; and in this transition state, and this alone, was it possible for him to unite together two different stand-points, which from their very nature were entirely opposed, and thoroughly irreconcilable. He knew and confessed Jehovah; he sought and found Him; and Jehovah granted him an answer, and made him the bearer of His revelations. On the other hand, he was not sufficiently advanced in the knowledge and service of Jehovah, to throw overboard with disgust every kind of heathen augury and soothsaying, which had helped him hitherto to his magic and prophecy. And the course of his history shows us clearly enough, where it was that the obstacle lay; in other words, how it was, that after Balaam had once recognised Jehovah as the true and Supreme God, and notwithstanding the fact that Jehovah did not fail to make Himself known in word and power, he did not entirely lay aside his heathen incantations, and give himself up to the worship of Jehovah. The cause was not primarily an intellectual one; nor did it arise from any disqualification for the calling of a genuine prophet of Jehovah. It was altogether

moral, and lay entirely in the will. Hitherto Balaam had practised magic as a trade ; for the simple purpose of procuring gold, honour, and renown. When he made the discovery that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was stronger than the gods of all the other nations ; he turned to Him, probably in the hope that by this means he would be able to secure more striking results and still larger gains. Thus he carried into the new phase of his life an impure and heathen state of mind, which inevitably prevented him from being more firmly established, or making further progress in his fellowship with Jehovah, so long as it remained unconquered. We must not imagine, however, that his aims and endeavours were entirely divested of nobler and loftier motives ; for had this been the case, Jehovah would hardly have suffered Himself to be found of him, or have replied to his inquiries. And the manner in which he was met by Jehovah was not without effect upon the spirit and heart, the mind and will, of the magician. This is proved by his reply to the messengers of Balak : “ If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, etc.” (Num. xxii. 18). But his whole conduct, wavering, uncertain, and ambiguous as it was, also proves that his heathen disposition was not subdued, and therefore that he was not yet in a condition to lay the magical practices of his previous heathen state entirely aside. Such oscillation as this, such half-heartedness in connection with either side, and such an attempt to glue together things utterly incompatible the one with the other, could not last long. It was only possible for a certain period, and that the period of transition. In the further course of his life he was sure to give up either the one or the other unconditionally, and without reserve,—to let the one entirely go, that he might hold the other fast. Balaam had just now reached the fork in his road. He was placed by circumstances in such a situation, that he must of necessity decide whether the ancient heathen or the new Jehovistic principles should gain the upper hand ; whether he should press forward so as to become a true and genuine prophet, or whether he should revert to his old stand-point, and eventually reach the most determined hostility to Jehovah, to the theocracy, and to the people of God’s election. The existing complication of circumstances, which was to promote the glory of Jehovah, to rouse the courage of the Israelites, and to alarm the enemy of Israel, was also of great and decisive importance to

Balaam. And he fell. (Covetousness and ambition were stronger within him than all the attractions of salvation.)

Analogous circumstances to those, in which Balaam now found himself, occur in all the decisive transition stages of our moral and religious life. Even in the history of modern missions there are abundant illustrations (*Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 349). Three examples from the gospel and apostolical histories are particularly deserving of notice. The first we find in the words of Christ in Matt. xii. 47, "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?"—an explanation of which is afforded by Mark ix. 38 and Luke ix. 49 ("Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy name, and he followeth *not* us"). The second is to be found in Acts xix. 13, where we read that seven Jewish exorcists, sons of the high-priest Sceva, invoked the name of the Lord Jesus upon those who had evil spirits, saying, "We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth." But the most striking and most thoroughly to the point is the example of the New Testament Balaam, *Simon Magus*, in Acts viii. "The new powers" (we are quoting *Hengstenberg's* words, p. 348), "which were conferred by Christianity upon mankind, attracted him also; and, discontented with the previous results of his art, he hoped to participate in these powers. *Vid.* Acts viii. 13: he 'wondered, beholding the signs and great miracles which were done.' Observe also the opinion which he formed of the apostles. What the latter said of him, 'Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight God,' was applicable to Balaam also. At the same time, even Simon's heart was not altogether without a part or lot. This is evident from ver. 13, where we are told that 'Simon himself *believed* also; and when he was *baptized*, he continued with Philip.'"

Steudel would set down the prophecies of Balaam respecting Israel's future, as being simply the product of the natural forethought of a keen-sighted man. He says: "An observant man will not fail to perceive, that the prophetic declarations of Balaam are all couched in the most general terms. They contained, in reality, nothing but what might fairly be inferred from existing circumstances, set forth in a striking and poetical form." For an answer to this, we refer to *Hengstenberg*, p. 350 sqq. At the same time, we would draw especial attention to Num. xxiii.

5 and xxiv. 2, where it is distinctly stated that "the Spirit of God came upon him" when he prophesied, and that "Jehovah put a word into his mouth;" and also to the specialities of the concluding prophecy in Num. xxiv. We have there an announcement of the captivity of Israel by the Assyrians, implying, of course, that the latter would appear as conquerors in Western Asia; an intimation that another nation, or other nations, from beyond the Euphrates, would follow Assyria in the government of Western Asia (ver. 24); and the declaration that a power would come in ships from Cyprus, which would subjugate Assyria and the country beyond the Euphrates. Beside this, it is clearly predicted that a kingdom will be established in Israel (*vid.* Num. xxiv. 7, 17-19). But what attests the supernatural character of Balaam's prophecy, even more strongly than the special announcements themselves, is the decided contrast which they present to Balaam's wishes, hopes, and intentions. He certainly desired to answer the expectations of Balak, and hoped, at least so far as the first and second prophecies were concerned, that he should be able to gratify him: it was not till the third prophecy that he found it impossible to give himself up to any such illusions (*vid.* chap. xxiv. 1). All this would be inexplicable, if his prophecies were simply the result of natural foresight. It can only be understood on the assumption that (as it is expressly declared in Deut. xxiii. 5, 6) Jehovah turned the intended curse into a blessing by the exertion of supernatural power.—*Steucler's* view cannot be maintained, apart from the rationalistic *dictum* which he sets himself to overthrow, that the prophecies of Balaam were composed at a much later period, as *vaticinia post eventum*, and consisted simply of the embellishment of an ancient myth.

There is one more peculiar characteristic of Balaam's prophesying, of which we have still to speak. In the introductory words to his last prophecy (Num. xxiv. 3), he describes himself as "*the man with closed eyes*" (הַגִּבֹּר שָׂתֵם הָעֵינַי). The majority of translators and commentators have rendered שָׂתֵם *open*; and suppose Balaam to represent himself as the man with the open eye (of the mind). This explanation is based upon the fact, that שָׂתֵם occurs once in the Mishnah (see *Buxtorf, Lex. Rabbin. s.v.*) with the meaning *perforavit*. But most of the modern commentators have very properly abandoned this rendering, as being in all respects untenable (*vid.* *Tholuck, Ewald, Lengerke, Hengsten-*

berg, Rödiger, etc.). In Arabic *سطم* is the word currently employed in the sense of to *shut*, and even in Hebrew שָׁטַם (for which we find שָׁטַם in Lam. iii. 8) is frequently used with the same signification. *Hengstenberg* has shown (p. 448) that the interchange of ט, ש, and שׁ, does not present any difficulty here (see also *Ewald*, ausführliches Lehrbuch, § 91). From the construction of the prophecy, also, this rendering is apparently inadmissible. For גָּלִי עֵינַיִם in the second member would then be perfectly synonymous with שָׁטַם הָעֵינַיִן in the first, and there would be simply an intolerable tautology; whereas, according to our translation, it forms the antithesis required to complete the picture (with the bodily eyes closed, but with the eye of the mind open; the former being, in fact, the condition of the latter). There is the more reason to expect such an antithesis in the two predicates, from the fact that the repetition of נָסַח in the second member indicates a progress in the thought. But to such of the earlier commentators as felt constrained, on exegetical grounds, to render שָׁטַם עֵין “with *closed* eye,” the expression was always an enigma, which they tried in vain to solve. *Clericus*, for example, supposes Balaam to refer to the fact that he did not see the angel in the road; and *de Geer* is of opinion that he meant to say that his (mental) eye had *hitherto* been closed, so far as future events were concerned. But light has been thrown upon the subject, by recent acquaintance with analogous conditions in the mysterious departments of somnambulism and heathen augury. Balaam describes himself as the man with closed (bodily) eye, because a state of *ecstasy*, the essential characteristic of which was the closing of the *outward* senses previous to the opening of the *inward*, was the condition, means, and basis of his prophetic visions and utterances. That this explanation is the only admissible one, is placed beyond all doubt by the fact, that in Balaam’s description of his state of prophetic ecstasy, he constantly represents himself as נָפַל (*falling down*). Allusion is here made to the convulsions and fits of unconsciousness which have generally characterised the lower forms of prophecy, from the Delphic Pythia to the modern *Shamanen*.—An admirable explanation of these conditions has been given by *Hengstenberg* (p. 449), founded upon *Steinbeck’s* “The Poet a Seer” (Leipzig 1836, p. 121 sqq.). We shall take the liberty of quoting what is most essential. *Steinbeck* says: “It is natural

that in the noisy whirlpool of the outward world, the soul should be too much distracted and held back from the contemplation of higher objects. The soul, when actively employed in the life of sense, stands in direct opposition to the spirit, which is obscured and forced back by the activity of the senses, and only enters into a state of unfettered action when the senses are asleep or unemployed. For when we are desirous of meditating closely upon anything, we withdraw into perfect solitude, and close both eyes and ears. . . . As the stars disappear when the sun rises, but reappear when it sets; so does the waking spirit obscure the perceptions of the senses, whilst its sleep or withdrawal, on the other hand, brings them out again, and all the sensations, which were utterly powerless during the supremacy of the spirit, recover and assert their full strength and activity."¹ On this *Hengstenberg* observes (p. 149, English translation): "In those who have reached the highest stage of inward advancement, inspiration may undoubtedly take place without the outward closing of the senses; the sensitive faculty is in them so refined, and the spirit so powerful, that no disturbing impression is to be apprehended from the former. But in men like Balaam, who stood upon a lower stage of the inner life, and who was only raised above it for the moment by the inward working of the Spirit, the closing of the eyes formed the necessary condition of the opening of the spirit. The spirit could only open by closing, that is, by forcibly tearing him away from the impressions of the lower world, and its corrupting influences upon one who was already corrupt, and introducing him into the higher world. According to this passage, we have to represent Balaam to ourselves as uttering all his prophecies with his eyes closed; but we are not warranted

¹ This beautiful figure is capable of being applied in a somewhat different manner, and one which appears to me to be still more adapted to the end in view: namely, by regarding the sight of the stars by night as analogous to the sight of supersensual objects with closed eyes. The stars are in the heavens throughout the day, but the eye must be equipped before it can see them. But as soon as the night comes on, which is the enemy of the day, and obscures the sight, the eye needs no equipment in order to see them. Thus is it with supersensual objects: in the clear self-consciousness of a waking state, they can only be discerned by the vision of the true prophet, who is *supernaturally* equipped with a Divine keenness and length of vision; whereas ordinary (heathen) soothsayers are able to see them only with the *unnatural* vision of a state of somnambulism, which is the image or correlative of night and of death.

in drawing the conclusion that Isaiah's must have been uttered in precisely the same condition."

On the *falling down* in connection with the prophecy, *Hengstenberg* says (p. 451): "It shows the force of the inspiration, which came upon the seer like an armed man, and threw him to the ground. There is a parallel in 1 Sam. xix. 24, where it is said of Saul: 'And he stripped off his clothes also, and fell down naked (נָגַד עָרִים) all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?' נִגַּד הוּא (is Saul also) shows that the falling down was common to Saul and the scholars of the prophets. It was only in cases where there was immaturity in the individual inspired, that the inspiration assumed so violent a character, prostrating both soul and body. In the case of a SAMUEL, we can hardly imagine such violent phenomena. The more the ordinary consciousness is pervaded by the Spirit, the less necessity is there for the Spirit to assume a hostile attitude to the former, on the occasion of its extraordinary manifestations. It is then only coming to its own." This analogy between true prophecy in a state of *immaturity*, and heathen soothsaying, in the external form of their manifestations, is of great importance to the present question. It shows us, for example, that notwithstanding the contrast between prophecy and soothsaying, in every other respect they have still the same natural basis, and both equally presuppose a natural faculty for supersensual vision. And this will serve to render it more intelligible, how Balaam's qualification for heathen magic and soothsaying was in some measure a preparation for his subsequent change into a prophet of Jehovah. But when Balaam, at the commencement of his prophecy, mentioned this falling down in convulsions and closing of the eyes, evidently as establishing the supernatural character and trustworthiness of his predictions,—in other words, when he was proud, and boasted of what was simply a proof of the low, immature, and undeveloped state of his prophetic gift and character,—he proved, most unquestionably, to how slight an extent he had penetrated into the sanctuary of genuine prophecy, and how thoroughly his inmost spiritual life was still imbued with his former heathenism.

(4.) The *point of view* from which we may explain Balak's application to Balaam, notwithstanding the fact that he knew him to be a prophet of Jehovah, the God of Israel, has been

correctly described by *Hengstenberg*, namely, that he despaired of the power of his own deities to help him, and applied to Balaam just because he was a prophet of Jehovah. Balak, who was under the power of the heathen delusion, that the will of the gods could be directed and determined by the magical incantations of those who stood in close relation to them, hoped that Balaam's curse might deprive the Israelites of the protection and aid of Jehovah. *Stähelin*, on the other hand (*Krit. Unterss.* p. 37), is of opinion that such a supposition is at variance with all analogy, and that it is incredible that any one should have imagined it possible that Israel's God would allow Israel to be cursed. But so far as the supposed incredibility is concerned, it must be borne in mind that in remote antiquity many things appeared to be perfectly credible to the people, which would be very incredible now. The enlightened *Pliny* says on this subject (*Hist. nat.* 28, 3): "Maximæ quæstionis et semper incertæ est, valeantne aliquid verba et incantamenta carminum. . . . Sed virtuti sapientissimi ejusque respuunt fides. In universum vero omnibus horis credit vita, nec sentit" (that is to say, in the actual practice of life, men have universally given themselves up to this belief, without paying any attention to the opinions of the wise). But when *Stähelin* proceeds to observe, that it is thoroughly at variance with all analogy, he merely betrays his own ignorance of the customs of heathen antiquity. *Hengstenberg* cites a number of analogous cases, which might, no doubt, be multiplied to a very great extent. It will suffice at present to quote a single passage from *Pliny* (28, 4): "Verrius Flaccus auctores ponit, quibus credat, in oppugnationibus ante omnia solitum a Romanis sacerdotibus evocari deum, ejus in tutela id oppidum esset, promittique illi eundem, aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum. Et durat in pontificum disciplina id sacrum; constatque ideo occultatum, in ejus tutela Roma esset, ne qui hostium simili modo agerent."

(5.) Balak attributed IRRESISTIBLE POWER to the *incantations* of Balaam. He said, "I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed." On this *Hengstenberg* observes p. (366): "Several have thought that this was not a mere delusion, but that if Balaam had uttered a curse upon Israel it would really have taken effect; and they argue that otherwise there would have been no reason for speaking of it as

a great boon conferred upon Israel, that this curse had been averted, as is the case in Deut. xxiii. 5; Josh. xxiv. 10; Micah vi. 5; and Neh. xiii. 2. But this argument is of no force. Even to avert a curse, which might be powerless in itself, would still be to bestow a blessing; since the superstition of those who heard it, of the Israelites themselves, as well as of their foes, would give it an importance which it did not possess in itself, and cause it to dispirit the Israelites, and give strength to their foes." Nevertheless *M. Baumgarten* maintains, and, we believe, not altogether without reason, that "the scriptural narrative cannot be correctly understood, unless it be admitted that the power of Balaam to bless and to curse is fully acknowledged there."—The argument just referred to, that the Scriptures repeatedly refer to it, as a peculiarly memorable and praiseworthy act of grace on the part of Jehovah, that He would not suffer Balaam to curse, but turned the curse into a blessing, cannot be so easily disposed of as *Hengstenberg* imagines. If the effectual power, which the superstition of Moab and Israel attributed to Balaam's curse, was mere fancy and delusion, so also undoubtedly was that which was ascribed to his blessing. But it is very obvious, that the latter cannot possibly have been the author's opinion. And even *Hengstenberg*, we believe, will not deny, that not only the superstitious in Israel, but the divinely illuminated author himself, was fully convinced, that of all the blessings to which Balaam gave utterance, not one was spoken in vain, not one would fail to be fulfilled. If the conviction of the efficacy of his blessing or curse had been merely delusion and superstition, it would have been a superstition of a most dangerous kind, and one which the law would have expressly and decidedly condemned. That magical incantations possessed a power to injure or to bless, was a conviction common to all antiquity; and even *Hengstenberg* admits that this conviction had undoubtedly taken root in Israel. And what a powerful temptation to apostasy to heathenism, if only of a temporary duration, was to be found in this conviction! But incantations of this description durst not take place in Israel. How strong must have been the inducement, therefore, when occasion served, to apply to heathen magicians for that which the priests and prophets of the theocracy refused! The law contents itself with condemning in the strongest terms every form of magic and soothsaying, without giving the

slightest hint, that all such things are mere superstition, delusion, and fraud. Must not this silence have appeared, to an Israelite, tantamount to an acknowledgment, that the powers and effects were something more than imaginary? Considering the sinfulness of human nature, in which the *Nitmur in vetitum* is so deeply rooted, and the tendency to spiritual adultery even stronger than to carnal, and the fact, that under certain circumstances a prohibition acts as a spur to evil; would not the danger have been more thoroughly and successfully averted by simply declaring the vanity, impotence, and nonentity of such things, than by a prohibition which took the reality for granted? And, looking simply at the case before us, would not the enemies of Israel have been more thoroughly dispirited and confounded,—would not the conviction of the nothingness and impotence of their gods and idolatrous rites, of their incantations and witchcrafts, have forced itself still more powerfully and irresistibly upon their minds, and those of the Israelites, if Jehovah had actually permitted Balaam to curse to his heart's desire, and the immediate result had demonstrated the impotence of the curse he uttered?

Undoubtedly, with the thoroughly mistaken, unscriptural, and unhistorical views which *Hengstenberg* has formed (*vid.* § 1, 2) of the gods of heathenism, as being merely empty names, without any sphere of existence or operation, without activity of any kind,—with such views as these, he must believe that there was no effect whatever produced by either the curse or blessing, which was pronounced in the power of such deities as these. But if, as we have already proved that the Scriptures affirm (*vol. ii.* § 23, 1), the heathen deities do possess a real and personal existence, and a sphere of activity and operations answering to their spiritual power, the conclusion to which we may and must come with regard to such blessings and curses will be a very different one.

All that we have said above (*vol. ii.* § 23, 2), respecting magic in general (whether natural, dæmoniacal, or godly), applies to this particular form (*viz.*, by the utterance of either a blessing or a curse). But no one will find it inconceivable, that a spoken word should serve as the medium and vehicle of a power, which either assists by blessing or clogs by cursing (whether the power itself proceeds from a hidden, natural power

within a man's own mind, or from a supernatural source); if he properly estimate the meaning, worth, and power of human language, as the most direct and immediate utterance of the human mind, the royal insignia and sceptre of the power which he possesses over all terrestrial nature.

It is thought indeed by some, that it would be irreconcilable with the wisdom, goodness, and righteousness of God,—irreconcilable with the providence of God, without whose will not a hair falls from our head, if it were possible for the favour or malice of man to assist and advance, or to injure and destroy, in an ungodly and unjust manner, by purely human (*i.e.*, ungodly) caprice, and if God Himself permitted the possibility to become a fact. To this we reply, however, by simply asking, whether it is not equally irreconcilable with the wisdom, goodness, and righteousness of God, for human cunning and malice to be able to produce unforeseen and irresistible injury in a thousand other ways? If God permits the power of the human arm to be abused by the murderer, and an acquaintance with the powers of nature by the poisoner, and if this does not interfere with or militate against the providence of God, why should not the same rule apply to an abuse of the secret and mysterious power of the word? Undoubtedly it is still the case, that the providence of God can oppose the evil, either before or after its performance, can prevent it altogether, or neutralise its effects. But whether He will do this, and if so *when* and *how*, is His own affair, and short-sighted man can have nothing to say in the matter. As the arm can be restrained, when lifted up for purposes of murder, and as poison can be rendered harmless by an antidote, so can the providence of God either prevent the ungodly blessing and curse from being uttered at all, or render them harmless, turn them into the very opposite, even when they have been pronounced.

In heathen antiquity a power was attributed to the incantations of the magicians, which the gods themselves could not resist. And this was evidently *Balak's* opinion. He looked upon Jehovah as nothing more than the national God of the Israelites, just as Chemosh was the national god of his own people. His conviction therefore was, that Balaam, as a prophet of Jehovah, could direct and alter the will of Jehovah, could decide as to His favour or ill-will, just as the heathen

magicians were in the habit of doing, with the deities whom they served. He was no doubt greatly mistaken in this, as Balaam repeatedly and distinctly assured him (Num. xxii. 13, 18, 38, xxiii. 8, 12, 19, 26, xxiv. 12); but his mistake arose simply from the fact, that he placed Jehovah on a level with the heathen deities, and the prophets of Jehovah with the heathen magicians. In the sphere of purely heathen magic his opinion would possibly have been correct.—*Hengstenberg* has made a remark, which is both true and, in relation to our view, important (though, in connection with what he has written on the subject, it can only be understood figuratively, and therefore is almost unmeaning), and which we gladly appropriate. He says: "Gods of human invention can never deny their origin, and never withdraw themselves altogether from dependence on those by whom they have been begotten." We take the words in their literal sense. Heathen worship is *ἑτεροθρησκεία*. The heathen has chosen his own gods, and therefore in a certain sense they are dependent upon him. He has forsaken the service of the only true God, the God with whom there is no respect of persons, whose power and will are ever absolute, whether He is served or not. But the gods to whom the heathen have devoted themselves, though they may be real, personal, and relatively powerful, are still but finite and created, and as such are necessarily subject to the laws of the creature. The priests and wizards, by whom they are served, are in a certain sense their masters; they are indebted to them for their position and the honour paid to them as gods; and, on the other hand, the priests and magicians are indebted for their position and honour to the supernatural powers which these deities confer. Thus the deities and their worshippers are mutually dependent the one upon the other; and for their own interests the daemoniacal powers, which were associated with heathenism, would show themselves as subservient as possible to the incantations of the magicians. At the same time, it is possible that magical incantations, on the part of those with whom they had entered into a biotical relation, may have exerted a constraining influence even upon them, and one which they were not in a condition to resist, even if they had desired it.

It was very different in the case before us; for Balaam wanted to curse, not in the name of a heathen deity, but in the

name of Jehovah, the absolute God. *Hengstenberg* is perfectly right when he says, "In the service of Jehovah there can be no thought of force and constraint; the servants of Jehovah are unconditionally dependent upon Him, whether engaged in blessing or cursing; their utterances have no worth at all, except as they are faithful interpreters of His will, the distinct perception of which constitutes their sole prerogative. It was in this sense alone that Noah cursed Ham, and Isaac blessed Jacob."—But the truth of these words does not extend sufficiently far, to prove that the warding off of the curse was merely an *imaginary* benefit, in other words, that it was not in reality a benefit at all, though it was erroneously thought to be so by those who were superstitious. As the *blessing* of Balaam, as a prophet of Jehovah, was not merely efficacious in the imagination of the superstitious and credulous Israelites and Moabites, but, through the power of Jehovah, which dwelt within him, was also objectively and actually sufficient to bring to pass whatever he had spoken,—so, on the other hand, would a *curse* pronounced by Balaam upon Israel, in the same character and with the same authority, have been followed with the same effect. And it was in this way that Balaam wished to be allowed to curse; but Jehovah would not permit it, although there was ground, and cause, and occasion enough for a curse in Israel's past history and present condition, and this was the great blessing celebrated by Moses, Joshua, and Micah. The curse of Balaam, uttered in the name and power of Jehovah, would have been just as effectual as his blessing; but, as a prophet of Jehovah, Balaam could neither bless nor curse, except according to the will and counsel of Jehovah.—But it may perhaps be asked, What would have been the consequence, if Balaam had had sufficient control over himself to curse instead of blessing, notwithstanding the influence of the Spirit of God, which was restraining him from cursing and impelling him to bless? Is it not a prerogative of human freedom to be able to resist the will of God and do that which is ungodly?—Undoubtedly it would have been in the power of Balaam, notwithstanding the declaration of Jehovah's will, to follow the devices and desires of his wicked heart, and so to harden himself against the influence of the Spirit of God as to give utterance to a *curse*,—but he could not have done this without going entirely away from the sphere of a prophet

of Jehovah, and falling back into that of a mere heathen magician. As long as he was *in the service of Jehovah*, and wished to bless and to curse *in the name* and power of Jehovah, as the servant of his Lord, his blessing and cursing would be unconditionally dependent upon the will of Jehovah. If he broke away from Jehovah, the constraint would cease; he would then be able to curse, but only in his own name, or that of a heathen deity. This, however, would have been of but little service to Balak, for he could have secured all this without fetching a magician from the Euphrates. There were certainly magicians enough in his own nation to perform this service for him (see note 4).

§ 55. (Num. xxii. 22-35.)—Balaam set out, attended by two servants and the messengers of Balak. An event occurred upon the road, which was calculated and well adapted to convince him of the error of his way, and, if he was open to correction, to turn him from it. It is true that Jehovah had given him permission, at last, to obey the summons of *Balak*; but He had given him distinctly enough to understand, that he would only be allowed to speak and act according to the will of Jehovah, and therefore must not reckon upon Balak's honour and gold. But notwithstanding this—as the narrative necessarily presupposes—the corrupt mind of the magician was so thoroughly overpowered by avarice and ambition, that he still flattered himself with the hope that, as Jehovah had yielded so much already, He would comply with his wishes to a still greater extent; and the nearer he came to his journey's end the stronger became his desire, and the more did he think about the promised reward. For this reason the wrath of God was kindled at his departure, and the angel of Jehovah placed himself in the road with a drawn sword to withstand him. But the eyes of the seer were dazzled by the desire for earthly good, and therefore *he* perceived nothing of the threatening apparition from the higher world, which was standing in his road. But the ass upon which he was riding saw it, and turned in terror from the path; and, in a narrow pass among the vine-

yards, where there was no possibility of getting out of the way, it pressed against the rocky wall and injured Balaam's foot. In the blindness of his wrath he smote the poor beast, which had fallen under him. Then Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass; and, as Balaam had been unable to comprehend the meaning of what she had done, she poured out her complaints of the unmerited blows she had received, in intelligible words and human language (1). Jehovah now opened the eyes of the startled seer. When Balaam saw the heavenly apparition in its threatening attitude, and heard its severe reproof of the perverseness of his way, he confessed, "I have sinned," and added, complying half-heartedly with the will of God, "Now, if my way displeaseth Thee, I will turn back again." But this was not what Jehovah wanted. Balaam was to go on his way now; at the same time he was distinctly told, "Only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that shalt thou speak."

(1.) There is no other narrative in the Bible which has given rise to so much dispute, ridicule, and false exposition, as the history of BALAAM'S SPEAKING ASS. Since the time of the Deists, no scoffer at the Bible has been able to resist the cheap gratification of a ride upon Balaam's ass. The ridicule is undoubtedly rendered all the more piquant by the general estimation in which Master Long-ear is held in the West, where he is regarded as the ideal of absurdity and stupidity, and the target for popular wit to shoot at. The serpent's conversation in the history of the temptation has not been a subject of ridicule to anything like the same extent, has not been regarded as by any means so ludicrous, as the speaking of Balaam's ass. "The Lord opened the mouth of the ass!"—"The dumb beast of burden spoke with the voice of a man!" How naturally the scoffer (who cannot be prevented from jesting by the consciousness of being on holy ground, where he ought first to take off his shoes from off his feet) begins immediately to think of the harsh and unmusical voice of the beast of burden, upon which such unbounded contempt has been heaped in fables and allegories! And by such untimely notions as these,—untimely because they are founded upon the customs of a totally different age, and the

characteristics of an entirely different animal,—the simple impression which the narrative is calculated to produce is altogether distorted, and the narrative itself is turned into ridicule. And it makes no difference, whether it is regarded as a fact which actually occurred, or as a vision or myth. What is ludicrous, is not the fact that an animal should *speak*, but that *such an animal* should be the speaker. Now, every natural history, and every book of travels assure us, that in the East the ass is not the same lazy and submissive animal as in the West. According to Eastern notions, therefore, especially in antiquity, there is no trace whatever of the ill odour which we associate with the very name of an ass.

But we will leave the scoffers alone. The lovers of myths we shall also pass by, so long as they adhere to their assumption that miracles are either impossible or improper, and that the Biblical tales are on a par with the ancient legends of other nations. We have quite enough to do to rescue the narrative from the misinterpretations of many of those who believe as firmly as we do ourselves in its historical character. Nearly all the more modern believing theologians, for example, have endeavoured to remove the difficulties connected with the fact that the ass should be said to have spoken, by explaining the whole affair as something merely inward,—a vision, in fact, and not an external, objective occurrence. The ass, they say, did not really speak, but Balaam was thrown into a state of ecstasy by the operation of God; and in this state the same impression was produced upon his mind, as if the words had really been spoken by the ass herself. This opinion has been defended most warmly and thoroughly by *Tholuck* and *Hengstenberg*. *De Geer*, *Baumgarten*, and *O. v. Gerlach* alone, still adhere to the interpretation of the narrative as recording a literal fact.

The following are the arguments adduced by *Hengstenberg* :

a. He prepares the way for the general line of argument, by asserting that in the Scriptures it is a thing of very frequent occurrence, for inward processes to be narrated in the general course of history, without any express statement to the effect that they belong to the sphere of the inner life; a rule which may be explained on the simple ground, that the sacred writers took but little notice of the merely formal distinction between inward and outward experiences,—starting, as they did, with the

assumption that “appearances in *visions and dreams were just as real* (?!) as those in a waking condition.” But how utterly weak and futile is the evidence which *Hengstenberg* brings to support his assertion! For example, from the fact, that in Gen. xxii. 3 Abraham is said to have set out “*early in the morning*” on the road to Mount Moriah, which was three days’ journey distant, it necessarily follows, that he must have received the command to offer his son as a burnt-offering in a *vision* (?) of the night!!! But how is it possible to overlook the fact, that if there was any instance in the whole course of the sacred history, of a message from God coming to the man to whom it was addressed, when he had the clear consciousness of his waking moments, this *certainly* was and necessarily must have been the case with the command which was given here—a command of such a nature, that even in a state of the clearest self-consciousness, a man might well have been puzzled to determine whether what he saw with open eyes, heard with open ears, and understood with an unclouded mind, was not after all a delusion and a dream!—The other proofs are not much better; *e.g.*, the appearance of the angel at Mahanaim (Gen. xxxii. 2; see vol. i. § 80, 1), Jacob’s wrestling at the ford of Jabbok (Gen. xxxii.; see vol. i. § 80, 4). With such proofs as these before us, we can certainly content ourselves with what is a rule of *exegesis*, to acknowledge no dreams, visions, or trances in the Biblical history, when they are not mentioned clearly, and without the least ambiguity, in the sacred records themselves.

But *Hengstenberg* has not done justice to the essential difference between the outward facts of the waking condition, and the appearances which characterise a dream. *It is not true* that, according to the Biblical view, the “appearances in visions and dreams were *just as real* as those in a waking condition.” When Paul saw *in a vision* a man named Ananias coming in, and putting his hand on him that he might receive his sight (Acts ix. 12), this visionary appearance had by no means the same reality as the event itself, recorded in vers. 17, 18, of which this was merely a representation. No effect whatever was produced by the touch with the hand in the vision. Paul continued just as blind as he was before. But by what appeared to him in his waking condition his blindness was entirely removed, and “there fell from his eyes as it had been scales.” Again, when Peter was

in prison, and an angel waked him out of his sleep, loosed him from his chains, and led him out (Acts xii.), Peter "wist not that it was true which was done by the angel, but *thought he saw a vision*;" and it was not till he was outside and came to himself, that he discovered that it was *not a vision*, but a reality. He then said, "Now I know of a surety, that the Lord hath sent His angel, and hath delivered me." It is indisputably evident from these examples, that, according to the scriptural view, the appearances in a vision are not real, but only "*imagination*." There is no doubt a great difference between one kind of imagination and another,—for example, between purely subjective imagination, when I picture something to myself, or when phantastic images present themselves to the mind in consequence of fever or delirium,—and objective imagination, when the images are presented to the mind by the special operation of God. In neither case is there anything real in the appearance itself; but in the former case, all that the appearance may do or say is nothing but delusion and phantastic show; whereas, in the latter, what is symbolised, represented, or revealed by the appearance is perfectly *real*, though not the appearance itself.

When we read, however, the correct remark which Hengstenberg makes immediately before, *viz.*, that the distinction between the appearances of a vision and those of a man's waking condition (of course assuming that both are equally produced by God) is merely a *formal* one; it seems probable that, after all, when he says that "appearances in visions and dreams are just as real as those in a waking condition," he means nothing more than what we are quite ready to admit, that the Divine revelations communicated in visions and dreams are *substantially* as true and trustworthy as those received in a waking condition. In this case, the error in his statement would be limited entirely to his want of skilfulness in selecting his expression. Why should we enter upon this discussion, then, if our opponent is correct in his opinion, and has simply made use of a wrong expression? For various reasons. First, because errors in expression soon lead to errors in opinion. Secondly, because the argument is constantly carried on, just as if the words were true in their literal sense (which we have shown that they are not). Thirdly, because, on the ground of this *quid pro quo*, Divine visions (*i.e.*, the power of God operating immediately upon the soul of the

seer or hearer without the mediation of the eye or ear, or appearances produced by God) are continually confounded with actual Divine manifestations, with the visible appearance of God and of the things of God, before the outward, waking senses. And lastly, because what is true of the one is assumed, without anything further, to be equally true of the other. *Visions* are merely images of what is real; they are simply intended for the imagination; they presuppose an ecstatic condition, a momentary closing of the outward senses, a temporary suppression of the intelligent, reflecting self-consciousness, and consciousness of the surrounding world. But Divine *appearances in a waking condition* are visible representations to the external senses of that which is divine. In visions, the instruction conveyed is of an abstract character; here, on the contrary, it is concrete. When Ananias laid his hand upon Paul in a vision, there was no reality in this, and it produced no effect. But when Nebuchadnezzar looked into the fiery furnace, and saw not only the three friends of Daniel, but a fourth as well, this was no vision; for Nebuchadnezzar was not in a state of ecstasy, and the Divine protection, which was manifested to Nebuchadnezzar's eye in the form of an angel, was at that very moment really there. The power of an angel, who had been sent by God, prevented the devouring flame from coming near to their bodies (Dan. iii. 25). When God opened the eyes of His servant at the prayer of Elisha, and he saw the mountain full of fiery chariots and horsemen, this was the way in which there was manifested to his bodily eyes the protection of God, which was actually and actively (*wirklich und wirksam*) present; there is no intimation of his being in a state of ecstasy (2 Kings vi. 16 sqq.). Again, Elijah was actually carried up from the earth, when Elisha saw him ascend towards heaven in a chariot of fire (2 Kings ii. 11). But if Peter had merely seen a vision, as he at first supposed, when he was in the prison, he would still have remained in prison and in chains; and the vision itself would have been nothing more than a Divine assurance of coming deliverance. See *Hofmann's Schriftbeweis*, i. 340 seq.

b. Hengstenberg affirms at p. 382, that "in Num. xii. 6 visions and dreams are referred to as the ordinary means of communication from God to the prophets; and as Balaam was one of the prophets, and the speaking of the ass was a communication

from God, of whom it is expressly stated, that He opened the mouth of the ass, we must assume from this general ground, if there is no reason to the contrary, that the affair was purely an inward one."—But, as we shall presently see, there are many reasons to the contrary. Even granting, however, that this was not the case, how thoroughly inconclusive such reasoning is! Balaam was certainly a prophet; and, according to Num. xii., prophets as a rule received the revelations, which they were to make known to others, in visions and dreams, and in an ecstatic state. This was the case with Balaam, when he was discharging the functions of a prophet in the presence of Balak. His eyes were closed; he fell upon the ground, and the use of his external senses was entirely suspended. But was Balaam discharging the functions of a prophet on the present occasion, with regard either to his ass or to the angel of the Lord? Was he engaged in receiving Divine revelations, which he was afterwards to make known to either the one or the other? Besides, how thoroughly mistaken is the notion, that the speaking of the ass was a communication from God to the prophet (!), or that in *substance* its words were a Divine revelation! The ass said, "What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times? Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day? Was I ever wont to do so unto thee?" We ask, Are these the words of God? Are these Divine instructions and revelations? Are they not much rather the simple utterances of the feelings of an ill-used animal, complaints of unmerited chastisement and ill-treatment, such as every domestic animal is constantly uttering, in similar situations, if not in "the words of human speech," yet by perfectly intelligible signs? It is true that we are told, that "*Jehovah* opened the mouth of the ass, and she spoke." But does this refer to the *substance* of what she said, and not rather to the *form* in which she said it,—to the fact, that is, that instead of giving utterance to her feelings and sensations in her own natural way, as the blindness of Balaam would have prevented him from understanding her, she spoke to him, through the power of God, in the words of human speech?

c. He still further argues (p. 383) that "Balaam, in the introduction to his third and fourth prophecies (chap. xxiv. 3, 4, 15, 16), designates himself as the man with closed (bodily) eyes,

who hears the words of God, and sees the visions of the Almighty, and whose eyes are opened *when he falls down in a state of prophetic ecstasy*. What such a man, a seer by profession, sees and hears in his own peculiar province, decidedly presupposes that the process is an internal one; and consequently those who hold an opposite view ought to bring forward the most unanswerable arguments."—No doubt this is true, *when he falls down in a state of prophetic ecstasy*. But, we ask, did Balaam fall down on the present occasion in a state of prophetic ecstasy, before he was able to comprehend the words of the ass, which could only be heard by the inward ear? By all means, what "*such*" a man experiences "*in his own peculiar province*," that is, in connection with his own profession, when engaged in the duties of his avocation, decidedly presupposes that the process is an internal one. But, we inquire again, was Balaam performing the duties of his avocation? Was he not doing the very opposite? And does it follow, that because he was a seer by profession, the fact of his seeing and hearing what the messengers of Balak, and afterwards Balak himself said to him, when engaged in the duties of his vocation, decidedly presupposes that the process was an internal one?

d. "Finally," he proceeds to observe on the same page, "there can be no doubt, that the appearance of the angel, which immediately preceded the speaking of the ass, was of an internal character, though it is no more stated in the one case than in the other." The arguments by which this is established are, *first*, that Balaam did not see the angel,—a fact which would be inconceivable if the phenomenon had belonged to the gross, material world; and *secondly*, that the narrative states that "God opened the eyes of Balaam,"—a statement which cannot possibly be understood of anything but the inward eye.—Seeing the angel, then, and hearing the words of the ass were precisely analogous processes,—both internal, both simply perceptions of the inward sense, the one a seeing with the mental eye, the other a hearing with the mental ear? On looking more closely, however, we find that the two things were by no means analogous, even in the opinion of Hengstenberg himself. There was, in fact, a very essential difference between them (if the views of our opponent be correct), and one which he himself cannot deny, namely, that the words which Balaam *heard* with his inward ear,

as spoken by the ass, must have been heard *by him alone*, and not by his two servants, or the Moabitish princes who were with him, and, as Hengstenberg admits, must certainly have been close by. But, on the other hand, what Balaam *saw* with his inward eye as the angel of the Lord, was seen by another, as the scriptural record expressly declares, *viz.*, by the ass, who actually saw it before Balaam himself. The words which he heard, then, were purely subjective—the vision which he saw was objective? But what is objective is outward; and therefore the appearance of the angel must also have been outward, notwithstanding the fact, that Balaam did not immediately perceive it. The fact that the ass *saw* the angel, is somewhat perplexing to *Hengstenberg* (p. 385); but he imagines that he has succeeded in removing the difficulty. In the first place, he asserts, that the ass did not see the angel clearly and distinctly—(but it is stated in ver. 23, that “the ass saw *the angel of the Lord* standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand)—“for if she had, she would necessarily have told Balaam precisely what she had seen” (!); and as she did not do this, she had “evidently nothing but the obscure feeling of the *presence* of something formidable and terrible.”—There *was* something *present* then, *objectively present*,—present, that is, *not merely* to Balaam’s *inward*, spiritual sense, but the outward, *bodily* senses of the ass as well! *Hengstenberg*, it is true, assures us, on the strength of *Passavant’s Animal Magnetism* (p. 316 sqq.), that animals are gifted with the so-called second sight; they start, become uneasy, shy, and refuse to advance, at times when a susceptible man can perceive something by means of second sight. He could have cited from *Kerner’s Magikon*, and (if we are not mistaken) from his *Seherin von Prevorst*, a number of instances, in which animals, particularly domestic animals, have seen ghosts or spectres quite as distinctly as men have done. But does this affect the question? If the facts really did occur—and we need not enter into this subject now—they merely prove that in cases of second sight, and when ghosts really have appeared, there has been some external object, by which the senses in some way or other have been affected.

No doubt there must be something peculiar in such appearances, that one man should see them and another not. And this applies to the appearance of the *Muleach Jehorah* here, who was seen by the ass, but was not seen by Balaam till God opened his

eyes. *Hengstenberg* is right in quoting, as explanatory analogies, the New Testament occurrences mentioned in John xii. 28, 29 ; Acts ix. 7, and xxii. 9 ; but we must dissent from the application which he has made of these passages.—According to John xii., in reply to the prayer of Christ, “Father, glorify Thy name,” there came a voice from heaven. The people who stood by heard this voice, and thought it thundered. Others thought an angel had spoken to Jesus. But the Evangelist himself knew that the voice had said, “I have both glorified it, and will also glorify it again.” At the conversion of Paul, as described in Acts ix. and xxii., Paul himself is said to have seen the risen and exalted Lord, in His bodily form, and with the majesty of His heavenly glory, and to have understood the words which He addressed to him ; whereas his attendants merely saw a brilliant light, without discerning the outlines of a bodily form, and heard a voice, but no articulate words. In both these cases, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, it is obvious that “*in the main* the appearances belonged to the province of the inner sense, whilst to the outer senses there was nothing but a hollow sound (or a flash of light without shape or form). . . . It was merely the outermost part of the phenomenon which came within the range of the outward senses.” In reply to this, we have only to ask two very modest questions. If the whole affair took place within the souls of Christ and Paul, how could the bystanders have seen or heard even “the outermost part?” Or are we to suppose, that the brilliant light which the latter saw, and the sound of thunder which they heard, passed outwards from the souls of Christ and Paul into their eyes and ears? And if the outermost part only of the appearance came within the range of the senses, whilst *in the main* it belonged to the province of the inner sense, we should like to know what was the main. Was it not the self-conscious, discriminating perception of what was seen and heard? But even in the case of simple hearing and seeing, perception is *never* an affair of the bodily eye and ear, but always of the inward eye and ear of the mind. Therefore *such* inward experience is not essentially different from that which is outward. If this be clearly understood, it will not be so difficult to explain the matter. *Hengstenberg* is quite right in saying, that “only those who have received a certain amount of spiritual development perceive distinct words. Those who are less advanced may certainly ob-

serve the fact, that something is said, but cannot tell what. The great mass hear nothing but a noise, . . . see nothing but a light." Just as the words spoken in a foreign language are understood by none but those who understand the language, and it is to them alone that they convey intelligent thoughts; or just as the language of a philosopher is intelligible to none but those who have received a philosophical training: so is it with appearances from the heavenly world. To understand them fully and clearly, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a mental fitness, a heavenly mind, an abstraction from earthly pursuits, and a susceptibility of soul for Divine operations. Whoever is destitute of all this, and is bound up in low, worldly pursuits, the slave of covetousness, ambition, love of pleasure, and other such things, either perceives nothing at all of the heavenly vision, or receives nothing but an indistinct impression. The former was the case with Balaam. He was thinking of Balak's treasures, considering how he could make sure of *them*. At the moment, therefore, he had no mind for anything higher than this, and with his eyes wide open was dreaming of Balak's glory and gold. It was not till he was drawn away by force from this dreamy state, and his thoughts and reflections were violently torn away from the earthly objects in which they were fettered, and turned to higher and heavenly things, not till "God opened his eyes," that he perceived the heavenly appearance, which was already there. He *saw* it with the outward eye, but he perceived it with the eye of his mind; for the eye of the mind is reached through that of the body.

Such are the arguments with which *Hengstenberg* supports his own opinion. We will now proceed to the objections which he offers to our opinion, and the arguments by which it may be defended.

e. "There would be *no meaning* whatever," he says, "in the fact of an ass speaking. The point of real importance was what was said,—not the mere fact of its being said by the ass. It was not the latter, but the former, which put Balaam to shame. And the *substance* of the address remains the same, even if the affair is regarded as purely inward."—*Hengstenberg* looks upon the speech of the ass as a message from God to Balaam. This is a thoroughly mistaken notion, as we have already shown under letter *b*. Her words were simply an utterance of animal feelings

and emotions. We should be glad if Hengstenberg would tell us, where the *divine* elements of the speech are to be found. If he cannot do this,—and he certainly cannot,—he must then admit, that the point of chief and primary importance was the *fact* of its speaking, and not *what* it said. The ass had already by its actions given expression to just the same feelings as it now uttered in words; and it had done this in so unmistakeable a manner, that any thoughtful rider, unless absorbed like Balaam in other thoughts, might and would have gathered quite as much from her actions, as she afterwards expressed in words, when God had opened her mouth.—*Hengstenberg* saw that the design of the whole occurrence was to put Balaam to shame. “The affair with the ass,” he says, “was necessary to startle him, put him to shame, scatter the mists of passion, and open his mind to Divine impressions.” If his thoughts and meditations had not been engrossed to so great an extent by discordant and ungodly objects, if his heart had not been enslaved and blinded by avarice and ambition, he would have seen the angel as soon as he stood in the way, and the occurrence with the ass would never have taken place. But Balaam did not see the majestic, threatening appearance, though it was visible enough to the ass. Yet the conduct of the ass, which backed, shied, and eventually fell to the ground, might and ought to have led him to the conclusion, that there was some outward cause for its acting in a refractory manner, such as he had never seen before. And as a seer, travelling by such a road, engaged in such a calling, and after such antecedents, he might well have surmised, or rather have assumed with certainty, that there was some unearthly power or apparition in the way. The fact that the ass saw what he, a seer, could not see,—this was the source of shame, which was to scatter the mists of his passion, and open his mind to Divine impressions. If he had paid attention to her whole conduct (turning aside, then backing, and ultimately falling to the ground), and had reflected upon it till he could understand it; this would have been quite sufficient, and there would have been no necessity at all for the ass to speak. But he was too deeply sunk in thoughts at variance with his calling, too beclouded by passion, for this. It was necessary, therefore, that he should receive a more powerful shock, before his gift as a seer could be awakened out of sleep, and his consciousness aroused from the dreamy state

into which it had fallen. And when natural resources failed, the effect of miracles must be tried. By the power of God, therefore, the complaint of the ass, which had hitherto found utterance in its actions alone, was now expressed in the complaining tones of a human voice. And a phenomenon, so unnatural and unheard-of as this, eventually roused the seer from his lethargy, startled him, recalled him to self-consciousness, scattered the mists of passion, and opened his mind to impressions from the divine objects by which he was surrounded.

f. "What rider," says *Tholuck*, p. 410, "would sit quiet, if his beast should really utter such a complaint, and would not leap off and cry for help, rather than stop to give it an intelligent answer?" *Hengstenberg* also says (p. 386), "The advocates of the external view have always been greatly perplexed by the fact, that Balaam expressed no astonishment at the circumstance of an ass speaking."—We cannot admit, however, that this has caused *us* any very great perplexity. For, as *Hengstenberg* himself acknowledges, there is not much force in an *argumentum e silentio*. This may all have taken place, and yet there may have been no necessity for expressly mentioning it in the Biblical account. *Hengstenberg*, however, is of opinion, that the supposition that he was at all astonished is precluded by Balaam's first reply in ver. 29 (to the question, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times? Balaam replies, "Because thou hast mocked me: I would there were a sword in mine hand, for now would I kill thee"). We certainly cannot see that the supposition that he had been astonished before, or was astonished at the time, is absolutely precluded by this reply. Moreover, we would call attention to the fact, that the reply was an utterance of passionate and *inconsiderate* wrath and excitement, which may have restrained his astonishment within narrower bounds.

g. Another argument of *Hengstenberg's* is this:—"There were two servants with Balaam (ver. 22), as well as the Moabitish messengers (vers. 20, 21, 35). Now, if the events which occurred had been really of an outward character, they would certainly have been eye-witnesses of the whole. . . . But it is remarkable that the feeling of the advocates of the external view is decidedly opposed to such a supposition, though they have failed to discover the reason why it is actually im-

possible (?!), namely, because the Moabitish messengers could not have the least idea of what was taking place."—To this we reply: (1.) That it by no means so clearly proved, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, that the Moabitish messengers were present at the time. It is true, the idea which immediately suggests itself,—viz., that as soon as they approached the Moabitish territory, the messengers hastened forward to inform Balak that the expected magician was on the way,—is apparently precluded by ver. 35, where we read, "The angel said unto Balaam, Go with the men; . . . so Balaam went with the princes of Balak;" although it is evidently favoured by ver. 36, which states, that "Balak went out to meet him unto a city of Moab." But ver. 22 renders it probable that, from some cause or other, they were *not* present. For the express statement, that Balaam's two servants were with him, is apparently equivalent to saying that no one else was with him at the time. And it is certainly not an unlikely thing, that Balaam and his two servants may have gone a little way ahead of the main body, or may have remained a little behind; and, in such a road as this (in the midst of the vineyards), with its windings, corners, and passes, the distance would not require to be very great, for all that occurred to be hidden from the messengers of Balak.—(2.) Even supposing that the messengers were present, as well as Balaam's servants, though they would no doubt hear what the ass said, yet there was not anything in what she said "of which it was necessary that they should not have the least suspicion;" and, so far as seeing the angel and hearing *his* words were concerned, it may possibly have been the same with them as it was with the persons referred to in John xii. 28, 29; Acts ix. 7, and xxii. 9 (see above, under letter *d*).—(3.) And lastly, granting that Balak's messengers were not only present, and heard the ass speak, but saw the form of the angel, and heard what he said, even this would not disconcert us in the least. On the receipt of the very first message, Balaam said to the messengers (ver. 13), "Get you into your own land, for Jehovah refuseth to give me leave to go with you;" but notwithstanding this, Balak persisted in his desire, and in the hope of seeing it fulfilled. If there were any force in the argument, that his ambassadors ought not to have had the least suspicion of what took place upon the road, Balaam ought not to have said to the first messengers, "Get you into

your own land, for Jehovah refuseth to give me leave to go with you ;” and after his arrival in the country of the Moabites, he ought not to have spoken to Balak in a doubting tone, as he is said to have done in ver. 38, where the very words are repeated, which the angel had addressed to him by the way : “The word that God putteth into my mouth, that shall I speak.” It had not been expressly and unconditionally declared to him, that he would only be permitted to bless, and not to curse. He was merely told that he would have to speak the words that Jehovah commanded him. Upon this ambiguity in the words of Jehovah, the heathen minds of Balaam and Balak could always find the hope, that after all they might possibly succeed in their designs. And they could easily construe the gradual change in the answers received from Jehovah, from the first *absolute prohibition* (ver. 12) to a *conditional permission* to go (ver. 20), and then again to a *command* to go (a conditional one, no doubt, but with the conditions expressed in a very ambiguous form), into a constantly increasing connivance on the part of Jehovah, from which more might still be expected. It might, indeed, be thought that it was a necessary thing for Balak’s messengers to be eye-witnesses of these occurrences, that it was important and essential to the further development of the drama—essential for *Balak*—to convince him more strongly of the futility of his undertaking, and, if he was still open to instruction, to induce him to desist from his perverse attempt.

h. Lastly, *Hengstenberg* argues (p. 387), that “the speaking of the ass, when transferred into the province of external reality, appears to *disturb the eternal laws* which are laid down in Gen. i., and which establish the boundary between the human and the brute creation.” We will not cite the example of the serpent’s speaking in Paradise; for that would no doubt be explained away by our author as an internal process, or something of the kind. Nor will we adopt *Baumgarten’s* reply (p. 359) : “This is the argument employed by those who deny the possibility of a miracle; for if there are eternal boundaries fixed in creation which cannot possibly be passed, no miracle can ever take place.” *Hengstenberg* certainly did not mean anything so bad as this; and we regard it as ungenerous to twist the words of an opponent, which were no doubt spoken incautiously, in such a way as this, just because they were not sufficiently ex-

plained and defended. There are limits laid down in Gen. i. (in this we agree with *Hengstenberg* and not with *Baumgarten*), which no miracle ever will or can set aside. We should imagine that *Baumgarten* himself would admit that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are inconceivable, even with the firmest belief in miracles, within the range of sacred history.—There must be limits, therefore, which miracles cannot break through, just because God, from whom the power of working miracles comes, and who has determined these limits, never will allow them to be broken down. The limit, it appears to us, may be easily pointed out. It is the line, which is drawn between nature and spirit, between the free, personal creature, and the impersonal, which has not been endowed with freedom. This line God will not, and *cannot* disturb. For example, He can never will to change a beast into a man, or a man into a beast. In the province of nature His interference is absolute; but where a created spirit is concerned, it is regulated by certain conditions: for He has created man in His own image,—has endowed him with freedom and personality, which have been denied to all other earthly creatures. And because He has willed that man should be free, He has regard to the liberty, though in a fallen, rebellious, and even hardened man. And because God has willed that the beast should be a beast, and the plant a plant, He will and must also will that they should remain what He made them, for otherwise He would contradict Himself. A miracle, therefore, of which any creature is the medium, will of necessity be kept within the limits that circumscribe the creature itself; in other words, it will never take a creature out of its own sphere, and transfer it to the sphere of another, essentially different from itself. And if the ass's speaking broke through these limits, we should certainly give our support to *Hengstenberg*. But this is just what we deny. We shall be told, perhaps, that the gift of speech is one of the most essential characteristics of humanity. But not speech as a mere form, not the ability to give utterance to certain articulate tones by means of the organs of speech; but the *material* elements of speech—*viz.*, that the words are utterances of the *mind*, vehicles of *thought*,—this is the essential characteristic of humanity. Experience has proved that many animals—for example, parrots, magpies, etc., and even some quadrupeds—may be trained to utter words of human language.

But the gift of speech, so far as it distinguishes man from beast, is as remote and foreign as it was before. If, then, when language is referred to, as one of the features which distinguish man from the rest of the animal creation, it is not the mere words, but the entire substance of speech; then a miracle, which puts the words of human speech into the mouth of an animal, does not transgress the limits which separate the two, provided the meaning of the words is still beyond the comprehension of the animal that utters them. If Balaam's ass, to come back to the case before us, had received the commission which was entrusted to the angel of the Lord; if it had been the ass which heaped reproaches upon Balaam, for resisting the will of God from avarice and ambition, and for setting out with the desire to curse, where he should only bless, it might, indeed, have been justly said that the limits set by Gen. i. had been overstept. But there is not the least trace of this in the words of the ass (see above, under letter *b*). All that it said, was nothing more than an expression of feelings, in accordance with the nature given to it at the first. Even an animal has a soul; even an animal has sensations and emotions, and (at least in the higher stages of animal existence) has a sense of right and wrong within its proper sphere. It can also give utterance to these sensations and emotions, though only imperfectly, by peculiar actions, and by certain modulations of its animal voice. What the ass said in the case before us, was not a revelation of God to Balaam, but a declaration made by the animal itself. There was nothing pneumatical in what it said, it was purely psychical. When the ass, urged forwards on the one hand by Balaam, who continued to strike it in a most irrational manner, and kept back on the other hand by the drawn sword of the angel, gave utterance to its emotions, to its terror and pain, and to the feeling of injustice, both by its actions and voice; this was undoubtedly the result of a purely animal impulse. But when such modulations were given to this *animal* voice, that they fell upon Balaam's ears as words of human speech; this was the result of an immediate interposition on the part of God,—in other words, it was a miracle.

In attempting to demonstrate the necessity for regarding the occurrence as an outward one, we may be somewhat more brief after what has already been said.

In the *first* place, there is not the slightest indication of Balaam having fallen into a state of ecstasy. We have already shown (under letter *d*) that this interpretation cannot be given to the words, "God opened the eyes of Balaam." And even if such an interpretation were the correct one, and the words really did denote, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, an opening of the inward eye, and a consequent closing of the outward, we should be compelled to regard the affair with the ass as an outward one; for we should then have an express statement in the narrative itself, to the effect that the ass spoke *before* the ecstasy commenced. Or will any one suggest, perhaps, that although Balaam was thrown into a state of ecstasy, in order that he might hear the ass speak, it was nevertheless also necessary that he should be thrown again into a peculiar condition, to enable him to see and hear the angel? The outward senses are five in number, they are distinct the one from the other, and may therefore be opened separately. But the inward sense is so purely *one*, that if it be opened for hearing, it is also *eo ipso* opened for seeing as well. And why does not the narrative state that God opened his ears, as it afterwards mentions that God opened his eyes?

Secondly. The words of ver. 28, "*Then Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass,*" irresistibly compel us to the conclusion, that it was the ass which was the object of the Divine operations; whereas, according to *Hengstenberg*, God did not operate upon the ass at all, but simply and solely upon the mind of Balaam. It manifests extraordinary self-delusion on the part of *Hengstenberg*, that he should imagine that this argument can be set aside by simply replying that, "although the words represent the result as produced by the power of God, they do not inform us how it was produced, and whether it affected the inward or the outward sense."—But the passage does not contain a single allusion to any effect produced upon the *ear* of Balaam (either inward or outward), it refers exclusively to the *MOUTH* of the ass.—The words of 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16, are still more precise and conclusive. "Balaam, the son of Bosor," he says, "loved the wages of unrighteousness, but was rebuked for his iniquity; the *dumb ass, speaking with man's voice*, forbade the madness of the prophet."—The prophet, it is true, was rebuked (put to shame), not so much by the ass's speaking, as by the fact that an irrational animal should see what was hidden from so gifted a seer,

just because he was degraded by his passion below the level of the brute. But it was from the fact of its speaking, that Balaam first became conscious that it had actually seen; and therefore it was really its speaking which put him to shame.

Thirdly, as the ass itself was visible as an outward and corporeal object, its words must have been audible as something also external.¹

¹ Balaam's speaking ass is a convincing proof, according to *Daumer (der Feuer- und Molochsdiener der alten Hebräer. Brunswick 1842, p. 136 sqq.)*, that Balaam was a priest of the Baccho-Priapian ass-worship of Baal-Poor. It was of course a falsification of a later date, which led to his being introduced in the passage before us as a prophet of the Moloch-Jehovah. That this ass-worship, which enlists Daumer's undivided sympathy, prevailed in Israel along with the old orthodox cannibal form of Moloch-worship, may be proved, in Daumer's opinion, from the statements of classical writers, who affirm that when the Jews were in the desert, and were on the point of perishing from exhaustion, they were led by a troop of wild asses to some copious springs of water; in commemoration of which event, the image of an ass was set up in the temple as an object of worship (*vid. Tacitus, Hist. 5, 3; Plut. Symp. 4, 5*). It is apparent, however, he maintains, from the account before us, that it was Balaam who introduced this ass-worship into Israel (particularly from chap. xxv., as compared with chap. xxxi. 16). Though constantly persecuted by the supporters of the Moloch-Jehovah worship, and suppressed by the most cruel means (*vid. Num. xxiv. 7 sqq., xxxi. 1 sqq.*), this form of worship was maintained till the time of Christ, with whose history the legends have interwoven elements taken from both forms, though with a most decided preponderance of the Moloch-worship with its human sacrifices. In the Feast of Tabernacles especially, which was a primitive Canaanitish festival of the ass, associated with Bacchic and Phallian pleasures, we find a relic of this ancient worship. Daumer has a great deal to say in favour of this Priapian ass-worship. According to his account (p. 144), it was of an intensely speculative character, pervaded by a spirit of mildness and humanity, which did it the greatest honour, so that even Christianity itself would not be disgraced by a comparison with it. "It was perfectly harmless, very gentle, and free from cruelty. . . . Its god was a god of light, of water, of wine, of Bacchic and Phallian pleasures, of whatever would support and excite the most unbridled hilarity. Christianity, unhappily, has taken most from the gloomy, unfriendly, and cruel form of Moloch-worship. The unnatural elements of Moloch-worship predominate, and the necessity for human sacrifice has been made the very centre of the Christian religion; whereas the beautiful, intelligent, deeply speculative and humane ass-worship, with its apotheosis of fleshly desires, has been thrust into the background, and appears at the most not more than once, *viz.*, in the truly Bacchic conduct of Christ at the marriage-feast at Cana (John ii.)"—We congratulate Young Germany on the antiquity of its family.

(2.) The *behaviour of Jehovah* towards Balaam has been sometimes regarded as extremely surprising. "The unchangeable God," says *Hartmann* (p. 499), "one day forbids Balaam to go with the people (ver. 12), and the next day alters His mind, and commands him to undertake the journey in their company (ver. 20). And then, when Balaam has set out upon the road, the anger of Jehovah is kindled against him (ver. 22). But directly Balaam, who is overpowered by so inexplicable a phenomenon, offers to return, he is met by the answer, 'No, thou shalt go with the people.'"

To this *Hengstenberg* very properly replies: "It is apparent, at the very outset, that the argument is based upon a misunderstanding. The very name *Jehovah* ('I am that I am,' Ex. iii. 14) is a sufficient pledge, that it could never have entered into the mind of an Israelite, to attribute such childish fickleness to God. And Balaam himself says immediately afterwards (chap. xxiii. 19), '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? or hath He spoken, and shall He not make it good?'"

On the receipt of the first message, the only question was, should he go for the express purpose of cursing? This was forbidden; and the prohibition was never recalled. When the second message came, he received permission to go, but only on condition that he went to say what God commanded. This was a step in advance in the conduct of Jehovah towards Balaam, which was regulated according to the conduct of Balaam himself, but it was not an inconsistency. From the very beginning it was the will of God, that Balaam should either not go at all, or that he should go to discourage Moab and inspire Israel by what he said, and by both to glorify Israel's God. But as such going as this would necessarily bring Balaam loss and disgrace, instead of glory and gain, God did not *demand* it of him, He merely *prohibited* his going as he desired, namely, unfettered by any conditions, to do whatever Balak might require. When the second message came, if Balaam's heart had not been corrupt, he would not have asked permission again, before giving a reply. This was what he did, however; for he would have been only too glad to obtain the reward. This time God *permitted* him to go, but *conditionally*: he was to say whatever *God* com-

manded him; and, on unbiassed reflection, he might at once have concluded that the words put into his mouth would be words of blessing and not of cursing. Balaam's sinful desires were certainly not satisfied by a conditional permission of this kind; but he thought that if he could once obtain permission to go, the rest would follow in due time. And he set out with the wish and intention to curse and not to bless. It was *on this account* that the wrath of God was kindled against him, and He met him with reproof. Balaam now replied, yielding with half a heart, that he would go back again; but God *commanded* him to go forward, and bless the Israelites. Balaam wanted to use God merely as the means of furthering his own designs; and, as a punishment, he was now to be compelled to further the designs of God. Though even now his position was not altogether a hopeless one. He *was obliged* to submit, it is true, to further the designs of God; but he might still have done this of his own free will. He *was obliged* to do what would bring him nothing but anger and scorn from the Moabites, instead of gold and renown; but he *might* still have done it in such a manner, that it would bring him honour and favour from God. Bless he must; but everything depended upon whether he did this with willingness and pleasure, with a ready mind and cheerful obedience, or merely with reluctance and of constraint (*vid. Hengstenberg, Pentateuch, vol. ii., pp. 385-487, and Balaam, p. 373 sqq.*).

BALAAM'S PROPHECIES.

§ 56. (Num. xxii. 36-xxiii. 24.)—To do all honour to the seer, Balak went to the very borders of his kingdom to meet him. But Balaam somewhat damped the pleasure caused by his arrival, by distinctly telling him that he could only speak the word which Jehovah put into his mouth. He knew that it was possible, or rather probable, that the issue might be altogether at variance with the expectations of the king, and he thought it advisable to prepare his mind. The next morning they both proceeded to the work in hand. Balak conducted the seer to the *Heights of Baal* (Bannoth Baal), from which he could see the whole camp of Israel to its utmost extremity (1). By

Balaam's direction seven altars were erected, and upon every one of them there were offered, not only by Balaam himself, but by Balak also, a bullock and a ram, to secure the favour of Jehovah and incline Him to prosper their undertaking. Balaam then went aside to a hill, that he might prepare himself for prophesying, in heathen fashion, by means of auguries (2). On his return, he gave utterance to the following words, which Jehovah had put into his mouth :

- (Ver. 7.) Balak sent for me from Aram,
The king of Moab from the mountains of the east :
" Come, curse me Jacob,
And come, defy Israel !"
- (Ver. 8.) But how shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed,
And how defy, whom Jehovah hath not defied ?
- (Ver. 9.) For from the top of the rocks I see him,
And from the hills I behold him :
Behold, it is a people, dwelling apart,
Not reckoning itself among the heathen.
- (Ver. 10.) Who tells the dust of Jacob,
And the fourth part of Israel by number ?
Let me die the death of the righteous,
And let my last end be like his! (3).

Balak was highly incensed, that his enemies should be blessed instead of cursed, but comforted himself with the hope, that possibly the unfavourable nature of the place itself might be to blame. He took the seer therefore to the *field of the watchers*, upon the top of *Pisgah*, from which only a small portion of the camp could be seen (1). The same preparations were made as upon the heights of Baal, after which Balaam spoke as follows :

- (Ver. 18.) Rise up, Balak, and hear !
Hearken to me, O son of Zippor !
- (Ver. 19.) God is not a man, that He should lie ;
Neither the son of man, that He should repent :
Should He say, and not do it ?
Should He speak, and not carry it out ?
- (Ver. 20.) Behold, I have received words of blessing :
He hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it.
- (Ver. 21.) He beholdeth not iniquity in Jacob,
And seeth no wrong in Israel :
Jehovah, his God, is with him,
And the shout of a king is in the midst of him (3). →

- (Ver. 22.) God brought them out of Egypt :
 Their strength is like that of a buffalo.
- (Ver. 23.) For there is no augury in Jacob,
 And no divination in Israel:
 At the time is told to Jacob,
 And to Israel, what God performeth.
- (Ver. 24.) Behold, the people riseth, like the lioness,
 And raiseth himself like the lion :
 He lieth not down till he eat of the prey,
 And drink the blood of the slain.

(1.) On the heights of Baal, and the field of the watchers upon the top of Pisgah, see § 51, 1.—If we compare Num. xxii. 41 with xxiii. 13, a difficulty presents itself, which *Hengstenberg* has not only by no means satisfactorily solved, but, on the contrary, appears to have rather increased (*Balaam*, p. 421). In the *former* passage we read, that from the heights of Baal Balaam could see the *end of the people* (עֲצָתָם הָעַם). But when the oracle, as uttered by Balaam from this spot, proved to be so thoroughly opposed to the wishes and expectation of Balak, it was attributed by the latter to the unpropitious character of the locality, and he said to the seer, “Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see it (the people); but only the *outermost of its end* (אֶת־עֲצָתָם הָעַם) wilt thou see, and *the whole of it thou wilt not see*” (chap. xxiii. 13). It is obvious at once, that there must have been a certain difference, in the views obtained from the two points of the camp of the Israelites. This even *Hengstenberg* admits. But he starts with the assumption, that in both passages the meaning is the same, namely, that *only* the end (*i.e.*, a small portion) of the people could be seen; and consequently, in his opinion, nothing remains, but to regard “the end” in the second passage as embracing more than in the first, where only the *outermost* end is intended. But such an explanation is as much at variance with the words themselves, as with the context. For it is not in the first of the two passages, but in the second, that the *outermost* end is spoken of; and since there is unquestionably a contrast between the two places, the words, “only the end of the people wilt thou see, but *the whole thou wilt not see*,” necessarily lead to the conclusion, that the distinction consisted in this, that from the first point the whole of the people could be seen, and that they could *not* be all seen from the second. The *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* in *Hengstenberg's* explanation is this, that

in *both* passages he puts "only" into the text. In the second passage the context unquestionably warrants this, or rather renders it imperative; but in the first passage there is not the slightest warrant for it, to say nothing of necessity. And if we remove the "only," which inevitably misleads, and abide by the simple words of the text, "and he saw from thence the *end* of the people," there is nothing (at least so it appears to us) to hinder us from understanding this expression as meaning, that "he surveyed the *whole* people, even to the very extremity." Gesenius adopts this explanation: "Vidit *extremum* populum, *i.e.*, universum populum usque ad extremitates ejus" (*Thesaurus*, p. 1227). There can be no doubt that קצה is used in this sense. Compare, for example, Gen. xlvii. 2, where Joseph is said to have taken יְהוּדָא קְצֵתָהּ (*i.e.*, from the whole number, from the *entire body* of his brethren) five men, to present them unto Pharaoh. The word is used in precisely the same sense in Ezek. xxxiii. 2. And just because עַמֵּי קְצֵתָהּ in the verse before us denotes the sum-total of the people, it was necessary that in Num. xxiii. 13, where only a fragment of the whole is alluded to, the limiting word סָפֵס should be introduced as *nomen regens*. The real meaning of סָפֵס is vanishing, ceasing, coming to an end. עַמֵּי קְצֵתָהּ סָפֵסָהּ, therefore, can only mean the outermost extremity of the whole people, the end of the entire body of the people. What an intolerable tautology would it be, to say here also, the end of the end of the people; and how thoroughly unmeaning would such an expression be, if the "end of the end" was applied to a larger portion, and the "end" denoted a smaller part of the whole! Hengstenberg falls back, it is true, upon his conclusions with regard to the geographical situation of the two places, according to which the heights of Baal were at a very much greater distance from the camp of Israel than the Pisgah was. But so long as the rule holds good, that what is uncertain and questionable must be determined from what is certain and unquestionable, and not *vice versa*, his conclusions, with regard to the situation of the Bamoth Baal, which rest upon such uncertain, vague, and questionable conjectures and combinations, must be pronounced entirely false, if they are not in harmony with what we have proved above to be the actual meaning of Num. xxii. 41.

Balak took for granted, as *Hengstenberg* correctly observes,

that Balaam must necessarily have Israel in sight, if his curse was to have any effect. He therefore selected, as the first standing-place, a spot from which the seer could overlook the *whole* of the people. But when the result was the very opposite of what he had expected, he thought that the sight of the whole of the vast camp, with its myriads of tents, was too overpowering for the mind of the seer. To prevent the recurrence of this, when the second attempt was made, he selected a spot from which only a very small fragment of the camp could be seen.—This is the only explanation which renders his words in chap. xxiii. 13 at all intelligible; on every other supposition they are perfectly unmeaning.

There is only one thing which might appear to throw some difficulty in the way of our explanation, namely, that Balak selected Mount Peor as the third spot, and thence, according to the prophecy itself (chap. xxiv. 5), and the express statement of the writer (chap. xxiii. 28, xxiv. 2), Balaam could see the whole of Israel according to their tribes, and the orderly arrangement of the camp and its tents, both distinctly (from no great distance) and at one glance. But we need not be greatly surprised at this. For the failure of the second attempt must have convinced Balak, that the supposed cause of the first failure was not the real one; and he would naturally be induced to try again, from some spot which commanded quite as complete a view, and one much clearer and more distinct, than the spot from which the first attempt had been made.

(2.) After the sacrifice had been offered, Balaam went out for AUGURIES (עֲשׂוּת, Num. xxiv. 1). "I will go," he said to Balak in chap. xxiii. 3; "peradventure Jehovah will come to meet me; and whatsoever He causes me to see, I will report to thee." And Jehovah "came to meet him (ver. 4), and put a word into his mouth." Then he returned to Balak filled with the Spirit, and uttered his saying (אָמַר). This was also the case with the second prophecy (chap. xxiii. 15, 16). But the third and fourth times he did not go ("And when Balaam saw that it pleased Jehovah to bless Israel, he went *not*, as at other times, for auguries"). It was a custom with heathen soothsayers, if the auguries were unfavourable at first, to repeat them in still greater number, in the hope that the gods might be influenced by their importunity, and more favourable signs might be ob-

tained. This was Balaam's notion also; but when he was disappointed a second time, he left off seeking for auguries altogether, and gave himself up entirely to the immediate inspiration of Jehovah.

(3.) In both prophecies Balaam speaks of Israel as an UPRIGHT and RIGHTEOUS NATION, a nation in which Jehovah could find no spot or blemish, and which was therefore free from suffering and oppression. Of course this did not apply to the Israelites as individuals, to their personal sins and sufferings, but to Israel as a whole, and its character as a nation. Still, even then, there is something in such a description which cannot fail to astonish us, so vivid is the recollection of their constant rebellion, disobedience, and ingratitude, of the trouble they caused their God, and of the numerous punishments and plagues with which He had to visit them. It is evidently not sufficient to appeal to the fact, that the generation which had been rejected was now perfectly extinct, and that a new race had grown up, of better and more obedient hearts;—for the existing generation had taken part in the perversities of the former one, which had continued to the very last year, and the next chapter shows that enough of the perverseness of the old generation was still left in the young one. We must look deeper for an explanation. Balaam's prophetic glance and saying, just because they were truly prophetic, pierced through the merely outward shell to the very heart and essence of things. This discourse was not concerned with what Israel might be at any one particular time, in its outward and variable appearance, but with its calling and election in every age. In this sinful world, there is always a contrast, of less or greater strength, between the idea and the outward manifestation. We find it in Israel; and on many occasions it became most terribly glaring. But the imperishable seed of the promise, which had been deposited in the outward Israel by Him who had begotten the spiritual Israel, was still there. A genuine Israel, to whom the predicate of honourable and righteous might justly be applied, still continued to exist, in the most deeply degraded periods, as a counteracting leaven, though it might be confined to the seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal. And even at such periods as these, according to its calling and election, which must eventually be realised, Israel was a nation of just and righteous men

(יִשְׂרָאֵל). So essential a characteristic was this of Israel, so inseparable was the inward call from the outward manifestation, that the Deuteronomist, whom no one could charge with unduly glorifying and idealising his nation, has incorporated this idea in the word *Jeshurun* (יִשְׂרָאֵל), which he adopts as a proper name for Israel¹ (*vid.* Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xlv. 2). Balaam looked upon Israel in its separation from the heathen (ver. 9); and in this respect, notwithstanding all its wanderings, it was, and remained, a people of *Jesharim*, a *Jeshurun*; since its wanderings were only for a time. Under the guidance, and teaching, and chastisement of Jehovah, it always returned from its wanderings and rose up from its fall, whereas the way of the heathen was from first to last a false way.

It is very striking, that in ver. 10 Balaam should pour out the longings of his mind (his better self) for fellowship with Israel, not in a wish to be united to Israel in *life*, and to participate in the privileges it enjoyed, but in a desire *that he might die such a death as the righteous Israelite died*. We cannot subscribe to *Hengstenberg's* opinion, that he gave utterance to this desire from a foreboding of the death which he really died (Num. xxxi. 8), *viz.*, by the avenging sword of Israel. The wish to die the death of the Israelite involved something more and something loftier, than the wish to live his life. The former includes the latter, but goes very far beyond it. For death is the end of life; and such a death as Israel died, presupposes the life that Israel lives. Balaam wished to enjoy the full, complete, indestructible, and inalienable blessedness of the Israelite, of which death is the conclusion and completion, the attestation and seal. Only he who remains an Israelite until death, preserving the disposition of an Israelite, amidst all the trials and temptations of this life, till the hour of his departure, can be pronounced an Israelite indeed.

¹ According to the current interpretation, the word *Jeshurun* is an *appellatio poetica eaque blanda et caritativa*, and denotes the beloved, righteous nation, the righteous one. But *Hengstenberg* has proved that the termination *un* in Hebrew generally, and particularly in this word, is not a diminutive of affection, but simply serves to form a proper name. *Kimchi* admits that the name *Jeshurun* is applied to Israel, in contradistinction to the heathen, as being the righteous nation, "ita appellatur Israel, quoniam est justus inter populos."

The question arises, however, What did Balaam, with the light which he possessed, suppose to be included in the peculiar happiness of an Israelite's death, that he should wish to die such a death himself? The earlier commentators were unanimous in regarding this as a clear proof, that belief in the retribution of the life to come was the source of consolation and hope to believers, even under the Old Testament. But the words of Balaam express nothing more, than that the death of a pious Israelite was happier than the death of a heathen. In what the greater happiness consisted, they do not say. This must be supplied, therefore, from what are known to have been the eschatological views of that particular age. Now, the conclusion to which we are brought by an impartial exegesis, and which is hardly ever disputed in the present day, is this: that up to the time of the Captivity, the doctrine of eternal retribution beyond the grave fell into the background, behind that of retribution in the present life; and that a full, clear, and well-defined development of eschatology was reserved for subsequent stages in the history of revelation (vol. ii. § 8, 1). And, altogether apart from a clear conception and expectation of retribution in the life to come, there was quite enough in the views which then prevailed, to excite the wish in Balaam's mind to die a true Israelite's death. The pious Israelite could look back with calm satisfaction, in the hour of his death, upon a life rich in "proofs of the blessing, forgiving, protecting, delivering, saving mercy of God." With the same calm satisfaction would he look upon his children, and children's children, in whom he lived again, and in whom also he would still take part, in the high calling of his nation and the ultimate fulfilment of the glorious promises which it had received from God. "The more an individual lived in the whole nation, and the father regarded his posterity as the continuation of his own existence, the more would his mind be occupied in the hour of his death by the future which God had promised to his race, and thus the bitterness of death be taken away" (*Hengstenberg*). And for himself, the man who died in the consciousness of possessing the mercy and love of God, knew also that he would carry them with him as an inalienable possession, a light in the darkness of Sheol. He knew that he would be "gathered to his fathers,"—a thought which must have been a very plenteous source of consolation, of

hope, and of joy, to an Israelite who looked upon his fathers with the greatest reverence and love.

The "*shout of a king*," of which Balaam speaks in ver. 21, was evidently a shout of joy caused by the fact, that Jehovah Himself was King in Israel, as the parallelism clearly proves. There is no ground whatever for *Baumgarten's* supposition, that the Messiah is specially alluded to,—the future King in Israel.

§ 57. (Num. xxiii. 25—xxiv. 25.)—When the second attempt had also failed, Balak was at first inclined to have nothing further to do with the seer, who had so thoroughly failed to answer his expectations. But he soon altered his mind, and requested him to make a third attempt in another place. It was now doubly important that he should attain his end; since the double blessing had injured his cause. He led Balaam this time to the top of *Mount Peor*, which rose immediately above the plain in which Israel was encamped, and where the whole camp lay spread out before the eyes of the seer, like the contents of an open book (§ 56, 1). Altars were erected, and sacrifices offered, as before; but Balaam did not go and seek for auguries. As soon as he lifted up his eyes and saw Israel encamped according to its tribes, the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied:

- (Ver. 3.) "Thus saith Balaam, the son of Beor,
And thus saith the man with closed eye,
(Ver. 4.) Thus saith the hearer of the words of God,
Who seeth visions of the Almighty,
Falling down, and with open eye.
(Ver. 5.) How fine are thy tents, O Jacob!
And thy dwellings, O Israel!
(Ver. 6.) Like valleys are they spread out,
Like gardens by the river's side,
Like aloe, which Jehovah planted,
Like cedars by the waters.
(Ver. 7.) Water will flow from his buckets,
And his seed dwelleth by many waters;
And higher than *Agag*, be his King!
And let his kingdom be exalted! (2).

- (Ver. 8.) God leadeth him out of Egypt ;
 His strength is like that of a buffalo ;
 He will eat up the heathen, his enemies,
 And crush their bones,
 And break their arrows in pieces.
- (Ver. 9.) He stretcheth himself out, he lieth down like a lion,
 And like a lioness, who can rouse him up ?
 Blessed be he who blesseth thee !
 And cursed he who curseth thee !”

Balak's wrath was kindled at this ; and he drove the seer from his presence, with violent words of reproach and threatening. Balaam was ready enough to go. But the Spirit constrained him to finish his prophecy ; and before his departure he announced to the Moabitish king what glory awaited Israel, and what destruction was in reserve for their heathen foes :

- (Ver. 15.) “ Thus saith Balaam, the son of Beor,
 And thus saith the man with closed eye,
 (Ver. 16.) Thus saith the hearer of the words of God,
 And he who knoweth the knowledge of the Most High ;
 Who seeth visions of the Almighty,
 Falling down, and with open eye.
- (Ver. 17.) *I see him, but not now ;
 I behold him, but not nigh.
 Out of Jacob goeth forth a Star,
 And out of Israel riseth up a Sceptre (1),
 And shattereth Moab right and left,
 And destroyeth all the sons of tumult.*
- (Ver. 18.) And Edom becometh his possession,
 And Seir becometh his possession, his enemies,
 And Israel doeth mighty things.
- (Ver. 19.) A ruler riseth out of Jacob,
 And he destroyeth, what remaineth, out of the cities.”

And he saw Amalek, and took up his saying, and said :

- (Ver. 20.) “ The beginning of the heathen is *Amalek*,
 But his end is destruction.”

And he saw the Kenites, and took up his saying, and said :

- (Ver. 21.) “ Durable is thy dwelling,
 And placed on a rock thy rest.
- (Ver. 22.) Nevertheless *Kain* is for a desolation,
 How long, till *Asshur* carries thee captive.”

And he took up his saying, and said :

(Ver. 23.) "Woe! who will live, when God does that,
 (Ver. 24.) And ships come from the side of the *Chittim*,
 And press *Asshur*, and press *Eber*,
 And he also hastens to destruction!" (2).

(1.) Balaam introduced his *fourth* prophecy with this address to Balak: "And now, behold, I will *counsel* thee what this people will do to thy people at the end of the days (בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים)." As this prophecy represented the victory of Israel over all the heathen, as the ultimate issue of the world's history, it was well adapted to convince Balak of the absolute hopelessness and perversity of his attempts, and to lead him to reflection and conversion; and consequently it could justly be described as a well-intentioned and thankworthy *counsel*.

The period when the events announced by Balaam were to take place, is called the "END OF THE DAYS;" and this expression denotes, not only here but in every other place, the time when the promises and hopes of salvation, indulged by any age, should all be fulfilled. As *Hüevernick* has aptly observed, they always denote the horizon of a prophetic announcement (*vid.* vol. ii. § 4, 1). For any particular age, the end of days commences when such anticipations of salvation, as are not yet fulfilled, but occupy the forefront of hope, patient waiting, and ardent longing, first begin to pass, by means of their fulfilment, into the sphere of reality. The commencement, therefore, was not the same for every period and stage of sacred history. On the contrary, the more the actual fulfilment advanced, the further the end of days receded into the distant future. For *Jacob*, the horizon of whose hopes and prophecies was bounded by the settlement of his descendants in the promised land, the "end of the days" commenced with the time when these hopes were fulfilled, in other words, with the time of *Joshua* (vol. ii. § 4). For *Moses* and *Balaam*, who lived immediately before the fulfilment of all that *Jacob* had desired and predicted,—or rather in whose days the fulfilment had already begun, but who could also see, from the hostile attitude of surrounding nations, that the possession of the promised land would not be followed by perfect rest, and that the struggle for its possession would even then not be entirely over,—the "end of the days" had already

receded into a more remote future. The commencement would consequently be looked for at a period when these obstacles should all be removed, and when the hostile nations, whose friendly accession could no longer be hoped for, would be defeated, subjugated, and destroyed. It was with David that this period actually commenced. Consequently it was in David's time that the *Acharith-hajamim* (the "end of the days") of Balaam began. But just as the hope of rest, which Jacob cherished, was only provisionally and imperfectly fulfilled with the conquest of the promised land, and therefore the fact of its non-fulfilment became a prophecy of a subsequent fulfilment of a more perfect and decisive character;—so did it also become apparent in David's time, that although his victories were, in their own way—that is to say, relatively—perfect, they by no means effected the complete subjugation of hostile heathenism in every form. So that, even after this first and provisional fulfilment of Balaam's prophecy, there still remained a considerable ingredient, the fulfilment of which could only be anticipated in a future still more remote.

If we look more closely at the prophecy itself, it is very soon apparent that the centre and heart are to be found in ver. 17, namely, in the announcement of the STAR OUT OF JACOB, and the SCEPTRE OUT OF ISRAEL. Even if the whole substance and context of the prophecy did not lead to this conclusion, the parallel between the sceptre and the star would convince us, at the very first glance, that we have here the description of a royal, renowned, and victorious ruler. "The star is so natural an image and symbol of the greatness and splendour of a ruler, that nearly all nations have employed it. And the fact that it is so natural an image and symbol, may explain the general belief of the ancient world, that the birth or accession of great kings was announced by the appearance of stars" (*Hengstenberg*). There is greater difficulty in the question, whether by this king, we are to understand one, single, personal king of Israel, or merely an ideal person, namely, the personified Israelitish monarchy; and if the former, whether David or Christ is intended. *Hengstenberg*, who denied, in the first volume of his *Christology*, that there was any allusion whatever to the Messiah, has since altered his opinion, and now maintains the possibility, or rather necessity, of such an allusion; in this sense,

however, that the star and sceptre do not denote any one particular king, either David or the Messiah exclusively, but the whole Israelitish monarchy, and that they represent its two culminating points—*David* the type, and *Christ* the antitype. *Hofmann*, on the other hand, appears to refer them exclusively to David (*vid. Weissagung und Erfüllung* i. 153 sqq.); *Baumgarten* and *Delitzsch*, exclusively to Christ.

All that has been said against the admissibility of any allusion (either exclusively or jointly) to the Messiah, we feel constrained to pronounce utterly insignificant. We are told that Balaam's prophecy is completely exhausted, if we refer it to David alone, since David really conquered and subjugated the Moabites and Edomites, and all the other neighbouring nations that were hostile to the theocracy (2 Sam. viii. 2, 11, 12, 14). But this does not exhaust the prophecy. Such a total extinction of the Moabites, for example, as is here predicted, did not take place under David. For, not only did they recover their freedom (2 Kings i. 1) and maintain it (2 Kings iii. 4 sqq. 13, 20), but in many prophetic passages (*e.g.*, Is. xv. 16, xxv. 10; Jer. xlviii.; Amos ii.; Zeph. ii.) they are still classed among the enemies of the theocracy, and their complete destruction is still spoken of as a future event. But this is not only not the sole point, but not even the principal point in hand. *Hengstenberg* has very properly said (Balaam, p. 479), "Even supposing that the Moabites had been completely destroyed by David, the prophecy could not be said to have been completely fulfilled by him. What is said here of the Moabites, is only one particular application of the idea. The Moabites are merely to be regarded as a part of the great body of *enemies of the kingdom of God*. To imagine, therefore, that the disappearance of the Moabites in their historical individuality would suffice for the fulfilment of the prophecy,—that it would be a matter of indifference, whether their essential characteristics were perpetuated in other powerful foes,—is to overlook the difference between *prophecy*, which never has to do with the *drapery* alone, and in which the *mutato nomine* is always valid, and mere *soothsaying*. Nothing less than the entire and permanent conquest of *all* the enemies of the kingdom of God could be regarded as consummating the fulfilment of the prophecy. Where there are *enemies*, there are *Moabites*, and the words spoken by Balaam are still in

process of fulfilment. This remark will serve to answer another objection, which has been brought against the Messianic application ; namely, that at the time when the Messiah appeared, the Moabites had entirely disappeared from the stage of history. This is certainly true of the Moabites with reference to the body, but not with reference to the soul, which alone is the point in consideration here,—their quality as enemies of the Church of God. If the prophecy was fulfilled upon the Moabites, when they existed as a nation, not as *Moabites*, but as *enemies* of the people of God, the limit of their existence cannot be the limit of the fulfilment of the prophecy. The Messianic allusion could only be denied, if it could be proved that, at the time when the Messiah appeared, the Moabites in the *wider* sense, namely, as enemies of the kingdom of God, had been already destroyed ; and this no one will maintain.”

When *Tholuck* (i. 417) argues, in opposition to the Messianic character of the prophecy, that “ we could not expect the vision of such a seer as Balaam to extend beyond the horizon of earthly events ;” it is sufficient to reply, that, so far as the position assumed in this argument is tenable (*i. e.*, without losing sight of the statement in chap. xxiv. 2, “the Spirit of God came upon him”), it does not invalidate the Messianic interpretation. Balaam’s insight into the mode and effects of the Messiah’s operations, as we should not only expect from his character as a seer, but as the prophecy itself actually proves, was certainly one-sided, very one-sided. He saw nothing but the outward effects of the Messiah’s work ; and these were restricted, in the most partial manner, to the heathen nations, who persevered in their hostility to the kingdom of God, and were therefore doomed to destruction. He neither described nor discerned the spiritual and material blessings, which the Messiah would bestow not upon Israel only, but also upon such of the heathen as should willingly submit to His sway ; for he had neither the inward qualification, nor the outward occasion and impulse. That his prophecy, however, merely *leaves* this out, and does not *shut* it out, is evident from chap. xxiv. 9, “Blessed be he who blesseth thee, and cursed be he who curseth thee.” Another argument upon which *Hengstenberg* formerly relied, and which merely forms the opposite pole to the one just considered, must also fall along with it ; namely, that according to this interpretation, the Messiah, who had hitherto been

described as a blessing for all people, the bringer of rest and of peace, to whom the nations would cheerfully submit themselves, would all at once be introduced as causing the overthrow and destruction of the heathen, without the slightest intimation of His benefits and blessings, which are mentioned in every other case in which He is represented as a conqueror and judge (*cf.* Ps. ii. cx.).

So far as the positive arguments that may be adduced in favour of the Messianic allusion are concerned, we must give up the one which, until the time of *Verschuir*, was universally based upon שֶׁתִּי יִשָּׂה in ver. 17. This was generally rendered, "He will destroy *all the sons of Seth*;" and, as allusion was supposed to be made to Seth, the son of Adam, the passage was understood as celebrating the victory of the Messiah over the whole human race,—an interpretation which entirely precluded any reference to David. But, apart from the fact that the passage speaks of the utter destruction and annihilation of the *Bne Sheth*, which would be diametrically opposed to the Messianic idea; according to the standing view and mode of expression throughout the entire Scriptures, we should expect *Adam* or *Noah*. Seth is never introduced as the progenitor of the whole human race; and *he*, who took the place of the pious Abel, and was the ancestor of Noah who was to be saved, would have been the last to serve as the representative and progenitor of the human race that was to be destroyed. The only admissible interpretation was first of all given by *Verschuir*, and is now generally adopted, namely, that שֶׁתִּי is an abbreviated form of שֶׁתִּי , which is found again in Lam. iii. 47 in parallelism with שֶׁתִּי (= breaking in pieces), and which is derived from שֶׁתִּי , and synonymous with שֶׁתִּי (= tumult). "Designantur tumultuosi," says *Verschuir*, "irrequieti, quorum consuetudo est, continuis incursionibus, certaminibus et vexationibus aliis creare molestiam. Qui titulus optime convenit in Moabitis Israelitis semper molestos."¹

This explanation is confirmed by the fact, that in Jer.

¹ *Lengerke* gives a somewhat different explanation. "The שֶׁתִּי (sons of tumult)," he says, "are the *bragging* Moabites, who prided themselves upon their bravery (Jer. xlviii. 4), and were therefore regarded as haughty and boasters (Is. xvi. 16, xxv. 1; Zeph. ii. 8; Jer. xlviii. 2, xxix. 30; Ezek. xvi. 49)."—*Ewald* reads, without the slightest reason, שֶׁתִּי for שֶׁתִּי , i. e., sons of loftiness, or pride.

xlvi. 45, where the prophet imitates this passage, he places יְהוָה in parallelism with Moab; and also by the allusion to the passage before us in Amos ii. 2.—On the other hand, the argument based upon the expression, “in the latter days,” retains its full force; for this expression always denotes the period of the ultimate completion of the kingdom of God, in other words, the Messianic age. The “star out of Jacob” evidently denotes the Israelitish monarchy in its highest personal culmination, which was in the person of the Messiah. If Balaam’s prophecy centred in David, as fulfilling its announcements, it centred in the Messiah also. But the later fulfilment of the prophecy must not divert our thoughts from *David*; for not only did the overthrow of the heathen enemies of the kingdom of God *commence* with him, but in a certain sense it was *completed* by him, inasmuch as David really subjugated all the nations whose names are specially mentioned here.

The result to which we are thus brought,—namely, that Balaam’s prophecy was fulfilled on the one hand in David (though only provisionally, and therefore not exhaustively); and that on the other hand the Messiah must not be left out (in whom it was perfectly, finally, and exhaustively fulfilled),—appears so evident to *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 476), that he interprets the star out of Jacob, and the sceptre out of Israel, as relating equally to the *ideal King of Israel* (i. e., to the *Israelitish monarchy personified*). In this I cannot agree with him. It is true that he has a number of arguments ready; but when looked at closely, we see at once that they all prove nothing. (1.) He says, “The reference to one particular Israelitish king is contrary to the analogy of the other prophecies of the Pentateuch. The Messiah alone is ever foretold as a single person (Gen. xlix. 10). The rise of kings is predicted, it is true, but only in the plural (Gen. xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11); and, according to this analogy, the star from Jacob must be regarded as marking a plurality of kings, in other words, the kingdom in general.” To this I reply, that if a single individual, apart from the Messiah, can ever be the subject of prophecy (and this *Hengstenberg* will not dispute), we cannot possibly see why this should be denied of the Pentateuch prophecies alone. If the Messiah is foretold in the Pentateuch as a single person, analogy requires that we should interpret the star out of Jacob in the same way, especially if, as *Hengstenberg* main-

tains, Balaam was undoubtedly acquainted with such a prediction (Gen. xlix. 10), and based his own upon it. And lastly, what presumption it is to say, that because kings are spoken of in the *plural* in Gen. xvii. 6, 16, and xxxv. 11, therefore the prophecies of the Pentateuch can none of them speak of a *single* king!—

(2.) “A reference to one particular king would not be in harmony with the rest of the *prophecies of Balaam*, which never relate to one particular individual.” This reason may add to the *number*, but it does not add to the *weight*, of the arguments adduced.—

(3.) “The word שָׂבַט does not necessarily point to any particular individual; and in Gen. xlix. 10 it is not of an individual that it is actually employed.” But the *Star* does point all the more decisively to a concrete and individual personality. And the state of the case is really this: שָׂבַט *may* be understood as relating to one particular king, כּוֹכַב *must*.—(4.) “The words of ver. 19, וְיִרְדֵּךָ מִיַּעֲקֹב, *i.e.*, out of Jacob will one rule, or dominion will go forth from Jacob,—serve as a commentary to the “sceptre from Israel.” But should not the same words be employed if the meaning were, “out of Jacob will a ruler proceed?”—

(5.) “Look, again, at ver 7, “Let his king be higher than Agag,—where the king of Israel is an ideal person, the personification of royalty.” But the king mentioned here is not an *ideal* person, but a *real* one, *viz.*, the reigning sovereign at any particular time. In ver. 17, on the other hand, where distinct and individual actions are attributed to the Star out of Jacob, we must of necessity think of them as performed by one particular individual. When Balaam exclaimed, “I see a star proceed out of Jacob, and a sceptre out of Israël, there can be no doubt that the image of a *concrete* appearance presented itself to his prophetic eye, and that we have no right to dissipate it into an abstraction, a pure and unsubstantial idea.

But what follows from this? The star is said to point to David, and also to Christ; not to David or Christ exclusively; and yet it does not relate to the monarchy, as the thing common to both! How do these harmonise?—What remains, then, as a third or fourth supposition? We have no difficulty as to the reply. In the interpretation of every prophecy there are two points of view, to be kept distinct,—that of the period from which the prophecy dates, and in which, therefore, the fulfilment was expected as still in the future, and that

of the period of its actual fulfilment. With regard to this particular case, then, we have to distinguish, on the one hand, in what sense Balaam himself and Balak understood the words, and what Moses and the Israelites of his age understood them to mean; and, on the other hand, what prediction they would be supposed to contain by the believing Israelite after the time of David, and the believing Christian after Christ. Did Balaam, when he saw the star from Jacob, which was also a sceptre, and therefore necessarily denoted royal splendour, see *one, two*, or a still larger number, a whole series of kings? We reply, he saw only *one* king. Whether he would be called David or Jesus, neither Balaam nor Moses knew. From the fulfilment, however, we know, that what Balaam predicted of this *one* king was certainly fulfilled in David, but only in a provisional, imperfect, and not exhaustive manner. It was not till the coming of Christ that the fulfilment was complete and final. The conclusion to which *we* are brought, therefore, is, that the prophecy refers first of all to David, and that it really was fulfilled in David, who as king was a type of Christ, the everlasting King. But it also refers to Christ; and the fulness of the completion in Christ exceeded that in David, to the same extent to which the sovereignty of Christ, the antitype, exceeded that of David, the type. Now, the stand-point upon which Balaam stood was one from which the type and the antitype could not yet be distinguished. The type covered the antitype, and David passed for the Christ. Nor was there any error in this; for David *was* the Christ, according to the standard of his age. And when David had appeared, and had accomplished all that was given him to do, the believing Israelite could perceive that David was the star of which Balaam had prophesied. But when, upon closer examination, he found that, notwithstanding the relative completeness of the victories of David, the heathen foes of the kingdom of God were not absolutely defeated and destroyed, and therefore that Balaam's prophecy was only provisionally and not finally fulfilled in David,—the examination might have led him to false conclusions as to the prophecy itself, if this had not been prevented by a continued course of prophecy. But just at the time, when the want of harmony between Balaam's prophecy and the fulfilment forced itself upon the mind, the course of prophecy entered upon a fresh stage of

its historical development, and the announcement was made, that a second David would arise from David's seed, in whom the typical attitude of David to the heathen would find its most complete and antitypical realisation.

We agree with Hengstenberg, therefore, so far as the interpretation which Balaam's prophecy has received from the fulfilment is concerned; but we do not agree with him in regarding this as the interpretation given to it in the time of Balaam and Moses.

In conclusion, we must return to the star, which shone above the manger at Bethlehem, and showed the wise men of the East the way to the new-born King of the Jews. From time immemorial Balaam's star out of Jacob has been placed in direct and immediate connection with the star of the wise men, of which it has been regarded as a direct prediction. We cannot admit, however, that there was any such connection as this. The star above the manger merely announced the coming of Christ; it served as a guide to the place of His birth. But the star which was seen in the future by Balaam's prophetic eye was Christ Himself. Balaam's star, therefore, was not a prediction of the star of the wise men, but they were both witnesses of the coming of Christ,—the former as a prophecy of the future, the latter as a symbol for the time then present.

(2.) ON THE PROPHECIES OF BALAAM AGAINST ALL HOSTILE HEATHEN NATIONS, the last branch of which reaches into a point in the future more distant, so far as this particular feature is concerned, than any which came within the range of vision of any subsequent Israelitish prophet until the time of Daniel, *Baumgarten* has aptly observed (i. 2, 377): "Since Balaam, as a heathen, whose home was on the Euphrates, the great river of Assyria, saw all these events in spirit from the stand-point of the movements among heathen nations, we can easily understand how it was, that in *this* respect his view extended far beyond the range of either earlier or later prophecy among the Israelites; and that Daniel, who, though an Israelite by his place of residence, his training, and his official standing, was led to look at things from the same point of view as Balaam, was the first to resume the thread and carry it further still." This does not affect what *Delitzsch* has observed in connection with this subject, in opposition to the idea that prophecy is ab-

solutely tied down by personal and historical circumstances, occasions, and motives. Let it be fully admitted, that the Spirit of God in the prophets both could and frequently did look further than the historical occasions, necessities, and tendencies, or the personal disposition, training, and bent of mind of the organ of prophecy would have led one to expect;—but let it also be admitted, that prophecy was no *Deus ex machina*, taking no account whatever of historical circumstances and requirements, and entirely ignoring the disposition and mental characteristics of the prophets themselves. As surely as the prophecy which issued from the mouth of an Isaiah bore a totally different character, and took a totally different course, from that of Ezekiel, whilst this again took a different direction from that of Daniel; so certain is it that this obvious difference is to be attributed to the peculiar circumstances and personal characteristics of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Prophecy, again, is always and without exception connected with the historical circumstances of the age. The form and direction which it takes have some regard to the necessities of the age.—*But*, it not merely unfolds itself according to the extent to which the germs of the future exist in the present, and have been brought into existence by the ordinary course of history; it also impregnates it with *new germs*, which it is afterwards the task of history to unfold. For prophecy, history is certainly not the generative principle, but simply the receptive womb; at the same time, it is not every age that is adapted to its purposes, but only one sufficiently matured, just as the *mature* womb alone can conceive and foster a fruitful germ.

If we look now at the details of Balaam's prophecy with regard to the future history of the heathen, there is no difficulty at all in his announcement respecting *Moab* and *Edom*. In ver. 20 *AMALEK* is called the *beginning of the heathen*, רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם. The explanation adopted by *Ewald*, *Lengerke*, and others, *viz.*, that the Amalekites are called the *beginning* as being the *oldest* of the nations, as having already become a powerful and independent people, when the rest of the nations mentioned here were but just in process of formation, is opposed to historical tradition (§ 4, 2), and, to say the least, is not supported by the usage of the language; for in Amos vi. 1 Israel is also called רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם, by which the prophet certainly did not intend to say that

Israel was the *oldest* of the nations.—In his Dissertation on the Pentateuch, Hengstenberg interpreted the expression as meaning, that Amalek was the first of all the heathen nations which rose up in hostility to Israel (§ 4, 3). But he has given up this explanation since then, because, although גוים does not merely mean *nations*, but nations in contradistinction to Israel, and therefore *Gentile nations*, yet it does not imply *hostility* to Israel, which the former explanation presupposed. The view which he now supports is this: Amalek is called the beginning of the nations, as being the foremost in glory and power; just as in Amos vi. 1 Israel is called the *beginning of the nations* in just the same sense, and in Amos vi. 6 רֵאשִׁית שְׂמָנִים means the first, *i.e.*, the best, the most excellent of salves. There can be no doubt whatever that רֵאשִׁית may be used in this sense. At the same time, Hengstenberg's first explanation appears to me the most in harmony with the context and the general tenor of the prophecy. רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם stands in unmistakable antithesis to אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים (the end of the days) in ver. 14, on which the whole prophecy depends. If, then, "*the end*," so far as the range of this prophecy is concerned, was the period when all heathen hostility to Israel should cease, "*the beginning*" would be the period when this heathen hostility first commenced. And the commencement was actually made by Amalek; for the enmity of Egypt does not enter into consideration here, seeing that when Israel was in Egypt it was not a nation by the side of other nations. The Exodus first gave it this character. It is true enough that the word גוים does not necessarily denote a *hostile* attitude to Israel; but it acquires the meaning here, from the fact that the nations mentioned were all *hostile* to Israel. Full justice is not done by Hengstenberg's last explanation, even to the antithesis between אַחֲרֵית and רֵאשִׁית in ver. 20, "*the beginning of the heathen is Amalek, his end hastens to destruction;*" that is to say, Amalek, which was the first to engage in hostilities with Israel, shall be the first to suffer the overthrow which awaits all the enemies of Israel (1 Sam. xv.).—Even in Amos vi. 1 the expression רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם, as applied to Israel, may denote not the *most eminent* of the nations, but literally and historically *the first* of the nations. I am also of opinion, that in this passage Amos makes some allusion to Num. xxiv. 20, but with Hengstenberg's interpretation I cannot perceive for what purpose the allusion is made. But

if we take the expression in both instances as denoting historical priority, the similarity, yet contrast, in the use of the words gives a peculiar significance to the allusion. Amalek and Israel are both "first-fruits of the nations;" but whereas Amalek was the first nation to oppose the kingdom of God, Israel was the first to enter it. In the same sense Israel is called "the first-born son of Jehovah" in Ex. iv. 22, and the "first-fruits of His increase" in Jer. ii. 3.—What pre-eminent importance must have belonged to the position of Amalek at the time of Balaam's prophecy is apparent from ver. 7, where the power and glory of the future monarchy in Israel are described in these words: "Higher than *Agag* be thy king." (*Agag* was not the name of one particular king of Amalek, as in 1 Sam. xv. 8, but the official name of all the kings; according to the Arabic, *اڨاڨ* meant the *fiery* one, *valde ardens, rutilans, splendens.*) Hence, as this prophecy proves (and history strengthens the proof), Amalek was the strongest and most warlike of all the nations with whom Israel came into conflict in the time of Moses, more powerful even than Edom; for otherwise the latter would have been selected as the standard of comparison.

In connection with vers. 21, 22, the question arises, What nation are we to understand by the **KENITES** mentioned here? We meet with the name first of all in Gen. xv. 19, in the list of nations, who are to be regarded as the (pre-Canaanitish) aborigines of the land of Canaan (*vid.* vol. i. § 45, 1). *Hengstenberg*, however, supposes them to have been a Canaanitish people, who were still in existence in the time of Moses, and whom Balaam singled out as the representatives of the Canaanites generally. But there are two objections to this. In the first place, they are omitted from the list of nations in Gen. x., which is equivalent to a positive proof, that in the time of Moses they were not in existence as an independent nation of any importance (vol. i. § 29, 5); and in the second place, they are not mentioned in any of the numerous lists of the Canaanitish nations whom Israel overthrew.—Again, we find the name of the Kenites in the Terahite nation of the Midianites. At all events, at a later period that branch of the Midianites to which Moses was related by marriage, and which had separated itself from the main body of the tribe, and maintained an alliance with the Israelites, appears to have been distinguished by

this particular name¹ (Judg. i. 16, iv. 11 ; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29 : *vid.* vol. ii. § 19, 6, 7, and § 52, 3). Since, then, for the reasons assigned, we cannot possibly think of the Kenites mentioned in Gen. xv. 19 ; and since the name of the Kenites unquestionably occurs among the Midianites, and a curse directed against this nation, which was now allied with the Moabites for the purpose of compassing the destruction of Israel, would be perfectly in place here, we have no hesitation in regarding the curse directed against the Kenites as intended for the Midianites. The reason why Balaam preferred the more uncommon name, is evident from ver. 21. The appearance of their homes in the rocks rendered the similarity in sound between קְנִיזִים and קְנִיזִים peculiarly welcome. How the name of Kenites² came to be applied to the Midianites,—whether it arose spontaneously and independently among themselves, or whether it is to be traced to an admixture of the Midianites with the Kenites mentioned in Gen. xv. 19, who may perhaps have been subjugated by them (as was the case with the Avvites, whose name occurs among the Philistines, Josh. xiii. 3),—must be left undecided.—The arguments adduced *in support of* his opinion (which we have shown above to be inadmissible), and *against* our own, have no weight whatever ; and, when examined more closely, tell somewhat against the former. It would be a strange thing, he says, if Balaam had never mentioned the *Canaanites* among the enemies of Israel ; and all the more strange (? !), from the fact that the conflict with the Canaanites was by no means simply a future one, but already the Canaanitish king of Arad,

¹ *Ewald's* conjecture, that the Kenites in Gen. xv. 19, and also in Num. xxiv. 21, 22, were a smaller branch of the Amalekites (the aborigines, in his opinion)—a conjecture which he bases upon 1 Sam. xv. 6—is perfectly unfounded and imaginary. All that this passage proves, is that the branch of the Midianites which was friendly to the Israelites, who bore the name of Kenites in the later books, dwelt in Saul's time *near to* (possibly *in*) the territory of the Amalekites. From what is stated in 1 Sam. xv. 6,—*viz.*, that Saul said to the Kenites, "Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you among them ; for ye showed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt,"—the more natural conclusion would certainly be, that there *cannot* have been any blood-relationship between these Kenites and the Amalekites.—Compare chap. xxx. 29, where David is said to have shared the spoil, which he took from the Amalekites, with the allied cities of the Kenites.

² It denotes a lancer, an armed man, a warrior.

in the country to the west of the Jordan, had been defeated, and the Canaanitish kings, Sihon and Og, in the country to the east of the Jordan, had been both defeated and placed under the ban. To this I reply, that it would have been incomparably more strange if Balaam had not mentioned the *Midianites* among the enemies of Israel; and the more so, because at this very time the Midianites were in league with the Moabites, to effect the overthrow of Israel. And if the king of Arad, with his people, and the Canaanites on the east of the Jordan, were already conquered and placed under the ban, and therefore removed from the list of the enemies of Israel, of what use would it have been for Balaam to curse them? No doubt, there were still Canaanites enough remaining in the country to the west of the Jordan; and, with the evident intention of the Israelites to conquer their land, they would probably not be very friendly towards them. But Balaam could not include them in his prophecy; for the simple reason that, as he himself distinctly stated, he did not intend to predict what would take place in the time then coming, but what would take place in the far distant future (ver. 17), the "end of the days" (ver. 14).

We take for granted, then, that the prophecy before us is directed against the Midianites, who were opposed to Israel. But by whom was Kain to be wasted? *Hengstenberg* replies, "By *Israel*." But Balaam himself says, "How long, and *Asshur* will carry thee away." For it is as clear as daylight that the suffix can *only* relate to Kain, of whom he is speaking, and cannot possibly refer to Israel, to whom there is not the slightest allusion in the entire strophe.—*Hengstenberg* brings forward *three* arguments in support of his opinion, which we will now proceed to examine. The *first* is, that "Kain is mentioned just before in the third person." This is quite correct; but is it so unwonted a thing for the second person to be changed into the third, and *vice versa*, in a poetic discourse? The poet first addresses Kain in the second person, and then speaks *of* him in the third person, and then speaks *to* him in the second again. What life does this interchange throw into the discourse! And what meaning there is in the change! The seer begins with the direct address, "Lasting is thy dwelling, O Kain!" he then turns to the hearer, "And yet Kain will not escape destruction;" and he concludes by addressing the

exclamation to Kain, "How long, and Asshur will carry thee away."—By the side of this highly poetical liveliness, what avails an objection which destroys all the spirit of poetry by the introduction of the most sober reflection; such as this, for example: "That the words are addressed to Israel (?!), is indicated by the prophet himself by the very fact (?!), that in the first half of the verse he drops the address to the Kenites, which he had carried through ver. 21, and which he would otherwise have continued (?!)." And now listen a little further: "Israel is also addressed by Balaam elsewhere, namely, at the beginning and end of the second (it should be *third*) prophecy."—Yes, truly, he there exclaims (ver. 5), "How goodly are thy tents, O JACOB! and thy dwellings, O ISRAEL!" And so, because the poet addresses Israel here in the second person, and expressly mentions its name; in another prophecy, where there is also an address in the second person, Israel *must* be intended, though its name is not mentioned, and the name of Kain has been mentioned immediately before!—(2.) "The carrying away, therefore, can hardly relate to the Kenites, because the stress lies upon *the destruction*. A nation that has already been destroyed, cannot be afterwards carried away." Certainly not! But nothing has been said about Kain having been already destroyed; and Hengstenberg himself renders the clause, "Kain becomes for a desolation." This it became simply through the fact of its being carried away. Strictly speaking, however, it does not mean "for a desolation," but "for a burning" (בְּאֵשׁ). The *home* of the Kenites is burned, but *they themselves* are carried away. Does not this harmonise perfectly?—(3.) "If we refer the clause, 'Asshur shall carry thee away,' to the Kenites, we are at a loss what to do with the sequel. There will then be nothing to indicate the relation in which it stands to the leading thought of the prophecy. The overthrow of Asshur comes into consideration here, only so far as he is the enemy of Israel. But if the words in question do not apply to Israel, he is never pointed out in this light at all." Was it necessary, then, that he should be expressly so pointed out? If the leading idea of the prophecy is precisely this, that the heathen nations must perish on account of their hostility to Israel, it follows, as a matter of course, that it must be on this account that Asshur is doomed to perish. But what renders Hengstenberg's explanation inadmis-

sible, is the character of the prophecy itself. Balaam was to pronounce on Israel blessings, and not curses; whereas the captivity of Israel by Asshur would be a curse, and not a blessing. The seer has already solemnly declared that there is no fault or calamity in Israel; and yet to the very same Israel he announces a calamity no less grievous, than the captivity of the entire nation!—I am fully convinced that *Hengstenberg* would have opposed with all his might an interpretation, so obviously opposed to the character of the whole prophecy, and so destructive of the impression it was intended to produce, if he had not been shut up to it by the *πρώτον ψεύδος* in his exposition, *viz.*, the identification of the Kenites with the Canaanites: for of course the Canaanites, who had been entirely destroyed by Joshua, could not be carried away by Asshur.—It is true, there is no historical account of the Midianites being carried away captive by Asshur. But they are only mentioned once, subsequently to their overthrow by Gideon, *viz.*, in Is. ix. 6. There is no improbability, therefore, in the supposition, that they were carried into captivity by the Assyrians.

The last heathen nation, whose overthrow Balaam predicted, was ASSHUR. In the parallel clause, the name of *Eber* is placed by its side. That the Israelites cannot be intended (Balaam never speaks of them under any other name than Jacob or Israel), is evident from a single glance at the character and drift of the prophecy. *Eber* denotes those who live beyond the Euphrates (*vid.* vol. i. § 46, 4), and therefore is essentially synonymous with *Asshur*, though not so definite. It was the great imperial power of Asia, which was as yet too far off for the Assyrian and Babylonian empires to be distinguished. The exclamation of woe with which Balaam commenced this last section of his prophecy, is supposed by *Hengstenberg* to have arisen from the fact, that he took this judgment more to heart than any of the others, on account of its affecting the children of his own people.

The destruction of Asshur was to be effected by a power, coming in ships from the west to the lands of the Euphrates. It comes from the side of *Chittim* (מִיַּד כִּיִּתִּים). It is now generally admitted that CHITTIM originally meant *Cyprus* (*vid.* *Gesenius*, *Thesaurus* s. v.); and *Hengstenberg* has shown that it was originally restricted to Cyprus, and did not embrace all the islands

and countries of the west. Cyprus is introduced here as the principal mart of commerce in the Mediterranean, the medium of communication between the east and the west; and only in this capacity was it the representative of the countries of the west in general. It is not stated that destruction is to be brought upon Asshur by ships of Chittim; but only by ships which come *from the side* of Chittim, that is to say, from the west. The fact, that the event which the seer here beholds, an event which shakes the world, and fills him with the greater terror and dismay, from the fact that it touches the children of his own nation, is mighty and irresistible in its character, is expressed without ambiguity in the words, "Woe, who will live, when God doeth this!"

To an expositor who retains the least impartiality, and is not altogether enslaved by dogmatic prejudices, it cannot for a moment be doubtful, that the destruction of the imperial power of Asia by Greeks and Romans is predicted here (like the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, they are still classed together as one); and therefore (*horribile dictu!*) that we have here a prophecy in the strictest sense of the word, the prediction of an event which no human wisdom or acuteness could have foreseen or calculated upon, either in the time of Moses, or David, or Malachi. But in this case all the foregone conclusions of our rationalistic critics, who consider themselves so free from everything of the kind, and all the dogmatic prejudices of those who boast that they have no prejudices at all, would be overthrown in a moment. "No," they reply, "prophecy and miracles are impossible. That is *a priori* certain, and therefore it cannot be admitted that there is any prophecy here." But what can be done to bring the dogma of the impossibility of prophecies, in the strict sense of the word, from so fatal a situation? Just look, and perhaps you may find in some small corner of history an account of some Greek ships arriving in Asia, upon which the prophecy might be fastened, as a *vaticinium post eventum*, whether it be suitable or not. True enough! The hope is realised. When the *Chronicon* of Eusebius became known, the thing desired was actually found, and the happy discoverer was *Hitzig* (*Begriff der Critik*, p. 54 sq.). *Von Bohlen* now began to huzzah at the admirable explanation; and *v. Lengerke* could not imagine anything that could stand against

it. *Hitzig* himself also thought that "no other allusion could possibly be imagined."

The account referred to has respect to "an invasion of Asia by the Greeks in the time of *Sennacherib*, about which *Alexander Polyhistor*, probably from *Berosus*, writes as follows (*Euseb. Chron. ed. Ven.*, p. 21):—*Quam autem ille fama accepisset, Græcos in Ciliciam belli movendi causa pervenisse, ad eos contendit; aciem contra aciem instruxit, ac plurimis quidem de suo exercitu cæsis, hostes tamen debellat, atque in victoriæ monumentum imaginem suam in eo loco erectam reliquit, Chaldaicisque literis fortitudinem ac virtutem suam ad futuri temporis memoriam incidi jussit.*—Compare the shorter account given by *Abydenus* of the same event, "*ad litus maris Ciliciæ Græcorum classem profligatam depressit.*"

It really requires a very strong power of imagination to find it quite "conceivable," that the prophecy before us was written some years after this event, and is to be traced to the impression which it left upon the minds of the Israelites. The landing of a few Greek ships upon the shores of *Cilicia* (although the attack was repulsed, if not entirely without loss, yet immediately and with complete success, and therefore was followed by no results whatever), produced such an impression upon the minds of the Israelites, that three or four years afterwards an Israelitish poet proceeded to describe it in such terms as these! An attack upon the shores of *Cilicia* he describes as an oppression of *Asshur* and *Eber*! The defeat of the Greeks, who were compelled to return immediately and altogether without success, is a striking judgment of God upon *Asshur* and *Eber*! And a victory of *Sennacherib*, which this monarch himself caused to be recorded upon a monument as one of his glorious achievements, is represented as the overthrow of *Asshur* and *Eber*! Can we believe it possible, that so insignificant an event as this, of which not the slightest mention is made, either in the historical or prophetic books of the Bible, or in the whole of the literature of Greece, and which had passed away, without leaving any traces behind, long before the time of the poet, should be introduced in such terms as these, "Alas! who shall live when God doeth this?"

To complete what we have already written, we subjoin the following extracts from *Hengstenberg's* reply to *Hitzig's* theory

(Balaam, p. 502):—(i.) Had this event been of such importance as *Hitzig* assumes, and had it made such an impression upon the Israelites as to call forth this prophecy, we should expect to find some reference made to it in other parts of the Old Testament. But nothing of the kind is to be found; the supposition that there is such a reference, has been given up (and very properly) even by *Hitzig* himself, in his *Die Psalmen historisch krit. unters.* 1836, p. 42 sq.—(ii.) Even admitting that the account of Alexander Polyhistor is perfectly trustworthy, and not too highly coloured in the Oriental style, in which the enemies are usually made more terrible, that the victory over them may appear the more splendid; yet it by no means suggests the idea of a hostile invasion of such a character, that even the most timid could have expected it to be followed by the ruin of Asia. The Greeks never advanced farther than the coast; and a single battle sufficed for their complete expulsion.—(iii.) The idea of an expedition from Greece against Asia, on anything like a large scale, in the time of Sennacherib, is completely at variance with all the historical circumstances of the age. All that they will allow us to think of, is a dash at the coast (*Streifzug*), a predatory incursion, or an attempt to found a colony. This remark was made by *Niebuhr* himself, who was the first to call attention to the notice, and who received it with some prepossession in its favour. He says: “The state of Greece at this time forbids our thinking of a combined expedition, at all resembling the Trojan war” (p. 205). *Plass* (*Vor-, und Urgeschichte der Hellenen*, ii. 5, 6) says of the condition of Greece during the whole period 1100–500 B.C.: “In these six centuries, the Greeks were not attacked by a single foreign enemy; nor did they all, or even a considerable number of the separate parts, combine together to engage in any splendid expedition abroad. We do not even need the express testimony of the well-informed Thucydides (i. 15) to convince us of this. The complete silence of every writer as to any such enterprise is amply sufficient. . . . The Hellenic tribes enjoyed a peculiarly good fortune during all this period; for, just at the time when they were occupied with their internal culture, they continued entirely free from outward attacks. Nor could they take in hand an expedition against any foreign nation; for they were so thoroughly occupied with themselves and their own organisation,

and so broken up into tribes and again into smaller states, that a combination of the whole, or even of any considerable number, for a common purpose, could never take place without external pressure."

Although *Hitzig* has declared that "no other allusion is conceivable," *Ewald* has nevertheless set up a still more wretched solution, not only as "conceivable," but, like all his discoveries, as absolutely certain, and not leaving the smallest room for doubt. He says: "The words of the poet, who has taken the name of Balaam to hide his own, from their position, certainly allude to an event which must have been the most recent occurrence in history, and the mention of which would bring to mind the actually existing circumstances. A piratical fleet from the Kittæans, *i.e.*, from the Phœnician Cyprians, *must* (?!), a short time before this, have visited the Hebrew, that is to say the Canaanitish or Phœnician shores, and also the Assyrian, which were still farther to the north, in other words, the coast of Syria. Of this event, the consequences of which cannot have been very lasting, no other distinct record has been preserved. But, as we learn from the Tyrian Annals of Menander (in Josephus, Antiquities, 9, 14, 2) that Elulæus, the king of Tyre, conquered the Kittæans, who had revolted, and then (evidently because the revolt was of sufficient importance) Salmanassar, who was at war with Tyre, endeavoured to turn it to account; we may justly assume that the revolt of the Kittæans lasted for a long time, before Elulæus put it down."—Nearly everything that can be said against *Hitzig's* hypothesis, applies with even greater force to this miserable attempt at an explanation. Even *Lengerke*, who is generally ready enough to follow *Ewald*, is obliged to reject it. "On the one hand, it is quite inconceivable," he says, "that Eber should stand for Phœnicia or Canaan; for Canaan was a Hamite by descent. On the other hand, however, it was only the modern Jews who applied the name of Asshur to Syria; and it was first of all applied to the succeeding monarchies" (i. 597).

If Balaam's prophecies are set down as free poetical productions, *vaticinia post eventum*, their composition *must* necessarily be placed in the time of David, or the age immediately following; for the achievements of David are too evidently the heart, the centre, and the occasion of the prophecies. But there are

two things at variance with such a supposition. In the *first place*, the words respecting Asshur, which critics who reject all prophecy never can assign to this period, and on the strength of which *Lenjerke* regards it as “*a priori* certain that vers. 23, 24 are later interpolations.” But ver. 22 also presupposes the importance of Asshur as an imperial power,—an importance which it did not possess till the time of Isaiah and Micah,—and therefore it is to this period that the majority of critics assign the composition of the prophecies.—In the *second place*, the words of the third prophecy in ver. 7, “Let his king be higher than Agag,” irresistibly compel us to assign the composition of the prophecy at least to a period *anterior* to Saul; for, after the total defeat of the Amalekites under Saul (1 Sam. xv.), which broke their power and destroyed their importance for ever, it would have been an unparalleled absurdity for a poet to suppose that he could find no more glowing terms in which to describe the glory and might of the Israelitish monarchy, than by saying that the king of Israel was more glorious than even the king of Amalek.—There are allusions and distinct references to Balaam’s prophecies even in the ancient prophets; compare, for example, chap. xxiv. 21 with Obadiah ver. 3; chap. xxiv. 18, 19 with Obadiah ver. 17; and chap. xxi. 28 with Jer. xlvi. 45. The prophecies of Balaam are also mentioned in Micah vi. 5, though without any verbal reference to their contents.

CONFLICT WITH THE MIDIANITES.

§ 58. (Num. xxv.—xxx.)—When Balaam parted from Balak to return to his home, he stopped by the way among the *Midianites*, who dwelt upon the table-land of the Moabitish territory (1) (§ 52, 3). No sooner had the avaricious seer come down from the height of the inspiration, which raised him above himself, than he was unable to bear the thought, that he had been compelled to turn his back so completely upon the “wages of unrighteousness.” His heart was filled with hatred and malice towards the Israelites, for whose sake he had been obliged to give up the rich reward. This was the actual moment of deci-

sion, the hour of the hardening of his heart. The Midianites followed his advice (Num. xxxi. 16), and, pretending friendship and good-will to the Israelites, endeavoured to tempt them to participate in the unbridled licentiousness of the worship of their god Baal-Peor. The plan was successful. The Israelites accepted the invitation to the festival; and, forgetting their God Jehovah and their own calling, rushed into idolatrous adultery with the daughters of Midian and Moab (2). Moses, incensed at this abominable apostasy, commanded the judges of Israel to proceed with unsparing rigour and put the guilty to death. The vengeance of *Jehovah* now broke forth in a plague, by which many thousands were destroyed. But in spite of all this, an Israelite named Zimri, a chief of the tribe of Simeon, had the unparalleled audacity to take Kosbi, a daughter of one of the Midianitish chiefs, whom he had chosen as his mistress, and bring her into his tent, before the eyes of Moses and the whole congregation, for the purpose of performing the idolatrous and abominable act in the very midst of the camp of Israel, in which the holiness of Jehovah dwelt. Phinehas, the son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron, stirred with holy indignation at so unparalleled a crime, seized a spear, rushed after them into the tent, and pierced them through whilst indulging their idolatrous lusts (3). For this act of priestly zeal, Phinehas and his seed were promised the priesthood in perpetuity, as a covenant of peace with Jehovah. And the zeal for the honour of Jehovah, which had arisen spontaneously in the midst of the congregation, brought its reward to the whole congregation, just as the plague of Jehovah had come upon the whole congregation as a ban, on account of the sinners in the midst. From this moment the plague was stayed; but twenty-four thousand had already fallen. Upon this the Israelites received a command to repay the hypocritical and crafty friendship of the Midianites with open and avenging enmity, "that the zeal of Phinehas, by which the guilt had been expiated, might be appropriated by the whole congregation." But before this command was executed, a fresh

numbering was ordered and completed. The people were now about to be led against the Midianites, to engage in the holy battle for Jehovah, and therefore (since the first numbering at Sinai [§ 20] was no longer valid, in consequence of the rejection of that generation and the death of all who composed it) it was necessary that they should first of all be recognised as the army of Jehovah; and this was accomplished by means of the new census, which was taken by Moses and Eleazar (4). But as this census was to serve, not merely to raise an army against Midian, but also to prepare for the immediately approaching conquest of the promised land on the other side of the Jordan, there was very appropriately connected with it the command to set apart Joshua as the successor of Moses, since Moses himself was not to tread the land of promise, on account of his sin at the waters of strife (§ 44). And lastly, in order that the fresh recognition of Israel, as the congregation of the Lord, might also be sealed on the part of the Lord Himself; the giving of the law, which had been suspended for thirty-eight years, was resumed; and sundry commands were issued, respecting offerings and vows. Twelve thousand picked warriors were then collected together, to wage the avenging war of extermination against the Midianites. So little resistance was offered by the latter, that not a single man of the Israelites perished. The five Midianitish chiefs (kings) were put under the ban, along with all the males. Among these was Balaam, who now received the proper "wages of unrighteousness." The Israelitish soldiers had preserved all the Midianitish women alive; but, as it was really with *them* that the temptation originated, Moses issued a command that they should also be slain, and that none should be preserved except the virgins who had never known a man (5).

(1.) In chap. xxiv. 25 it is stated that "Balaam went away, and turned to his place (וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּמִקְוֵהוֹ), and Balak also went his way." But, although it would appear from these words that Balaam returned home, we find him afterwards among the Midianites, to whom he gave advice which proved destructive to

Israel, and among whom he found his death. Early commentators explained למקמו, according to the analogy of Acts i. 25 ("to his own place"), as meaning *hell*. Others were of opinion that the *place* referred to was not Balaam's home beyond the Euphrates, but *the place* where he had been staying immediately before. (*Steudel* still adopts this interpretation.) Others, again, either gave the verb an inchoative meaning, "he *began to return*," or supposed that Balaam actually returned to his native town, and then came back to the Midianites again. *Hengstenberg* (p. 508) has very correctly stated, that all these assumptions are set aside, by the simple remark that שׁב literally means to *turn away*, and then to *turn back*. The attainment of the object forms no part of the word." וישב למקמו, therefore, is strictly speaking equivalent to "he set out upon the journey home." At the same time, it is evident from what follows, that he never actually reached his home.

But *Hengstenberg* proceeds to observe, at p. 512: "Balaam's ambition and avarice sought among the *Israelites*, upon whose gratitude he considered that he had just claims, the satisfaction which the interposition of God put beyond his reach among the Moabites. He betook himself first of all to the Israelitish camp, which was not far from the spot where he had taken leave of Balak. But he did not meet with such a reception as he anticipated. Moses, who saw through his heart, which was not right before the Lord, perceived that the thanks were not due to *him*, who had done all he could to gratify the wishes of the Moabitish king, but to the *Lord*. He therefore treated him coldly; and it was but natural that his ruling passion, which was continually recalling to his memory the words of Balak, 'I will promote thee unto very great honour, and I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me,' impelled him to seek out a new way of gratifying it."—We inquire with amazement, Where has the author learned all this? There is nothing about it in the Biblical record, and not the slightest hint from which we could infer that it was at all a probable thing. Still *Hengstenberg* is quite certain that he is right. He says: "It is scarcely conceivable, that Balaam should have allowed so excellent an opportunity for gratifying his passion to pass by unimproved;—and we have almost as strong a proof as we should have in an express assertion, in the circumstance, that the contents of Num.

xxii.—xxiv. could *only* be obtained from communications made by himself to the elders of Israel.” We must observe, in the first place, however, that this hypothesis is perfectly irreconcilable with the statement in ver. 25 (וַיָּשָׁב לְמַקְוֵוֹ, he turned to his place), even according to Hengstenberg’s own (correct) interpretation of the words. For if שָׁב means to *turn back*; when Balaam parted from Balak, he cannot have gone from the heights of Peor into the Arboth Moab, for this would have been *going forwards*, instead of *turning back*. And beside this, we very much doubt whether the “psychological probability” is so unquestionable, as *Hengstenberg* thinks that he has shown it to be. In my opinion, it would be a far more correct conclusion, from a psychological point of view, that it is by no means a probable thing that Balaam turned to the Israelites, after the frustration of his hopes and desires. The only circumstances under which we can imagine his doing this, would have been, if what had already transpired had altered his mind and changed his heart, and if faith had led him to seek the camp of the Israelites. But there is no necessity to prove that this was not the case. And if his avarice and ambition were not destroyed, but increased, by the frustration of his hopes; his feelings towards Israel, who was the cause of his failure, would be turned into hatred, and his relation to Jehovah for ever disturbed. In such a state of mind as this, he would take good care not to venture into the camp of Israel, where the holiness of Jehovah dwelt. Of this holiness he had already experienced too much that was adverse, to have the least hope of finding gold and honour there.

But what more especially surprises us, is to find *Hengstenberg* maintaining, that it is only on this supposition that Israel’s acquaintance with the contents of Num. xxii.—xxiv. is at all conceivable. This is a concession to the destructive critics, which we should have expected *Hengstenberg* to be one of the last to make. For if his psychological argument breaks down (and he can hardly hide its weakness even from himself), he must give himself entirely into their hands.—We are by no means inclined to take refuge in the *ultima ratio* of perplexity, namely, that the historian learned all that is recorded in chap. xxii.—xxiv. by direct inspiration of God. But are there not many other ways in which the Israelites might have obtained the information? Balaam himself fell into their hands at a later period. If, then,

what appears to us to be a very unimportant and unessential question is to be answered by *possibilities*; is it not *much safer* and more advisable to point to the *probability*, that when Balaam was a prisoner and threatened with death, he told the Israelites what had occurred, and what was so flattering to them, in the hope of thereby securing their favour, and saving his own life?—Not to mention a hundred other possibilities of their obtaining the information through the medium of Moabitish or Midianitish men or women! An occurrence which rushed like wildfire over the whole of Midian and Moab, could not be permanently concealed from the Israelites.

(2.) The unprejudiced or inconsiderate manner in which the Israelites listened to the cunning invitation of the Midianites, renders it very probable, that as yet nothing was known in the congregation of what had transpired between Balak and Balaam (and this would be a fresh argument against Hengstenberg's hypothesis, which we have just refuted). For if the Israelites had known anything of the hostile dispositions and intentions of the Moabites and Midianites, who were allied together for this very purpose, and whose hostility was manifested in the invitation sent to Balaam, they would hardly have fallen so heedlessly into the snare. Not to mention anything else, they would certainly have suspected that some stratagem or hostile attack was hidden behind the friendly invitation which they received; and they would therefore have been upon their guard against accepting it. And even if there were individuals who were imprudent enough to yield, or sufficiently tempted to do so by the prospect of the indulgence of their fleshly lusts; Moses, and Eleazar, and such of the princes and judges of Israel as continued firm in their adherence to Jehovah, would certainly do everything in their power, and in this case would hardly fail, to restrain them from the road to destruction. For this same reason, it is probable that the invitation given by the Midianites was not at first a direct invitation to join in a feast of Baal-Peor, but merely to certain festivals of which no precise description was given. When once the Israelites were there, as the Midianites may possibly have thought, the power of sensuality would do the rest.

(3.) On the example of Phinehas, the later Jews founded their so-called *right* (*jus zelotarum*), according to which even

persons who were not qualified to do so by any official position, had the right, where the honour of Jehovah was concerned, to obey the impulses of holy zeal, and proceed of their own accord to the infliction of vengeance, in cases in which the theocratic institutions and interests were endangered by an act of presumptuous denial and contempt. Next to the act of Phinehas, the *jus zelotarum* derived its chief support from the similar examples of Samuel (1 Sam. xv. 33) and Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 24). A similar occurrence in the New Testament was the stoning of Stephen (see *Budde*, de jure zelotarum in *Oelrich's Collectio*, vol. i., Diss. 5, and *Salden otia theol.*, p. 609 sqq.).—With reference to the moral character of this act of Phinehas, and the unqualified approbation expressed in the sacred records, we point first of all to the words of Christ in Luke ix. 55, which determine the rule for every case in which there is a desire to give effect to zeal, which would have been justifiable and praiseworthy under the Old Testament, without the “*mutatis mutandis*” required by the different stand-point of the Gospel. Holy zeal is to be cherished at all times, even under the New Testament, and however the circumstances may change; but the form in which it is expressed is not to be the same under the Gospel as under the law. Even in zeal, the new commandment of love is to rule and regulate the whole. But, above all, is care to be taken (and this applied to the Old Testament as well as the New) that, where love necessarily assumes the form of vengeance, it does not of its own accord interfere with the authority appointed by God, to which He has entrusted the sword for the purpose of inflicting vengeance on evil-doers. And in this light many might regard the act of Phinehas as questionable. But, apart from the fact that, as a priest and the appointed successor of the high priest, Phinehas really did hold an official position, and that the command of Moses (ver. 5) to slay the guilty had been already issued, there are extraordinary circumstances, of a dissolute and abnormal character, when the audacity of crime, the danger to which the highest blessings of life are exposed, and the necessity for immediate action, entrust every one who takes the cause to heart with the temporary right of authority, and the consecration of an actual call to check and avert the evil, even by the employment of force.

(4.) The result of the census is expressly stated to have

shown, that among all who were numbered, not a single one was left of those who had previously been numbered at Sinai. The whole number was now 601,730. It was very little less, therefore, than the number obtained from the former census, *viz.*, 603,550. The difference, however, in the case of particular tribes is very striking. The numbers were as follows :—

	At Sinai.	Now.
Reuben,	46,500	43,730
Simeon,	59,300	22,000
Gad,	45,600	40,500
Naphtali,	53,400	45,400
Ephraim,	40,500	32,500
Judah,	74,600	76,500
Issachar,	54,400	64,600
Zebulun,	54,400	60,500
Manasseh,	32,200	52,700
Benjamin,	35,400	45,600
Dan,	62,700	64,400
Asher	41,500	53,400
Levi,	22,000	23,000

The most remarkable difference is in the case of Simeon. This has been accounted for from the last plague; and the 24,000 who fell in this plague have been supposed to have been for the most part taken from Simeon. The reason for this conjecture is the probability that the example of *Zimri*, a prince of this tribe, was both the proof and the occasion of a more general participation of this tribe in the idolatrous crime.

The claim put in by the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xvii. 1–11; compare chap. xxxvi.) will be more particularly discussed in connection with the laws of inheritance.

(5.) That this account of the attack and extermination of the Midianites has reference to the Midianitish tribes upon the table-land of Moab, the chiefs of which are spoken of in Josh. xiii. 21 as having been formerly the vassals of Sihon (*vid.* § 52, 3), is placed beyond all doubt by the express statement to that effect in Num. xxxi. 8. The main body of the Midianites does not appear to have taken part at all, and therefore there is nothing surprising in their subsequent hostile and powerful attacks upon the Israelites (Judg. vi.–viii.) Moreover, the fact

that only twelve thousand Israelites (a thousand from every tribe) were engaged in the battle, is a proof that the foe was neither numerous nor strong.—To those who regard it as something improbable, if not impossible, that not a single Israelite was missing, as was proved by the numbering of the victors on their return, we would simply beg to say, that there is nothing impossible in such a victory, when the attack was so unexpected. It is also apparent, from the *data* mentioned in § 52, 3, that *these* particular Midianites were anything but a courageous and warlike race. (For similar examples from profane history, see *Rosenmüller* on this passage, and *Hävernick*, *Einleitung*, i. 2, p. 513.)—The command of Moses to slay all the women who had already known a man, was issued in consequence of the idolatrous intercourse of the Israelites with the Midianitish women. The booty brought home by the conquerors was extraordinarily rich, especially in cattle; from which we may infer that the rearing of cattle was the occupation of the tribe. For the Israelites, whose cattle must have diminished very considerably during the journey through the wilderness, such booty as this must have been doubly valuable. The quantity of golden ornaments and jewels is quite in harmony with the unwarlike and luxurious character which evidently distinguished the Midianites.—There was something very peculiar in the manner in which Moses and Eleazar distributed the booty. The whole of it, consisting of 675,000 sheep, 72,000 oxen, 61,000 asses, and 32,000 persons, was divided into two equal parts, one of which was allotted to the victors, the other to those who had taken no part in the battle. As the 12,000 men who were selected to fight did not go to war on their own responsibility, but as representatives of the whole congregation, it was but right that the whole congregation should share in the booty; but as the twelve thousand had had all the trouble and fatigue, it was just as proper that *they* should receive an incomparably larger share. And since the war was also a war of Jehovah, whose presence and aid had given the victory to the Israelites, and therefore the booty, strictly speaking, belonged to Jehovah, a certain quota was to be allotted to the priests and Levites as His servants and representatives. The priests were to receive two parts in a thousand from the share of the warriors; the Levites, two in a hundred from that of the congregation. “The propor-

tion which the share of the priests bore to that of the Levites, therefore, was one to ten ; and thus was very nearly the same as the proportion maintained in the distribution of the customary tithes (*vid. Num. xxvi.*)” (*Baumgarten.*)—The fact which was brought out by the numbering of the warriors after their return, namely, that not a single man was missing, led the superior officers to present a further (free-will) offering, as an expression of their gratitude to Jehovah. They therefore brought the jewels which they had taken, “to make,” as they said, “an atonement for their souls.” On this *Baumgarten* has aptly remarked : “The evident and miraculous protection of Jehovah brought them to a consciousness of their unworthiness, and led them to confess before Jehovah that they were more deserving of death than of such protection as this.”—To mark the whole affair as a holy war, a war of Jehovah, Phinehas, the son of the high priest, accompanied the army, and took the holy vessels with him (*ver. 6*). The participation of Phinehas in the present war was all the more significant, from the fact, that it was he who stopped the plague, through his holy zeal to take vengeance upon the Israelitish sinners. “The Israelites were to follow this resplendent example, by which the wrath of Jehovah had been appeased. . . . The fact that a priest accompanied them to the field, showed at once the relation of the war to Jehovah. And in this case it was the very priest whose simple presence immediately called to mind the close connection between Israel and Midian” (*Baumgarten*). It is also worthy of note, that the law relating to such as should be defiled by touching a corpse (*Num. xix.*) was here applied in its full extent to those who returned from the battle, in consequence of their being all defiled by the Midianites that had been slain (*vers. 19–24*).

DIVISION OF THE LAND ON THE EAST OF THE JORDAN. RE-
GULATIONS WITH REGARD TO CONQUEST OF THE COUN-
TRY TO THE WEST OF THE JORDAN.

§ 59. (*Num. xxxii.–xxxvi.*)—The tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, which were peculiarly wealthy in cattle, presented a petition to Moses and Eleazar, that the land on the east of the Jordan, which had already been conquered, and was particularly adapted for

grazing, might be allotted to them (1). Moses was indignant at what appeared to be so selfish a request, and one which, if granted, would not only disturb the pleasure with which the rest of the tribes would proceed to fight for the country to the west of the river, but would bring down the wrath of Jehovah once more upon the congregation. He therefore reproached them in the most serious manner, for the want of national feeling, and the indifference towards their brethren, which such a request apparently indicated. But when the two tribes solemnly declared that they were ready to send their fighting men across the Jordan, and that they should remain there till the country to the west of the river had been conquered by the combined efforts of the Israelites, he no longer hesitated to accede to their request, with this modification only, that part of the land should be given for an inheritance to the *half-tribe of Manasseh*, which had been peculiarly zealous and active in effecting its conquest (2). The precise limits of their possessions were left to be determined when the general distribution should take place. But they immediately settled down in their relative positions, namely, *Reuben* in the south, *Manasseh* in the north, and *Gad* in the centre of the land. Their first care was to rebuild and fortify a number of the cities that had been destroyed, for the safer protection of their families and flocks, which they were about to leave behind (3).

As Moses had received repeated intimations that his end was approaching, he issued the requisite orders, under the special direction of Jehovah, for the approaching conquest and division of the country to the west of the Jordan. All the inhabitants were to be driven out; and their idols and high places were to be destroyed. Joshua and Eleazar, with the co-operation of the heads of the twelve tribes, were to distribute the land by lot; and forty-eight cities, including six cities of refuge, were to be allotted to the tribe of Levi, throughout the whole land on both sides of the Jordan (4).

(1.) THE REQUEST OF THE REUBENITES AND GADITES IS

generally supposed to have been made with the intention of leaving merely their families and flocks on the east of the Jordan; in which case, the stern rebuke which their request elicited from Moses was founded upon a mistake. But it is certainly very improbable, that so prudent,² circumspect, and experienced a leader as Moses was, would have jumped to so rash and hasty a conclusion. Moreover, his interpretation of their request was actually and expressly supported by their own words: "Give us this land," they said, "and bring us not over Jordan." At any rate, it must be admitted that no one, on first hearing these words, would put any other construction upon them than Moses did. Undoubtedly, the issue showed that their hearts were better than their words would have led one to suppose; for, as soon as the reproof administered by Moses had made them conscious of the unseemly and inadmissible character of their request, they at once declared themselves ready and willing, with all their hearts, to carry out to the fullest extent the just demands of the other tribes.

(2.) The HALF-TRIBE OF MANASSEH had not presented a petition for the land which Moses assigned it. On the contrary, he gave it to them of his own accord, and to satisfy the claims of justice. To render this procedure on the part of Moses intelligible, it was necessary that the fact upon which it was based, and which had been passed over in the previous history (Num. xxi. 33 sqq.), should be recorded here; and this is done in Num. xxxii. 39-42. The supposed discrepancies between this account and other passages (Deut. iii. 4, 13-15; Judg. x. 3-5; 1 Chr. ii. 21 sqq.), which critics have brought forward as discrediting the testimony of the Pentateuch, have been examined by *Kanne* (*Untersuchung* ii. 109 sqq.), *Rosenmüller* (*Alterth.* ii. 1, p. 282 sqq.), and *Hüvernck* (*Einleitung* i. 2, p. 514 sqq.), who have suggested various ways of solving the difficulty. But they have been most thoroughly and conclusively discussed by *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 221 sqq.). The expositions of *Welte*, *Keil*, and *v. Lengerke*, are founded upon that of Hengstenberg.

In Num. xxxii. 39 sqq. it is stated that "the children of Machir, the son of Manassch, went to *Gilead*, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorites who were in it (the subjects of *Silon* therefore); and Moses gave *Gilead* unto Machir, the son of Manasseh, and he dwelt therein. And *Jair*, the son of Ma-

nasseh, went and took their (*i.e.*, the Amorites') dwelling-places (נִוְסֵי¹), and called them *Chavvoth-Jair*. And Nobah went and took *Kenath* and its daughters, and called them *Nobah*, after his own name."—Still further light is thrown upon this passage by Deut. iii. 12-15: "Half Mount Gilead gave I unto the Reubenites and the Gadites. And the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, being the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half-tribe of Manasseh; all the region of *Argob*, with all Bashan, which was called the land of the Rephaim. *Jair*, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of *Argob* unto the coasts of the Geshurites and Maachathites, and called them, that is *Bashan*, after his own name, *Chavvoth-Jair*. And I gave *Gilead* unto *Machir*." From this it clearly follows: (1.) That Reuben and Gad received southern Gilead;—(2.) that the half-tribe of Manasseh received northern Gilead, with all Bashan (or Argob), and for this reason, that it was solely or chiefly to this tribe that the conquest of the land was due;—(3.) that the share of half-Manasseh was in the hands of two leading proprietors, *Machir* and *Jair*. *Machir* received the most northerly part of Gilead; *Jair*, all Bashan or Argob.—So far everything is clear. But this difficulty remains, that in Deut. iii. 14 *Jair* alone is mentioned as the conqueror and possessor of Bashan, whereas according to Num. xxxii. 41, 42, *Nobah* shared it with him. In addition to this, the number of *Chavvoth-Jair* is said to have been sixty in Deut. iii. 4; but in 1 Chr. ii. 22, 23, it is stated, that "*Jair* had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead (according to the later usage, the name Gilead embraced the land of Bashan also). And Geshur and Aram took the *Chavvoth-Jair* from them (the descendants of *Jair*), and (in addition to these) *Kenath* and her daughters, sixty cities (in all)." *Hengstenberg* very properly observes, that the passage means either this or nothing. The whole number, therefore, was sixty, of which twenty-three were *Chavvoth-Jair* in the stricter sense of the term. The other thirty-seven, namely, *Kenath* and her daughters, belonged to the same category, it is true, though in certain respects they differed from the rest. The twenty-three

¹ *Kanne*, speaking of the word *Chavvoth* (from נִוְסֵי to live), which appears at first sight rather a singular name to apply to a settlement, points out the fact, that precisely the same idiom is found in many cases among the Germans, in the names of towns and villages.

cities of Jair, mentioned in 1 Chr. ii. 22, were those which had been taken by Jair *himself*. The sixty referred to in Deut. iii. 4 and 1 Chr. ii. 23, on the contrary, were all that were under the supremacy of Jair, including the thirty-seven that were held by Nobah as his vassal. Instead, therefore, of 1 Chr. ii. 22, 23, being irreconcilable with Deut. iii. 4, it serves rather to explain the difference between Deut. iii. 14 and Num. xxxii. 41, 42, and to produce the most complete harmony between all the four passages in question.

There are other respects, also, in which this passage in the Chronicles is of very great importance. It solves what would otherwise be an insoluble enigma in Josh. xix. 34, and at the same time enables us to determine in what part of Bashan the three and twenty cities were situated, which were called *Charvoth-Jair* in the stricter sense of the term. In the description of the boundary of the tribe of Naphtali, given in this passage, it is stated that it reached "to Judah on the Jordan" (בְּיַהוּדָה הַיְרֵדָה) towards the east. From time immemorial, commentators have wondered whereabouts on the Jordan there can have been a Judah, which was at the same time exactly opposite to Naphtali in the extreme north of Palestine, seeing that Judah dwelt in the extreme south. It was reserved for the acuteness of *K. v. Raumer* (in *Tholuck's Anzeiger* 1836, and also in his own *Palästina*, Ed. 3, p. 405 sqq.) to untie this knot in the most satisfactory manner, by means of 1 Chr. ii. 21, 22, after other commentators had all attempted it in vain. We learn from this passage that *Hezron*, the Judahite, went in to a daughter of *Machir*, the son of Manassch, and the illegitimate offspring resulting from this connection was *Segub*, the father of *Jair*. *Jair*, therefore, by his father's side, was a Judahite—by his mother's, a Manassite. The maternal descent determined his place in the family registers, contrary to the usual custom (Num. xxxvi. 7), on account of his father, who was a bastard, remaining in his mother's house. But his paternal descent was still recognised in the name given to his family inheritance, which was designated "Judah on the Jordan."¹ From this we

¹ We cannot enter further into this question till we come to the history of Joshua. We shall then discuss *Ewald's* objection to *Raumer's* hypothesis (*Geschichte der Israeliten* ii. 294, and *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* iii. 183, 184).

see that *Jair's* territory, *i.e.*, the twenty-three *Chavvoth-Jair*, embraced the most northerly portion of Bashan (from the sources of the Jordan along the left bank, to the Lake of Gennesaret). Southern Bashan would then remain for the territory of Nobah. This is confirmed by the situation of Nobah (= Kenath), the town that was called by his name, which *Burckhardt* discovered in the modern Jolan (Gaulonitis), in nearly the same latitude as the northern extremity of the lake.

There are some who have brought forward *Judg. x. 3-5*, where *Jair* the Gileadite is said to have judged Israel twenty-two years, and to have had thirty sons, and the same number of *Chavvoth-Jair*, as giving ground for the charge, that the writer of the Pentateuch has transferred events and circumstances from the times of the Judges to those of Moses. This is done by *Vater* and others. *Studer*, on the other hand (*ad h. l.*), exculpates the author of the Pentateuch, but brings a similar charge against the writer of the Book of Judges. *Lengerke* and *Bertheau* admit that it is possible that there may have been a *Jair* in the time of Moses, as well as in that of the Judges. The former is proved by the passage already referred to, *viz.*, *1 Chr. ii. 21 sqq.*, from which it is evident that *Zelophehad*, who died in the wilderness (*Num. xxvii. 3*), was a contemporary of *Jair* (*cf. Josh. xiii. 30, 31*). The latter may be explained from the custom, which may be shown to have prevailed among the Israelites, of frequently repeating the names of celebrated ancestors. Nevertheless, *Winer* still persists in maintaining that either the author of the Pentateuch or the writer of the Book of Judges must be guilty of an anachronism (*Reallex i. 534*), seeing that the former speaks of the name *Chavvoth-Jair* as *already* in existence in the time of Moses, whereas the other refers to it as originating in the time of the Judges; for this is unquestionably implied in *Judg. x. 4*, where it is stated that the thirty sons of *Jair* "had thirty cities, which are called *Chavvoth-Jair* unto this day." It may be conceded, however, that in this passage the name is connected with the second *Jair*, without our being also obliged to concede, that if this be the case, it *cannot* have been in existence before. The very fact that in *Judg. x. 3 sqq.* we read, not of sixty, but of thirty *Chavvoth-Jair*, renders it probable that the entire district may have been lost by the family in the confusions of the time of the Judges, whilst at

least a half of it may have been recovered by the *second Jair*. And if so, it is very conceivable that the ancient name, which had been previously lost, may have been restored either by himself or to commemorate his fame.—This supposition is expressly confirmed by 1 Chr. ii. 23, where the Geshurites and Aramites are said to have taken the whole district, with its sixty cities, from the descendants of Jair.

(3.) It might excite astonishment, that flocks, women, and children should have been left with so little anxiety in the country to the east of the Jordan, seeing that it was surrounded on all sides by such tribes as the Geshurites, the Aramites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Midianites, the Edomites, and the Amalekites, who were all of them, to say the least, unfavourably disposed, if not positively hostile. But the words of Moses, “Whoso is equipped (אִי־מִלְחָמָה) among you, let him go with the rest across the Jordan,” are certainly not to be understood as meaning that the whole body of fighting men was to go, but only those who were in the prime of life. The very young and those of advanced age, who were very well able to undertake the defence of fortified cities, no doubt remained behind.

REPETITION AND ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW.

§ 60. (Deut. i.—xxx.)—Moses had now finished his work, and the hour was close at hand in which he was to be gathered to the fathers of his people. Israel was standing upon the banks of the Jordan, and was ready to cross over into the land of its fathers’ pilgrimage, which was promised it as an everlasting possession. But Moses knew that his own feet would never tread its soil, and but a little while before (Num. xxvii. 12) Jehovah had reminded him of the fact. But as he was permitted, from the summit of the mountains of Abarim, to survey with his bodily eye the land into which his nation was about to enter; so did he also, by prophetic inspiration, behold with the eye of his mind the future which awaited the nation there, and survey the temptations, dangers, and transgressions which would mark their future career. He knew that the true prosperity of Israel was inseparably connected with a faithful and unwavering adherence to the law of God, of which he had been

the mediator and herald; and he also knew that in the unrenewed nature of Israel there still remained a great distaste for this law, and a strong inclination for heathenism, from which it had been severed by the grace of its high vocation. This troubled his soul, and impelled him to place once more before the new generation, which had now grown to maturity, the gracious dealings of Jehovah with their fathers, the fruit of which they were now to reap, and to repeat and impress His law upon their minds. With all the emotions with which a dying father gathers his children round him for the very last time, that he may give them his fatherly counsel and warning, did Moses, in the prospect of his speedy end, gather around him the people, whom he had hitherto led and trained with a father's faithfulness, and watched and fostered with all the tenderness of a mother, and who were henceforth to go forward, without his faithful guidance and discipline, to a great and glorious, but at the same time a dangerous future. He commenced his last addresses to the people with a historical survey of the forty years' wanderings in the desert, during which the mercy and faithfulness of Jehovah had been all the more gloriously displayed, in proportion to the perverseness of the people upon whom they were bestowed (chap. i.-iv. 43). He then recapitulated the entire law, bringing out the most salient points, passing over such of the details as related to the priests and Levites rather than to the nation as a whole (1), interspersing earnest appeals, and expanding or modifying as the clearness of his prophetic insight into the necessities of the future showed to be desirable. He then added a command, that when they arrived at the promised land they should write this law upon large stones covered with plaster on Mount Ebal, and at the same time solemnly proclaim the blessing and the curse which it contained (2). He held up before the people streams of blessings on wife and children, house and home, garden and field, if they would faithfully walk in the law of the Lord. He threatened fearful terrors from the curse which would follow apostasy and transgression; but he also pro-

mised mercy and a gracious reception, if they repented of their ungodly ways (chaps. xxvii.—xxx.).—Moses knew what he had been to his people through the mercy of God; how much the people owed, not to him indeed, but to his calling and office; what they would have become, had it not been for the mediatorial office with which he had been invested; and how quickly they would have become the prey of heathen magic and theurgy. But when he was gone, the office itself would disappear from the stage of history, or at all events would no longer possess the same force and comprehensive character; for to no other prophet did Jehovah draw so near as He had done to him, no other was entrusted, as he was, with the whole house of Jehovah (Num. xii. 6–8). Hence it is stated in Deut. xxxiv. 10, that “there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses.” The thought of this might have troubled his mind in his dying hour; but Jehovah had comforted him with the promise, “I will raise them up a *Prophet* from among their brethren *like unto thee*” (3). This announcement he repeated to the people; and upon it he founded his warning against the abominations of heathen magic and soothsaying.

This repetition and renewed enforcement of the law in the Arboth Moab, accompanied by fresh promises and threats, and the summons to choose between a blessing and a curse, was a renewal of the giving of the law, and consequently also of the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai. It is therefore called *the covenant with the children of Israel in the land of Moab* (Deut. xxix. 1 (4)). “See,” said Moses at the close of his emphatic address,—“see, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil; in that I command thee this day to love Jehovah thy God, to walk in His ways, and to keep His commandments, and His statutes, and His judgments, that thou mayest live and multiply; and Jehovah thy God shall bless thee in the land, whither thou goest to possess it. But if thine heart be drawn away, so that thou wilt not hear, . . . I denounce unto you this day; that ye shall surely perish, and that ye shall not pro-

long your days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan, to go to possess it. I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing : therefore choose life, etc.”

(1.) We must reserve any further remarks upon the peculiar and distinctive character of this *repetition of the law*.—The name *Deuteronomy* is derived from the Septuagint, which renders *קִשְׁנָה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת* in Deut. xvii. 18, and Josh. viii. 32, *τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο* (and also from the Vulgate). *Delitzsch* (on Gen. i. 25) and others accordingly render the expression “The repeated of this law,” and interpret it as meaning “this repeated law.” But this interpretation is apparently by no means indisputably certain. In the Chaldee and Syriac versions, whose authority in such cases is at least as great, if not greater, than that of the Septuagint and Vulgate, *קִשְׁנָה* is rendered *כְּתִיבָהּ*, i.e., *copy* (*vid.* Esther iv. 8 and iii. 14). As the two meanings may be deduced with equal facility from the primary signification of the word, the decision of the question in dispute depends upon which of the two had become fixed in the usage of the language at the time when the Pentateuch was written ; and we have not the necessary *data*, to determine this with certainty. But the Chaldee rendering is favoured, not only by the fact that the translator may be presumed to have possessed a more accurate acquaintance with the peculiarities of the Hebrew language, but also, and as it seems to me even more, by the circumstance that the expression *Mishneh hattorah* only occurs twice, and that *only* where there is an undoubted reference to a *copy* of this law ; whereas in other passages, in which the same law in the original is spoken of, the word *Mishneh* is wanting (*e.g.*, Deut. iv. 44 and xxxi. 9).

(2.) We shall enter more fully into the manner in which the command to *write this law upon stones* could be, and was to be carried out, in connection with Josh. viii. 30 sqq. But there is another question which we must not postpone, namely, What are we to understand by “this law?” The law of Deuteronomy alone ? or the whole law of the Pentateuch ? or the whole of the Pentateuch itself, including the historical portions ? *Vater, Hengstenberg, Keil* (Joshua, p. 222 translation ; and *Einleitung,*

p. 129), and *Delitzsch* (Genesis i. 26) answer unanimously, and certainly correctly: "Deuteronomy only, or rather the legal sum and substance of it." We cannot follow *Delitzsch*, who adduces the *Mishneh hattorah* in Josh. viii. 32 as a certain proof of this; but it may be demonstrated with certainty from the context of Deuteronomy. It is evident from the words, "this law," in Deut. xxvii. 3; for the expression, "this law," from Deut. iv. 44 onwards, throughout all the addresses of Moses in Deuteronomy, can only be understood as relating to that particular law of which he was speaking at the time, namely, to the law in Deuteronomy; and in the case before us, this is still further attested by Deut. xxvii. 1: "Keep all *these* commandments which I command you *this day*." This is so very obvious, that there is no necessity to dwell upon other arguments which may be derived from the subject-matter itself. Compare § 62, 5.

(3.) The promise of the PROPHET LIKE UNTO MOSES is given in Deut. xviii. 13–19 in the following terms: "Thou shalt hold entirely to Jehovah thy God. For these nations, whom thou drivest out, hearken unto conjurers and soothsayers: but as for thee, Jehovah thy God hath not suffered thee so to do. *Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.* According to all that thou desiredst of Jehovah thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of Jehovah my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And Jehovah said unto me, They have well spoken. *I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put My words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto My words which he shall speak in My name, I will require it of him.*"—The first question which arises here, is whether the word נִבִּיָא is to be regarded as individual or collective, as personal or ideal; whether it relates to one particular prophet, that is, to the Messiah alone, or to the Israelitish order of prophets in general, either inclusive or exclusive of its completion in the Messiah.—*Hofmann* (*Weissagung und Erfüllung* i. 253, 254, and *Schriftbeweis* ii. 1, pp. 83, 84) defends the collective view, and is not "able to see the person of Christ the one Mediator glimmering through." He can

only see "that Moses did not know whether many or few mediators of the word of Divine revelation would be required, or whether only one single one would be sent, before Jehovah Himself would come to His people, to take up His abode with them in the glory of His everlasting kingdom." *Hävernick* and *Hengstenberg*, on the other hand, oppose the collective view; but they still maintain that allusion is made to a plurality of prophets. *Hävernick* (Einleitung ii. 2, p. 9 seq.) is of opinion, that "the writer had in mind the various occasions on which the people would stand in need of a prophet; and announces, accordingly, that on every such occasion a prophet would be raised up. A prophet will I raise up, namely, whenever circumstances require it." *Hengstenberg* (Christology, vol. i., p. 107 translation) finds here again that something or nothing, which he calls an ideal person: "The prophet here is an *ideal* person, comprehending all the true prophets, who appeared between Moses and Christ, inclusive of the latter. But Moses did not here speak of the prophets as a collective body, to which, at the close, Christ also belonged, as it were incidentally, and as one among the many; but rather, the plurality of prophets was comprehended by Moses in an *ideal* unity, for this simple reason, that on the authority of Gen. xlix. 10, and by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, he knew that the prophetic order would at some future time centre in a real person—in Christ." In this explanation *Hävernick* also (alttestamentliche Theologie, p. 131) has eventually found rest. Wherever we have looked among the theologians of the present day, we have nowhere found the opinion reproduced, which prevailed both in the Synagogue and the Church down to modern times, namely, that we have here a pure and express prophecy of Christ. *M. Baumgarten* (i. 2., p. 483) alone veers round towards it, but without breaking away from the collective idea. He says: "Moses speaks of the prophet in such a way, that he may very well have had a plurality of prophets in his mind, namely, as many as Israel might need for its guidance. But when we consider that Moses foresaw a state of utter disobedience and universal confusion in Israel, he must have had his mind fixed especially upon *one* prophet, who would be like himself in the strictest sense of the word, that is to say, *who like himself would establish by the power of the Word an entirely new order of things in Israel.* But as the history of Israel,

when looked at in the spirit, appears throughout its entire course to be progressing towards its final goal, and as Moses himself foresaw and foretold the future conversion of Israel from its approaching general apostasy (chap. iv. 24), *he must also have set this prophet above himself.*"

I must declare myself unconditionally in favour of the exclusive reference to one distinct individual, *viz.*, to the Messiah; and congratulate myself on being able to adopt for the most part Hengstenberg's arguments against the collective view and the exclusion of the Messiah, especially as I am obliged to dissent from the view which he has advocated and the reasons which he assigns.

"That Moses," says *Hengstenberg* in his *Christology* (vol. i. p. 101 transl.), "did not intend by the word נביא, 'prophet,' to designate a collective body merely, but that he had at least some special individual in view, appears, partly from the word itself being constantly in the singular, and partly from the constant use of the singular suffixes in reference to it; while in the case of collective nouns it is usual for the singular to be used interchangeably with the plural. The force of this argument is abundantly evident from the fact, that not a few of even non-Messianic interpreters have been thereby compelled to make some single individual the subject of this prophecy. But we must hesitate to adopt the opinion that נביא stands here simply in the singular instead of the plural, because neither does this word occur anywhere else as a collective noun, nor is the prophetic order ever spoken of in the manner alleged." The word נביא is, in fact, neither in form nor in signification, in the least adapted to be used collectively. Why should not Moses have used the ordinary plural of the word, if he really wanted to speak of a plurality of prophets? I, at least, can find no answer to the question.—*Hofmann* should have been the last to bring forward so fallacious an argument as the following in support of his view: "There is not the slightest difference between the use of the singular נביא, and that of the singular מלך in Deut. xvii. 14-20." *Hengstenberg* has already met him with this reply: "The king mentioned there is no collective noun. An individual, who in future times should first attain to royal dignity, forms there the subject throughout. This appears especially in ver. 20, where he and his sons are spoken of. The first king

is held up as an example; and what is declared of him was applicable to the whole line of kings. But it is in favour of our view, that in the verses immediately preceding, the priests are at first spoken of only in the plural, although the priestly order had much more of the character of a collective body than the prophetic order had" (Christology, i. 101 transl.).

Again, עֲבָדֶיךָ and עֲבָדֶיךָ are at variance with the collective view. It is undoubtedly true, that the resemblance to Moses does not primarily relate to "the substance of the words spoken by God through Moses or the future mediator, nor even to the essential identity in the substance of the words," as Hävernick maintains (alttest. Theol., p. 90); at least not in any such sense as this, that the promised prophet would proclaim nothing but what Moses had proclaimed already. For this would not only preclude a direct allusion to Christ, but any allusion to the prophetic order of the Old Testament, since all the prophets, or at any rate those whose writings have come down to us, went far beyond Moses in this respect. But the expression, "A prophet like unto thee, like unto me," cannot possibly have been employed without some further meaning, than that the promised prophet would possess whatever belonged to the prophetic character in general, and all that would necessarily be found in every prophet; such, for example, as "the human mediation of Divine revelation, in contrast with the manifestation of the power of God Himself" (Hofmann). If Jehovah or Moses represents it as something peculiar, that a prophet, or several prophets, would be raised up like unto Moses; it is evidently implied that there might be prophets who were *not like* Moses, and *yet were prophets* notwithstanding; and consequently there must have been something peculiar in the prophetic character of Moses, something that it would be in vain to look for in all the prophets. And the Pentateuch itself gives us distinct and authentic information as to the nature of this distinctive peculiarity (vid. Num. xii. 6-8). In the first place, it consisted in the mode in which the Divine communications were made. Jehovah spake with Moses *mouth to mouth*, and Moses saw the *Tenunah* of Jehovah; whereas the other prophets only saw Jehovah in *Chidoth*, and received the revelations of Jehovah in a *vision* or a *dream* (vid. § 34, 4). But *secondly*, it consisted chiefly in the fact, that Moses was *entrusted with the whole house of Jehovah*. While

Moses lived, he was one and all in the house of Jehovah, the mediator between Jehovah and the people in all respects. He was commander-in-chief, deliverer, lawgiver, priest, teacher, chastiser, and judge. There was no function in connection with the representation of God, or the mediation of the words and acts of God, which he had not discharged, or was not warranted in discharging in the highest (human) form. And he was a prophet *in* all this, and *for* all this; that is to say, his prophetic gift controlled, pervaded, inspired, and regulated all these functions. He was a prophet when leading Israel, a prophet when reconciling Israel, a prophet when teaching Israel. A David wanted a Nathan at his side, to help him to fulfil his royal duties in a proper way. But Moses, the leader of Israel, had his Nathan within himself: he was both; in a word, was everything in himself. If, then, the Pentateuch itself represents this clearly and without ambiguity, as the distinctive peculiarity of the prophetic character of Moses, and does this with such emphasis as in Num. xii.;—we can come to no other conclusion than that, when the Pentateuch promises prophets *like unto Moses*, whatever it sets before us as constituting the distinctive peculiarity of Moses, we are warranted in looking for in the prophets referred to. But we would simply ask, whether, in the whole line of prophets from Moses to Malachi, there is a single one to be found who comes half-way towards answering this description, not to say whether they all of them do so. And we are brought to the following dilemma: either the prediction in Deut. xviii. promised something, which was not fulfilled in the case of the persons referred to; or the prediction did not relate to the whole series of prophets between Moses and Malachi, but to *one* prophet, who is not to be found among these, but must be looked for *outside* their ranks, and *after* them.

We have also another express and authentic proof of what is meant in the Pentateuch by a prophet *like unto Moses*. The account of the life and labours of this great man of God is brought to a close in Deut. xxxiv. 10 by the words, "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses," etc. The last editor of the Pentateuch (for there can be no doubt that he is the author of the last chapter) understood the expressions, "like unto me" and "like unto thee," very differently from *Hofmann*, as even the most prejudiced must admit. Otherwise he

would have placed himself in the most direct and irreconcilable opposition to Deut. xviii. It makes no essential difference, whether this editor is supposed to have lived in the time of Ezra, or in that of Josiah, or Joshua. In any case, he had been acquainted with prophets *after* Moses. And when he says that "there arose not a prophet *like unto Moses*," he means, not that no prophet at all had risen up, but that, although prophets had risen up, *not one* of them was *like unto Moses*.

But even apart from everything else, the Pentateuch itself bears express and unmistakeable testimony *against* the collective, and *in favour of* the personal-individual view,—*in favour of* a reference to the Messiah, and against any reference to the entire prophetic order of the Old Testament. Before proceeding further with our proofs, let us look at the historical soil from which our prophecy sprang, or rather *into* which it was planted by the hand of the spirit of prophecy, as into a susceptible soil prepared by the hand of the spirit of prophecy, like fruitful seed in fruitful ground.

We must attach our present remarks to what has already been said in vol. ii. § 4, 3 on the course of Messianic prophecy, and its historical foundation in the patriarchal age. If we omit Balaam's prophecy of the Star out of Jacob (vol. ii. § 4, 1), which belongs to the same epoch as our own, this announcement of a prophet like unto Moses is the first express Messianic prophecy since the blessing of Jacob on his sons, and especially on Judah (Gen. xlix. 8–12). *Hengstenberg*, who has not given a correct interpretation of either prophecy, turns everything upside down, and obstinately persists in maintaining that this must be and is the order:—first, perfect clearness, sharp definition, concrete personality; then, with further progress, mistiness, indefiniteness, and obscurity;—first of all, the prophecy appears like a full-grown man, and then during the long period of history which intervenes, it grows up to the stature of—a child (!).—*Jacob* beholds the Messiah as one single, concrete person, with such clearness and certainty as was only attained by the latest prophets; to Moses, on the other hand, who was not only acquainted with Jacob's prophecy, but whose Messianic consciousness was based upon it, it was like a dissolving view, which changed as soon as the eye was fixed upon it, at one time into a host of prophets, at another again into a single individual.—

Jacob knew that the one personal Messiah would spring from the tribe of Judah; the progress made by *Moses* was back to the indistinctness and generality which *Jacob* had already succeeded in overcoming: for, as *before* the time of *Jacob* the prophecy ran thus, "from thy seed," so does *Moses* now say again, "from thy brethren, out of the midst of thee."—*This* view is certainly not *naturalism*; it is rather unnatural. I can perceive in the prophecy something more than nature, but something above nature and not opposed to it; and if this is *naturalism*, I have no objection to be called a naturalist (*Christology*, vol. i. § 70).

Jacob's prophecy in Gen. xlix. looks to the "end of the days," and sees the hopes and expectations of the patriarchal age, of which there was already a distinct consciousness, perfectly fulfilled, its necessities satisfied, its defects supplied, the object of its endeavours reached, its labour at an end. There were only two things, with which the patriarchal age was acquainted, as preliminary conditions to the manifestation of salvation, and to which all the earlier promises of God had pointed, namely, the development of the family into a great nation, and the peaceable and undisturbed possession of the promised land. It was ignorant, therefore, that there were any other impediments in the way than the defects of the time being; namely, the fact that the chosen seed was confined within the limits of a single family, and that this family was leading a restless nomad life in a foreign land. But at the period to which our prophecy belongs, these conditions were fulfilled, and these impediments removed; or, at all events, the accomplishment of both was so near at hand, that it belonged to the immediate present, instead of the distant future. In the meantime, however, other wants and defects had come to light with the onward course of history; and these had given rise to fresh hopes and expectations. The unity of the family had expanded into a plurality of populous tribes; but it had also become apparent that this plurality, which had proceeded from unity, would converge into a central unity again; that the broad base would run up into one apex, and the members of the body be organically united under a single head. What would have become of the nation, in spite of its strength and numbers, if it had not possessed in *Moses* a common head, a common leader, and instructor? And how far was even *Moses* from attaining,

exhibiting, and performing all that was included in the idea of the head of Israel?—So, on the other hand, the promised land was already, to some extent, actually in possession, and the capture of the rest was guaranteed as immediately at hand. But we have already shown, that the possession already secured, or to be secured immediately, was not the quiet, undisturbed, and undisputed possession, which Jacob had foreseen and predicted. For now the promised land was entirely surrounded by hostile tribes, who thought of nothing else than the destruction of Israel. How far, therefore, was this provisional fulfilment from the final and absolute accomplishment! To what a distance in the future was the period removed, when all nations should willingly bend beneath the sceptre of Judah, and participate in its blessings, and when all nations should be blessed in the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! It had by this time become fully apparent, that the victory of Israel over the nations could not be achieved without a previous conflict; that active hostility would precede and accompany willing obedience on the part of the nations; and that the streams of blessing which were to flow from Israel to the nations would have a dark side, in fearful manifestations of rage, revenge, and destruction.

Into this soil the spirit of prophecy dropped some new seeds, which promised the ultimate fulfilment of present wants and desires, and gave to present hopes a divine approval, a definite direction, a firm hold, a clear prospect, and a substantial reality. This was effected by Balaam's prophecy of the Star out of Jacob, and Moses' prophecy of the Prophet like unto himself. In both the limits were broken through, which had hitherto confined the Messianic expectations to the sphere of generality; in both, the prospect of salvation, which had hitherto been associated simply with the entire seed of Abraham, was condensed into the distinct consciousness of one single, personal author of salvation, of the seed of Jacob, and out of the midst of Israel. *Balaam* announced him as a king, avenging hostility and overcoming opposition; *Moses* as a prophet, who would continue and complete the work which he himself had begun. Whether the Israel of that day was aware, or even surmised, that the Star out of Jacob and the Prophet like unto Moses were one and the same person, simply described according to two different departments of His work, we must leave for the present undecided. I cer-

tainly cannot admit that this is impossible ; for even in Moses, the commander-in-chief (the type of the King) and the prophet (the type of *the* Prophet) were associated in one individual.

Again, the correctness of the interpretation, which refers this prophecy to a personal Messiah, is unanimously attested by the very earliest tradition. The testimony of this tradition in the present instance is of all the greater importance, and is even decisive in its character, from the fact that it issued in a confirmation of the view in question by Christ and His apostles. As the first and oldest link in the chain, we have already mentioned Deut. xxxiv. 10. The later prophets even “disclaimed the honour of being the Prophet like unto Moses. The predictions in Is. xlii. xlix. and l. lxi., in which the Messiah is distinctly introduced as the Prophet, are based upon the passage before us. To Him is assigned the mission to restore Jacob, and to be the salvation of the Lord to the end of the world” (*Hengstenberg*). The testimonies in favour of our view crowd together in the period subsequent to the Captivity. We cannot, indeed, adduce 1 Macc. xiv. 41, as is frequently done, where Simon is appointed “governor and high priest for ever, until there should arise a credible prophet.” *Hengstenberg* is certainly right when he says, “That by the ‘credible prophet,’ *i.e.*, one sufficiently attested by miracles or the fulfilment of prophecies, we are not to understand the Prophet promised by Moses, is shown, partly by the absence of the article, and partly by the circumstance, that a *credible* prophet is spoken of. The sense is rather this : Simon and his family should continue to hold the highest dignity until God Himself should make another arrangement by a future prophet, as there was none at that time, and thus put an end to a state of things which, on the one hand, was contradictory to the law, and on the other, to the promise;—a state of things into which they had been led by the force of circumstances, and which could, at all events, be only a provisional one. It is not on the passage under review that the expectation of a prophet there rests, but rather on Mal. iii. 1, 23, where a prophet is promised as the precursor of the Messiah” (*Christology*, vol. i., p. 97 translation).

Nevertheless, we can confidently maintain, that the opinion, that the passage before us related to the Messiah, was decidedly the prevailing one, and probably the *only* one, in the

period subsequent to the Captivity (for in John i. 21 and vii. 40, allusion is made to Mal. iv. 5), for the simple reason, that the words with which the book of Deuteronomy closes, "There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses" (chap. xxxiv. 10), certainly expressed the conviction of all the writers after the Captivity. And even down to our own day, in which it is considered advisable on polemical grounds to depart from the traditional explanation, it has held almost exclusive sway in the Synagogue. That the *Samaritans* had adopted it, may unquestionably be proved from the New Testament. "The woman of Samaria says to Jesus, 'I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ; when He is come, He will tell us all things.' As the Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch alone, the notion here expressed, that the Messiah would be a divinely enlightened teacher, cannot have been derived from any other source than the passage before us. The words of the woman bear a striking resemblance to ver. 18, 'He shall speak unto them all that I shall command Him'" (*Hengstenberg*). Again, when *Philip* says to Nathanael, "We have found Him, of whom Moses in the law did write," he can only have thought of this prophecy; for throughout the entire Pentateuch there is only one other Messianic prophecy of a personal character, namely, that of the Star and Sceptre out of Jacob, the predicates of which were but little adapted to lead Philip to the opinion which he here expressed. This is also true of the Shiloh passage in Gen. xlix. 10, if we suppose that Philip gave to this a personal application. Moreover, the words of Philip compel us to think of a prophecy of which Moses himself was the author.—There is also an allusion to this passage in John vi. 14, where the people say, after the feeding of the five thousand, "This is of a truth that Prophet that should come into the world." And Christ undoubtedly had it in His mind when He said, "Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me" (John v. 45, 46). "It is evident that the Lord must here have had in view a distinct passage of the Pentateuch,—a clear and definite declaration of Moses. But if a single declaration (a direct Messianic prophecy) forms the question at issue, this is the only passage that can possibly be meant; for it is the only prophecy of Christ

which Moses, on whose person such stress is laid, uttered in his own name,—the only one in which Divine judgments are threatened to the despisers of the Messiah" (*Hengstenberg*, pp. 99, 100). When *Lücke* states, that Jesus referred this passage to Himself, according to the exposition which was current at the time, he is certainly correct; but we also see from this, that he recognised and sanctioned the exposition as perfectly correct.—Nor is the allusion to Deut. xviii. 18, 19 less unmistakeable in the words of Christ in John xii. 48-50.—Again, it is impossible to overlook the connection between the words, "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: *hear ye Him,*" and the expression in ver. 15, "*Unto Him ye shall hearken,*" or to deny that it was the intention of the voice from heaven to point out Jesus as the Prophet of whom Moses had spoken here.—Both Péter and Stephen regarded the prophecy respecting the "Prophet like unto Moses" as fulfilled in Christ (Acts iii. 22, 23 and vii. 37). *Hofmann* argues that "Peter did not say that Jesus was a prophet, to whom Israel ought to have hearkened, but left the Jews to infer from the fact, that, on the one hand, Moses had enjoined it as a duty to yield the obedience of faith to the words of the prophets, and, on the other hand, that the words of all the prophets had pointed to what had been fulfilled in Christ, what their conduct ought to have been, and ought still to be, towards Christ and the preaching of the apostles." But this is a subterfuge, rather than an argument. The collective interpretation of the word *prophet*, as descriptive of "all the prophets," is inadmissible in itself, and is rendered absolutely *impossible* by the expression, "Hear that prophet," in ver. 23, which places it beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Peter supposed the "Prophet like unto Moses," of whom Moses had prophesied, to be one distinct person, and in fact, as the context shows, to be that one Person of whom God had spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets since the world began.

At the same time, the unanimity and confidence with which modern theologians adhere to the collective interpretation of the word "prophet," and the fact that even a theologian like *Hengstenberg*, who had seen so clearly and proved so conclusively that the collective view is inadmissible, should at last have felt obliged to bring in the whole line of Old Testament prophets (and that in a manner still more objectionable than the collec-

tive view itself)—we say all this would lead us to expect that there must be some elements in the passage, which make it natural to understand it as referring to a plurality of prophets. *Hengstenberg* crowds together a mass of arguments for the purpose of proving that the prophets must also be referred to.—We will commence with the weakest. “There is not wanting,” he says, “a slight hint in the New Testament that the reference to Christ is not an exclusive one. It is found in Luke xi. 50, 51.” The passage runs thus: “That the blood of *all the prophets*, which was shed *from the foundation of the world*, may be required of this generation; *from the blood of Abel* unto the blood of Zacharias, . . . verily, I say unto you, *it shall be required* of this generation.” It must be apparent to every one, that notwithstanding the resemblance between ἐκζητεῖν (“it shall be required”) and the word דרש (“I will require it of him”) in Deut. xviii. 19, the passage rests upon Gen. iv. 9 sqq., rather than upon the words of Deuteronomy (see especially Gen. iv. 10, and compare also Heb. xi. 5). Unwillingness to hear, which is the chief point in Deut. xviii., is not noticed here; and the blood crying for revenge, which is the chief point in the words of Christ, is not alluded to in Deut. xviii., though it is so distinctly mentioned in Gen. iv., that there is hardly any necessity to bring forward the striking expressions employed by Christ, “from the foundation of the world,” and “from the blood of Abel.”—Again, *Hengstenberg* argues, that “if the passage were referred to Christ exclusively, the prophetic institution would then be without any legitimate authority; and from the whole character of the Mosaic legislation, as laying the foundation for the future progress and development of the theocracy, we *could not well conceive* that so important an institution should be deficient in this point. Moreover, the whole historical existence of the prophetic order necessarily presupposes such a foundation.”—We reply, No; on the contrary, the law presupposes prophecy. It is prophecy which must give its credentials to the law, not the law to prophecy. Prophecy was in existence before the law, from the days of Abraham (Gen. xx. 7), or rather, according to the words of Christ which have just been quoted, from the time of Abel, and from the foundation of the world. *Marriage* is also left without any formal appointment or legal authority. It did not need it, for it was instituted and invested with legal

authority long before the law. The same may be said of circumcision, and the same applies to prophecy. But the law did require to be accredited by prophecy. It was the fact that Moses possessed authority as a prophet of God, which gave authority to the laws he issued.—The following arguments are undoubtedly of still greater importance: “The *wider context*,” he says, “shows that the prophets of the Old Testament are not to be excluded. In Deuteronomy provision was made for the period immediately succeeding the approaching death of Moses. In chap. xvii., xviii., the magistrates and powers, the superiors to whose authority in secular and spiritual affairs the people shall submit, are introduced. First, the civil magistrates are brought before them (chap. xvii. 8–20), and then the ecclesiastical superiors, the priests and prophets (chap. xviii.). In such a connection, it is not probable that *the prophet* is one particular individual.—Again, an exclusive reference to Christ is precluded by the more immediate context (*viz.*, within the section relating to the prophet). Moses prohibits Israel from employing the means by which the heathen seek to pass beyond the boundaries of human knowledge (such as soothsaying, augury, conjuring, necromancy, etc.). ‘Thou shalt not do so,’ is his language; for that which these are seeking after to no purpose, and in this sinful manner (?!! Where do we find all this? Compare vol. ii. § 23, 1, 2, and § 54, 5), thy God shall actually (? this must mean in a truly Divine manner) grant to thee. And this was done through the prophets. *Moreover*, as Moses himself attests, he had received the prophecy on Sinai, on that very occasion on which the people were seized with terror at the dreadful majesty of God, and prayed that God would no longer speak to them directly, but through a mediator. Accordingly, we should expect to find an allusion to the continuation of the revelations of God through the medium of the Old Testament prophets.” Another argument still remains, namely, that “the exclusive reference to the Messiah is inconsistent with vers. 20–22. The marks of a false prophet are given there. But if there is no allusion at all to the true prophets of Israel in what precedes, it would be almost impossible to trace any suitable connection in the thoughts.”

This is *Hengstenberg's* case. He willingly admits, that notwithstanding all these points in the context, if Moses knew any-

thing at all about a Messiah, not only would some allusion to His coming be most fitting, but we should necessarily expect to find it. We accept the acknowledgment; and for our parts we willingly admit, that if the expression, "A prophet like unto Moses," could properly be interpreted as relating to a plurality of prophets, and if the substance of the passage were really applicable to the prophets before Christ (neither of which is the case, as we have already shown), such a view would be very appropriate and in perfect harmony with the context;—we go even further, and admit that, if we look at the context from the stand-point of the fulfilment, instead of that of the prophecy itself, it certainly appears to be faulty, seeing that there is a long interval between Moses and "the prophet like unto Moses," which is left entirely vacant; whereas from the three points alluded to by *Hengstenberg*, we should be led to expect some reference to the fact, that the mediatorial work would be carried on by a constant series of prophets.

Is this, however, to force us to have recourse, as *Hengstenberg* has done, to the mere phantasm of an ideal person? Certainly not. For to our mind there is something utterly inconceivable in the thought of a single person, who resolves himself into a plurality of persons; in a concrete notion, which is an abstract at the same time; in a person, which is nothing more than an idea; and an idea, which is a person as well!

We have already hinted at the solution of the enigma. The difficulty vanishes at once, if we take as our stand-point the prophecy and not the fulfilment. When the necessity for Moses to act as a mediator between Jehovah and the people became so obvious at Sinai, and Jehovah not only approved and accepted his mediation, but promised that the same thing should be renewed in the future, Moses might easily be led to suppose that this promise would be fulfilled immediately after his departure. And when he wanted to turn away his people from heathen soothsayers and augurs, and also from false prophets, to the genuine revelations of God, the image of this Great Prophet, who had been already announced to him, and who, as Jehovah had told him, would be like unto him, stood so distinctly in the foreground, as the eye of his mind was directed to the future, that he pointed the people to Him alone. And if he really thought that the appearance of this Prophet was much nearer at

hand than was actually the case, the apostles did just the same, when they saw the day of the Lord in spirit, and spoke of it as close at hand.

But there is undoubtedly a certain amount of truth in *Hengstenberg's* representation; arising from the fact, that all the prophets subsequent to Moses were precursors and heralds of the Great Prophet, in the same manner as Moses was; that they declared themselves to be so, and were regarded as such by the believing portion of the nation; and that the same Spirit (the Spirit of Christ, 1 Pet. i. 11) spoke in them, which afterwards dwelt in Christ. So long, therefore, as He Himself had not appeared, the faith of the people necessarily rested upon His forerunners; and the warning of Moses, directing the people to turn from heathen soothsaying and false prophecy to the future Messiah, the sole medium of Divine revelation, was not uttered in vain. For, however inferior the prophets of the Old Testament may have been to the Messiah, they presented the same contrast to heathen soothsaying and the false prophets of Israel, as He did Himself.

There is only one more point to which we have to direct attention in conclusion. There is this peculiarity in the description, "a prophet like unto Moses,"—and it is one deserving of close attention,—that whilst on the one hand the words themselves seem to indicate the most complete resemblance between Moses and the promised prophet, on the other hand there is a contrast involved, and in fact a marked opposition, like the parallel between the first and second Adam. If we look at the parallel in the case before us merely on the outward or *formal* side (and it is this undoubtedly which is the primary and chief point in consideration here, as the context and a comparison with Num. xii. 6–8 clearly shows), the resemblance is complete. Like Moses, He was entrusted with the whole house of Jehovah; like Moses, He communed with the Lord face to face. But if we look at the more inward and *essential* features, the resemblance quickly gives place to a contrast. A prophet who converses with God in a manner as perfectly unique as Moses had previously done, and who is entrusted with the *whole* house of Jehovah as Moses *alone* had been before, must receive this extraordinary gift and peculiar position for purposes as extraordinary and peculiar as those for which Moses received them. Like Moses, He must

be a redeemer of the nation, a founder and author of a new covenant with Jehovah; and because a new covenant must be better than the last, the "Prophet like unto Moses" must on that very account be *greater* than Moses. It belongs, however, to the idea and essence of prophecy, which is the Divine knowledge of the future brought down into the heart of history, that the human understanding of it must become clearer, deeper, and more comprehensive in proportion as it approaches fulfilment. So long as the covenant which Jehovah had established through the mediation of Moses was still new, so long as the faith of the people found satisfaction in this covenant, and the consciousness of the necessity of one still better and higher was not yet felt, the prophecy before us would continue to be understood only on its formal side. But as soon as the historical development, aided by later prophecy, had demonstrated the insufficiency of this covenant to secure the manifestation of complete salvation, the view entertained of this prophecy passed from the form to the substance, from the shell to the kernel; and the interpretation given to our prophecy in the Jewish theology of the period subsequent to the Captivity is a proof that this really was the case. What the later prophets proclaimed respecting a new covenant, which Jehovah would conclude with His people, and respecting the Mediator of this covenant (the "Angel of the covenant," Mal. iii. 1), rested upon this prophecy, and was but a further expansion of its interpretation.

(4.) The COVENANT IN THE LAND OF MOAB was based upon, and presupposed the covenant at Sinai. The renewal of the covenant in the Arboth Moab arose from the fact, that the *whole* of the generation, which had taken part in the covenant at Sinai, had cut itself off from that covenant at Kadesh, and had consequently been rejected and had died in the wilderness. But if the family of the desert was rejected, the covenant of the desert was not rejected in consequence. On the contrary, the covenant had been in existence even during the thirty-eight years of rejection. The Israelites in the Arboth Moab were a new generation, a renewed Israel, and hence the renewal of the covenant. But as they were also the children and heirs of those who had entered at Sinai into the duties and privileges of the covenant with Jehovah, and as this covenant was for children and children's children, even for all the future generations of Israel,

nothing more was needed than a verbal renewal of it, without either a covenant sacrifice or a covenant meal. The ceremony which Moses now performed with Israel in the Arboth Moab, was a renewal of the covenant, just in the same sense in which that at Mizpah in the time of Samuel (1 Sam. vii.), and every other renewal after a period of general apostasy, may be called a renewal of the covenant.—There is a certain progress apparent, however, if we compare this covenant with that at Sinai, partly in the greater adaptation of the law in Deuteronomy to the necessities consequent upon the possession of the Holy Land, and partly in the prophecies relating to their future history there. In this respect, especially, the blessing and curse which Moses set before the people for their choice, was the new element of progress.

DEATH OF MOSES.

§ 61. (Deut. xxxi.—xxxiv.)—After Moses had written out the Deuteronomical law, with its blessings and curses, he gave it to the priests with a charge to place it by the side of the ark of the covenant in the Holy of Holies, that it might remain there, as the original record of the renewed covenant, a testimony against Israel. He also commanded them to read it to the assembled people every seven years, at the Feast of Tabernacles.—At an earlier period (Num. xxvii. 22, 23) Moses had laid his hands upon Joshua, and ordained him to be his successor in the command of Israel, and had presented him to the whole congregation in this capacity. And now, having finished his charge to the people, he turned once more to Joshua, and said to him in the name of Jehovah, “Be strong and of a good courage; for thou shalt bring the children of Israel, into the land, which I swear unto them, and I will be with thee.” This warning and promise were given to his successor by the departing leader in the tabernacle, whither he had summoned him for this very purpose, and in the sight of Jehovah, whose presence was attested by the fact that the pillar of cloud came and stood at the door of the tabernacle. Jehovah now announced most dis-

tinctly to Moses, what he had already dimly suspected and feared, —namely, the future apostasy of the Israelites. He also commanded him to write a song with this as the subject, and to impress it upon the memory of the people, in order that when the curse denounced should come upon them, this song might testify against them as a witness (chap. xxxi. 21). On the same day, therefore, Moses went, according to the command, and wrote, from the fulness of the Spirit which dwelt within him, a *song*, as majestic in form, as it was terribly earnest and electrifying in its substance (chap. xxxii.) (1). Being warned once more of his approaching end, he pronounced his *blessing* upon the tribes of Israel (2), as Jacob had formerly done upon his death-bed, and then betook himself to Mount *Nebo*, where he was permitted to enjoy an extensive view of the promised land (3). There Moses, the servant of Jehovah, died, being 120 years old; and Jehovah Himself *buried* him, so that no man has ever been able to discover his tomb (4).

(1.) Commentaries have been written upon the SONG OF MOSES by *Camp. Vitringa* (Opus posth., ed. H. Venema, Harling 1734), *J. A. Dathe* (Leipzig 1768; also *Opuscula ad crisin et interpret. Vet. Test. spectantibus*, Lps. 1796), and *C. W. Justi* (*National-gesänge der Hebräer*, ii. 100 sqq.). See also *Lowl's Hebrew Poetry*. The assurance of *De Wette*, that “the spurious character of this song has long been acknowledged” (*Krit. d. isr. Geschichte*, p. 393), is met by *Rosenmüller*, in the most decided manner. “I should like this most learned man,” he says, “to point out any one of the erudite scholars before his time, who denied that Moses was the author of this song, or any one who has brought forward sound arguments to prove that it is not his.” On the poetic worth of the song *Rosenmüller* says: “*Cui adhortationum vi et gravitate, sententiarum præstantia imaginumque sublimitate haud facile simile inveneris.*”

(2.) On the BLESSING OF MOSES, see *J. F. Gaab* (Explic. nova c. 33 Denteron. in the *Theological Commentary* published by *Velthuisen*, *Kuinoel* and *Ruperti*, iv. 374 sqq.); *Herder's Briefe über das Studium der Theologie*; *Justi's National-gesänge*, iii. 1 sqq.; *A. Th. Hoffmann*, *Observationes in difficiliora Vet.*

Test. loca, Part I., Jena 1823; *Bleek* in Rosenmüller's bibl. Repert., i. 25 sqq.; and *L. Diestel*, *der Segen Jakobs*, Brunswick 1853, p. 114 sqq.

The first thing which strikes us, on examining this blessing, is the omission of the tribe of Simeon. *M. Baumgarten* observes, that "we are not to imagine, from the fact that Simeon is passed over, that he is to be regarded as left without a blessing. In any case he was included in the general blessing in vers. 1 and 29, just as even the sons of Jacob, to whom threatening words were addressed by their father, were still called blessed. But the fact that Simeon is not mentioned by name, and that the harsh words addressed by the patriarch to him, as well as to Reuben and Levi, are not softened down in his case, has been correctly explained by Ephraim as denoting that the sentence of dispersion pronounced on Simeon, according to which he was not to have an independent possession, but to live within the boundaries of the rest, had not been repealed or mitigated, as in the case of Levi, in consequence of any act of obedience and faith, but on the contrary had been greatly strengthened by the wickedness of his prince Zimri (Num. xxv. 14). A striking proof of this, we believe, is to be found in the remarkably diminutive number of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 14)." This is probably the best solution of the difficulty, provided we are unable to adopt *Diestel's* conclusion, that the blessing has not come down to us in its fullest integrity.—Again, we cannot fail to be struck with the fact, that the blessing of Moses does not contain the slightest trace of any special Messianic allusion; whereas they are so very prominent in that of Jacob, and since his time the Messianic expectations had been so greatly enlarged by the prophecy of the Star out of Jacob, and the Prophet like unto Moses. But this may perhaps sufficiently account for the omission here. Since the time of Jacob the Messianic expectation had advanced so far, that it now assumed the form of a belief in one single personal Messiah; but from which of the families or tribes the personal Messiah would spring was not yet known. The prophecy of Balaam, like that of Moses, had simply intimated that He would spring out of the midst of Israel, and from the posterity of Jacob. It is true that even in Gen. xlix. the tribe of Judah is distinguished above all the rest, as the one to which belonged the supremacy among the tribes. But there was something too in-

definite in the description, for the belief to take root in Israel, that from this particular tribe a personal Messiah would spring. This did not take place till the time of David. It might even be said, that the distinction conferred by Jacob's blessing upon the tribe of Judah had fallen since then into the shade ; for neither Moses, nor Aaron, nor Joshua belonged to this tribe.—The *authenticity* of Moses' blessing has been most conclusively demonstrated by *Diestel*. In fact, there is nothing in the particular blessings, which could give the least warrant for regarding it as a *vaticinium post eventum*. The introductory and concluding clauses, however, the critic just named feels obliged to set down as the additions of a later hand. But so far as the concluding words are concerned, I do not see on what ground the authorship of Moses can possibly be disputed. It is somewhat different with the introduction, seeing that there is at least one clause here, *viz.*, ver. 4 (“Moses commanded us a law”), which seems to favour *Diestel's* view. It must be admitted that these words sound somewhat strange from the lips of Moses. *Baumgarten* has offered a plausible solution of the difficulty. “With these words,” he says, “Moses threw himself into the very heart of the people ; and Moses, the mediator of the law and man of God, was to him an objective person, just as David appropriates the common sentiment of the nation, and speaks of the king of Israel in Ps. xx. and xxi.” But the two expressions are not *perfectly* analogous. If the passage before us had read, “Moses gave *you* the law,” there would be nothing strange about it. But when we bear in mind that Moses did not write down this blessing, as he had the song and the Deuteronomical law ; that, on the contrary, he uttered them verbally to the people a short time, perhaps immediately, before his departure to Mount Nebo ; and that they were probably first appended to the book by the last editor of the Pentateuch ; there cannot be anything very dangerous in the assumption, that the introductory, and possibly also the concluding words, which were the production of some other divinely inspired psalmist, were also added by him.

(3.) That *Moses' view of the promised land* from the heights of Nebo was a view with the *bodily* and not with the *inward* eye, that he saw it in a state of perfect consciousness, and not in an *ecstatic* vision, is evident from the circumstances, as well as from the expression. There is not a word about ecstasy here. The

antithesis contained in the announcement, that he should not tread with his feet the land of promise, but should see it with his eyes, compels us to think of the bodily eye. We have only to read the words of Jehovah in chap. xxxiv. 4, "I have caused thee to see it *with thine eyes*, but thou shalt not go over thither," and the statement, which follows almost directly afterwards, that though Moses was 120 years old when he died, yet his eye was not dim. At the same time, the distinct and emphatic account of what he saw (vers. 1-3), and the expression, "*Jehovah* showed him the land," force us to the conclusion, that his natural power of vision was in some way or other miraculously increased.—The very unnecessary question,—where did the author of Deut. xxxiv. learn all this?—may be very simply answered. He was acquainted with the commands and promises of Jehovah in Num. xxvii. 12, 13, and Deut. xxxii. 49 sqq., and the Spirit of God, under whose teaching the whole was written, assured him that the announcements contained in these words were actually fulfilled.

(4.) "Moses *died* there," says the scriptural record, "according to the mouth (*i.e.*, according to the word) of God."—The Rabbins render this "*at the mouth of God*," and call the death of Moses "a death by a kiss" (*cf. Eisenmenger, Entdeckt. Judenthum, i. 857 sqq.*).—Immediately afterwards it is stated that "*He buried him in the valley in the land of Moab.*" Even if it were grammatically admissible to render the verb impersonally ("they [*man*] buried him;," *Sept. ἔθαψαν αὐτόν*), or to take the subject from the verb itself, "he buried him," *viz.*, whoever did bury him (this is *Rosenmüller's* rendering: *et sepelivit eum, scil. sepeliens*), the context would not allow it, but would still force us to the conclusion that Jehovah is the subject. The clause, "and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day," unquestionably implies a peculiar mode of burial. The *valley*, in which Moses was buried, must have been a depression at the top of the mountains of Pisgah; at least we cannot possibly think of the Arbath Moab.

From the time of the Fathers, the answer given to the question, Why should Jehovah Himself have buried Moses? has almost invariably been this, To prevent a superstitious or idolatrous veneration of his sepulchre, or of his remains. But notwithstanding all the pious feelings of the nation, and their veneration of

the greatest of all the prophets of the Old Testament, such a result as this was certainly not to be apprehended at the time in question. The notions which prevailed, with reference to the defiling influence of graves and of the bodies of the dead,—notions which the law had certainly only adopted, sanctioned, and regulated, and had not been the first to introduce,—were sufficiently powerful to guard against any such danger as this. Abraham's sepulchre was known to everybody; but it never entered the mind of any Israelite under the Old Testament to pay idolatrous, or even superstitious, veneration to the sepulchre; however nearly the reverence of later Jews for the person of Abraham might border upon superstition and idolatry. The remains of Jacob and Joseph were carried to Palestine and buried there; but we cannot find the slightest ground for supposing that they were the objects of superstitious adoration.—If Moses, therefore, was buried by Jehovah Himself, the reason must certainly have been, that such a burial was intended for him, as no other man could possibly have given. That there was something very peculiar in the burial of Moses, is sufficiently evident from the passage before us; and this is confirmed in a very remarkable manner by the New Testament history of the transfiguration of Jesus (Matt. xvii.), where Moses and Elias appeared with the Redeemer, when He was shining with the glory of His transfiguration. We may see here very clearly that the Old Testament account may justly be understood as implying that the design of the burial of Moses by the hand of Jehovah was to place him in the same category with Enoch and Elijah, to deliver him from going down into the grave like the rest of Adam's children, and to prepare for him a condition, both of body and soul, resembling that of these two men of God. It is true that Moses was not saved from *death* itself in the same manner as Enoch and Elijah; he really *died*, and his body was really *buried*—this is expressly stated in the Biblical history;—but we may assume, with the greatest probability, that, like them, he was saved from *corruption*. Men bury the corpse that it may pass into corruption. If Jehovah, therefore, would not suffer the body of Moses to be buried by men, it is but natural to seek for the *reason* in the fact that He did not intend to leave him to corruption, but at the very time of his burial communicated some virtue by His own hand, which saved the body from corruption, and prepared for the patriarch

a transition into the same state of existence into which Enoch and Elijah were admitted, without either death or burial. On account of the one sin at the water of strife at Kadesh, Moses was sentenced by the ruthless severity of the justice of God to pass under the same ban of death as the whole generation of those who despised the covenant and promise. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his sin to theirs, like them he must die without treading the promised land; for judgment begins at the house of God, and the measure of its severity is determined by the measure of the call and grace of God. So much is demanded by justice; but when once the justice of God is satisfied, like the appearance of the sun after a fearful storm, the sun of Divine grace bursts forth with all the greater glory and beneficence upon those whom the wrath of justice has chastised but not destroyed. This grace of Jehovah bursting through the wrath was manifested here in the fact, that although, like the others, Moses was not to tread the promised land, yet, unlike them, he saw it before he died with his bodily eye, which was miraculously strengthened for the purpose; and that, although, like all the rest, he died, he was not buried like the rest. In the sight of the people the leader and lawgiver of the nation was visited with a punishment, which must have convinced them far more strongly of the unsparing character of the judicial severity of God than the most powerful admonition could possibly have done; but, at the same time, "though punished, he received due honour in their sight," that they might see the sun of mercy bursting through the storm of the judgments of God. As an example of justice, Jehovah caused him to die, before the people entered the land of rest and promise; but as an example of grace, He prepared for him an entrance into another, as yet unknown, land of promise and of rest.

The *state of existence* in the life beyond, into which Moses was introduced through his burial by the hand of Jehovah, was probably essentially the same as that into which Enoch was taken when he was translated, and Elijah when he was carried up to heaven, though the way was not the same. What the way may have been, we can neither describe nor imagine. We are altogether in ignorance as to what the state itself was. The most that we can do, is to form some conjecture of what it was not. For example, it was not one of absolute glorification and perfec-

tion, of which Christ alone could be the first-fruits (1 Cor. xv. 20, 23); nor was it the dim Sheol-life into which all the other children of Adam passed. It was something between the two, a state as inconceivable as it had been hitherto unseen.

The apostolical *datum* in the Epistle of Jude (ver. 9) appears to favour the correctness of our view. Mention is made there of a *conflict and dispute between the archangel Michael and the devil respecting the body of Moses*, in which there is certainly an allusion to the passage before us. The words run thus: "Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee."—Of course, we have simply to do with the fact as narrated by Jude, not with the explanation, or the use which he makes of it in his own line of argument. The question that first suggests itself is, Whence did Jude obtain this account, to which no reference is made in any of the other canonical writings of either the Old or New Testament, and which he introduces into his epistle, not only as something with which his readers had been long acquainted, but as unquestionably possessing all the force of a thoroughly accredited fact?

Clemens Alexandrinus (Adumbrationes in Ep. Jud. Opp., ed. Potter, ii. 1008), *Origen* (de princ. iii. 2, 1), and *Didymus* (Enarr. in ep. Jud.) mention an apocryphal work entitled the *Ascension of Moses* (*ἀνάβασις* or *ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως*), in which this contest between Michael and Satan is also alluded to. *Clemens* (?), when discussing the passage in question from the Epistle of Jude, says, "Hic confirmat assumptionem Moysis."—*Origen*, when treating of the temptation of Eve by the serpent, says, "De quo in Ascensione Moysis, cujus libelli meminit in epistola sua apostolus Judas, Michael Archangelus cum Diabolo disputans de corpore Moysis ait, a Diabolo inspiratam serpentem causam exstitisse prævaricationis Adam et Evæ."—*Didymus* says that the Manicheans rejected both the *Ascension of Moses* and the Epistle of Jude, because of this account of the contest between Michael and Satan. Now, if we infer from these expressions that Jude obtained the account from this apocryphal book, or that he adopted it simply on its authority, the inference would evidently be a very rash one. No one is in a position to maintain, on the ground of these patristic testi-

monies, that the Ascension of Moses was in existence at the time when Jude wrote his epistle; or, if it was in existence, that Jude was acquainted with it and actually made use of it; or, if he was acquainted with it, that he would admit such a statement on its authority alone. The two authors may have drawn from the same source, *viz.*, tradition, and quite independently of each other. This is rendered very probable by the fact that, according to all appearance, the Ascension of Moses was one of the productions of Jewish-Alexandrian *Pseudepigraphy*, with which we are hardly warranted in assuming that Jude was acquainted. That the legend of the conflict between Michael and Satan concerning the body of Moses was to be found, and was accepted as trustworthy, within the limits of the Rabbinical legendary lore, is evident from the frequent reference made to it by the Rabbins (*vid. Lightfoot*, Opp. i. 353, and *Wetstein*, ad ep. Jud. 9), and it certainly is a more natural supposition that this was the source from which Jude obtained it.

A further question which suggests itself is, Whether this account, which at all events was a traditional one, received apostolical confirmation from being thus accepted by Jude, and is therefore to be regarded as a historical fact? For no proof can be needed, that the author of this epistle regarded it, and employed it, as a genuine account. The answer to this question will depend, *first* of all, upon the opinion entertained as to the canonical authority of the epistle, which was disputed even in the early Church; and *secondly*, admitting its canonical character, upon the views held on the subject of inspiration. The discussion of these questions covers so wide an area, that we can hardly be expected to enter into them here. We may, therefore, content ourselves with stating, *first*, that in our opinion the epistle is canonical, and therefore written under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and *secondly*, that the adoption and use of this tradition in a canonical epistle, to our minds, gives it all the sanction of apostolical authority, and all the more because the subject-matter relates to the development of the plan of salvation. However little we may feel obliged to ascribe absolute authority under all circumstances to apostolical statements as to chronology, geography, or historical events of a purely external character, when evidently based upon Rabbinical tradition or research, we must firmly maintain, that when they relate to the

development of the plan of salvation, or are purely doctrinal in their character, they do possess apostolical authority, in other words, are accredited by the Spirit of God.

How, when, and through whom this intelligence from the supersensual world was first communicated, are questions which cannot be answered. That the event occurred in immediate connection with the death of Moses, is apparently unquestionable. At the same time, there is every probability that all that is known of it is based upon the account in the book of Deuteronomy; as we may see, on closer inspection, that it is an expansion and extension of the information given there. The clue to the reconciliation of the two accounts is to be found in the fact, that all that Jehovah did in connection with the covenant with Israel was done through the *Maleach-Jehovah*, who was His personal representative (*vid.* vol. ii. § 36, 3; also § 10, 2 and 14, 3 of this volume),—though sometimes the agent is spoken of as the Angel of Jehovah, at other times simply as Jehovah,—and also in the fact, that in the later Jewish theology, subsequent to the time of Daniel, the *Maleach-Jehovah* was called the Angel-prince, or the Archangel *Michael* (vol. i. § 50, 2). On the ground of these facts, which can be, and indeed already have been, demonstrated, we may regard the expression in Deut. xxxiv. 6, “and He buried him,” as equivalent to “the *Maleach-Jehovah* (*i.e.*, Michael) buried him.” This Michael, then, is the same eminent person, belonging to the celestial world, of whom we read in Daniel and the Book of Revelation, who standeth as the great Prince of Israel for the children of the people (Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1), and consequently, as the Prince of the new Israel, fights also for the children of the people of the new covenant (Rev. xii. 7). This is not denied, even by *Hengstenberg* (in his Dissertation on the Pentateuch and Commentary on the Revelation); on the contrary, he maintains it. But both the *Maleach-Jehovah*, and Michael, who is identical with Him, he regards, not as the representative of the person of Jehovah, but as the person of Jehovah itself, the uncreated Logos. In every single passage, however, in which Michael is mentioned, it is obvious, at the very first glance, that this view is impossible; and therefore even commentators like *Stier*, who believe in the essential identity of the *Maleach-Jehovah* and the Logos (*Pseudo-Jesaias*, p. 758), are obliged to deny the identity of the angel-prince Michael and

the Logos (Brief Judä, p. 53). Stier, for example, says, "Michael undoubtedly buried on the part of God." This is certainly correct; but the most plausible support for the notion that the Maleach-Jehovah is essentially one with Jehovah is thereby given up.

Now, if it is a natural and well-founded conjecture, that the fact related in Deut. xxxiv. 6, that Moses was not buried by men, but by Jehovah Himself or His personal representative, was intended to open a different door into the future state from that through which other men passed, to prepare for him a different way to eternal life from that of the corruption of the body and the gloomy shade-life of Sheol; and if this conjecture is rendered almost a certainty by the history of the transfiguration of Christ, in Matt. xvii., the contest between Michael and Satan for the body of Moses admits of being looked at from a point of view, in which the statement will assume the appearance, "not of apocryphal absurdity, but of apostolical wisdom" (*Baumgarten*). If Satan is the originator of death in the human family, and therefore also the ruler of death, "he that hath the power of death," as the Epistle to the Hebrews says, it must certainly have been a matter in which he was interested, when God determined to rescue the body of Moses from the universal fate and judgment which await the sinful children of men, especially seeing that the death of Moses was not merely the penalty of sinfulness or sin in general, but of one particular sin, and that a sin within the department of sacred history. He died, not like other men in the capacity of a sinful child of Adam, but in that of the lawgiver and mediator of the covenant, because this covenant had been broken and violated by him. In the eminent position occupied by Moses in connection with the sacred history, it was a matter of peculiar importance to Satan, that Moses should pay the penalty of his sin in its fullest extent; for this sin, and the death with which it was punished, were, to a certain extent, a testimony of the insufficiency and imperfect execution of his mediatorial office, and therefore threw a dark shadow upon the covenant which he had founded. But for this very reason, after God had executed wrath in an extraordinary manner, He brought His mercy also into operation in an extraordinary way. *Satan*, "the accuser of our brethren, which accuseth them before our God day and night" (Rev. xii. 10), who knows that God will and

must be just even to him, insists upon his right,—but *Michael*, the exalted spirit-prince, the true prince and representative of Israel in the heavenly spirit-world, who standeth for the children of Israel (Dan. xii. 1) in every conflict that arises, carries out the work assigned him in spite of Satan's opposition, and silences him, not by railing and abuse (Jude 9), but by calm, holy, earnest resistance and threats.

As thus understood, the conflict between the two great spirit-princes for the body of Moses, which at first sight appeared so strange, acquires the greatest importance in connection with the development of the plan of salvation; and the fact itself, that in spite of Satan's protest Jehovah rescued the body of Moses from the common fate of the sinful children of men, becomes a type and prelude of infinitely greater and more glorious things to come. The fact, that the founder of the ancient covenant had to die on account of his sins, was a proof that he was not the true mediator; that the covenant established through him was not yet perfect; and that although it had been founded לְדִרְתֵּי עוֹלָם, it still needed to be made perfect by a second Mediator, who ever liveth. The death of Moses was not like the death of the first Adam, which issued in corruption; nor was it like that of the second Adam, which was followed by a resurrection. It was rather something intermediate between the two forms of death, just as Moses himself occupied an intermediate position between the first and the second Adam—between the head of sinful, dying humanity, and the Head of humanity redeemed from sin and death. As the death of Moses, though an actual one, was interrupted in its natural course, and as his condition was therefore an imperfect and oscillating one, requiring and expecting to be perfected, he himself became a prophecy of this very perfection. And if Moses, who was entrusted with the whole house of God, was not able to carry forward the organisation of the house of God to its absolute perfection, and therefore received the promise of a second Prophet and Mediator, we are warranted in discerning, in the peculiar and unparalleled mode of his death and burial, a memorable type of the death and burial of this Prophet like unto Moses, who was afterwards to come.

Rampf (Brief Judä) has made a collection of the opinions of the various Church Fathers and later commentators in reference to the occasion, the design, and the importance of the conflict between

the two spirit-princes. His own explanation is essentially the same as the one given by Stier and ourselves.

COMPOSITION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

§ 62. The real heart of the Pentateuch is unquestionably the *giving of the law*. The historical accounts, which form an introduction, or are interspersed throughout the work, are subservient to this; and the one thing which led to their being committed to writing, was the necessity for supplying the account of the giving of the law with a historical basis, drawing around it historical boundaries, and bringing distinctly out its historical antecedents, foundations, and accompaniments, that it might not appear like a *Deus ex machina*, but might present itself to the reader endued with life, and clothed with flesh and bones. In an inquiry, therefore, into the origin and composition of the Pentateuch, we must start with the giving of the law. But first of all the *fact* itself must be established. Did the event, known as the giving of the law, really take place? and if so, did it occur at the time, in the manner, at the place, and through the person, mentioned in the Pentateuch? Even the most incredulous critics are obliged to answer these questions in the affirmative (1). But the fact being admitted, that immediately after the Exodus from Egypt, the law was given through the mediation of Moses, in the desert and at Sinai, the question must still be asked, whether the law was committed to writing at once, or at a later period, and whether the Pentateuch contains an authentic copy.

From the nature and design of any legislation, it would be so imperatively necessary that the law should be immediately *committed to writing*, that any postponement of it would only be comprehensible, or even conceivable, on the supposition that the means and necessary conditions were wanting; such, for example, as the requisite acquaintance with the art of writing, the possession of writing materials, or sufficient time and leisure. But no one will venture to maintain, that any one of these conditions was

wanting when the Israelites were in the desert. On the contrary, they were all there in such a copious measure, that it is utterly inconceivable, that when the need was so pressing, no advantage should have been taken of them (2). We are therefore warranted in assuming, that the laws, which Moses gave in the desert, were committed to writing in the desert, either by himself or under his superintendence and by his authority.

Now we find in the *Pentateuch* a series of laws, which are expressly attributed to Moses. Are they substantially the laws which were given by Moses? And are they literally the same laws which Moses wrote, or which were written under his supervision? To this we may reply, that it is extremely improbable that laws given by Moses, and committed to writing under his superintendence,—laws, too, which were intended to form the basis of religious worship, and of both domestic and public life in Israel, should be entirely lost; and just as improbable, that the author of the *Pentateuch* (supposing that it was not written by Moses) should have overlooked the existing, authentic documents. But however great the probability may be, still it is only a probability, and not a certainty.—There are other ways, however, by which we may probably arrive at a more certain result. For example, if a law was given either before or under Moses, and a law of such scope and fulness, with such preparations and claims, as the *Pentateuch* describes, and if this law was committed to writing, the Israelitish literature of later times could not fail to furnish evidence of its existence, either in the shape of direct references and quotations, or of unmistakeable allusions; and there would be such agreement in all these, that where they related to the *substance* only, they would at least confirm the faithfulness of the description of the law contained in the *Pentateuch*, and where *verbal* quotations were made, they would demonstrate the existence of the law in the form contained in the *Pentateuch*. Now the whole of the sacred literature of Israel, to the very earliest times, fully answers this expectation. And as these references and allusions have respect, not merely to the legal part,

but also to the historical portions of the Pentateuch, the latter are attested as well as the former. And the frequency and variety of these allusions render it even probable, not only that various parts of the Pentateuch were in existence, but that all the parts were in existence and arranged as they are at present, at the period of the very earliest of all the productions of the sacred literature of the Israelites subsequent to the time of Moses (3).

The whole of the Israelitish *Tradition*, so far as we can trace its course upwards from Christ and His apostles, describes the Pentateuch (and unquestionably our present version of it) as the "Book of the Law of Moses" (סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה; כְּלֵי-הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה). At the same time this tradition does not afford so much certainty with reference to the person of the author, as is required in the case of a result that lays claim to universal acceptance. For, on the one hand, such express and particular statements as to the authorship of the Pentateuch are only to be found in the historical books of the Old Testament; and the critics who deny the authenticity of the Pentateuch will not admit that their testimony is conclusive, as they place the date of their composition at so much later a period than that of the Pentateuch itself. And, on the other hand, even to the inquirer who receives the testimony as sacred and indisputable (especially as confirmed by the words of Christ Himself), this tradition is not so definite as we should naturally desire. For the expression, *the Book of the Law of Moses*, does not really affirm anything more, than that the law which it contains is the law given by Moses, and not that the book, in which this law is written, was composed by Moses himself, in the form in which it has come down to us (4).

In such a state of things as this, we must go to the Pentateuch itself for a decisive answer to our question. The first thing which comes under our notice there is the *testimony of the Pentateuch* as to its own composition. To this we should attach unconditional truth and credibility, even if the book in question were not canonical, and therefore theopneustic. Now there are actually various portions of the work in which we find the express state-

ment, that they were composed and committed to writing by Moses himself. Among other smaller sections, we find the so-called Book of the Covenant (§ 10, 4, 5; 11, 1) and the whole of Deuteronomy to chap. xxxi. 24. In other legal and historical portions no such express statement is to be found; but from this it cannot of course be inferred, that Moses did not compose them or commit them to writing (5).

To determine the question of authorship, then, with reference to those portions in which no direct statement is made, we must look to the *subject-matter*, and also to the connection between these particular portions and those which are expressly declared to be Mosaic. And here we cannot conceal the fact, that our examination of the middle books of the Pentateuch has brought us more and more to the conclusion, that several authors have taken part in the composition of the Pentateuch. Our inquiry, hitherto, has not been thoroughly critical in its character, but has been conducted primarily and chiefly in connection with the development of the plan of salvation, and therefore cannot be regarded as thoroughly exhaustive. As far as it has gone, it has brought us to the following conclusion, though our mind is still wavering and undecided. 1. It is probable that Moses composed, and committed to writing with his own hand, simply those portions of the Pentateuch which are expressly attributed to him. 2. The groups of laws in the central books, of whose authorship no express statement is made, must have been written down by the direction of Moses, and under his supervision, *before* the addresses in Deuteronomy were delivered, and immediately *after* they emanated from the mouth of Moses. 3. The last revision of the Pentateuch, and its reduction into the form in which it has come down to us, took place in the latter portion of the life of Joshua, or very shortly after his death. In the *historical* portions of the Pentateuch, we must admit the existence of two distinct sources, which may be described as the "groundwork" (*Grundschrift*) and the "supplementary work" (*Ergänzungsschrift*). Whether the ground-

work consisted originally of historical matter only, or contained from the very outset the groups of laws in the central books,—whether it was written by the author who compiled the central groups of laws or not,—these, and other questions of a similar character, we are utterly unable to determine. The task of the last editor would depend to some extent upon the form in which the groundwork came down to him; for on this would depend the question, whether it was he who first inserted the groups of laws in the central books, or whether he found them already combined with the historical matter in the groundwork itself. In general, undoubtedly, his intention was to bring together all the sacred traditions belonging to the early history of his nation, whether they had come down in writing or by word of mouth, and also the account of the mighty works of Jehovah in connection with the establishment and completion of His covenant with Israel, through the mediatorial office of Moses; so far as they could be collected from authentic documents, the accounts of contemporaries, and personal reminiscences, and to form them into a perfect *Sepher Hattorah*, i.e., a complete work, embracing all the sources of knowledge, faith, life, and hope peculiar to the theocracy. The groundwork, which was already in existence, and was chiefly written from a *priestly* point of view, he expanded and generalised, with this design, from his own higher and more comprehensive point of view, in other words, from a *prophetic* stand-point (6).

At all events, we venture to express it as our confident persuasion, that the question as to the origin and composition of the Pentateuch is far from having been settled, either by *Hävernick*, *Hengstenberg*, and *Keil*, on the one hand, or by *Tuch*, *Stähelin*, and *Delitzsch*, on the other, and still less by *Ewald* or *Hupfeld*. But whether the further attempts of scientific criticism to solve the problem shall continue to follow the direction already taken by these meritorious scholars, or whether they shall strike out an entirely new and independent course; and whether the results obtained shall be favourable or unfavourable to the unity and

authenticity of the Pentateuch: the following points are, to our mind, so firmly established, that no criticism can ever overthrow them. 1. That the Pentateuch in its present form is *canonical* and *theopneustic*, composed, arranged, and incorporated in the codex of the Sacred Scriptures of the Ancient Covenant with the co-operation of the Holy Spirit. 2. That it is *authentic*: so far as its *Divine* origin is concerned, authentic, because it is canonical; and so far as its *human* origin is concerned, authentic and *Mosaic*, because even though everything contained in it may not have been written by the pen of Moses himself, yet the composition of all the rest and the arrangement of the whole was completed within the circle of his assistants, pupils, and contemporaries, and to a great extent was certainly performed under his supervision and by his direction. 3. Even if the separate portions of the Pentateuch are not all the production of one and the same pen, they form one complete work, and the whole is *uniform*, well-planned, well-arranged, and harmonious. 4. The Pentateuch in its present form constituted the *foundation* of the Israelitish history, whether civil, religious, moral, ceremonial, or even literary (*vid.* vol. i. § 20, 2).

(1.) Even if there were no Pentateuch in existence, *the fact of the giving of the law at Sinai through the mediation of Moses*, would be more firmly established than any other fact of ancient history. An event which has struck such deep roots in the consciousness of a nation as the giving of the law at Sinai, rests upon as sure a foundation as the existence of the nation itself. To establish this conclusion, we do not even need the line of testimony which we actually possess, and which reaches back to the very earliest antiquity of the nation of Israel. We will adduce it, however, and in *Delitzsch's* words: "Of the fact, that Mount Sinai was the place where Israel received the law in the most majestic announcements from Jehovah, and was constituted the Church of Jehovah in the form of a holy nation, a more ancient and more conclusive testimony is hardly conceivable, than that of the Song of Deborah ('The mountains melted from before Jehovah, even that Sinai from before Jehovah the God of

Israel'),—a testimony which does not stand in need of the confirmation it receives from Ps. lxxviii. 9, or from the fact that it was to Horeb that Elijah repaired in his deep despair at the apostasy of his nation (1 Kings xix. 8). After the Mosaic age, Sinai was but rarely mentioned; it was thrown into the background by Mount Zion, on which was the sanctuary of Jehovah with the tables and book of the law, and which was therefore the living and native continuation of Sinai. סִינַי בְּקֹדֶשׁ (Sinai in the holy place), says Ps. lxxviii. 18; the sanctuary of Zion had Sinai within itself. It had been brought from the desert, as it were, within the sight of all. And as Zion presupposed Sinai, so did the entire history of Israel after the time of Moses presuppose the giving of the law at Sinai."

(2.) If a law was issued for Israel at Sinai and in the surrounding desert, we may assume it as a probability bordering upon indisputable certainty, that it was also committed to writing there. There are only two cases in which we could conceive it possible that such laws, instead of being written down, should merely be impressed upon the memory of the people or their leaders, *viz.*: either where a body of laws is gradually and quite spontaneously developed from the popular life itself, and fixes itself just as spontaneously and imperceptibly in the customs of the people, and where it cannot possibly be traced, therefore, to a particular lawgiver, or to any local or historical circumstances;—or, secondly, where there have indeed been historical facts, on which a formal and complete code of laws has been based, but the means of committing them to writing (an acquaintance with the art of writing, for example) have been entirely wanting. But assuredly neither of these applies to the Mosaic law. Who is there in the present day who would venture to dispute the fact, that the art of writing cannot have been unknown to the Israelites, in the face of the innumerable proofs, which the Egyptian monuments present, of peculiar skill in caligraphy, and with the fact before us, that the Israelites spent whole centuries in the midst of the Egyptians, and learned from them the arts of civilization? Is it conceivable that a people, who but a short time before had been in Egypt, where they had been accustomed to see a book kept of everything, however trifling it might be, and who must have adopted this custom of keeping books, as the existence of a peculiar

order of Shoterim at the time when they departed from Egypt clearly proves, should have allowed so solemn an event to occur as the giving of the law at Sinai—a law which henceforward was destined to be the basis and rule of the whole national life, in all its relations, religious, moral, and judicial,—without ensuring its permanency by committing it to writing? To us it seems utterly inconceivable. We adhere to our opinion, therefore, that if Moses gave a law at Sinai, he either committed it to writing himself, or caused it to be committed to writing at the time.

(3). The proofs of the existence of the law, as contained in the Pentateuch, and of the history, as narrated there, in the period immediately following the Mosaic age, are to be found partly in historical facts, and partly in literary productions. The *latter* embrace all allusions, direct references, etc., which are found in such works, as can be proved to be the oldest of the post-Mosaic literary remains, to expressions, words, forms, turns of thought, and narratives peculiar to the Pentateuch; so far as they furnish a proof, that the Pentateuch must have been known to their authors. These we find scattered, more or less numerously, and with less or greater distinctness, throughout all the Old Testament Scriptures. From the writings of Hosea and Amos, the age and authenticity of which even the negative critics cannot deny, *Hengstenberg* has most conclusively demonstrated that the Pentateuch was known to these prophets, and was regarded by them as the foundation of the religious and historical consciousness of Israel. The same result may also be obtained from the rest of the earliest prophetic books, as well as from the writings of the age of David and Solomon (*viz.*, the Psalms, the Book of Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, and the Book of Job; see *Delitzsch*, p. 11 sqq., and *Keil*, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung* 139 sqq.).

The *historical* proofs of the existence of the Pentateuch in the period immediately succeeding the Mosaic age, embrace all the *data* to be met with in the historical books of the Old Testament, in which the validity of the law as given in the Pentateuch is either declared or presupposed, or which are based upon the historical accounts contained in the Pentateuch. These are also to be found in considerable numbers (*vid. Keil*, p. 132 sqq.). It is true there were also times in the history of Israel,

when the people were deeply immersed in apostasy and idolatry, when the sense of God was almost extinct, and the law of the Pentateuch was to a great extent disregarded. But there are proofs enough that even at such times as these, the law of the Pentateuch constituted the foundation of the religious, civil, and political life of the nation, and served to uphold what still remained. For example, at such times as these there was always a certain reaction against the ungodly tendencies of the age; and this reaction was inspired and sustained by the sense of God, as kept alive by the law. Even the Book of Judges, which describes a period of great confusion, marked by rebellion and corruption, furnishes sufficient proof that the circumstances of this particular period presuppose the existence of the law of the Pentateuch, and cannot be understood without it.—But apart altogether from evidence of this particular kind, the existence of the nation of Israel, whether looked at on its brighter or its darker side—in its very existence and prosperity, in its fall and restoration, in its peculiar and unparalleled forms of development, in its religious views, its political institutions, its ceremonial arrangements, its literary productions, etc. (all of them things in which it stood quite alone in the ancient world)—the Israelitish nation, we say, in all these respects, is utterly incomprehensible, except as the *Thorah* constituted the groundwork of its entire history. In a word, the history of Israel would become as visionary without the *Thorah* as a tree without roots, and a river without a source (*vid. Delitzsch*, p. 7 sqq.).

Whenever the *Thorah* is expressly mentioned in the *Old Testament*, it is always called by the name of the great mediator and lawgiver. From the very earliest times, Moses has been regarded by the *Synagogue* as its author. And *Christ* and His *apostles* adopted the same mode of speech (*vid. Keil*, pp. 142, 143). For the Christian, the authority of his Lord and Master, and that of the apostles, are undoubtedly conclusive; but it is also not without truth, that “Christ and the apostles did not come into the world to give the Jews lessons in criticism.” Christ could describe the Book of the Law as the *Thorah* of Moses without any (reprehensible) accommodation to prevailing errors, even if it were not written by the hand of Moses himself,—provided only that the law and the doctrine, which make it a *Thorah*, were actually given by Moses. Whether he wrote it himself, or

whether another committed to writing what he taught and commanded, makes no alteration in the actual question. In the one case, quite as much as in the other, the Torah is Mosaic, and in both cases it might be represented as Mosaic by the lips of Truth. And supposing that the Torah was not *written*, or was only partially written by Moses himself, it was no part of the work of Christ to set the Jews right on this point, even if they erroneously believed that he wrote it all with his own hand; for such an error as this had nothing whatever to do with their faith or their salvation. But the words of Christ are conclusive on this point (and doubt *here* would be unbelief), that the law and doctrine of the Pentateuch are the *word and command of God* given through the mediator of the ancient covenant. This remark is also applicable to any passages in the Book of Joshua, and other books of the Old Testament, in which the book of the law is spoken of as the "Torah of Moses," or the "Torah which Moses gave us."

(5.) If we look carefully, for the purpose of ascertaining what the Pentateuch itself says with reference to its author, and also as to the time, the place, and the manner of its origin (and we should feel bound to place unlimited faith in whatever it might say),—we find that there are several smaller or larger portions, which bear upon the face of them clear and unmistakable testimony to the fact of their Mosaic origin. This is the case, for example, with the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx.—xxiii, *vid.* Ex. xxiv. 4, 7), with the legal section in Ex. xxxiv. (*vid.* ver. 27), and lastly, with the whole of Deuteronomy to chap. xxxi. 24. In the historical portions of the central books, this is also true of an account of the extermination of the Amalekites in Ex. xvii. 14, and of the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. (*vid.* ver. 2). These sections, then, and neither more nor less, are fully authenticated as both composed and committed to writing by Moses himself,—and the conclusion, that because certain portions of the Pentateuch are expressly declared to have been committed to writing by Moses himself, therefore he must have written the whole, is just as arbitrary and unwarrantable as the opposite conclusion, that he cannot possibly have written any more than is expressly assigned to him by name.

Hävernick, *Hengstenberg*, and *Keil*, however, maintain that "not only is the authorship of particular laws and narratives

attributed to Moses in the Pentateuch, but in Deuteronomy the whole Torah is so emphatically attributed to him, that any attempts to set this testimony aside must inevitably fail." In support of this assertion, they appeal to Deut. xvii. 18, 19, xxviii. 58, 61, xxix. 19, 20, 26, xxx. 10, and xxxi. 9, 24. In all these passages, undoubtedly, "this book of the Torah" (הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת) is said to have been written by Moses himself. Now, since the expression סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה is always employed to denote the entire Pentateuch (*cf.* Josh. i. 8, viii. 31, 34, xxiv. 26; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxii. 8, 11; 2 Chr. xvii. 9, xxxiv. 14, 15; Neh. viii. 1, 3, 18), it is argued that there can be no doubt, that in these passages also the whole of the Pentateuch is intended. There is only one small point overlooked in this argument (but it happens to be a small point upon which the whole question depends), *viz.*, the little word "this," which is always found in the passages in Deuteronomy, and which compels us to limit the statement contained in these passages to the Torah immediately referred to, namely, the Torah of Deuteronomy. It will no doubt be argued in reply, that if the Pentateuch, throughout its entire extent, was written *una serie* by Moses himself, the word "this" could, and in fact must, apply to the whole of the Pentateuch in its existing form. But such a reply as this not only would be a *petitio principii*, and as such without the slightest force, but is proved to be inadmissible by the most conclusive data. The Torah of Deuteronomy is introduced in Deut. iv. 44 by the words, "This is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel; these are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which Moses spake unto the children of Israel, . . . in the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites," etc. And when, in the further course of the same addresses, we find THIS Torah, or THIS book of the Torah mentioned, according to all the laws of interpretation we can only understand the Torah just spoken of, *i.e.*, the Torah of Deuteronomy. Moreover, the sense in which the word *this* is employed, is placed beyond all doubt by chap. xxvii. 1, where "this law," which occurs in ver. 3, is expressly shown to be equivalent to "all these commandments which I command you THIS DAY." The context and subject-matter of these passages also render it sometimes certain, and at other times highly probable, that the law of Deuteronomy alone can be intended. (1.) In Deut. xvii. 18, 19, it is com-

manded that the future king of Israel is to write out a copy of "THIS *Thorah*," and to live and reign according to it.—(2.) In chap. xxxi. 26, it is stated that when Moses "had made an end of writing the words of THIS law in a book, until they were finished," he gave this book to the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and told them to place it by the side of the ark of the covenant, that it might be there for a witness against Israel.—(3.) According to chap. xxvii., when the children of Israel entered the promised land, Joshua was to write *all* the words of THIS law upon stones covered with plaster in Mount Ebal.—(4.) In chap. xxxi. 10 sqq., instructions are given that THIS law is to be read to the assembled congregation at the Feast of Tabernacles of the year of release (*i.e.*, every seven years). Now, if we confine ourselves to the third quotation, the necessity for restricting the expression "THIS law" (ver. 3) to the *Thorah* of Deuteronomy is so obvious, that even *Hengstenberg* and *Keill* are obliged to acknowledge it. Not only is it inconceivable that the whole of the Pentateuch should be written upon stones, but the authentic explanation in ver. 2 of what we are to understand by "*this Thorah*" is thoroughly conclusive. *Hengstenberg* and *Keill*, however, will not admit that we have any right to conclude from this passage, that "this law" means precisely the same thing in all the other passages referred to; inasmuch as the limitation is here established by the context vers. 3 and 8 pointing back to ver. 1, and the meaning being thereby clearly defined. But this is merely a loophole. At any rate, in this passage it is admitted that the expression retains the force attributed to it. And if so, it cannot be denied, that the introductory words to the whole law in chap. iv. 44, 45, must have the same meaning in relation to the entire Deuteronomical *Thorah* as the introductory words are here supposed to have to the section in chap. xxvii. Now, if we look at the fulfilment of this command, as we find it described in Josh. viii. 32, "Joshua wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, *which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel*," we have here, assuming that Joshua wrote simply the law of Deuteronomy, an express testimony to the fact, that this alone was originally committed to writing by Moses himself, and not the *Thorah* of the central books.

What is thus *conclusively* demonstrated by the connection

and drift of this passage, and is therefore conclusive as to the meaning to be given to the other passages, is also shown to be at least *very probable* by the connection and drift of the latter. The difference between the Torah of the central books and the Torah of Deuteronomy, so far as the substance is concerned, is chiefly the following. In the first place, the latter expressly refers to the circumstances in which the Israelites would be placed in the promised land (see, for example, chap. vi. 1, etc.); whereas the former is much more general in its character, and no special reference is made to circumstances which would not arise till they reached the borders of the land. And *secondly*, the Torah of the central books is chiefly of a priestly character,—is, in fact, properly the law for the priestly and Levitical order. By far the greater number of its laws are laws for the priests,—laws which it was not necessary that any should be thoroughly acquainted with, except the priests (and Levites). And even the remaining laws, which are distinguished from those of Deuteronomy by greater precision and a more direct allusion to special occurrences, are thereby more especially connected with the tribe of Levi, inasmuch as this tribe was set apart to be the custodian and interpreter of the law, and to decide in cases of dispute. The Torah of Deuteronomy is much less restricted in its purpose. Its precepts all relate to the nation as *a whole*; and therefore it passes over all such precepts and ordinances, as it was unnecessary for any but the priests and Levites to be particularly acquainted with. For this reason it was only the Torah of Deuteronomy which was written upon stones on Mount Ebal; and from the same point of view, it is more than probable that “this law,” of which the king had to make a copy, “the book of this law,” which was to be placed by the side of the ark of the covenant, and “this law,” which was to be read at the Feast of Tabernacles, were all simply the Torah of Deuteronomy. What could all the *minutiæ* of Leviticus have to do with the proper discharge of the duties of the royal office? Even the Torah, which was to be placed by the side of the ark of the covenant, had no special reference to the priests and Levites, but related solely to the nation in general; for it is distinctly stated that it was to be placed there “for a witness against thee (the nation), for I know thy rebellion and thy stiff neck” (Deut. xxxi. 26, 27).

That the command to read the law of the *Feast of Tabernacles* had reference solely to the Thorah in Deuteronomy, is confirmed by the exegetical tradition of the Synagogue in the Mishnah and Rashi (*vid. Delitzsch*, pp. 25, 26). *Keil* meets this argument with the simple observation, that “this tradition cannot be quoted as decisive, for the simple reason that it is quite at variance with the conduct of Ezra. On the Feast of Tabernacles, which was celebrated under Nehemiah, the only one of which we have any account in the Old Testament (Neh. viii.), not only was Deuteronomy publicly read, but—if not the whole Thorah from Gen. i. to Deut. xxxiv.—at all events the greater portion of it. For, although the words, ‘*and he read therein*,’ namely, in ‘*the book of the Thorah of Moses*’ (vers. 1, 3), leave it doubtful how much was read, it is evident from the statement that on the second day the elders of the people found it written in the law, ‘*that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month*,’ whereupon they made booths ‘*as it is written*,’ that it must have been the book of Leviticus which was read, since it is there (Lev. xxiii. 34 sqq.) and not in Deuteronomy that we find directions for the construction of booths.” But this reply is founded entirely upon a misapprehension. In Neh. viii. nothing at all is said about a fulfilment of the commandment contained in Deut. xxxi. 9, to read “this Thorah” at the Feast of Tabernacles in the sabbatical year. No doubt the Thorah was read,—and not Deuteronomy only, but Leviticus also, as the passage in question proves,—but this was done spontaneously, not in fulfilment of the command in Deuteronomy; in an ordinary year, not in a sabbatical year; on the second day of the seventh month, not on the second day of the Feast of Tabernacles (vers. 1, 13). It was fourteen days, therefore, before the Feast of Tabernacles, when the directions in Leviticus concerning the erection of booths were read, and there was still plenty of time to make preparation for carrying out the instructions to the very letter before the feast commenced. For, according to vers. 16, 17, this was actually done.—The correctness of the view adopted in the Synagogue, therefore, is not in the least affected by Neh. viii.

In addition to the fact, that it is not stated that the whole of the Pentateuch was written by Moses himself, but only a (considerable) portion of it; throughout those portions which are not

so attested we constantly meet with *data* which are apparently altogether irreconcilable with such a view. Notwithstanding all that *Hävernick*, *Hengstenberg*, *Welte*, and *Keil* have said to the contrary (and what they have said is to a great extent very important and convincing), it appears to us to be indisputable, that even apart from Deut. xxxiv., there are portions of the Pentateuch which are post-Mosaic, or at all events Non-Mosaic, though by far the largest part of what critics adduce does not come under this head at all. I will simply content myself with mentioning the "*Dan*" in Gen. xiv. 14 and Deut. xxxiv. 1, and the so-called self-praise of Moses in Num. xii. 3.

(6.) Of all the views which have hitherto been published with reference to the composition, the arrangement, and the final revision of the Pentateuch, not one so fully meets our approbation as that of *Delitzsch*, to which we have already referred (vol. i. § 20, 2). With *Delitzsch*, we regard it as indisputable that the Book of the Covenant, the book of Deuteronomy (to chap. xxxi. 24), and also the smaller sections referred to above (note 5), in which the authorship is expressly named, were composed and committed to writing by Moses himself. Whether any other sections of the Pentateuch, in which there is no such distinct statement as to the authorship, were written by him, or even whether he wrote the entire Pentateuch, in the form in which it has come down to us, are questions to which the direct testimony of the Pentateuch will not enable us to give a negative reply; and just as little, or rather still less, will it put us in a position to maintain the affirmative with certainty. For an answer to these questions we must look to the contents. Of all the sections whose authorship is not attested, the groups of laws in the central books have evidently the strongest claim to be regarded as of Mosaic origin. For if these laws emanated from Moses, a fact which we cannot dispute, he must have had the greatest interest in having them committed to writing. But he might have left it to some one or other of his assistants to make a formal arrangement, and actually write them out. And it seems to us the more probable that this was the case, from the fact that there is so unmistakeable a difference, in the expressions and the style, between the laws in question and the Thorah of Deuteronomy, though we are by no means disposed to attach undue importance to this argument. We have already observed, that in all proba-

bility Josh. viii. 32 contains a proof that the Thorah of the central books was not committed to writing by Moses. For if, as is fully admitted, the words, "and Joshua wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, *which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel,*" do not relate to the Thorah of the central books, but to the Thorah of Deuteronomy ALONE (a conclusion required by Deut. xxvii. 1, 3, and also by the existing circumstances), the predicate applied to the latter, namely, that Moses wrote them in the presence of the children of Israel, must have been inapplicable to the former. And as the Thorah of the central books was chiefly designed for the priestly and Levitical order, as the custodians and interpreters of the law, there is great plausibility in the conjecture expressed by *Delitzsch* (p. 37), that it was written by some one of priestly rank belonging to the school of Moses, or to his immediate circle—it might be by Aaron himself, or, what is more likely, if we look at other analogous cases, by one of his sons.

But we cannot follow *Delitzsch* in the supposition that this central group of laws was not arranged into a code till after the promised land was in the complete possession of the Israelites, and therefore that the priority of age belongs to the book of Deuteronomy. As we have already observed, we cannot imagine that this code of laws, which was to serve as the groundwork and rule of the constitution and government of the entire theocracy, instead of being fixed in writing, should have been simply impressed upon the memory, and that it should have been left to posterity to determine whether it should ever be committed to writing or not. This seems to us the more inconceivable, from the fact that the formula is repeated on innumerable occasions in connection with these laws, that they are given לְרֵיבֹת עוֹלָם.—The grounds on which *Delitzsch* was led to express this opinion are explained by him as follows: "The kernel of the Pentateuch, or its earliest basis, was the roll of the covenant, which was written out by Moses himself, and was afterwards worked into the history of the events connected with the giving of the law (Ex. xix.–xxiv.). The other laws, which were issued in the desert down to the period when the Israelites were encamped in the plains of Moab, were announced by Moses by word of mouth, but they were committed to writing by the priests, whose vocation it was (Deut. xvii. 11 *cf.* xxiv. 8, xxxiii. 10; Lev. x. 11, *cf.*

xv. 31). As there is nothing in Deuteronomy which presupposes that the whole of the earlier law existed in writing, but, on the contrary, the recapitulation is made with the greatest freedom, it need not be supposed that the actual arrangement into a code was made during the journey through the desert. But this was done very shortly after the conquest of the land. As soon as the Israelites stood upon the Holy Land, they began to write out the history of Israel, which had now reached a decisive point. But they could not write a history of the Mosaic age without writing out a description of the Mosaic legislation in its fullest extent."

We admit that the inducement and demand for a written account of the ancient traditions must have been much stronger after the Israelites had settled in the Holy Land, than during their wanderings in the desert. Wherever they might set their foot in the land of Canaan, they were still treading upon holy ground. They were in a land consecrated and sanctified by the pilgrimage of their fathers, and covered with spots which excited lively reminiscences of the history of their fathers. If these had never been committed to writing before, the occasion, the impulse, and the need would undoubtedly be so strong, that one or other of the pupils of Moses would be impelled to undertake the task.—But I cannot persuade myself that this cannot have taken place during the wanderings in the desert, and that no occasion or impulse could possibly have existed then. Is it a fact, that in the present arrangement of the Pentateuch the sole purpose of the history was to serve as the foundation and framework of the law? Was there not quite enough in the mighty works of God, in connection with the Exodus from Egypt, and the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, to prompt the wish to impress *them*, and the historical events which lead to them, upon the memory of future generations? (*Vid.* e. g., Ex. xii. 26, 27, and xiii. 8). And did not the stay at Sinai, which lasted an entire year, furnish ample opportunity and leisure for commencing such a work?—But whether this was the case or not, at all events we must firmly maintain, that the earlier laws were committed to writing in the desert, and that immediately after they were issued. If the historical work, which forms the framework of the laws, was not commenced till the Israelites entered the Holy Land, the author

found the documents relating to the law already in existence, and only needed to insert them in the history. But if it was commenced in the desert, most probably during the stay at Sinai, the author of the previous history and primeval history was probably the same as the writer of the groups of laws; and we should then, in all probability, be correct in assuming, that when the Israelites departed from Sinai his work had been brought down to that time, and that afterwards the events were added as they occurred. The latter I regard as the more probable explanation.

Again, so far as regards the other reason for supposing that Deuteronomy was committed to writing before the other law, which was really the more ancient of the two—*viz.*, the fact that “there is nothing in Deuteronomy which presupposes that the whole of the earlier law existed in writing; but, on the contrary, the recapitulation is made with the greatest freedom,”—*Delitzsch* can hardly intend to assert that it cannot have existed in writing, because no reference is made to it. If the *earlier* law was committed to the care of the priests and Levites, and the *later* was intended expressly for the people, such direct allusions would have been out of place (apart from the fact that they would not be in accordance with the general character of the early Hebrew composition). And so far as the freedom, with which the earlier laws are recapitulated, is concerned, it appears to me that it could not possibly make any difference to the free spirit of a man like Moses, a man so conscious of his office and standing whether they had been written down or not. On the other hand, I should be more disposed to believe that if the book of Deuteronomy was already in existence, with its modifications of so many of the earlier laws, the writer of the *later* would feel some difficulty in reproducing them in their earlier form.

I cannot divest myself of the impression, however, that there run through the Pentateuch, and most obviously through the historical portions, two distinct currents (so to speak), which differ in the expressions employed and the style in which they are written, not less than in their general tendency, and which *Delitzsch* has aptly described as a priestly and a prophetic current.¹ They are just the same as those which have hitherto

¹ It is hardly an admissible solution to acknowledge this double current, and yet to trace them both to one author, who, like Moses, combined in

been designated by critics the groundwork and the supplementary work. The similarity in the language, views, and tendencies, observable in the former, to those of the central groups of laws, give rise to the conjecture that they were both the productions of the same pen. When we find, now, the component parts of the priestly section, so far as they can be distinctly ascertained, forming pretty nearly a well-defined and tolerably perfect whole, with comparatively few gaps, whereas the component parts of the prophetic section, when combined together, appear throughout imperfect, unconnected, and full of gaps; we are warranted in assuming, that the prophetic author had the work of the priestly author lying before him, and from his own standpoint enlarged it by the addition of many things, which were of great importance, so far as his views and objects were concerned, but had been passed over by the latter, because they appeared of less importance when regarded from his point of view. In the case of the second prophetic writer, the circumstance which *Delitzsch* supposes to have influenced the first, or priestly author, may possibly have furnished to some extent both inducement and material; *viz.*, the possession of the land, in which the fathers of his people had performed their pilgrimage. It is not at all an improbable thing, that the simple fact that the Israelites were now looking with their own eyes, and even treading upon the very spots, in which the memorable events of the lives of their forefathers had taken place, may have called into fresh prominence, and endowed with new life, many of the events which had been almost forgotten, and for that reason, perhaps, had been passed over by the earlier historian.

The critical process pursued by *Tuch* and *Stähelin*, for the purpose of so separating and arranging the various sections belonging to the groundwork, as to form a well-grounded and perfect whole, in which no gaps at all shall appear, is decidedly a failure. This is most apparent from the fact, that the component parts of the groundwork do not include a history of the fall, whereas this was not only to be expected, but is positively

himself the calling, gifts, and interests of both prophet and priest. In this case, it would be impossible to prove that there *was* a double current. The twofold interests and twofold tendencies of the priestly and prophetic minds would constantly manifest themselves contemporaneously and uniformly, in living union and mutual interpenetration.

demanded. And there are many such cases, as I have shown in my "Einheit der Genesis" (Berlin 1846). In the fact that the author, by whom the work was completed, did not hesitate to remove certain parts of the groundwork, and substitute something entirely new, we see a proof that he brought to his task of enlarging and revising the original work a freedom of spirit, such as nothing but the distinct consciousness of his prophetic gift and calling could either have warranted or inspired.—We must also pronounce it a delusion on the part of *Tuch* and *Stübelin*, that they imagine it possible to distinguish with such nicety the component elements of the two different currents. It is only in a very general way, that it is possible to demonstrate the existence of two separate currents; and only in cases where the distinctive peculiarities are especially prominent, that single sections can be marked off with any degree of certainty. The temptation to which critics are exposed, to foster the delusion of infallibility and omnipotence in connection with their operations, is so great, and modern critics have yielded to it to such an extent, that it is very necessary to preach moderation. It is true that critics have not all carried their self-deception and self-exaltation to the same extent as *Ewald*, who finds a dozen writers in the Pentateuch, and is able to assign to every one his own portion with indisputable certainty, even to a single word. But *vestigia terrent!*

As it is so very obvious that there was an original groundwork, and that this groundwork was completed by a prophetic author; there can hardly be any question, that it was by the latter that the Pentateuch was reduced to its present form. The time when this was done, may be determined with tolerable certainty. On the one hand, the fact that the existence of the Pentateuch and its laws is presupposed by the history and literature of Israel, of which in fact they formed the basis, compels us to fix upon a period as near to the time of Moses as other circumstances will allow. On the other hand, there are certain features in the Pentateuch itself which bring us below the lifetime of Moses, to the period of the complete occupation of the promised land. The negative critics have set no bounds to their misuse of the supposed or actual marks of a later date, which are to be found in the Pentateuch; partly by including in the list a number of *data* which do not belong to it, and

partly by making the date as late as they possibly can. *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 146 sqq.), who is followed by *Welte* and *Keil*, has demonstrated in the most unanswerable manner the utter absurdity of the great majority of the marks they adduce. At the same time, an unbiassed inquirer will be obliged to admit that he has not been equally successful in every case. Of all of the marks which remain, however, there is not one which indicates a later age than the period immediately succeeding the conquest of Canaan. The latter portion of Joshua's life and the first years of the period of the Judges are the limits within which, in all probability, the completion of the Pentateuch falls.—It may be sufficient to refer here to the occurrence of the name *Dan* in Gen. xiv. 14 and Deut. xxxiv. 1, where it is used to denote the ancient *Leshem* or *Laish*. The use of this name presupposes that the events narrated in Josh. xix. 47 and Judg. xxviii. 29 had already taken place. In vol. i. § 54, 2, I adopted *Hengstenberg's* explanation, viz., that the Dan of the Pentateuch was the same as the Dan-Jaan in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, and denoted a very different place from the ancient Laish. But a closer examination has convinced me that the very same Dan is alluded to in the Pentateuch and 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, as in Josh. xix. 47 and Judg. xxviii. 29.

It is not my intention to enter into an exhaustive examination of the Pentateuch question in all its bearings. Such an examination as this would require much more space than I can allot to it in the present volume. I shall content myself, therefore, with referring the reader to the many apt and admirable remarks which he will find in the work of *Delitzsch*, already mentioned, though even this is by no means exhaustive and thoroughly satisfactory. It is to be hoped that the excellent author will soon resume his inquiries, and carry them out with all the learning and acumen for which he is justly celebrated.

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